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Collected Privately, Presented Publicly: The Collections of the Esterházy Princes and the Public in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

Noémi Viskolcz

Dr hab. Noémi Viskolcz
University of Miskolc
Faculty of Arts
Institute for History
Egyetemváros C/1.
3515 Miskolc
Hungary
e-mail: noemi.viskolcz@uni-miskolc.hu
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7526-1817

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Collected Privately, Presented Publicly: The Collections of the Esterházy Princes and the Public in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century
The Esterházys were the most important family of the Hungarian aristocracy, producing politicians, bishops, generals and a prime minister. Their collections, built up over centuries, were opened to the public as early as the nineteenth century, the first being a picture gallery in their palace in Vienna. This collection was sold to the Hungarian state in 1871 and is now the basis of the Museum of Fine Arts. After 1867, their most important historical objects were increasingly often loaned to the first historical exhibitions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Budapest and Vienna. This raised the standard of these exhibitions, allowed experts and the public to become acquainted with objects from private collections in Hungary, and enabled the lenders to present the history and significance of their families in the context of the history of the country and the nation, in the spirit of social responsibility. This study uses historical sources to describe the process of object lending and the public presentation of private collections.

Keywords: Esterházy princes, private collection, historical exhibitions, publicity, nineteenth century

Collected Privately, Presented Publicly: The Collections of the Esterházy Princes and the Public in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

The central royal court of Hungary ceased to exist in 1526 and House of Habsburg went on to rule the country from Vienna. This meant that, unlike other European countries, the royal collections did not go on to form the basis of the great national cultural institutions created in the nineteenth century – the national museum and library. In the beginning, national collections in Hungary were shaped much more by private donations and individual offerings, A leading role in this was taken by Count Ferenc Széchényi (1754–1820), who offered his books, coins and maps for the benefit of the nation. The deed of gift was signed by the Hungarian King Francis I on 26 November 1802. With this, he laid the foundations of two public institutions: the National Széchényi Library and the Hungarian National Museum, although these

wo institutions were legally separated only in 1949.[1] While the collection of Ferenc Széchényi can be considered Hungarian in the case of the library, the museum material that continued to grow during the nineteenth century – from archaeological objects to applied arts and natural science objects to fine art – is of extremely mixed quality and cannot in any way be considered "Hungaricum".

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Hungarian Parliament also contributed to the growth of the National Museum's collection by purchasing the collection of Miklós Jankovich (1773–1846). However, gifts – mainly from the nobility, ecclesiastical dignitaries and the bourgeoisie – remained typical, for instance, the donation of 140 paintings by László János Pyrker (1772–1847), Archbishop of Eger, in 1836.[2]

The Széchényi offering was not followed by similar large-scale actions on the part of the aristocracy, but by the second half of the nineteenth century, a clear trend emerged whereby private aristocratic collections entered the public space, albeit in different ways, contributing to certain aspects of museumisation. This process can be examined through archival sources, taking the example of the Esterházy family. In this article, I review the appearance of the collections of one of the richest Hungarian aristocratic families of the period in historical exhibitions in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy after the Compromise (1867), and examine how the strictly private collection gradually became part of the cultural public.

The collections of the Esterházy princes

Over the past 400 years, the Esterházy family has been among the most prominent and wealthy of the Hungarian aristocratic families. Its members have become palatines, bishops, generals, travellers, writers, ministers and, in one case, prime minister. The rise to power of the small noble family from Pozsony County began with the ambitious Miklós Esterházy (1583–1645), who became the most important politician in the Kingdom of Hungary. He acquired large estates in Western Hungary, and in their centres – Kismarton and Fraknó – he established residences worthy of his rank. The development of the family's collections began during his life, but was only completed during the reign of his son and the princes who succeeded him. Prince Pál Esterházy (1635–1713) already possessed a large treasury, library, archive, picture gallery and armoury. The majority of the valuable objects were kept in the fortified castle of Fraknó, while in the palace of Kismarton a *Kunstkammer* (a collection of notable objects, cabinet of curiosities), a gallery and a library were established. In 1695, Pál Esterházy created a trust for the unification of the most valuable assets, which were always inherited by

[1] KOVÁCS, Tibor. Fejezetek két évszázad múzeumtörténetéből [Chapters from two centuries of museum history]. In: PINTÉR, János (ed). *A 200 éves Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum gyűjteményei*. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2002, pp. 9; MONOK, István. Cara patria ac publica utilitas. Széchényi Ferenc könyvtáralapítása [Ferenc Széchényi and his foundation of the library]. In: *Századok*, Volume 138, 2004, pp. 744–748; MONOK, István. A könyvtár múzeuma vagy a múzeum könyvtára? Egy közép-európai történet magyar példákkal [The library of the museum or the museum of the library? A Central European story with Hungarian examples]. In: DRASKÓCZY, János – VARGA, Júlia – ZSIDI, Vilmos (eds). *Universitas – Historia. Tanulmányok a 70 éves Szögi László tiszteletére*. Budapest: Magyar Levéltárosok Egyesülete, 2018, pp. 567–575.

[2] MIKÓ, Árpád (ed). *Jankovich Miklós (1773–1846) gyűjteményei* [The Collections of Miklós Jankovich]. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában 2002. november 28. 2003. február 16. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2002; KISS, Péter. A magyarországi első nyilvános képkiállítás és a Pyrker-képtár története (1812–1949) [The first public exhibition of paintings in Hungary and the history of the Pyrker Gallery]. In: *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve*, Volume 38, 2002, pp. 7–32; SZIGETHI, Ágnes. A Pyrker-képtár Budapesten [The Pyrker Gallery in Budapest]. In: *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve*, Volume 38, 2002, pp. 33–44.

the eldest son. Among the eighteenth century princes, Miklós "splendour-loving" Esterházy (1714–1790) stands out. On the shores of Lake Fertő, he built one of the most beautiful Baroque–Rococo-style Hungarian palaces, Eszterháza, which housed a magnificent collection of porcelain and a silver chamber. The opera house he founded played orchestral works conducted by Joseph Haydn.[3]

The Esterházys and their collections in the nineteenth century

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the great collections were spectacularly completed, thanks to the passionate collecting work of Prince Miklós Esterházy II (1765–1833).[4] In addition, for the first time in the history of the family, in 1811 the prince opened to the public a gallery located on the first floor of his house in Laxenburg.[5] In 1814, he transferred the collection to his garden palace in Mariahilf; for several decades it was one of Vienna's attractions, along with the mineral collection and library also located there.[6] As Stefan Körner presented in his pioneering monograph, Miklós Esterházy II created one of the most significant art collections in Europe during the three decades following 1793. He accumulated about 153,000 objects in palaces on Vienna, Laxenburg, Kismarton and others, but this came at a high price.[7] The entail, burdened with huge loans, became insolvent in 1828, and Miklós Esterházy II had to hand over the management of his entire property in Hungary in 1832.[8] After his death in 1833, his son (Antal Pál Esterházy III, 1786–1866) and then his grandson (Miklós Esterházy III, 1817–1894) were forced to resolve the family's financial difficulties by selling real estate and assets, including Mariahilf Palace. In 1867, they the famous Esterházy diamond jewels up for auction in London.[9] The sale of the Esterházy gallery in Vienna was also part of this process.

[3] More about the history of the collections see SZILÁGYI, András. *Az Esterházy-kincstár* [The Esterházy Treasury]. Budapest: Helikon, 1994; SZILÁGYI, András (ed). *Az Esterházy-kincsek. Öt évszázad műalkotásai a hercegi gyűjteményekből* [The Esterházy treasures. Artworks of five centuries from the princely collections]. Budapest: Iparművészeti Múzeum, 2006-2007.; PÁSZTOR, Emese (ed). *Az Esterházy-kincstár textíliái az Iparművészeti Múzeum gyűjteményében* [Textiles from the Esterházy Treasury in the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts]. Budapest: Iparművészeti Múzeum, 2013; SZILÁGYI, András (ed). Műtárgyak a fraknói Esterházy-kincstárból az Iparművészeti Múzeum gyűjteményében [Artefacts from the Esterházy Treasury in Fraknó in the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts]. Budapest: Iparművészeti Múzeum, 2014.

[4] MELLER, Simon. *Az Esterházy-képtár története* [The history of the Esterházy Gallery]. Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1915; GARAS, Klára. Die Geschichte der Gemäldegalerie Esterházy. In: MRAZ, Gerda – GALAVICS, Géza (Eds). *Von Bildern und anderen Schätzen. Die Sammlungen der Fürsten Esterházy*. Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau, 1999, p. 118; KÖRNER, Stefan. *Nikolaus II. Esterházy und die Kunst. Biografie eines manischen Sammlers*. Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau, 2013.

[5] KÖRNER, Nikolaus II. Esterházy…, pp. 236–237.

[6] Ibidem, pp. 292–295. The gallery was open to the public until 1865, as evidenced by the surviving guest book. see RADOCSAY, Dénes – GEREVICH, Lászlóné. Az Esterházy-képtár látogatói 1849–1865 [The visitors of the Esterházy Gallery]. In: *A Szépművészeti Múzeum Közleményei,* Volume 28, 1966, pp. 166–174.

[7] KÖRNER, Nikolaus II. Esterházy…, p. 363.

[8] Ibidem, pp. 354–357.

[9] Ibidem, pp. 364.

Tab. 1: *The owners of the fidei-commissum in nineteenth century*

Prince	Time of reign
Miklós Esterházy II (1765–1833)	1794–1833
Pál Antal Esterházy III (1786–1866)	1833–1866
Miklós Esterházy III (1817–1894)	1866–1894
Pál Esterházy IV (1843–1898)	1894–1898
Miklós Esterházy IV (1869–1921)	1898–1921

From private to public galleries

Pál Antal Esterházy III was, in fact, forced to sell the gallery. This act met the demand, which was gaining more and more ground in Hungary, to have access to quality collections in Pest with the capacity to shape the public's taste. The prince may also have been reassured by the fact that Emil Dessewffy, President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, promised a suitable exhibition space for the gallery in the academy's headquarters, which were being built at that time. The paintings, engravings and drawings were transported to Pest in June 1865, where they were showcased to visitors on 12 December on the second and third floors of the academy building, across a total of 14 rooms.[10] However, the exhibition of the deposited collection did not solve the financial problems of the Esterházy family. After his death, Pál Antal Esterházy III was followed by Miklós III, to whom the asset manager recommended the sale of the gallery in 1867.[11] Over the next three years, negotiations took place between the representatives of the Hungarian state and those of the family regarding the purchase price, but it was difficult to raise the huge amount required. It was then that Ferenc Pulszky (1814–1897), who returned home from emigration, became a key player. As president of the Society of Fine Arts from 1867 and director of the Hungarian National Museum from 1869 – and also as a member of parliament – he put pressure on the government regarding the purchase. Pulszky described in his memoirs that he and his old acquaintance, Director of the National Gallery in London, Sir John Boxall – who was sent to Pest to inquire about the collection – spent four days examining and appraising the paintings of the Esterházy gallery one by one. The thorough survey and Pulszky's financial calculations convinced the Minister of Finance Károly Kerkapoly that the state was making a good investment: the sale contract was signed on 8 December 1870 and reasserted by Law XI of 1871.[12] According to this contract, 637 paintings, 3,535 drawings, 51,301 engravings and 305 books became the property of the Hungarian state; they still form the core material of the Museum of Fine Arts, opened in 1906. Later, Miklós Esterházy III sold another of his collections: the mineral collection was bought by Andor Semsey, who generously donated it to the Hungarian National Museum.[13]

[10] Emil Dessewffy to Pál Antal Esterházy, Vienna, 3. March 1861.; MELLER, Az Esterházy-képtár…, p. 187; SZVOBODA-DOMÁNSZKY, Gabriella. Az Esterházy képtár a magyar fővárosban [The Esterházy Gallery in the Hungarian capital]. In: *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából*, Volume 28, 1999, pp. 237–239.

[11] MELLER, Az Esterházy-képtár…, pp. LXX–LXXI.

[12] PULSZKY, Ferenc. Visszaemlékezések [Memories]. In: *Budapesti Szemle*, Volume 34, 1883, pp. 73–76; SZVOBODA-DOMÁNSZKY, Az Esterházy képtár…, pp. 240–244.

[13] *Pesti Hírlap*, November 4. 1882; KÖRNER, Nikolaus II. Esterházy…, p. 365.

Further steps towards the public

Miklós Esterházy II opened his collection to visitors at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and his son, Antal Pál, took the gallery to Hungary and made it a public treasure for the Hungarian public. However, it is worth looking at the policy of the Esterházy princes towards the public and public opinion in a wider context. During the reign of Antal Pál Esterházy III, the family appeared more and more prominently in Hungarian public life. One of the signs of this was the patronage of scientific and professional associations and civil associations, for example, by paying membership fees or in other forms. The Society of Hungarian Doctors and Naturalists, which, contrary to its name, had historians, art historians and archaeologists among its members, held its eighth General Meeting in Sopron in 1847. The prince was invited to be the honorary chairman of the event. He hosted an evening in the casino on the first day and on August 15 he also hosted the scientific society in Kismarton, where the Prince's orchestra played, the castle's vicar held a mass, the castle garden and the castle were opened to visitors, and dinner was provided to round off the trip.[14] It was then that the participants decided to establish the Hungarian Geological Society, which the Prince, "being a huge and generous promoter of all good, useful and public-purpose enterprises", subsequently supported with 400 pengő per year.[15]

Fig. 1: *Fraknó Castle, 1900*. Photo by Fortepan.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, Fraknó Castle gradually opened its doors to visitors, and by the end of the century the fortress had already become an established tourist attraction. Here, in the *Kunstkammer* rooms created by Pál Esterházy at the end of the seventeenth century, old and exotic treasures were held. Space was also given to the ancient gallery, historical weapons, and a huge quantity of material from the archives of the family estates, the

[14] HALÁSZ, Gejza (ed). *A Magyar Orvosok és Természetvizsgálók 1847. augusztus 11–17. Sopronban tartott VIII. nagygyűlésének vázlata és munkálatai* [Outline and proceedings of the 8. meeting of Hungarian Physicians and Natural Scientists]. Pest, 1863. p. 8.

[15] KOVÁTS, Gyula. *Első jelentés a Magyarhoni Földtani Társulatról*. Pest, 1852, p. 4.

so-called "economic archive".[16] Burgenland Regional Library has preserved two guest books from Fraknó which contain the names of visitors to the castle between 1886–1906 and 1907–1928.[17]

Antal Pál Esterházy III took further steps towards public access, allowing research to be undertaken in the archive, which had until then been closed to the public. Historians such as Mihály Horváth, Wenzel Gusztáv and László Szalay were given permission to study documents there.[18] Not only archival documents but also sixteenth-to-eighteenth–century treasury objects (which even then, would have been called old and historical) found their way to the outside world. As early as 1860, two counts, Edmund Zichy and János Waldstein, proposed a plan for an antiquities exhibition in Pest, to which Antal Pál Esterházy III wanted to contribute "a room's worth of art treasures".[19] The plan was only realised in the spring of 1867 when, in the building of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, a mixed historical-art exhibition organised by the Fine Arts Society could be viewed for three months; however, the Esterházys were not listed among the lenders.[20]

Loan of artworks for exhibitions

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, exhibitions that spread from the practice of the art trade played an increasingly important role in European culture. Due to their attraction to the public, exhibitions began to conquer the fields of industry and commerce as well. The successful world exhibitions (first held in London in 1851), the ever-increasing role of the state, the consolidation of national public collection networks and the work of professional and civic associations had a favourable effect on the development of a new kind of publicity. A series of public-attracting exhibitions, initially intended primarily to illustrate the history and successful survival of the Hungarian nation, began in 1876 in the old–new capital, Budapest.[21]

In the following sections, I will list some of the exhibitions in Budapest and Vienna up to the start of the twentieth century to which Miklós Esterházy III lent artefacts. It was thanks to these exhibitions that, piece by piece, some of the family's treasures were shown to the public – alongside objects from other collections. The *Kunstkammer*, ancient gallery, furniture, textiles and weapons kept in Fraknó remained almost untouched for more than 150–200 years within the castle's thick, cool walls, but from the 1870s, they were increasingly accessible to the public.

Industrial and Historical Exhibition, Budapest, 1876

An exhibition, initiated by Madame Paulai Zichy, wife of Ferenc Paulai Zichy, was organised in 1876 for the benefit of the victims of the spring floods. A call for the submission of "in-

[16] RESS, Imre. Hajnal István, a kismartoni hercegi levéltáros [István Hajnal, princely Archivist in Kismarton]. In: *Korall*, Volume 15–16, 2004, p. 294.

[17] The signature of the guest books: Burgenländische Landesbibliothek (Mattersburg, Austria) Nr. 15844-B és 15844-B-P.

[18] KUNT, Gergely – VISKOLCZ, Noémi. Fejezetek az Esterházy hercegi család levéltárának kutatástörténetéből (1847–1945) [Chapters from the research history of the archives of the Esterházy family]. In: *Turul*, Volume 91, 2018, p. 108.

[19] *Vasárnapi Ujság*, June 10, 1860, p. 291; KISS, Erika. *…az mi kevés ezüst marhácskám vagyon… Ötvösművek a három részre szakadt Magyarországon* [Goldsmith's works in the divided Hungary]. Budapest: Opitz, 2022, p. 31.

[20] *Vasárnapi Ujság*, March 31, 1867, p. 151; SZVOBODA-DOMÁNSZKY, Az Esterházy képtár…, p. 251.

[21] SINKÓ Katalin. Kiállítási nyilvánosság [Exhibition publicity]. In: PAPP, Júlia – KIRÁLY, Erzsébet (Eds). *A magyar művészet a 19. században* [The Hungarian art in the nineteenth century]. Budapest: Osiris, 2018, pp. 461–465; KISS, Az mi kevés…, p. 35.

dustrial and historical monuments" was published in the daily newspapers on 12 April 1876. Members of the organising committee included ministers, politicians and experts.[22] In the following four weeks, approximately 2,000 items were sent or brought in by those involved. The exhibition itself opened on 10 May – not in the academy building, where it was first planned, but in the four upstairs rooms of Alajos Károlyi's palace behind the National Museum. Due to the lack of time, the arrangement of the objects lacked organisational concept. In addition to aristocrats, ecclesiastical and civil figures, Emperor Franz Joseph and Archduke Joseph also made some Hungarian-related pieces available: a portrait and armour of Louis II, as well as reliefs of King Matthias and Queen Beatrix.[23] Perhaps it was the king's generosity that motivated Miklós Esterházy III to include his objects in the hastily organised exhibition, but we know that his children's former tutor and close advisor, Abbot Zsigmond Bubics (1821–1907), also advocated this. The correspondence and other documents of princely archivist János Mandl and private secretary Johann Patzill also shed light on this. According to the lists of treasures sent to Pest, the Esterházys sent paintings, textiles, gold and silver items, weapons, horse tack, and furniture from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including now well-known emblematic pieces such as the Vezekény decorative plate, solid silver chairs and a silver table, King Lipót I's coronation cloak, a table clock and a portrait of Anna Júlia Esterházy.[24] In total, more than 50 objects were included in the exhibition, making Miklós Esterházy one of the most generous lenders.

The preparation of the treasures, their packing, their transport from Fraknó to Vienna, and their transport from there by train to Budapest was managed by Mandl, based on Patzill's instructions. Mandl accompanied the objects and remained there until the end of the exhibition.[25] He wrote to the Prince's secretary details about the events, such as the number of visitors and the income. For example, on 21 May, Mandl reported that the Hungarian King Franz Joseph visited the exhibition, spending more than an hour in the halls and listening to lectures by experts Flóris Rómer and Zsigmond Bubics in Hungarian.[26] Miklós Esterházy III was unable to travel from Vienna to Budapest due to illness, but he received the information from his private secretary with interest, expressed pleasure on examining the exhibition catalogue, and sent a special greeting to Abbot Bubics.[27] According to a journalist writing for *Pesti Napló*, Bubics was a kind of living catalogue of the exhibition; he knew the history of the Esterházy treasures particularly well and presented them to those interested.[28] Together with the art historian Imre Henszlmann, Bubics also compiled the catalogue, presenting the objects of the exhibition in

[22] *Fővárosi Lapok*, April 12, 1876, p. 393; SZILÁGYI, *Az Esterházy-kincstár*…, p. 53–54; KISS, Az mi kevés…, pp. 31–32.

[23] *Fővárosi Lapok*, May 10, 1876, p. 501; *Pesti Napló*, May 11, 1876. (without page number)

[24] Jegyzék azon tárgyakról, melyek főméltóságú herceg Esterházy Miklós úr részéről a magyarországi iparmű-kincsek és történelmi emlékek kiállítási és átvételi bizottságnak elküldettek [List of objects sent for the historical exhibition by Prince Miklós Esterházy]. National Archives of Hungary, Esterházy Archives (henceforth NAH EA) P 114, G/4, pp. 25–27.

[25] János Mandl german letters to Johann Patzill, Budapest, 19. May, 29. May, 4. June 1876. NAH EA P 114, G/1, pp. 8–15.

[26] János Mandl to Johann Patzill, Budapest, 29. May 1876. NAH EA P 114, G/1, pp. 21–23; see *Fővárosi Lapok*, 23 May 1876, p. 553.

[27] Johann Patzill to János Mandl, Bécs, 1876. május 30. NAH EA P 114, G/1, pp. 5–7.

[28] *Pesti Napló*, 24 May 1876 (without page number).

Hungarian and German,[29] and invited the famous photographer of Pest, György Klösz, to take pictures of the most beautiful objects.[30]

Abbot Bubics was responsible for the earliest known photographs of the pieces of the Esterházy treasury. In an album published in November 1876, 146 recordings on cardboard with Hungarian and German inscriptions were selected,[31] from which 24 were compositions of Esterházy objects (sometimes several objects are shown in one photograph).

Fig. 2: *Ornamental saddles from the Esterházy treasury, 1876*. Photo by György Klösz.

The art history exhibition closed on 15 June. 18,400 visitors were recorded; the revenue reached almost 15,000 forints, which the organisers considered a great success.[32]

National Exhibition of Goldsmiths, Budapest, 1884

György Ráth, the director of the National Museum of Applied Arts, planned a large goldsmith's exhibition as early as 1882, an idea that took official form when, in March 1883, Ágoston Trefort, Minister of Religion and Public Education, authorised its organisation with the involvement of the Hungarian National Museum.[33] On 12 March a central committee was formed, chaired by Arnold Ipolyi and Count István Keglevich; members included György Ráth and Ferenc Pulszky, and Károly Pulszky became the secretary of the exhibition. The purpose and program of the exhibition and the stages involved in its preparation were determined, and a collection was initiated to cover the costs.[34] The first calls for public donations appeared at the beginning of June 1883. At that time an exhibition regulation developed by the committee was also published which primarily served to reassure the owners that their possessions would be carefully handled and reliably guarded. The goal of the organisers was twofold: to gather materials in order to showcase examples of goldsmiths' works to domestic industrialists, and to provide scientists with he opportunity to analyse the history

[29] BUBICS, Zsigmond – HENSZLMANN, Imre. *A magyarországi árvízkárosultak javára… rendezett műipari és történelmi emlék-kiállítás tárgyainak lajstroma.* Budapest, 1876; also published in German: BUBICS, Zsigmond – HENSZLMANN, Imre. *Katalog der zum Besten der Überschwemmten Ungarns zu Budapest im Palais des Grafen Alois Károlyi im Mai 1876 veranstalteten Ausstellung kunstgewerblicher und historischer Denkmäler.* Budapest, 1876.

[30] *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 12 November 1876, p. 731.

[31] *A Hon*, November 9, 1876, (without page number); KLÖSZ, György (ed). *A magyarországi árvízkárosultak javára… rendezett műipari és történelmi kiállítás kitűnőbb tárgyainak lajstroma* [List of the most outstanding objects of the art and history exhibition for the benefit of flood victims in Hungary...]. Budapest, 1876.

[32] *Fővárosi Lapok*, June 18, 1876, p. 647.

[33] SZALAY, Imre. A kiállítás története [The history of exhibition]. In: *A magyar történeti ötvösmű-kiállítás lajstroma.* Budapest, 1884. p. II.; KISS, Az mi kevés…, pp. 33–46.

[34] *Pesti Hírlap*, March 13, 1883, p. 7.

Fig. 3: *The Vezekény Plate from the Esterházy treasury, gold-plated silver, 1876*. Photo by György Klösz.

of works produced by Hungarian goldsmiths.[35]

The exhibition was opened on 17 February 1884 by Minister Ágoston Trefort. Arnold Ipolyi gave a speech in praise of Hungarian goldsmiths' art and Ferenc Pulszky led the guests around the five halls.[36] It was a novelty that in February, when night falls early, the opening hours were extended with electric lighting. The aforementioned central committee addressed Miklós Esterházy III in a personal letter:

The purpose of this exhibition could hardly be achieved, and it would certainly remain significantly truncated, if the famous goldsmith works of the Prince's treasury were missing from it.[37]

The committee also indicated in the letter that Zsigmond Bubics was among the members of the committee, and that he would be happy to undertake the selection of objects. The letter was accompanied by a printed invitation and a list of regulations governing a historical jewellery exhibition to be held in 1883, thus showing that the organisers had thoroughly prepared for this exhibition and were acting in a uniform manner, following protocol. Miklós Esterházy III accepted the commission's request, and on his behalf the princely secretary, Patzill, notified archivist János Mandl that he had entrusted "Monsignor Bubics" with the selection of the appropriate objects.[38] On 9 November 1883, we know that Bubics was in the Fraknó treasury selecting pieces that "will be given to the goldsmith's exhibition according to the order of our gracious lord the Prince".[39] On behalf of the central committee, Bubics not only visited Prince Miklós but also another aristocratic family in Körmend, the Batthyánys, with the same goal, but much less success.[40]

The local princely administration of the Esterházys also brought in many changes to ensure the objects were returned in the same condition as they were handed over, which required thorough examination and accurate documentation. In a list containing 48 items under 42 item numbers, the description, size, weight, inventory number and price of each piece was

[35] Az Országos Ötvösmű-kiállítás szabályzata [Rules of the National Goldsmith's works Exhibition]. In: *Pesti Hírlap*, 8 June 1883, p. 11.

[36] *Pesti Hírlap*, 18 February 1884. (without page number)

[37] István Keglevich, Ferenc Pulszky, György Ráth, Károly Pulszky to Miklós Esterházy, Budapest, 28 October 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 288–289.

[38] A Központi Bizottság Fölhívása, Budapest, May 1883 [Call of the Central Committee, printed]. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 291–292; Az 1883-ban rendezendő történeti ötvösmű-kiállítás szabályzata [Rules of the Historical… Exhibition, printed]. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 294–297; Johann Patzill to János Mandl, Vienna, 7 November 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 339–341.

[39] Johann Patzill to János Mandl, Vienna, 5 November 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 270.

[40] Károly Pulszky to Zsigmond Bubics, Budapest, 28 November 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 356–357; *Fővárosi Lapok*, 10 December 1883, p. 1842.

included.[41] Goblets, cups, jugs, jewellery, bowls, mirrors, belts, knives, daggers and saddles were included among the various objects collected by aristocrats from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.

Fig. 4: *Jug and goblet from the Esterházy treasury, 1884*. Photo by Antal Weinwurm.

On the instructions of the prince's secretary, János Mandl had to copy the text of their own inventory verbatim into the so-called Announcement List – which had to be issued in two copies, one for the central committee, one remaining with the prince – and to note separately anything known about the provenance of the objects.[42]

The value of eight of the 48 items loaned to the exhibition by the Esterházys was estimated at more than 2,000 forints. The most valuable was a gold goblet, valued at 4,800 forints. The total value of all Esterházy items in the exhibition was 45,244 forints.[43] To understand these amounts, it is worth knowing that the annual support received by the Hungarian National Museum in these years was 4,000 forints, and it only had limited opportunities to increase this.[44] The crates were set off on 16 January 1884 and arrived in Budapest on 20 January.

During the exhibition, the most beautiful and important objects were drawn by the students of the Model Drawing School and photographed by photographer Antal Weinwurm,[45] but these were not published in book format. Edited by János Szendrei, a booklet was published that contained "photographic illustrations" of 15 objects, among which was only one Ester-

[41] Jegyzéke Főméltóságú herceg Esterházy Miklós úr által az ötvösmű kiállításra beküldött ötvösműveknek [List of goldsmith's objects sent for the goldsmith's exhibition by Prince Miklós Esterházy], Fraknó, 18. January 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 378–386. (German version), pp. 331–337. (Hungarian version).

[42] Johann Patzill to János Mandl, Vienna, 8 December 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 352–354.

[43] János Mandl to Johann Patzill, Kismarton, 31 December 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 347–348.

[44] PAPP, Júlia. *A Rumy-serleg története* [The story of the Rumy goblet]. Budapest: Kairosz, 2008, p. 66.

[45] *Fővárosi Lapok*, 13 April 1884, p. 579; PAPP, A Rumy-serleg…, pp. 53–54.

házy treasure: a decorative goblet with the figure of a woman holding a mirror on top.[46] Due to great interest from the public, the exhibition was extended and the prince gave permission for the objects to remain.[47] After closing on 3 June, items could be collected by their owners from 6 June.[48]

Millennium National Exhibition, 1896

At the end of the nineteenth century, Hungarians prepared to celebrate the thousandth anniversary (i.e. the millennium) of the conquest and settlement in the Carpathian basin. Although the exact date of the conquest could not be determined, the ceremony was held in 1896 based on a symbolic political decision. Part of the celebration was the Millennium National Exhibition, for which preparations began as early as 1893 with the establishment of an organising committee. The chosen location was Városliget in Budapest, where 240 pavilions illustrated the place, achievements and successes of Hungarians in Europe at the time. The history of the Hungarians in the exhibitions of the main historical group were intended to be presented in a representative environment: designed by Ignác Alpár, new buildings grew out of the ground which displayed the details of the country's 21 architecturally significant buildings – castles, castles, churches and monasteries, plus a replica of Transylvania's Vajdahunyad Castle standing in the centre.[49] In March 1894, the Executive Committee of the Historical Group, chaired by Count Béla Széchenyi, sent out the first invitations to the owners of ecclesiastical and aristocratic collections asking for loans, but applications arrived only slowly.[50]

During the organisation of the exhibition, Prince Miklós Esterházy III (1817–1894), who had led the family since 1866, died in Vienna on 28 January 1894. He was succeeded by his son, Prince Pál IV (1843–1898), who shared his father's liberal views regarding the historical collections of the Esterházys. In the summer of 1894, through Zsigmond Bubics – at that time the Bishop of Kassa and asset manager of the princely estates of the Esterházy family – the prince assured Minister of Trade Béla Lukács, who was also the chairman of the exhibition, that

> all rarities and valuable objects from the castles of Eszterháza and Fraknó, which the historical group will consider worthy of this, will be readily transferred for the purposes of the exhibition, for example, complete room furnishings from the times of Louis XIV and XV will be displayed in interiors: apart from the furniture and old pictures, the services are extremely valuable etc. Artefacts from the time of Mária Theresa, II, Joseph's bed, etc. such interesting things that will present the medieval and last century industrial art in full fidelity to the public's eyes.[51]

Prince Pál Esterházy IV's offer was truly impressive: he handed to the directors a huge collection of objects which can be considered almost unique in that age. This process, which

[46] SZENDREI, János. *Országos Magyar Történeti Ötvösmű-kiállítási emlék* [National Historical Goldsmith's Exhibition]. (Ed), DIVALD, Károly. Budapest, 1884.

[47] Johann Patzill to János Mandl, Vienna, 27 April 1884. f. 184.

[48] János Lipcsey to János Mandl, Budapest, 2 May 1884. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 352–354.

[49] *1896: Magyarország az Ezredévi Kiállítás tükrében* [1896: Hungary in the light of the Millennium Exhibition]. (Ed), Varga, Katalin. Budapest: Atlasz, 1996; VARGA, Bálint: *Árpád a város fölött. Nemzeti integráció és szimbolikus politika a 19. század végének Magyarországán* [Árpád over the city. National integration and symbolic politics in late nineteenth century Hungary]. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Központ, 2017, pp. 33–37.

[50] *Fővárosi Lapok*, 21 June 1894, p. 1465.

[51] *Fővárosi Lapok*, 10 June 1894, p. 1371.

involved a great deal of organisation and resources, was not recorded in the Prince's archives in as much detail as in previous exhibitions. There are no complete and detailed rental lists, although we can get a glimpse of individual phases with the help of documents and contemporaneous press reports. On 14 December 1895, the first shipment of 950 items, mostly from the weapons collection of Fraknó Castle, was sent from Vulkapordány railway station to Pest via Győr. The press praised the military history collection, particularly because the project to create a military museum in Budapest had for a long time been unsuccessful.[52] The directors tried to keep the objects together, placing them in rooms 22–27 of the Renaissance building. In addition to weapons, interested parties could once again view a fair number of pieces that had already been presented at previous exhibitions in Budapest, such as the Vezekény plate, an equestrian statue of László Esterházy, goblets and cups, a beautiful dress belonging to Éva Thököly, and a piano decorated with silver plates.

The Millennium National Exhibition, whose chief patron was the Hungarian King Ferenc József, opened on 2 May 1896 in the presence of the monarch. After the failure of the 1848–1849 War of Independence, the public considered the royal power to be the pillar of Hungarian freedom. An exciting new feature of the historical exhibition was Jenő Radisics's concept to present details of the unique Eszterháza Castle which reflected the lifestyle of the eighteenth-century nobleman.[53] At that time, the aristocratic residences were of course not open to the public, although journalist were increasingly allowed in to report on the castle's spaces, furnishings and artistic treasures, as well as the life of the family.[54]

It was a new idea in the history of exhibitions to bring castle rooms – in this case from Eszterháza – "to life". This concept was realised in the Renaissance part of the historical building in the City Park. One corridor and six rooms were furnished in the manner of Eszterháza Castle, their interiors decorated in a manner identical to the original spaces, partially supplemented with original furniture, artefacts and paintings. The wallpaper for the rooms, along the door and window frames, flooring, some furniture, stoves, and fountains were made by the famous interior architect and furniture manufacturer of the time, Max Schmidt.[55] The costs were not borne by the Hungarian state but by Pál Esterházy who, accompanied by her director of livestock, inspected the works in progress in March 1896.[56] A corridor decorated with panoramas of Eszterháza and Bratislava as well as paintings led to the Esterházy rooms. From there, the visitor entered the *salle a terrain* or *sala terrana*, that is, a cooling room with a fountain in its centre. This room, with its glass chandeliers, mirrors and painted murals with flower garlands, exuded a charming Rococo atmosphere. The rooms opened into each other. There was a room decorated with Chinese black inlays and furniture covered with gold brocade fabrics. Maria Theresa's room, with the four-poster bed in which Maria Theresa once slept and the famous musical armchair. In the drawing room, portraits of Carl III and Maria Theresa painted by Martin Meytens hung and Louis XVI-era furniture and Japanese porcelain dishes covered in blue

[52] *Pesti Hírlap*, 14 December 1895, p. 8.

[53] RADISICS, Jenő. *A magyar művészi ipar az ezredéves kiállításon* [The Hungarian art industry at the millennial exhibition]. In: Magyarország történelmi emlékei. (Ed), Szalay, Imre. Budapest, 1896, pp. 416–417; VADÁSZI, Erzsébet. Magyar Versália [Hungarian Versália]. Budapest: Műemlékek Állami Gondnoksága, 2007, pp. 181–182.

[54] DEÁK, Farkas. Az Eszterházyak egyik kastélyában [In one of the Eszterházy castles]. In: *Fővárosi Lapok*, July 14, 1874, p. 158; DEÁK, Farkas. Nagy-Höflein. In: *Fővárosi Lapok*, 11 August 1874, pp. 796–797; VAJDA, Viktor. Az Eszterházyak várkastélya [The castle of the Eszterházys]. In: *Fővárosi Lapok*, 21 June 1877, p. 682; VAJDA, Viktor. A kismartoni kastély (The castle in Kismarton). In: *Fővárosi Lapok*, 6 March 1879, p. 256.

[55] VADÁSZI, Magyar Versália…, p. 179.

[56] *Pesti Hírlap*, 12 March 1896, p. 9.

silk caught the eye. In the green room, furniture covered with green silk from the time of Louis XVI was placed alongside Viennese porcelain flowerpots and a baroque clock. Finally, in the octagonal room, in addition to the Esterházy portraits, a foot carriage, pictures of the officers of the Esterházy hussar regiment and six embroidered armchairs enriched the overall picture.[57]

Fig. 5: *Reproduction of Maria Theresa's bedroom in Esterházy Castle, 1896*. Photo by Antal Weinwurm.

The Millennium National Exhibition closed on 4 November 1896. After its demolition, Pál Esterházy donated pieces of the interior decor to the Museum of Applied Arts.[58] By the beginning of November 1896, the exhibition had received approximately 2.9 million visitors.[59] Photos were taken of the spaces and objects of the historical exhibition, including the Esterházy rooms. Antal Weinwurm's images are now archived in the Museum of Applied Arts; some of them were published by Erzsébet Vadászi in her study.[60]

The Historical Exhibition of Vienna (Historische Ausstellung der Stadt Wien), 1883

The Esterházy princes, who had several palaces in Vienna, were happy to spend a lot of time in the imperial city. The richness of the prince's collections was also known to the museum specialists there, hence Miklós Esterházy III would not have been surprised when the mayor of Vienna, Eduard Uhl, asked him to make his artefacts available for the historical exhibition to be held in 1883. That same year, Vienna organised a commemorative celebration (*Säkularfeier*) for the 200th anniversary of liberation from the second Turkish occupation, commemorating the heroic defenders and liberators. On 12 September 1683, in the Battle of Kahlenberg, the international force under the leadership of Polish King John III Sobiesk and Prince Charles of

[57] 1896-iki ezredéves országos kiállítás: a történelmi főcsoport hivatalos katalógusa. 2. füzet. A renaissance-épület földszintje [The 1896 national millennial exhibition: Official catalogue of the historical section. Booklet 2. Ground floor of the Renaissance building]. Budapest, 1898, pp. 362–363.
[58] VADÁSZI, Magyar Versália…, pp. 182–183.
[59] *Fővárosi Lapok*, 3 November 1896, p. 4.
[60] VADÁSZI, Magyar Versália…, pp. 184–188.

Lorraine defeated the Ottoman armies of Kara Mustafa, who had been besieging Vienna for months. The Hungarian palatine, Pál Esterházy, also took part in the fighting and was wounded. The traumatic experience of occupation by the Turks was one of the defining events of Vienna's early modern history. The background of the exhibition was not a national or provincial initiative but specifically a capital initiative, and the organising committee was largely made up of city politicians from Vienna. The program and invitation compiled for February 1883 were also sent to Austrian, Polish and Hungarian public institutions and private individuals with collections. The newly completed town hall was chosen as the location of the exhibition.[61] The professional administration was entrusted to Karl Weiss, who had been the director of the letter and library of the city of Vienna since 1874. He designed the painting and sculpture program of the new City Hall, and also gained experience in organising exhibitions during the 1873 World Exhibition in Vienna.[62]

So, through Miklós Esterházy III's private secretary, Johann Patzill, the prince instructed the archivist János Mandl to compile a list of pieces that fit the concept of the proposed exhibition. Objects could be declared on forms until the end of May and had to be sent to Vienna by July 15.[63] Mandl soon came up with the list and, as an addition, proposed exhibiting 86 original Turkish letters in the estate of Palatine Miklós Esterházy (1583–1645).[64] At the same time, the Viennese organisers sent their own experts to Fraknó.[65] On 6 June 1883, together with city councillor Josef Matzenauer; Dr Josef Karabacek, professor of history at the University of Vienna; Sigmund L'Allemand, professor at the University of Fine Arts; and the aforementioned Karl Weiss[66] visited the historical castle. The Prince generously entertained them with lunch at Fraknó Castle Inn, in the course of which a hefty amount of the Kismarton winemaker's product was consumed.[67] The selection process resulted in a collection of 36 objects, including two portraits of the Polish king John III Sobieski, who distinguished himself in the liberation of Vienna; a portrait of Pál Esterházy; a 1683 war flag with the Esterházy coat of arms and the inscription *Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos*; a Turkish war flag; and Sobieski's rosary (rosarium, Rosenkranz) and his atlas from 1683; as well as Turkish booty weapons and a tent. In the census finalised on 15 June 1883, the inventory number, precise description, dimensions and value (8,107 forints) of the objects were included. Karl Weiss received the shipment in Vienna on 18 July 1883.[68]

The historical exhibition opened on 12 September, the anniversary of the Battle of Kahlenberg, in the presence of the emperor, by the mayor of Vienna, Eduard Uhl.[69] Among the 1,302 objects presented in the eight rooms of the City Hall were those from Fraknó. One of the

[61] See the project of the Austrian Academy of Sciences: Türkengedächtnis https://www.oeaw.ac.at/tuerkengedaechtnis/, accessed 8 February 2023.

[62] https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at, accessed 8 February 2023.

[63] Johann Patzill to János Mandl, Vienna, 23 March 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 155–158; Anmeldung Formular. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 101–102 and pp. 161–162.

[64] János Mandl to Johann Patzill, Kismarton, May 1, 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 159–160.

[65] Central directorate to János Mandl, Kismarton, May 19, 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 96.

[66] T. Karl Uhlirz to János Mandl, Vienna, 3. June 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 94.

[67] Jegyzék a Bécs városi történelmi kiállítás bizottmányai tagjainak folyó évi 6-án Fraknón történt megvendégelése alkalmával felmerült költségekről (List of expenses, 6 June 1883). NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 236.

[68] Consignation über die Gegenstände, welche in der Forchtensteiner fürstlich Esterházyschen antiquitaeten Sammlung für die Historische Ausstellung der Stadt Wien. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 120–122 (incomplete); NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 242–247 (complete).

[69] Eduard Uhl to Miklós Esterházy, Vienna, September 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 165.

technical innovations of the exhibition was electric lighting, which made it possible to remain open in the evening. A total of 163,000 visitors were counted at the exhibition, which ended on 5 November. In this exhibition, like previous ones, Esterházy objects were photographed with the permission of the prince,[70] then they were returned in mid-November.[71]

International Music and Theatre Exhibition (Internationale Ausstellung für Musik und Theaterwesen)

This largescale exhibition was originally supposed to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the death of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart but, at the suggestion of Princess Pauline Metternich, the musical theme was expanded to include theatre as well. Ultimately, the series of events that opened on 7 May 1892 in the Prater area under the patronage of Archduke Carl Ludwig was much more and more complex than a professional exhibition, being accompanied by music and theatre programs, concerts and performances. Its thematic focus was on Vienna and Austria – the invitation mentioned manifestations of Austrian genius in song and drama – but more broadly, it was intended as a celebration of the musical and theatrical life of the Habsburg Monarchy and, even more broadly the whole of Europe.[72]

The Esterházy family was not left out of this. The organisers – especially the music history professor Guido Adler, who contributed as an expert – coveted the Esterházys' collection of personal objects belonging to Joseph Haydn, who had worked as a *Kapellmeister* in Kismarton at the end of the eighteenth century. Miklós Esterházy III readily promised these, all the more so because he himself had a role in this exhibition, as the deputy chairman of the committee responsible for the artistic program.[73] The prince received an official invitation to take on this role on 4 August 1891, signed by the chairman of the exhibition's organising committee, Alexander Markgraf Pallavicini.[74] In the following weeks, archivist Lajos Merényi compiled a long list, from which Guido Adler selected pieces that fit the concept of the exhibition. Adler's list included 27 items, mainly musical manuscripts and books.[75] The shipment, carefully packed in crates, was sent to Vienna in mid-April, by which time the number of objects had grown to almost 100 items.[76] Among them were Haydn's documents, such as his certificate of honorary citizenship from the city of Vienna from April 1804, other awards and medals, the text of the oratorio Die Schöpfung with comments by Gerhard van Swieten, the original score of the Farewell Symphony, and various instruments: Haydn's violin, a baryton made in 1660, and two glass trombones.[77]

[70] Johann Patzill to János Mandl, Vienna, 9 November 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 111.
[71] T. Karl Uhlirz to Miklós Esterházy, Vienna, 16 November 1883. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 107.
[72] The printed call and programme. NAH EA P 114, G/4, p. 655–657; ANTONICEK, Theophil. *Die Internationale Ausstellung für Musik- und Theaterwesen. Wien 1892*. Wien, 2013. http://www.dtoe.at/Texte/ausst92haupt.pdf, accessed 8 February 2023.
[73] ANTONICEK, Die Internationale Ausstellung…, pp. 31 and 67.
[74] Ibidem, pp. 632–635.
[75] Alexander Markgraf Pallavicini and Guido Adler to Miklós Esterházy, Vienna, 29 March 1892. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 637–638.
[76] Anmeldung zur Beschickung der Fach-Ausstellung für Musik, Theaterwesen Wien 1892. Vienna, 14 April 1892. NAH EA P 114, G/4, pp. 667–681.
[77] Ibidem; About Haydn's legacy see PAPP, Viktor. Haydn nyomában (In the footsteps of Haydn). In: *Napkelet*, Volume 4, 1926, Nr. 2, pp. 133–140.

Conclusion

The second half of the nineteenth century brought an unprecedented development of cultural life in Hungary. Fifteen new museums were created and the state provided permanent budget support to culture. These new institutions tried to legitimise their existence by attracting the public and with spectacular events. The exhibitions slowly developed a protocol; being on the organising committee conferred status and ensured the quality of the event and the organisation was carried out by professionals who tried to make the process smooth, with administrative flair similar to European standards. The still very incomplete materials of the museums of the time were supplemented with objects borrowed from other institutions and private individuals, from which both parties benefited. As a result, the quality of the exhibitions rose, experts and museum professionals were able to become acquainted with domestic works, and lenders could present the history and significance of their institutions and families in the context of the history of the country and the nation in the spirit of social responsibility. For this purpose, they made not insignificant sacrifices, since they, for example, bore the costs of moving objects and the risk of loaning them. In the table below, I summarise details of the ten exhibitions which took place between 1876 and 1900 at which the princely family was represented through its objects.

Tab. 1: *Exhibitions with objects lent by the Esterházy princes 1876–1900*

Title of the exhibition	Place	Duration
Industrial and Historical Exhibition	Budapest, Károlyi Palace	10 May 1876 – 15 June 1876
National Book Exhibition of Budapest	Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences	5 March 1882 – 16 May 1882
National Exhibition of Goldsmiths	Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, gallery	17 February 1884 – 3 June 1884
The Historical Exhibition of Vienna marking the 200th year anniversary of liberation from the Ottoman siege	Vienna, City Hall	12 September 1883 – 5 November 1883
The Historical Exhibition of Budapest, marking the 200th anniversary of the capital's reclamation from the Ottomans	Budapest, City Park Museum	15 August 1886 – 1 November 1886
Grand Goldsmith Exhibition	Vienna, Palais Schwarzenberg	22 April 1889 – 22 June 1889
Costume Exhibition	Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie	17 January 1891 – 30 March 1891
International music and theater exhibition	Vienna, Prater	7 May 1892 – 9 October 1892
Millennium National Exhibition	Budapest, City Park	2 June 1896 – 4 November 1896
Paris World Exhibition	Paris	15 April 1900 – 12 November 1900

An interesting accompanying phenomenon of the exhibitions is the use of the technical innovations of the time. Here we can mention the spread of electric lighting and, especially, photography, which enabled the first visual recording of important pieces from state and private

collections. The Esterházy princes, as representatives of the Austro-Hungarian, appeared at exhibitions in Budapest and Vienna from 1876 as generous lenders. This had the effect of greatly improving how they were perceived by the pubic, as well as improving the stereotypical image of aristocrats.

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Pandemic, Post-pandemic and Podcasting in Museums: Comparison Study of the Most Visited Museums in Poland, Czechia and Slovakia (A Marketing Communications Perspective)[1]

Peter Mikuláš, Anna Jupowicz-Ginalska,
Lucia Kučerová, Martyna Dudziak-Kisio

Peter Mikuláš
Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra
Faculty of Arts
Department of Mass Media
Communication and Advertising,
Tr. A. Hlinku 1
94901 Nitra
Slovakia
e-mail: pmikulas@ukf.sk
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2837-0092

Anna Jupowicz-Ginalska
University of Warsaw
Faculty of Journalism, Information
and Book Studies
Bednarska 2/4
00-310 Warsaw
Poland
e-mail: a.ginalska@uw.edu.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7016-0427

Lucia Kučerová
Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra
Faculty of Arts
Department of journalism and new media
Tr. A. Hlinku 1
94901 Nitra
Slovakia
e-mail: lkucerova@ukf.sk
https://orcid.org/0009-0003-8610-8863

Martyna Dudziak-Kisio
University of Warsaw
Faculty of Journalism, Information
and Book Studies
Bednarska 2/4
00-310 Warsaw
Poland
e-mail: m.dudziak-kisio@uw.edu.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1274-0175

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Pandemic, Post-pandemic and Podcasting in Museums: Comparison Study of the Most Visited Museums in Poland, Czechia and Slovakia (A Marketing Communications Perspective)
The challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic prompted cultural institutions, including museums, to adapt to widespread closures. This study investigates the role of podcasts as a strategic tool for the most visited museums in Poland, Slovakia and Czechia during and after the pandemic. In the theoretical section, the paper discusses the emergence of podcasts, emphasising their marketing potential and role during the pandemic. The empirical part aims to identify the extent and nature of podcast integration by the ten most visited museums from each of the three monitored countries. The results show different approaches to the adaptation of podcasting in the observed space–time. Despite some differences, we also mapped similar trends. A crucial finding was that the end of the pandemic brought a certain modus vivendi of incorporating podcasting into museum activities, which can be framed as a normalisation, completing the lively development that took place during the pandemic.

Keywords: podcasting, museums, marketing communications approach, pandemic, post-pandemic

[1] The article is a partial result of the project VEGA 1/0650/22 Mass-media communiqués in digital and printed form and their comprehension by various target groups.

1 Introduction

The years 2020 and 2021 were heavily influenced by COVID-19, significantly impacting events worldwide. The global crisis began in late 2019, only to fully erupt in the spring months of 2020 (the so-called first wave) and then recur several times, as in the autumn of 2020, winter of 2020/21, and the summer of 2021. The crisis had a global impact on political, religious, economic, social, and cultural activities. Countries introduced unique sets of legal rules such as sanitary regimes to prevent and fight the spreading of the disease. Facemasks, latex gloves, and social distancing became essential elements of everyday life. Additionally, societies went into lockdown. Schools and universities closed or limited the number of people who could be in a room, shifting instead to online learning. Banks, businesses, restaurants and shopping malls shut and churches and cultural institutions – such galleries, concert halls, cinemas, theatres and museums – were ordered to close their doors. Cultural institutions faced a harsh time, especially in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). The International Council of Museums (ICOM) in its survey of a sample of 1,600 museums in 107 countries, found that 94.7% of all institutions worldwide were closed in the first year of the pandemic, while in Europe, this figure was as high as 98%. This situation had a massive economic impact on these institutions. ICOM also reported that 12% of museums faced the risk of having to close for good.[2]

Under these circumstances, museums had to find solutions to survive without their most basic activity – face-to-face contact with the visitors.[3] Developing their use of digital media seemed to be an optimal route. Of course, many museums had successfully embraced online communication long before the pandemic.[4] However, the scale of online activities intensified in 2020–2022.[5] For example, King et al. researched museums in the UK, observing that out of 26 closed museums, 12 provided online content, suggesting that some institutions responded immediately and moved online despite the unexpected closures.[6] Similarly, Agostino et al. investigated the 100 most visited Italian museums that increased their social media activity and changed the content by emphasising intensive self-promotion.[7] The study found that when museums were closed entirely, the number of followers on their social network channels (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter) grew. On the other hand, even a more robust use of social media could not provide a complete formula for virtual museum presentations. Websites and social media offered interactivity and a sense of participation created by webinars or online

[2] *Museums, museum professionals and COVID-19*, accessed January 12, 2024, https://icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Report-Museums-and-COVID-19.pdf

[3] GAWEŁ, Łukasz. Museums without Visitors? Crisis of the Polish Museums during the COVID-19 Pandemic and Their Revival under the Digital Experience Offer. In: *Sustainability*, 2023, 15(15), p. 11844.

[4] LI, Feng, NUCCIARELLI, Alberto, RODEN, Sinead & GRAHAM, Gary. How smart cities transform operations models: a new research agenda for operations management in the digital economy. In: *Production Planning and Control,* 27(6), 2016, pp. 514–528; RAIMO, Nicola, De TURILVANO, Ricciadelli A. & VITOLLA, Filippo. Digitalization in the cultural industry: evidence from Italian museums. In: *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior and Research*, 28(8), 2022, pp. 1962–1974

[5] HABELSBERGER, Beatrix, E. M. & BHANSING, Pawan, V. Art Galleries in Transformation: Is COVID-19 Driving Digitisation? In: *Arts*, 10(3), 2021, p. 48; ŻUBRYK, Klaudia. Cultural Institutions During the First Wave of the Coronavirus Pandemic – A Comparative Analysis of Social Media Activities of Chosen Theatres. In: *Cranium*, 13(1), 2021, pp. 118–133.

[6] KING, Ellie, SMITH, Paul M., WILSON, Paul & WILLIAMS, Mark, A. Digital Responses of UK Museum Exhibitions to the COVID-19 Crisis, March – June 2020. In: *The Museum Journal*, 64(3), 2021, pp. 487–504.

[7] AGOSTINO, Deborah, ARNABOLDI, Michela & LAMPIS, Antonio. Italian state museums during the COVID-19 crisis: From on-site closure to online openness. In: *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 35(4), 2020, pp. 362–372.

streaming[8]) but at the same time they were aimed at a mass audience and lacked the emotional intimacy that should be a part of exposure to exhibitions.[9] In this situation, the museums had to look for something more humanistic: a platform embodying the paradigm of a virtual appendix to a physically existing object that could replace the physical visit with a virtual performance[10]. Podcasts offered this because they provide close connections between the broadcaster and receiver regardless of space and time.[11]

This paper is divided into theoretical and the empirical parts. In the former, we refer to podcasting and describe its appearance in the museum sector (including during the pandemic). In latter, we identify the extent and nature of podcast integration into the museums' activities, presenting data which helps us scope out the scale of podcasting in the most visited museums in CEE, represented by three countries: Poland, Slovakia and Czechia.

2 Literature Review

Anderson et al. define podcasts as "offering audio or video files over the Internet to subscribing users".[12] Bockarova and Danesi offer a more extensive approach.[13] They state that a podcast is an audio recording comprising informational content and music, accessible for download over the Internet on media players or devices. This emphasises that, unlike traditional radio shows, podcasts offer the convenience of being downloadable at the user's discretion. In the past, podcasts were seen as a continuity or development of radio;[14] more recently they have come to be were understood as new media.[15] Hancock and McMurtry conclude that podcast is a "self-regulating and self-generating media form".[16] Spinelli and Dann see it as a medium with original ways of producing, listening and disseminating.[17]

The importance of podcasts is highlighted because they are becoming a high-profit medium. In 2022, the global podcast market was valued at $20.3 billion, $4.7 billion more than in 2021. According to Research and Markets forecasts, the industry is set to grow by 30% annually until 2026.[18] Researchers identify multiple factors contributing to its success. They highlight

[8] ŚMIŁOWICZ, Katarzyna. Online Marketing Communication of Polish National Museums in Comparison to Selected European Museums. In: *Marketing of Scientific and Research Organizations*, 37(3), 2020, pp. 33–50.

[9] PERRY, Sarra, ROUSSOU, Maria, ECONOMOU, Maria, YOUNG, Hilary &, PAUJOL, Laia. Moving beyond the virtual museum: Engaging visitors emotionally, *23rd International Conference on Virtual System & Multimedia (VSMM)*. Dublin: Ireland, 2017, pp. 1–8.

[10] McLUHAN, Marshall. *Zrozumieć media. Przedłużenie człowieka.* Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowo-Techniczne, 2004.

[11] McCLUNG, Steven & JOHNSON, Kristine. Examining the Motives of Podcast Users. In: *Journal of Radio and Audio Media, 1 (17), 2020, pp.* 82–95.

[12] ANDERSON, Sandra, BATEMAN, Heather, HARRIS Emma & McADAM, Katy. *Dictionary of Media Studies*. London: A & C Black Publishers, 2006, p. 177.

[13] BOCKAROVA, Mariana & DANESI, Marcel. *Semiotic Analysis for Advertisers & Marketers*. Legas, 2013.

[14] LACEY, Kate. Smart radio and audio apps: the politics and paradoxes of listening to (anti)-social media. In: *Australian Journalism Review*, 36(2), 2014, pp. 77–90.

[15] LINAERS, Fox, D. & BERRY, Richard. *Podcasting: New Aural Cultures and Digital Media*. New York: Springer, 2018.

[16] HANCOCK, Danielle & McMURTRY, Leslie. 'I Know What a Podcast Is': Post-Serial Fiction and Podcast Media Identity. In: LLINAERS, Dario, FOX, Neil & BERRY, Richard (eds.). *Podcasting: New Aural Cultures and Digital Media*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 81–105.

[17] SPINELLI, Martin & DANN Lance. *Podcasting: The Audio Media Revolution*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019.

[18] *Worldwide Podcast Industry Analysis: Outlook Through 2023*, accessed february 12th, 2024, https://www.reportlinker.com/p06318530/Podcasting-Global-Market-Report.html?utm_source=GNW

it as another shift towards personalisation in the media, akin to on-demand television.[19] This process stems from personal digital devices, services and applications, resulting in a fusion of culture and technology. Consequently, podcasts offer fresh avenues for monetisation through crowdfunding and subscription models.[20] Both approaches rely on user loyalty, but in the case of crowdfunding, it is an effective model of engagement due to the way it positions the audience as patrons, offering them additional benefits such as access to exclusive materials, membership of a community, or the opportunity to promote themselves. For this reason, crowdfunding now plays a significant role in supporting cultural, artistic and media projects.

Pérez-Alaejos et al. mention the importance of fees in podcasting, where the audience, in exchange for a small amount of money, gains exclusive content, such as access to live materials or recordings.[21] The recommendation model also plays a significant role. Podcasting platforms employ a type of content categorisation that enables the creation of unique user profiles and leads to a more prolonged engagement with the content, thereby strengthening their advertising potential. As Bezbaruah and Brahmbhatt state, podcast advertising is attractive due to its cost-effectiveness and strong alignment with the content – better than in television or radio.[22]

Due to their increasing popularity, podcasts have become a component of multiplatformisation strategies. This approach refers to distributing content across various platforms to reach a broader audience and provide users with consistent experiences regardless of their chosen medium.[23] It extends podcasts' reach beyond the core product by sharing content, for example, on social media.[24] Consequently, many companies within and outside the media industry develop their podcasts as platforms to reach more users effectively. Thus, podcasts, as well as cultural institutions like museums, are becoming vital in modern marketing schemes[25]).

In 2009, Weber observed that although podcasts "are top-rated among young people, [they] are rarely used by … museums".[26] However, by 2012, Kang and Gretzel were finding evidence

[19] NEIRA, Antonio. *Streaming Wars. La nueva televisión.*Barcelona: Ed. Planeta, Libros Cúpula, 2020; GARCIA-MARTIN, David. Mapping the factors that determine engagement in podcasting: design from the users and podcasters'experience. In: *Communication & Society,* 33(2), 2020, pp. 49–63.

[20] DOLIWA, Urszula, SZYDŁOWSKA, Magdalena, SZCZEPAŃSKA, Paulina, STACHOWICZ, Ada & KAŹMIERCZAK, Piotr. Crowdfunding as a method of financing podcasting – the analysis of the motivations of supporters of „Raport o stanie świata". In: *Media - Biznes - Kultura. Dziennikarstwo i komunikacja społeczna*, 12, 2022, pp. 131–147.

[21] PÉREZ-ALAEJOS, María-de-la-Peña-Mónic, TEROL-BOLINCHES, Raúl & BARRIOS-RUBIO, Andrés. Podcast production and marketing strategies on the main platforms in Europe, North America, and Latin America. Situation and perspectives. In: *Digital audio communication*, 31(5), 2022, p. 234.

[22] BEZBARUAH, Subhalakshmi & BRAHMNHATT, Kuldeep. Are Podcast Advertisements Effective? An Emerging Economy Perspective. In: *Journal of International Consumer Marketing,* 2022, pp.215–233.

[23] DOYLE, Gillian. *Understanding Media Economics*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013.

[24] JÄRVENTIE-THESLEFF, Rita, MOISANDER, Johanna & VILLI, Mikko. The Strategic Challenge of Continuous Change in Multi-Platform Media Organizations—A Strategy-as-Practice Perspective. In: *International Journal on Media Management*, 16(3–4), 2014, pp. 123–138.

[25] SPINELLI, Martin & DANN Lance. Podcasting…; LÖGDBERG, Arvid & WAHLQVIST, Oscar. *Podcasting as a Digital Content Marketing Tool within B2B: A qualitative case study exploring why and how Swedish B2B companies use podcasts as a marketing tool*. Sweden, Linköping University, Department of Management and Engineering, 2020, LIU-IEI-FIL-A--20/03367--SE. Master Thesis in Business Administration,

[26] WEBER, Cornelia. Web Communication: A Content Analysis of German University Collections and Museums Websites. *Open-Access-Publikationsserver der Humboldt-Universität*, 2009, p. 34.

that podcasts were becoming an essential part of the communication mix in the arts.[27] When investigating visitors' opinions, researchers found that most people felt that podcasts could enhance the museum experience (70.3%), help them to retain more information from the visit (69.8%) and would encourage them to visit museums more often (30%).

The potential advantages of podcasting include their relatively low cost; ease of production, distribution and promotion; accessibility and flexibility; usefulness for audio tours, lectures and other forms of dissemination; and their capacity to raise "awareness of a museum beyond its geographical location".[28] To this list, Felix and Fleming add personalisation of the museum experience,[29] while Yeh et al. emphasise that podcasts can promote and build relations with visitors,[30] observing that museums can use sound to connect with audiences, outline storylines, establish emotional bonds, set the contextual ambience for an immersive encounter and construct engagement pathways. Interestingly, even in earlier studies, the phenomenon's effectiveness was confirmed.[31]

In the context of museology, new technologies play a significant role, as a tool both for the presentation of artefacts and for promotion. Following advances in communication technologies, museums are integrating social media, augmented and virtual reality, mobile apps and other interactive equipment into the design of visitors' experience, a move "which has been of emerging interest to researchers and museum professionals."[32] When appropriately designed, used and tested, websites and mobile applications foster interest in museums, increasing the number of visitors and creating unique experiences.[33]

New technologies have also changed the way museums promote themselves to audiences: besides the traditional advertising and public relations, institutions are exploring new modes of communication and interaction with the public, such as social media, blogs, videos, podcasts and apps, among others.[34] The integration of social media into museum communication is also highlighted in various research studies. According to four researchers from Romania, there is a correlation between the use of social media in museums and museum attendance. Use of social media by museums to communicate with actual and potential visitors correlates directly and positively on the number of visitors. By processing the data collected from the websites of the selected museums, Coman et al. found that when the number of followers increased on

[27] GRETZEL, Urlike & KANG, Myunghwa. Perceptions of museum podcast tours: Effects of consumer innovativeness, Internet familiarity and podcasting affinity on performance expectancies. In: *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 4, 2012, pp. 155–163.

[28] LEON, Sharon, BRENNAN, Sheila, LESTER, Dave & ODIORNE, Andrea. Mobile for Museums (White Paper and Mobile Development Supported by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation). In: *Center for History and New Media*, 2024, p. 2.

[29] FELIX, Dia & FLEMING, Erin. Real Talk: The Power (and Limits) of Audio Storytelling in Museums, In: *Journal of Museum Education*, 48(1), 2023, pp. 21–28.

[30] YEH, Yu-Chun, LEUNG Cheuk-Yiu, CHEN, Ying & TING, Wei-Hsin. Museum of Listening: How Podcasts Build Relationships with Listeners. In: *Museum of Science and Technology*, 25(4), 2021, pp. 47–73.

[31] GRETZEL, Urlike & KANG, Myunghwa. Perceptions… p. 4.

[32] LOUREIRO, Sandra, GUERREIRO, Joao, & ALI, Faizan. 20 Years of research on virtual reality and augmented reality in tourism context: A text-mining approach. In: *Tourism Management*, 77, 2020, pp. 16–32

[33] KABASSI, Katerina. Evaluating websites of museums: State of the art. In: Journal of Cultural Heritage, 24, 2017, pp. 184–196

[34] GONSALES, Flavia. Social marketing for museums: an introduction to social marketing for the arts and culture sector. In: *RAUSP Management Journal*, 56, pp. 314 - 333

three platforms – Facebook, Twitter and YouTube – the number of visitors also increased.[35] According to the aforementioned ICOM report, based on data collected between April and May 2021, 92.7% of respondents reported that their museum has a social media account, and 45.7% reported increased usage as a result of their social media use.[36] Across all NEMO studies, social media was the most popular form of "online service", outweighing other digital initiatives in museums.[37]

However, among the various forms of digital enhancement provided by technology, podcasting, in particular, has emerged as a vital medium, enabling museums to extend their reach and engage audiences in innovative ways. As Black discusses, the integration of digital tools, including podcasts, allows museums to create immersive and interactive experiences that captivate visitors.[38] Parry highlights that digital media, such as podcasts, are essential for expanding a museum's presence beyond its physical boundaries, fostering global engagement.[39] Furthermore, Proctor emphasises that podcasts, along with other digital technologies, not only enrich the visitor experience but also provide valuable insights into audience preferences, enabling museums to tailor their offerings more effectively.[40]

It could be assumed that podcasting became more popular among museums during the pandemic. Unfortunately, the literature devoted to this topic is scarce. Until now, researchers have mainly focused on general changes in online communication of cultural institutions. For example, Samaroudi et al. showed that most UK and US museums and galleries use digital tools to present collections and exhibitions,[41] and Snels investigated the effects of the online transition in three Chinese museums.[42] Kidd et al. and Heras-Pedrosa et al. took a narrower approach, concentrating on how institutions' social media approaches changed during the pandemic.[43],[44] Silva examined digital projects created by museums in the UK, the USA and Australia to connect with the younger generation.[45] King et al. concluded that in the UK, "of

[35] COMAN, Adela, GRIGORE, Ana-Maria, ARDELEAN, Andrea & MARACINE, Robert. The World of Museums and Web 2.0: Links Between Social Media and the Number of Visitors in Museums. In: *Social Computing and Social Media*. 12194, 2020, pp. 442–458.

[36] Museums, museum professionals and COVID-19: third survey, accessed 2022, https://icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Museums-and-Covid-19_third-ICOM-report.pdf

[37] Digital Learning and Education in Museums innovative approaches and Insights, accessed January 2023, https://www.ne-mo.org/fileadmin/Dateien/public/Publications/NEMO_Working_Group_LEM_Report_Digital_Learning_and_Education_in_Museums_12.2022.pdf

[38] BLACK, Graham. *Transforming Museums in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Routledge, 2012.

[39] PARRY, Ross. *Recoding the Museum: Digital Heritage and the Technologies of Change*. London: Routledge, 2007.

[40] PROCTOR, Nancy. *The Mobile Museum: Guidelines and Best Practices on Creating Mobile Experiences*. Edinburgh: MuseumsEtc, 2015.

[41] SAMOURDI, Myrsini, ECHAVARRIA, Karina & PERRY, Lara. 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.

[42] SNELS, Jori. Virtual Connectedness in Times of Crisis: Chinese Online Art Exhibitions During the COVID-19 Pandemic. In: *World Art*, 12(1), 2022, pp. 95–118.

[43] KIDD, Jenny, McAVOY, Eva, N. & OSTROWSKA, Anna. Negotiating hybridity, inequality, and hyper-visibility: museums and galleries' social media response to the COVID-19 pandemic. In *Cultural Trends*, 31(5), 2022, pp. 19–36.

[44] HERAS-PEDROSA, Carolos, IGLESIAS SÁNCHEZ, Patricia, P., CAMBRINO-MALDONADO, Carmen, LOPEZ-DELGRADO, Pilar & GALARZA-FERNANDEZ, Emelina. Museum communication management in the digital ecosystem: Impact of COVID-19 on digital strategy. In: *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 37(5), 2022 pp. 548–570.

[45] SILVA, Caroline. Pockets of Resilience – the Digital Responses of Youth Collectives in Contemporary Art Museums During Lockdown. In: *Journal of Museum Education*, 46(4), 2021, pp. 493–508.

the eighteen museums hosting content on their websites ... four utilised audio content, such as a podcast".[46]

In most of the abovementioned papers, researchers refer to museums podcasting in the context of developing new content, delivering the next platform from which to "talk about art and connect with the community even more"[47] or creating "an alternative way to ensure that the community stayed engaged with the museum"[48]. Latham and Jaede even suggested that integrating podcasts with a "cinematic experience, using poetry and sound could help to inspire creativity and spread positivity during the challenging times of the pandemic."[49] On the other hand, some authors, like Kelley, suggested that after the museums reopened, digitalisation processes (including podcasts) would continue.[50]

Based on the literature review, we conclude that while state-of-the-art podcasting is abundant, coverage of podcasting in museums during the pandemic remains limited. The researchers who have touched on this subject demonstrate the positive sides of using this technology in cultural institutions, highlighting its growing popularity during the COVID-19 pandemic. They mainly underline the importance of establishing close relationships with audiences, the low costs of producing and hosting podcasts, and their promotional potential (primarily in increasing the reach of the institution's cultural program).

3 Materials and Methods

Our study is unique as it addresses the specific question of museums' use of podcasting during the pandemic, studying three CEE countries that have not yet been included in similar research. Considering the literature gap and selected topic, we attempted to answer the following research questions:

RQ1) What was the scale of the museums' podcasting during the pandemic?
RQ2) Has COVID-19 impacted museum podcasting, and if so, how?

Due to the exploratory nature of the research, we set no hypotheses. We decided not to focus on the entire breadth of the investigated phenomenon, because there are hundreds of museums in the analysed countries, varying in theme, specialisation, ownership, size, concept, and the number of visitors. In terms of visitor numbers, most museums in these countries are either small, less impactful or regional/locally oriented. Thus, when selecting research targets, we decided to focus on museums with the most visitors. Although this focus reduces the validity of quantitative data, it allowed us to understand more clearly how podcasting was being used in an important segment of the museum sector in the studied countries.

Our secondary results covered the main frameworks for using podcasting and reduced the impact of secondary factors – for example, where there was already intense interest in podcasts

[46] KING, Ellie, SMITH, Paul M., WILSON, Paul & WILLIAMS, Mark. A. Digital Responses of UK Museum Exhibitions to the COVID-19 Crisis, March – June 2020. In: *The Museum Journal,* 64(3), 2021, pp. 487–504.
[47] KELLEY, Erika. How Museums Have Adapted to Life during COVID-19. In: *History in the Making, 14(*16), 2021, p. 288.
[48] Ibidem.
[49] LATHAM, Kiersten, F. & JAEDE Katherine, F. Take that COVID! Positive Documents Emerging from the Museum Sector. In: *Proceedings from the Document Academy*, 8(2), 2021, p. 18.
[50] KELLEY, Erika. How Museums…

in certain regional institutions that could have skewed the results. It is important to underline that we purposely did not adopt a qualitative approach in our research. The main reason for this was that in our exploratory study we wanted to investigate the scale of marketing communication in museums' podcasting, not the content of podcasts. However, the latter investigation constitutes a plan for future research.

3.1 Selecting the countries

The authors focused on three countries within the CEE area: Poland, Slovakia and Czechia. These countries provide data that enables a comprehensive view of the issue. Comparing the three cultural markets, we found they had much in common but that there were also some characteristics that divided them.

All three countries went through a long period of socialism, which was replaced by a democratic system at the end of the 1980s. Today, they are fully part of European and transatlantic structures. Due to their geographical and cultural proximity, they are, along with Hungary, members of the so-called Visegrad Group. At the same time, they remain distinct from one another. With a population of nearly 37 million, Poland is by far the largest country. The second is Czechia, with a population of almost 10 million; the smallest is Slovakia, with approximately 5.5 million people[51]. The population size corresponds to the number of museums in each country. Poland has 936 museums, visited by 36.7 million people in 2022[52]; there are 479 museums in the Czech Republic visited by 1.46 million people in 2021[53]; and Slovakia has 112 museums, visited by 2.79 million people in 2021[54].

With regard to the pandemic, it is worth noting that all countries implemented severe sanitary restrictions which has a strong impact on cultural institutions.

3.2 Research process: methods and tools

A qualitative content analysis method was used.[55] First, we identified the ten most visited museums in the three countries using available museum attendance statistics. The foundation of the corpus material was the websites of the ten most visited museums in each of our countries. In the second stage, we narrowed the selection by identifying how many of the most popular 30 museums implemented podcasting. To do that, we studied museums' websites and verified every podcast activity. We focused on the podcasts accessible from 2019 to check their development during and after the pandemic.

After identifying the final sample, we prepared the criteria for the analysis in line with Mayring's approach based on theoretical differentiation of the sub-components of the problem.[56] We adopted a marketing communication approach to the problem, addressing:

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[51] EUROSTAT. *Population change – Demographic balance and crude rates at national level*, accessed November 27th, 2023, https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/TOUR_DEM_TNW__custom_4174895/default/table?lang=en

[52] CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE. *Museum activities in 2022*, Warsaw, 2023.

[53] *EGMUS – European Group on Museums Statistics,* accessed 27 November 2023, https://www.egmus.eu/nc/es/statistics/5_most_visited_museums/show_most_visited/country/czech-republic/

[54] SNM. Výročné správy múzeí SR [Annual Reports of Museums of the Slovak Republic]. Accessed: 23.11.2022. https://www.snm.sk/odborne-pracoviska/muzeologicky-kabinet/vyrocne-spravy-muzei-sr

[55] MAYRING, Philipp. *Qualitative content analysis: theoretical foundation, basic procedures and software solution*, accessed, 27 November 2023, https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-395173

[56] Ibidem.

Distribution, in terms of the frequency and mean of dissemination across platforms;

price, in terms of the fee for accessing the podcasts;

promotion, in terms of support the podcast received from other platforms belonging to the museums (websites, apps and social media).

As a final step, we created a coding key (using Excel). It included the museum's name, podcast title, year of broadcasting, content description, distribution, fees and promotion. In the last step, we coded the corpus.

4 Results

For the final sample, we identified six museums for Poland, two for Czechia and three for Slovakia. All the museums used podcasting in 2019–2022.

The Polish museums were: Muzeum Łazienki Królewskie w Warszawie (Royal Łazienki Museum); Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie (Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów); Zamek Królewski w Warszawie – Muzeum (The Royal Castle in Warsaw – Museum); Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz–Birkenau w Oświęcimiu (Memorial and Museum Auschwitz–Birkenau); Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie (National Museum in Warsaw); and Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku (Malbork Castle Museum).

For Slovakia, following museums were selected: Slovenské národné múzeum–Spišské múzeum v Levoči (SNM–Spišské museum); Ľubovnianske múzeum – hrad v Starej Ľubovni (Castle and Open-Air Museum) and Slovenské národné múzeum–Historické múzeum v Bratislave (Slovak National Museum). For Czechia, we identified the following museums producing podcasts: Národní muzeum, Praha (National Museum, Prague) and Národní zemědělské muzeum (National Agricultural Museum), both located in the capital city.

4.1 Volume of podcasting

As the most useful and informative indicator of podcast processing in the study area, we decided to process the results in terms of the total quantity, that is, the total number of podcast episodes produced. To present the podcasting implementation process, we enriched the data by adding figures from 2019 (Fig. 1).

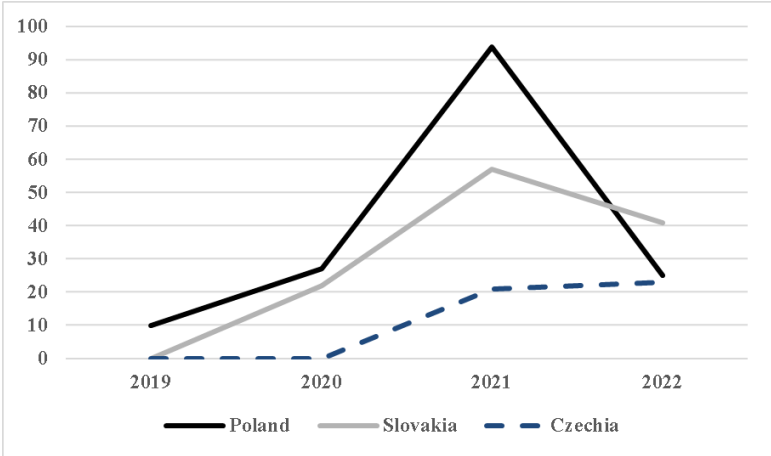

Fig. 1: *Number of podcast episodes in the most visited museums for each country (2019–2022).*

As can be seen, only Polish museums had started podcasting activities before the pandemic. However, they released most episodes during 2021 – a year with the most restrictions related to limited visitors. In 2022, museums continued podcasting activities, albeit with significantly fewer activities compared to the first lockdown periods.

Czech museums were quite passive about the production of podcasts in the first two years of monitoring and only started producing them during the most critical period in 2021. Although Czech museums produced the smallest number of podcast episodes in the study period, it is the only country where we saw an increase in the last year measured.

In the case of Slovakia, the Slovak National Museum – Historical Museum in Bratislava initiated podcasting in the pandemic year of 2020. The other two institutions started to produce podcasts only during 2021. In 2022, only one museum (Slovak National Museum – Historical Museum in Bratislava) was still issuing podcasts. Similarly to Poland, between 2021 and 2022 the total number of episodes declined, albeit at a slower rate than in Poland.

4.2 Distribution

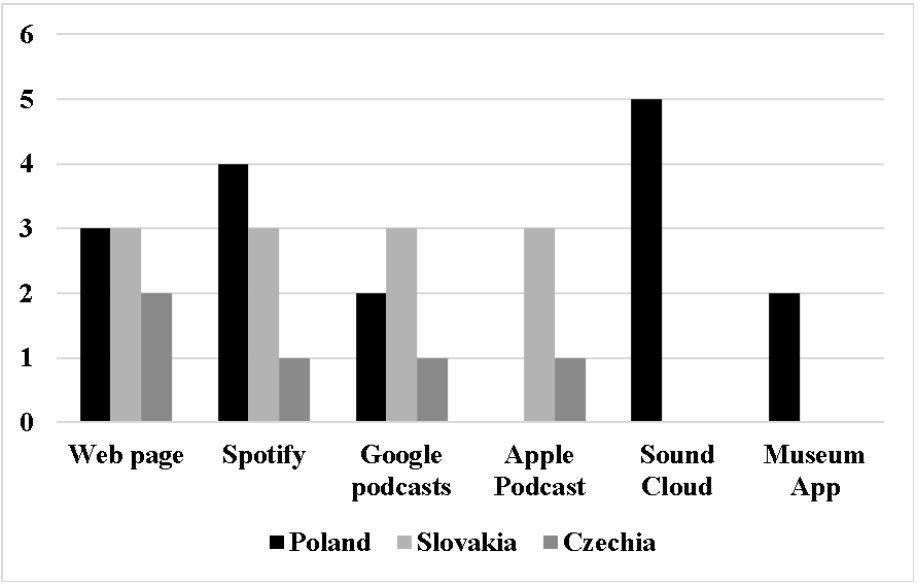

Fig. 2: *Distribution of podcasts produced by the most visited museums for each country (2019–2022).*

We followed the paths of the museum podcasts' exposure, simultaneously relating this factor with distribution and promotion. We checked museums' websites and other platforms, such as applications or podcast aggregators. Interestingly, although all these platforms spread the content, both internal (website, application) and external (aggregators, social media) ones remained primarily vehicles for promotion, in that all of them exposed museums' branding.

The Polish museums distributed their podcasts predominantly through popular streaming platforms, with SoundCloud and Spotify emerging as the leading choices. Only three institutions chose to upload their recordings onto more than two on-demand platforms, and the same number provided an option to stream the content from their websites directly. Interestingly, although Google Podcasts existed at that time (it has since been discontinued), this platform its platform was used only twice. Moreover, only two museums made their podcasts available

through their own apps. All investigated Polish museum podcasts were free of charge, and none of them included sponsorship or advertising.

Regarding distribution, the Czech sample used three on-demand platforms: Spotify, Google Podcasts and Apple Podcasts, but not SoundCloud. Streaming the content directly from the institution's websites was possible as well. However, the museums did not run their own apps at that time. Also, in Czechia, podcast service was free of charge and did not include sponsorship or advertising.

The Slovak museums disseminated their podcasts through all popular streaming platforms (Apple, Spotify, Google) except SoundCloud. Both institutions surveyed provided the ability to stream content directly from their websites, and neither created a museum app. All three podcasts from the two museums were free of charge.

4.3 Social media

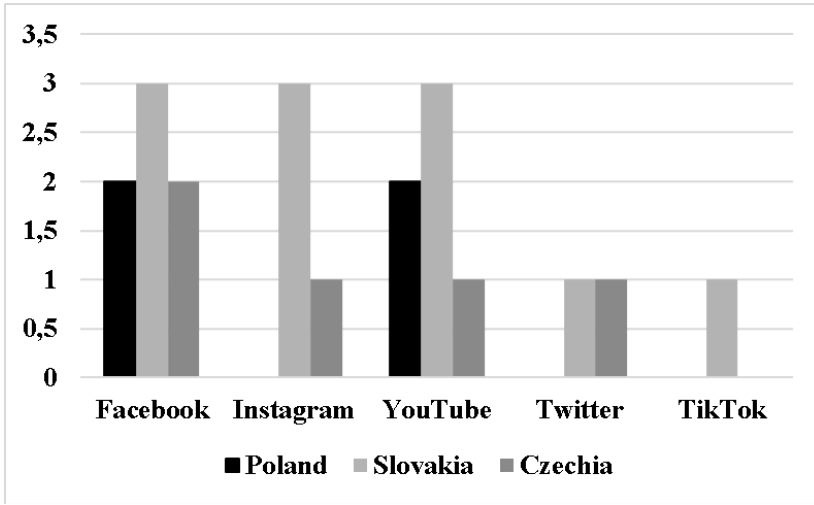

Fig. 3: *Promotion of podcasts produced by the most visited museums for each country (2019–2022).*
Source: *own work.*

We also focused on how museums used social media to promote podcasting (i.e. posts, events or links published on their profiles). In Poland, podcast promotion via social media was relatively basic. Institutions reached for Facebook and YouTube most frequently. Other platforms (such as Instagram, Twitter and TikTok) were not used. Czech museums promoted podcasts via Facebook, YouTube, Instagram and Twitter (not TikTok, however,). Slovak museums promoted podcasts on all the abovementioned social media platforms. The Slovak National Museum – Spiš Museum in Levoča used TikTok, the only occurrence of this platform among all museums under investigation.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

At the beginning of this interpretation section, we emphasised that the obtained results are somewhat generalised. We did not attempt to fully cover the analysed area but rather to focus on dominant trends in the use of podcasting in the most important (i.e., most visited)

museums of the three analysed countries. At the same time, however, we assumed that the use of podcasting would be more intensive than was in fact the case, especially taking into account the assumed specialisation and professionalisation[57] of the most visited museums in the three countries. Our approach allowed us to realise a comparative perspective, although due to the unexpectedly small sample we approached the interpretation of the data with a commensurate level of scientific scepticism.

Considering the number of museums producing podcasting, Poland emerged as the most active country. Slovakia and Czechia appeared significantly more passive in this respect.

We observed significant differences between the countries from the point of view of the total volume of podcasts produced by the most visited museums (fig. 1). The Czech Republic appeared to be the most passive country in this respect, by a large margin compared to Poland and Slovakia. In terms of trends, however, the results were similar across countries: starting from zero or very low in 2019, through the "discovery" of podcasting in the first lockdown period in 2020, through to its full manifestation in 2021, when the number of episodes peaked. In all cases, however, interest in producing podcasts cooled in 2022. This trend was much more pronounced in Poland than in Slovakia. Although the trends were fairly uniform, the results show slight variations: for example, Poland started producing podcasts in 2019, i.e., at point zero in our research; Czechia's institutions remained inactive in 2020, when the other two countries had already registered the need for podcasting; and finally, interest in podcasting did not cool in the Czechian museums in 2022 in the same way we observed in the other two countries.

A comparative look at 2022 suggests that all three countries were starting to converge in terms of podcast production. The similarities between countries were much more pronounced this year than in the previous years. Overall, the results indicate that podcasts mainly served as a means for museums to reach the public during times of limited or completely suspended mobility. Nevertheless, even after the pandemic, they remained present in the communication space. The difference between the first and the last year of measurement is quite significant in this respect.

We also focused on the distribution platforms used by the most visited museums (Fig. 2). Despite the gradual standardisation of media multiplatformisation,[58] the results were quite variable. What brings us to standardisation is the balanced use of web pages, Google podcasts and, to some extent, Spotify (which had a symmetrical representation in each country). Although it was used most in Poland, Sound Cloud was not used by any of the analysed museums in Slovakia or Czechia. The opposite was true of Apple Podcast – while this platform was used in Slovakia and Czechia, it was not used in the Poland museums.

The results suggest that most museums wanted to place their podcasts on multiple platforms simultaneously, but in practice most did not embrace the full potential of multiplatformisation. They adapted to their expectations of their audiences, as previously indicated by Silverblatt,[59]

[57] MUSEUMNEXT. "Listen Up: How Podcasts Can Create Regular Museum Goers." In: MuseumNext, 2022. Available at: https://www.museumnext.com/article/listen-up-how-podcasts-can-create-regular-museum-goers/.

[58] JÄRVENTIE-THESLEFF, Rita, MOISANDER, Johanna & VILLI, Mikko. The Strategic Challenge of Continuous Change in Multi-Platform Media Organizations—A Strategy-as-Practice Perspective. In: *International Journal on Media Management*, 16(3–4), 2014, pp. 123–138.

[59] SILVERBLAT, Aar. *Media Literacy*. USA: Praeger, 2014.

Lindeberg,[60] Gretzel[61] and Petranová-Vrabec[62]. For example, in Poland, only two museums used a single platform to stream their podcasts. On the other hand, as many as four Polish museums used three of the five platforms surveyed. We identified an even stronger emphasis on mutliplatformisation in Slovakia and Czechia, where all the museums used five platforms. A wholly ignored platform in the case of Czechia and Slovakia was the use of the museum's own app (used in Poland by two institutions). This fact may have been related to the relatively high financial costs involved in creating such an application but also to the question of its usefulness, given the availability of many standard and well-known distribution platform.

Despite the variability of using platformisation, we find the results in this area rather surprising, as from a marketing communication point of view, there is a clear recommendation to use the maximum number of available platforms, especially the most widely known ones. This approach ensures maximum possible content distribution with minimal expenditure. It is possible that this oversight was related to the insufficient training of communication management staff in the analysed cultural institutions. It may also be related to a certain degree of time pressure on staff due to the critical situation arising from the pandemic.

We conclude that use of social media to promote museums' podcasts varied between institutions and countries (Figure 3), especially for the most popular platforms. However, only the museums in Slovakia made full use of mainstream social media. Due to their popularity, these platforms are particularly suitable tools for informing[63] or reaching audiences[64] . Promoting podcasting was one way to retain the attention of the public, including via connecting to other platforms. As direct contact with the public was very limited due to the pandemic, podcasting became a way to keep in touch with people. Looking at Figure 3, it is clear that social media engagement was significantly different across the studied museums. Facebook and YouTube were used in all three countries, but use of other platforms differed from country to country. In the case of Poland, the use of Twitter and TikTok was surprisingly absent – or else the museums did not consider using these platforms to inform people about their podcast activities. In the case of Poland, but partly also in Czechia, it was surprising to see no or only minimal emphasis on Instagram, a platform particularly suitable for reaching a younger demographic.[65] This raises further questions about why the museums did not take the opportunity to reach the younger audiences which are primarily associated with services like Instagram and TikTok.

In response to RQ1 (what was the scale of the museums' podcasting during the pandemic?) we note that the use of podcasting by the most visited museums varied considerably over time, both from country to country and from a comparative perspective. Overall, the lowest use of

[60] LINDENBERG, Aura. *So You Have a Podcast? What Broadcasters and Newspapers Are Doing with New Forms of Audio*. Oxford: The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2019.

[61] GRETZEL, Urlike & KANG, Myunghwa. Perceptions…

[62] PETRANOVÁ, Dana & VRABEC, Norbert. *Persuázia a médiá*. Trnava: UCM, 2013.

[63] DATAREPORTAL. *Global Social Media Statistics*, accessed November 27th, 2023, https://datareportal.com/social-media-users

[64] PEC - *Pew Research Center. Teens, Social Media and Technology 2023. Report*, accessed January 31st, 2024, https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2023/12/11/teens-social-media-and-technology-2023/

[65] KUČEROVÁ, Lucia. Effective Political Communication with Generation Z through Social Media. In: SOLÍK, Martin, GRACA, Martin, PROSTINÁKOVÁ HOSSOVÁ, Monika. (ed.) Metaverse is the New Universe. Trnava: UCM, 2022, pp. 203–214. https://fmk.sk/download/metaverse-is-the-new-universe.pdf; DIMOCK, Michael. *Defining Generations: Where Millennials End and Generation Z Begins*, accessed October 25th, 2023, https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2019/01/17/where-millennials-end-and-generation-z-begins/

podcasting was observed in the first year of measurement, before the pandemic. The outbreak of COVID-19 was a tipping point, and the use of podcasts grew massively.

With regard to RQ2 (has COVID-19 impacted museum podcasting, and if so, how?), we note that the pandemic significantly affected the development of podcasting in all the three countries surveyed, viewed through the prism of the most visited museums. Every institution investigated filled its productions with counter-pandemic activities, although to different levels of engagement. We must keep in mind that most museums analysed in Slovakia and Czechia were less active in this respect than the Polish ones. Their primary goal was to keep in contact with their community and engage the public in spite of lockdowns and travel restrictions. The museums' podcasts were not used for financial profit: all could be accessed for free. They may well have helped museums continue their mission despite the challenges of the pandemic. The response to the unprecedented situation was significant in terms of podcast creation, especially in Poland.

On this basis, the rather lively development of podcasting reached a level of stability, normalisation and rationalisation. This raises the idea of a modus vivendi, a meaningful podcasting space in the museum presentation space. In this sense, a future challenge for further research will be to determine whether this thesis is valid in the current period.

Finally, it should be stressed we do not mean to suggest that podcasts are somehow essential to museums' communications at critical times. However, they point to institutions' willingness to establish know-how and allocate human resources to potentially meaningful, value-added activities. Since museums are mostly based on a visitor-orientated visual experiences, it could be assumed that communication activities would primarily focus on mediating such experiences, for example, through virtual exhibitions, short videos, image galleries and so on. In this respect, the podcast opens up a new dimension by providing a verbalised museum experience and has the potential to create and cultivate a community that perceives a certain added value. From this perspective, then, the podcast can also be seen as a creative act of media transposition of an experience[66] from a visual and spatialised form to the dimension of a personalised (personally moderated) media text. Through podcasting, strict institutional communication takes on the contours of personalised communication, which has the potential to be a crucial element for museums' communication in the future.

Our study had some limitations. It referred to only a segment of public museums, selected due to their popularity. This selection makes it difficult to generate general statements which apply to all museums. However, the positionality of the selected museums lays the foundation for their wider social relevance, which we have attempted to reflected in our approach. Another limitation of our research was that it only focused on the years 2019 to 2022. It would be useful to include analysis of the post-pandemic podcasting activities by museums to demonstrate longer-term trends and developments in this area. Our approach also skips some elements of marketing perspective such as branding. Additionally, a broader focus on cultural institutions such as galleries or theatres could be an interesting avenue for future research.

However, even at present, our study brings significant contributions. It develops and complements the theoretical podcasting studies (both in general and through the specific lens of museums). It also offers a practical contribution by providing evidence that podcasts

[66] On creativity in media production, see e.g. FICHNOVÁ, Katarína, WOJCIECHOWSKI, Łukasz, P. The Creative Process in the Virtual World in the Development of Ambient Campaign. In: *Studia ekonomiczne*, 16(317), 2017, pp. 93–105.

remain a relatively undeveloped digital platform in the museum sector, especially in terms of monetisation. For this reason, they could be a promising and practical area for cultural institutions' future marketing activities as a post-pandemic reality.

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Analysis of visitor experience in Hungarian museum context using the PLS-SEM algorithm[1]

Melinda Jászberényi, Dorottya Ginovszky-Bodnár

Melinda Jászberényi, PhD, Habil.
Corvinus University of Budapest
Tourism Department
8 Fővám Square 1093 Budapest
Hungary
e-mail: jaszberenyi@uni-corvinus.hu
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7839-5036

Dorottya Ginovszky-Bodnár, PhD
Corvinus University of Budapest
Department of Management and Organization
8 Fővám Square 1093 Budapest
Hungary
e-mail: dorottya.bodnar@uni-corvinus.hu
https://orcid.org/0009-0008-7133-7424

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Analysis of visitor experience in Hungarian museum context using the PLS-SEM algorithm
This article analyses the museum visitor experience through a quantitative questionnaire carried out at the Almásy Mansion Visitor's Centre in Gyula, Hungary, using the PLS-SEM (partial least squares structural equation modeling) algorithm. The authors analysed the escapism dimension of Pine and Gilmore's 4E model, suggesting refinement of the model in the context of museums. The aim of the research was to obtain a better understanding of the concepts of escapism, active involvement (as a key concept in the museum context), and how to set up a better measurement model of visitor experience. As a result this research, the authors were able to establish two valid models to examine the experience dimensions of the enhanced model and the components of the active involvement experience dimension.

Keywords: escapism, active involvement, museum visitor experience, 4E model

1. Introduction

The research presented in this article is the final stage of a larger study[2] based on a narrative and systematic literature review[3] and in-depth interviews with experts, representing the qualitative aspects of the research.

[1] The article was supported by the Corvinus University of Budapest.

[2] BODNÁR, Dorottya. *Látogatói élmény a múzeumokban. Az eszképizmus mint élménydimenzió elemzése a múzeumi látogatások kontextusában*. Doktori (PhD) értekezés, Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem, Gazdálkodástani Doktori Iskola. 2019a https://doi.org/10.14267/phd.2020004

[3] BODNÁR, Dorottya. Esapism or active involvement: A dimension of museum visitor experience. In: *Vezetéstudomány - Budapest Management Review*, 50(11), 2019b, pp. 18–36. https://doi.org/10.14267/VEZTUD.2019.11.02

The aims of this study are to better understand the concepts of escapism and active involvement and to refine Pine and Gilmore's 4E model[4] to better fit the museum context. The article focuses on the results of the quantitative research conducted in the Almásy Mansion Visitor's Centre in Gyula, Hungary.

Transformation in museums and exhibition spaces proceeds slowly, a situation which is tackled by the paradigm of new museology, which focuses on shifting the view from objects to people, while broadening the audience, expanding the range of topics covered by exhibitions and changing the functions of institutions. In order to create financial sustainability for their institutions, museum professionals must expand the target audience, increase visitor numbers, and introduce entertainment and leisure elements in order to meet visitors' needs as closely as possible. These needs can best be seen through the development of experience economy, suggesting that people desire a memorable experience when they visit a museum. Memorable experiences have an impact on visitors' subsequent behaviour and intentions (e.g., sharing their enthusiasm by word of mouth, willingness to return), according to several studies[5], therefore creating such experiences is important from a management point of view. "Visitor experience" has been examined by a number of researchers who have defined the various factors and dimensions that influence it during each phase of a museum visit.[6]

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[4] PINE, Joseph B. II. and GILMORE, James H. Welcome to the experience economy. In: *Harvard Business Review,* 76(4), 1998, pp. 97–105.

[5] PINE, Joseph B. II. and GILMORE, James H. *The experience economy: Work is Theatre & Every Business a Stage*. Boston: Harvard Business Press. 1999, ISBN 9780875848198; TUNG, Vincent W. S. and RITCHIE, Brent J. R. Investigating the memorable experiences of the senior travel market: an examination of the reminiscence bump. In: *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 28(3), 2011, pp. 331–343. https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2011.563168; DIRSEHAN, Taskin. Analyzing museum visitor experiences and post experience dimensions using SEM. In: *Bogazici Journal: Review of Social, Economic & Administrative Studies*, 26(1), 2012, pp. 103–125. https://doi.org/10.21773/boun.26.1.6; MANTHIOU, Aikaterini, LEE, Seonjeong A., TANG, Liang R. and CHIANG, Lanlung. The experience economy approach to festival marketing: vivid memory and attendee loyalty. In: *Journal of Services Marketing*, 28(1), 2014, pp. 22–35. https://doi.org/10.1108/JSM-06-2012-0105

6 GOULDING, Christina. The museum environment and the visitor experience. In: *European Journal of Marketing*, 34(3–4), 2000, pp. 261–278. https://doi.org/10.1108/03090560010311849; ARNOULD, Eric J., PRICE, Linda and ZINKHAN, George M. *Consumers*. New York: McGraw-Hill. 2002, ISBN 978-0256133608; FALK, John H. *Identity and the museum visitor experience*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press. 2009, ISBN 9781315427034; JARRIER, Elodie and BOURGEON-RENAULT, Dominique. Impact of mediation devices on the museum visit experience and on visitors' behavioural intentions. In: *International Journal of Arts Management*, 15(1), 2012, pp. 18–29; PEKARIK, Andrew J., SCHREIBER, James B., HANEMANN, Nadine, RICHMOND, Kelly and MOGEL, Barbara. IPOP: A theory of experience preference. In: *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 57(1), 2014, pp. 5–27. https://doi.org/10.1111/cura.12048; PACKER, Jan and BALLANTYNE, Roy. Conceptualizing the visitor experience: A review of literature and development of a multifaceted model. In: *Visitor Studies*, 19(2), 2016, pp. 128–143. https://doi.org/10.1080/10645578.2016.1144023; RECUPERO, Annamaria, TALAMO, Alessandro, TRIBERTI, Stefano and MODESTI, Camilla. Bridging Museum Mission to Visitors' Experience: Activity, Meanings, Interactions, Technology. In: *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10, 2019. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.02092; TRUNFIO, Mariapina, DELLA LUCIA, Maria, CAMPANA, Salvatore and MAGNELLI, Adele. Innovating the cultural heritage museum service model through virtual reality and augmented reality: The effects on the overall visitor experience and satisfaction. In: *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 17(1), 2022, pp. 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2020.1850742; WANG, Yue-Ying, FENG, Yuan and FENG, B. The study on the significance of difference between demographics and tourist experiences in Macau Casino hotels. In: *Proceedings of 2013 International Symposium – International Marketing Science and Information Technology*, 2013.

The present study focuses primarily on the experience provided by exhibitions. Other studies have shown that visitor experience is influenced by methods of interpretation such as interactivity,[7] multisensory devices[8] and co-creation.[9]

1.1 Using the 4E model in museums

We focused on an experience model of our choice, intending to apply and develop this for museums. Pine and Gilmore's four-dimension experience (1998) is still popular and is often used in studies on tourism.[10] According to the model, an experience should be standardized on the basis of two attributes: the type of participation (active, passive) and the type of relationship connecting the person with the event or attraction (absorption, immersion). Along these two features, the authors set up a four-dimensional model in which each segment displays one type of experience: entertainment, learning, aesthetics and escapism.

The escapism dimension of the 4E model is often misleading, based on the literature review; setting aside its original meaning, however, this dimension has a special importance in museum environment. In Pine and Gilmore's most cited book[11] and article[12] about the 4E model, instead of the original meaning of the dimension of escapism – defined in terms of active physical/virtual immersion in experience – they emphasise other meanings, in particular the transition to virtual reality (or abandoning reality through gambling) and escaping from everyday problems. In addition to the brief explanations, the denomination of the dimension also refers to the individual quitting or escaping from somewhere, often no matter where. The applied scales of

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[7] FALK, John H., SCOTT, Carol, DIERKING, Lynn, RENNIE, Leonie and COHEN-JONES, Mika. Interactives and visitor learning. In: *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 47(2), 2004, pp. 171–198. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2151-6952.2004.tb00116.x

8 LAI, Mei-Kei. Universal scent blackbox: engaging visitors communication through creating olfactory experience at art museum. In: *Proceedings of the 33rd Annual International Conference on the Design of Communication*. Limerick, Ireland. ACM, 2015, pp. 1–6. Accessed 1 September 2018. https://doi.org/10.1145/2775441.2775483

[9] THYNE, Maree and HEDE, Anne-Marie. Approaches to managing co-production for the co-creation of value in a museum setting: when authenticity matters. In: *Journal of Marketing Management*, 32(15–16), 2016, pp. 1478–1493. https://doi.org/10.1080/0267257X.2016.1198824

[10] WILLARD, Paul, FROST, Warwick and LADE, Clara. Battlefield tourism and the tourism experience: the case of Culloden. In: *Cauthe 2012: The new golden age of tourism and hospitality*. Book 2. Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Conference. 2012, pp. 665–670. La Trobe University, Melbourne; QUADRI-FELITTI, Donna and FIORE, Ann M. Experience economy constructs as a framework for understanding wine tourism. In: *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 18(1), 2012, pp. 3–15. https://doi.org/10.1177/1356766711432222; WANG, The study on…; RADDER, Laetitia and HAN, Xiliang (2015). An examination of the museum experience based on Pine and Gilmore's experience economy realms. In: *Journal of Applied Business Research*, 31(2), pp. 455–470. https://doi.org/10.19030/jabr.v31i2.9129; ÁSVÁNYI, Katalin, JÁSZBERÉNYI, Melinda and BODNÁR, Dorottya. Egy budapesti múzeum az élményvágyó kulturális turista szemében. In: Bányai, Edit, Lányi, Beatrix and Törőcsik, Mária (eds.). *Tükröződés, társtudományok, trendek, fogyasztás*. EMOK XXIII. országos konferencia tanulmánykötete. 2017, pp. 5–13. Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem Közgazdaságtudományi Kar.; LAN, Feiya, HUANG, Qijun, ZENG, Lijin, GUAN, Xiuming, XING, Dan and CHENG, Ziyan. Tourism Experience and Construction of Personalized Smart Tourism Program Under Tourist Psychology. In: *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12, 2021, pp. 1–13. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.691183; GÜZEL, Fatma Ö. and SAHIN, Ilker. Experiential Aspects of Balloon Tourism within the Context of Destination Marketing. In: *Eskisehir Osmangazi University Journal of Economics and Administrative Sciences*, 14(3), 2019, pp. 793–810. https://doi.org/10.17153/oguiibf.511003

[11] PINE, Welcome to the ….

[12] PINE, *The experience economy*…

escapism and other almost equivalent experience dimensions[13] are described by items such as "escaping from everyday routine" and "immersing ourselves in another reality". The concept also appears in other experience models in which no scales were developed, but the explanation of the dimensions or components refers to the same meaning (e.g., "quitting boredom"[14] or the "feeling of liberation caused by escape"[15]). We review the emergence of escapism as a general motivation for travel in tourism literature, where it is usually defined by a central meaning of escaping from everyday problems.[16] According to this definition, from time to time people need to get away from their regular environment, to leave their sometimes unhappy lives,[17] or to escape anxiety related to work/study[18], and a trip can provide perfect way to do this. The study of this concept was supported by a systematic literature review of 44 studies[19] which confirmed the concerns listed above. In summary, three applied meanings of escapism emerge from the analysed literature:

1. active physical immersion according to the original categorisation of the 4E model;
2. escaping to a virtual world;[20] and

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[13] OH, Haemoon, FIORE, Ann M. and JEOUNG, Miyoung. Measuring experience economy concepts: Tourism applications. In: *Journal of Travel Research*, 46(2), 2007, pp. 119–132. https://doi.org/10.1177/0047287507304039; MEHMETOGLU, Mehmet and ENGEN, Marit. Pine and Gilmore's concept of experience economy and its dimensions: An empirical examination in tourism. In: *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality & Tourism*, 12(4), 2011, pp. 237–255. https://doi.org/10.1080/1528008X.2011.541847; KANG, Myunghwa, GRETZEL, Ulrike. Effects of podcast tours on tourist experiences in a national park. In: *Tourism Management*, 33(2), 2012, pp. 440–455. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2011.05.005; RADDER, An examination of …pp. 455–470; SHIH, Tsui-Yii. Attribute design and marketing strategy of branding experience museums. In: *International Journal of Electronic Business Management*, 13. 2015, pp. 85–96; SEMRAD, Kelly J. and RIVERA, Manuel. Advancing the 5E's in festival experience for the Gen Y framework in the context of eWOM. In: *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 7(March), 2016, pp. 58–67. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2016.08.003; SUNTIKUL, Wantanee and JACHNA, Timothy. Profiling the heritage experience in Macao's historic center. In: *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 18(4), 2016, pp. 308–318. https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.2050; SIPE, Lori J. and TESTA, Mark R. From satisfied to memorable: An empirical study of service and experience dimensions on guest outcomes in the hospitality industry. In: *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, 27(2), 2018, pp. 178–195. https://doi.org/10.1080/19368623.2017.1306820

[14] COHEN, Erik. A phenomenology of tourism experiences. In: *Sociology*, 13(2), 1979, pp. 179–201. https://doi.org/10.1177/003803857901300203

[15] KIM, Jong-Hyeong, RITCHIE, Brent J. R. Cross-cultural validation of a Memorable Tourism Experience Scale (MTES). In: *Journal of Travel Research*, 53(3), 2014, pp. 323–335. https://doi.org/10.1177/0047287513496468

[16] GROSS, Edward. A functional approach to leisure analysis. In: *Social Problems*, 9(1), 1961, pp. 2–8. https://doi.org/10.2307/799417;BOORSTIN, Daniel. *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. New York: Harper. 1964. ISBN 978-0679741800; MacCannell, D. (1973). Staged authenticity: Arrangements of social space in tourist settings. *American Journal of Sociology*. 79(3), 589–603. https://doi.org/10.1086/225585; OH, Measuring experience economy… pp. 119–132; MEHMETOGLU, Pine and Gilmore's… pp. 237–255; KULCSÁR, N. (2015). A fogyasztói érték és az élmény kontextusa a turisztikai szakirodalomban [The context of consumer value an experience in tourism literature]. *Vezetéstudomány – Budapest Management Review*. 46(3), 18–25. https://doi.org10.14267/VEZTUD.2015.03.02; RADDER, An examination of … pp. 455–470; SEMRAD, Advancing the 5E's… pp. 58–67; ALSAWAFI, Abdulaziz M.. Sport tourism: an exploration of the travel motivations and constraints of Omani tourists. In: Anatolia, 28(2), 2017, pp. 239–249. https://doi.org/10.1080/13032917.2017.1308388; SIPE. From satisfied to… pp. 178–195; ÁSVÁNYI, Katalin, FEHÉR, Zsuzsa and JÁSZBERÉNYI, Melinda. The Family-Friendly Museum: Museums through the eyes of families. In: *Muzeologia a Kulturne Dedicstvo*, 9(1), 2021 pp. 21–40. https://doi.org/10.46284/mkd.2021.9.1.2

[17] BOORSTIN, The Image: A…; MACCANNELL, Dean. Staged authenticity: Arrangements of social space in tourist settings. In: *American Journal of Sociology*, 79(3), 1973, pp. 589–603. https://doi.org/10.1086/225585

[18] ALSAWAFI, Sport tourism: an… pp. 239–249.

[19] BODNÁR, Esapism or active… pp. 18–36.

[20] PINE, *The experience economy*...

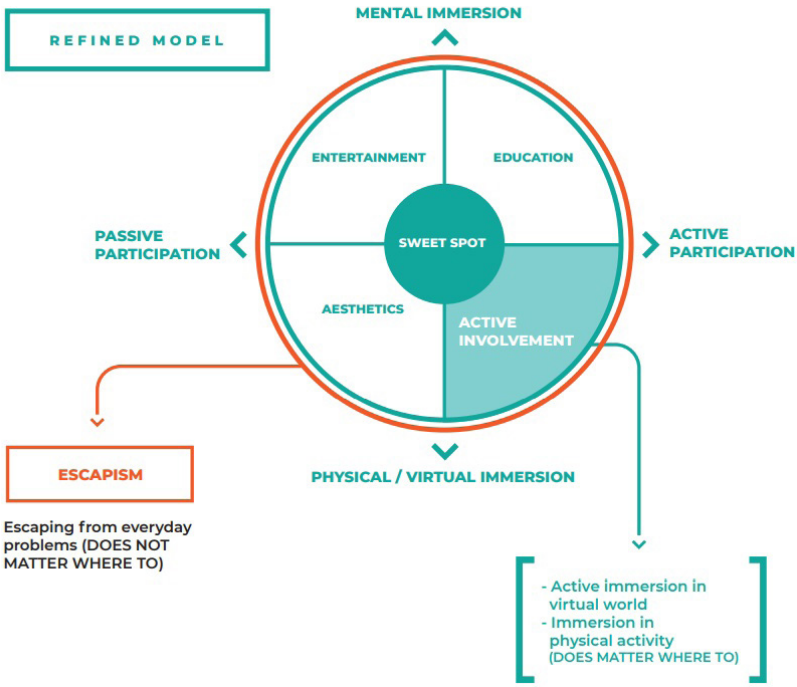
3. escaping from everyday problems[21] (as a general travel motivation).

We suggest that the most important criterion for interpreting escapism as applied to museums is that the visitor not only hopes to escape from somewhere but also to arrive somewhere (such as another era or another world). This aim is highly likely to be complemented by active physical or virtual participatory activities.

1.2 Refined 4E model

We propose to refine the 4E model for the context of museums (Figure 1) by treating the existing experience dimension of escapism (with the central meaning of escaping from everyday problems, as stated in the tourism literature) as a comprehensive factor of four dimensions. The fourth dimension is renamed "active involvement" (meaning active physical/virtual immersion in the experience). Many interpretation methods that stimulate the museum visitor experience appear in this dimension.

Fig. 1: *Refined model.*



Source: Own compilation, with graphical support based on Pine and Gilmore.[22]

The abstract denomination of the two extremes of the vertical dimension of the model (absorption, immersion) often makes it difficult to interpret parts of the model and also makes the placement of each type of experience problematic. For the sake of better understanding, the authors suggest using mental immersion instead of absorption, and physical/virtual

[21] PINE, Welcome to the … pp. 97–105.
[22] Ibidem

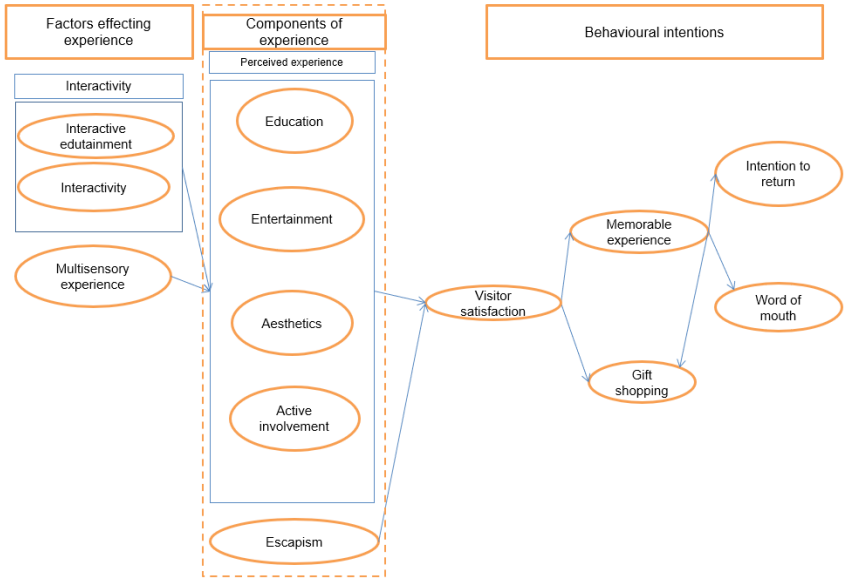
immersion instead of immersion. These categorisations accurately reflect the original idea, but instead of "absorbing the experience into the individual" and "immersing the individual in the experience", they simplify the two extremes.

The refined model was examined first through qualitative research, via in-depth interviews with museum experts.[23] The interviews were conducted with museum leaders in institutions with diverse backgrounds and characteristics across the country. The research was exploratory and its aim was to examine practical aspects of the relationships established from the literature review. Important conclusions were drawn from the interviews which influenced the creation of the refined model presented here.

The quantitative research on which the present article focuses – the final stage of the broader study – took the form of a questionnaire for visitors. Its aim was to examine the previously defined hypotheses and to test the validity of the model.

The relationships are illustrated in the conceptual framework shown in Figure 2. In museums, the experience dimension of active involvement is influenced by factors such as multisensory experience, interactivity and interactive edutainment. The perceived experience consists of four components (learning, active involvement, entertainment, aesthetics) which in turn influence visitor behaviour (word of mouth, satisfaction, memorable experience, loyalty – intention to return). The experience of escapism (a break from everyday life) can be a potential output of all four types of experience.

Fig. 2: *Conceptual framework of the research.*



The model presented to support the conceptual framework in this article is new to the literature, highlighting the novelty of this study. Several relationships between constructs have, however, already been investigated by other authors, as presented in the section on the creation of our hypotheses. The conceptual framework does not include all potential factors that might influence visitor experience but focuses the most important ones to the topic of this study. The

[23] BODNÁR, Látogatói élmény a …

sample size did not allow us to test the whole model, therefore it had to be narrowed. For this reason, we separated it into two structural models, each analysing the relationships between six constructs

2. Hypothesis creation

The following section introduces the hypotheses we wished to examine in the course of our research. An important basis for the formulation of the hypotheses was the narrative literature analysis, as well as the results of the previous qualitative research. Results pertaining to relations from both these analyses are briefly highlighted.

2.1 Hypotheses of model no. 1.

The first structural model focuses on the refined 4E model, especially the relationship between the experience dimensions and factors of a memorable experience and the willingness to return. We suggest that the experience dimensions support each other. Although the connections between concepts were not clear from the literature and previous research, the following statements might be applied to the relationships between the concepts.

According to Crozier, in a heritage environment, aesthetics derives from heritage infrastructure, location, and elusive factors that capture the visitor's imagination through sensory impressions.[24] Sensory impressions (based on our positioning of passive multisensory experiences in the 4E model) are located in the entertainment experience dimension, where the visitor wants to "sense".

Hypothesis H1: The aesthetic experience has a positive effect on the entertainment experience.

The most fundamental message of the concept of edutainment is that learning is most effective when it is enjoyed,[25] so edutainment creates a successful and stimulating environment for learning.[26] Although edutainment is at the border of several experience dimensions, it is assumed that the entertainment experience is positively related to learning.

Hypothesis H2: The entertainment experience has a positive effect on the learning experience.

A significant part of the museum profession supports interactive devices (such as interpretation methods that are part of the experiential dimension of active involvement) that promote different types of learning.[27] Museums are increasingly using ICT-based devices (active virtual involvement) to improve the comprehensibility of a given topic and, in addition, increase its attractiveness and accessibility.[28]

Hypothesis H3: The experience of active involvement has a positive effect on the learning experience.

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[24] CROZIER J. M. Innovation at heritage tourist attractions. Unpublished PhD thesis. Tasmania: University of Tasmania. 2012. Accessed 1 March 2018, https://eprints.utas.edu.au/14750/

[25] HOOPER-GREENHILL, E. *Museums and their visitors*. London: Routledge. 1994. ISBN 9780415513326

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[27] FALK, Interactives and visitor… pp. 171–198.

[28] HJALAGER, Anne-Mette. A review of innovation research in tourism. In: *Tourism Management*, 31(1), 2010, pp. 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2009.08.012

The interactive experience environment contributes to involvement, and involvement has a positive effect on memorability, according to Zátori's survey of alternative city tour operators.[29] The importance of multi-sensory effects is also emphasised by Dolcos and Cabeza, who suggest that sensory experiences can enhance memory, as events with such effects tend to become more embedded in people's memory.[30] The same conclusion was reached by Eardley et al.,[31] who found evidence of a positive relationship between multisensory design and the memorability of the visitor experience. Given that the active involvement appears as an experience dimension for the first time in this paper, it is understandable that no previous research is available on its impact on memorable experiences; however, the relationship can be inferred from the components of the experience dimension.
Hypothesis H4: The experience of active involvement has a positive effect on the memorable experience.

Museum consumer experience has a positive impact on the intention to return, according to a study by Dirsehan in a sample of 460 visitors to museums in Istanbul.[32] Pine and Gilmore also highlight that service providers should strive to provide a memorable experience[33] based on previous research findings showing that consumers' past memories and experiences connection with positive feedback and repeat visits.[34]
Hypothesis H5: Memorable experiences positively influence visitors' intention to return.

2.2 Hypotheses of model no. 2.

Structural model no. 2. analyses the methods of interpretation that influence the dimensions of active involvement and entertainment, examines them in relation to the intention to return.

Dirsehan's survey in museums (using SEM modelling) demonstrated the positive effect of multisensory experiences affecting the so-called sensory experience dimension.[35] This type of experience (e.g., touching and smelling a bucket of wheat in the cellar of a castle) is located in the active involvement dimension in the 4E model, therefore it has a positive effect on active involvement.

Lai examined how smells and scents influenced emotions and experiences. Analysing the effects of releasing five types of scents (grass, baby powder, whiskey and tobacco, black chocolate, and leather) on the visitor experience, he found that a correlation existed.[36] According to Crozier, the purpose of devices and activities is to allow visitors to actively participate in

[29] ZÁTORI, Anita. A turisztikai élményteremtés vizsgálata szolgáltatói szemszögből. Doktori (PhD) értekezés, Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem, Gazdálkodástani Doktori Iskola. 2013. https://doi.org/10.14267/phd.2014055
[30] DOLCOS, Florin and CABEZA, Roberto. Event-related potentials of emotional memory: Encoding pleasant, unpleasant, and neutral pictures, cognitive. In: *Affective & Behavioral Neuroscience*, 2(3), 2002, pp. 252–263. https://doi.org/10.3758/CABN.2.3.252
[31] EARDLEY, Alison F., MINEIRO, Clara, NEVES, Joselia, and RIDE, Peter. Redefining access: Embracing multimodality, memorability and shared experience in Museums. In: *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 59(3), 2016, pp. 263–286. https://doi.org/10.1111/cura.12163
[32] DIRSEHAN, Taskin. Analyzing museum visitor experiences and post experience dimensions using SEM. In: *Bogazici Journal: Review of Social, Economic & Administrative Studies*, 26(1), 2012, pp. 103–125. https://doi.org/10.21773/boun.26.1.6
[33] PINE, The experience economy…
[34] TUNG, Investigating the memorable… pp. 331–343; MANTHIOU, The experience economy… pp. 22–35.
[35] DIRSEHAN, Analyzing museum visitor… pp. 103–125.
[36] LAI, Universal scent blackbox… pp. 1–6.

an escapist experience. Through proper interpretation, visitors can immerse themselves in the experience and the museum can, through physical, mental and sensory effects, influence visitors' perceptions and experiences.[37] This interpretation of escapism is identical to the one used in the present work and thus supports the following hypothesis.
H6: Multisensory experiences have a positive effect on active involvement.

White and others define three types of edutainment practice: interactive and participatory, non-interactive, and a combination of the two.[38] The interactive, participatory type of edutainment (e.g. drama play) can be described as a learning experience that physically involves (immerses) the person. This is located at the boarder of active involvement and education in the refined 4E model. Crozier's statement (above) is also relevant in this case, as he states that devices and physical influences can have an impact on active participation as well as perceived experience.[39] Zátori demonstrated a positive relationship between an interactive experience environment and involvement with the experience.[40]
H7: Interactive edutainment has a positive effect on active involvement.

Dirsehan's survey in museums (with SEM modelling) demonstrated the positive effect of multisensory experiences on the so-called sensory experience dimension.[41] A passive type of multisensory experience can enhance mental immersion but only leads to passive participation, therefore it is located in the entertainment dimension of the 4E model where, according to its original definition the visitor likes to "sense".
H8: Multisensory experiences have a positive effect on entertainment.

Although Dirsehan's research on museums in Istanbul with a sample of 460 visitors did not examine the relationship between each dimension and future behavioural intention, it did confirm a four-dimensional (sensory, affective, creative cognitive, behavioural) museum consumer experience model in the form of confirmative factor analysis. Dirsehan also concluded that the perceived experience had a positive effect on the visitor's intention to return.

Forgas-Coll et al., based on a study of 1,097 people in two museums in Barcelona, concluded that perceived experience had a positive effect on future behavioural intention (intention to return, word of mouth).[42]

Radder and Han, based on a study of 267 people in two South African museums, showed that the edutainment experience dimension was the most decisive (followed by aesthetics and escapism, respectively) for future behavioural intentions (intention to return, word of mouth).[43]

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[37] CROZIER, Innovation at heritage…
[38] WHITE, Randy, HAYWARD, Mark and CHARTIER, Paul. Edutainment: The next big thing. Presented at IAAPA 2004 Orlando Convetion. Orlando, USA, 2004. Accessed 1 March 2018, https://www.whitehutchinson.com/news/downloads/IAAPAEdutainmentSeminar.pdf
[39] CROZIER, Innovation at heritage…
[40] ZÁTORI, A turisztikai élményteremtés…
[41] DIRSEHAN, Analyzing museum visitor… pp. 103–125.
[42] FORGAS-COLL, Santiago, PALAU-SAUMELL, Ramon, MATUTE, Jorge and TÁRREGA, Salomé. How do service quality, experiences and enduring involvement influence tourists' behavior? An empirical study in the Picasso and Miró museums in Barcelona. In: *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 19(2), 2017, pp. 246–256. https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.2107
[43] RADDER, An examination of… pp. 455–470.

Harrison and Shaw's study of 184 Australian museum visitors using SEM modelling focused on analysing the impact of experience, services, and facilities in terms of satisfaction, word of mouth, and willingness to return.[44] The results showed that the experience had a stronger positive effect on intention to return than it did on satisfaction.
H9: Entertainment has a positive effect on intention to return

Based on the literature related to the previous hypothesis, it can be assumed that other experience dimensions are also positively related to intention to return; this is also confirmed by further research on the active involvement dimension.

According to Radder and Han, the experience dimension of edutainment is the most decisive (followed by aesthetics and escapism, respectively) in terms of future behavioural intentions (satisfaction, intention to return, word of mouth).[45] Edutainment appears prominently in the active involvement dimension (interactive edutainment), so it can be assumed that the active involvement experience dimension has a positive effect on intention to return.

According to Lee and Chang's survey of wine tourists, involvement has a positive effect on loyalty, a concept closely related to intention to return in the literature.[46]

A study by Forgas-Coll and others in Barcelona concluded that involvement has a positive effect on both visitor satisfaction and future behavioural intentions.[47]
H10: Active involvement has a positive effect on the intention to return.

Summarising the two models, the following hypotheses have been set up:

H1: The aesthetic experience has a positive effect on the entertainment experience.
H2: The entertainment experience has a positive effect on the learning experience.
H3: The experience of active involvement has a positive impact on the learning experience.
H4: The experience of active involvement has a positive effect on the memorable experience.
H5: Memorable experience positively influences the intention to return.
H6: Multisensory experience has a positive effect on active involvement.
H7: Interactive edutainment has a positive effect on active involvement.
H8: Multisensory experience has a positive effect on entertainment.
H9: Entertainment has a positive effect on the intention to return.
H10: Active involvement has a positive effect on intention to return.

3 Methods

Based on the above, a model built on theoretical context and construction was investigated in the framework of the research. The scales used in the literature, their improved versions, and scales of our own development enabled modelling with the help of structural equation

[44] HARRISON, Paul and SHAW, Robin. Consumer satisfaction and post-purchase intentions: an exploratory study of museum visitors. In: *International Journal of Arts Management*. 6(2), 2004, pp. 23–32.
[45] RADDER, An examination of … pp. 455–470.
[46] LEE, Tsung H. and CHANG, Yun S. The influence of experiential marketing and activity involvement on the loyalty intentions of wine tourists in Taiwan. In: *Leisure Studies*, 31(1), 2012, pp. 103–121. https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2011.568067
[47] FORGAS-COLL, How do service… pp. 246–256.

modelling (SEM). The conclusions of the previous stages of the broader study (literature analysis[48] and qualitative research[49]) finalised the conceptual framework of the present research as an initial theoretical model.

The choice of research site, Almásy Castle Visitor Centre in Gyula, was justified by several considerations. First of all, the Visitor Centre has a unique exhibition in which all the interpretation methods representing each experience dimensions can be identified several times. The research is case study-based and its primary purpose is to test the refined model, so it does not explicitly draw conclusions about the institution or the target groups involved in the research. Cost and time constraints were also factors we had to consider, and in addition, this site was an effective choice for ensuring validity and continuous monitoring. The above considerations justified the single site research.

The survey was conducted partly by filling in the questionnaire on a tablet (CAPI), but in most cases in the classic paper-based (PAPI) format was used. The questionnaire was tested on 28 July 2019 by seven visitors to the exhibition, after which the wording of any statements that were not completely clear was modified. The date of sampling was 2–4 August 2019. As they left the exhibition, all visitors over the age of 18 were offered the opportunity to participate in the research if they had visited the permanent exhibition independently (i.e. without a tour guide). Completion of the questionnaires was aided by trained interviewers who volunteered for the research. The size of the sample was 195 people.

To test the model, a type of variance-based structural equation model, PLS-SEM (partial least squares structural equation modelling) was used and the analysis was performed using SPSS and Adanco software packages.[50]

3.1 Measuring instruments

The value of each concept was determined by the average value of the statements that represent the concepts. Most of the variables were rated by the respondents on a seven-point Likert scale, in addition to demographic questions and some museum/exhibition visitation questions.

Some of the measured concepts were taken from international scales; however, for concepts that did not appear in the international literature in the frame of scales, scales of our own development were used in the research (Table 1.). The scale development was based on previous phases of the research project (literature analysis[51] and qualitative research[52]).

[48] BODNÁR, Esapism or active… pp. 18–36.
[49] BODNÁR, Látogatói élmény a…
[50] DIJKSTRA, Theo K. and HENSELER, Jörg. Consistent partial least squares path modeling. In: *MIS Quarterly*, 39(2), 2015, pp. 297–316.
[51] BODNÁR, Esapism or active… pp. 18–36.
[52] BODNÁR, Látogatói élmény a…

Tab. 1: *Measurement and reliability of model constructions.*

Construction (Cronbach-alpha)	Statement	Average	Standard deviation	Standard factor weight
Learning (α = 0.754)	Some parts of the exhibition stimulated my curiosity, therefore I read a lot of information.	6.00	1.121	0.673
	From this exhibition I got to know more about the world.	5.94	1.150	0.756
	In this exhibition one can learn a lot.	6.12	1.018	0.718
Active involvement (α = 0.798)	I felt I was someone else for a while in the exhibition.	5.14	1.690	0.839
	I could imagine living in a different time and place.	5.83	1.454	0.8
Entertainment (α = 0.825)	The enthusiasm of the exhibition is contagious, it picks me up.	6.10	1.096	0.769
	You can have a good time in this exhibition.	6.33	0.929	0.826
	They make and effort to entertain us in this exhibition.	6.26	1.013	0.76
Aesthetics (α = 0.852)	Overall, this place is an attractive destination.	6.47	0.851	0.768
	The exhibition is aesthetically appealing.	6.32	1.041	0.824
	The exhibition setting provided pleasure to my senses	6.44	0.914	0.857
Multisensory experience (α = 0.804)	This experience has stimulated more than 2 of my senses (e.g. smelling, hearing, seeing, touching).	6.07	1.101	0.824
	I liked the experience of touching/ smelling/ hearing things.	6.23	1.027	0.818

Interactive edutainment (α = 0.833)	I could understand/ learn more things through doing activities, than by just viewing the exhibits.	5.93	1.206	0.856
	I had a kind of "WOW" experience (that surprised and amazed me) while interacting with the exhibits.	5.75	1.340	0.837
Satisfaction (α = 0.856)	I'm sure it was the right decision to visit this exhibition.	6.63	0.765	0.831
	It was not a waste of time to visit this exhibition.	6.50	0.887	0.91
Memorable experience (α = 0.895)	I think I will not forget my experiences in the exhibition.	6.35	0.990	0.813
	I will remember many good things about this exhibition.	6.36	0.966	0.867
	I will have wonderful memories about this exhibition.	6.01	1.195	0.917
Intention to return (α = 0.933)	I would revisit this exhibition in the future.	5.93	1.318	0.921
	If given the opportunity, I would return to this exhibition.	6.01	1.218	0.949
	I would like to return in the future to this exhibition space.	5.89	1.310	0.95

Note: *All items were measured on a seven-point Likert scale where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree.*

Multisensory experience is a two-item scale of our own development that measures how important trying out multiple sensory devices in the exhibition was to visitors. The reliability of the scale was found to be good (Cronbach α = 0.804).

Interactive edutainment is a two-item scale of our own development that measures how much the visitor values learning through devices which they can interact with. The reliability of the scale was found to be good (Cronbach α = 0.833).

Entertainment is a three-item scale adapted by Ásványi et al.[53] from Semrad and Rivera's definition[54]. It measures how important the entertainment experience was for the visitor (leisure

[53] ÁSVÁNYI, Katalin, MITEV, Ariel, JÁSZBERÉNYI, Melinda and METR, Mentes. Családok fesztiválélménye - két családbarát fesztivál elemzése. In: *Turizmus Bulletin*, 19(3), 2019, pp. 30–37. https://doi.org/10.14267/TURBULL.2019v19n3.4

[54] SEMRAD, Advancing the 5E's… pp. 58–67.

and relaxing experience). The reliability of the scale was good (Cronbach α = 0.825).

Active involvement is a two-item scale based on Radder and Han[55] (their other statements about escapism were removed) that measures the visitor's experience of active physical/virtual involvement with the exhibition (physical or virtual participatory activity). The reliability of the scale was good (Cronbach α = 0.798).

Aesthetic experience is a three-item scale adapted by Ásványi et al.[56] from the definition of Semrad and Rivera[57]. It measures how significant the aesthetic experience was for the visitor (how much the visitor's experience was influenced by the sight and visual features of the environment and the exhibition). The reliability of the scale was good (Cronbach α = 0.852).

Education is a three-item scale adapted by Ásványi et al.[58] from the definition of Semrad and Rivera[59]. It measures how significant the educational experience was for the visitor (gaining interesting, new knowledge). The reliability of the scale was good (Cronbach α = 0.754).

Memorable experience is a three-item scale adapted by Ásványi et al.[60] from the definition of Semrad and Rivera[61]. It measures how memorable visiting the exhibition was for the visitor. The reliability of the scale was good (Cronbach α = 0.895).

Satisfaction is a two-item scale based on Dirsehan[62] and our own development which measures how satisfied the visitor was overall with their visit to the exhibition. The reliability of the scale was good (Cronbach α = 0.856).

Intention to return is a three-item scale adapted by Ásványi et al.[63] from the definition of Semrad and Rivera[64] and Bonn et al[65]. It measures whether the visitor would return to the exhibition space/museum in the future. The reliability of the scale was good (Cronbach α = 0.933).

3.2 Measurement model

The convergence validity can be checked using standardised factor weights, which must be greater than 0.5 (0.4 for exploratory research), but it is better if they are greater than 0.7.[66] Table 1 also shows Cronbach's alpha values for the various concepts, which were all well above 0.7.[67]

Table 2 presents the convergence and discriminant validity of the measured concepts in relation to structural models no. 1 and no. 2 presented in the analysis. The convergence validation indicator is the AVE (average variance extracted), where a value

[55] RADDER, An examination of … pp. 455–470.
[56] ÁSVÁNYI, Családok fesztiválélménye - két … pp. 30–37.
[57] SEMRAD, Advancing the 5E's … pp. 58–67.
[58] ÁSVÁNYI, Családok fesztiválélménye - két … pp. 30–37.
[59] SEMRAD, Advancing the 5E's … pp. 58–67.
[60] ÁSVÁNYI, Családok fesztiválélménye - két … pp. 30–37.
[61] SEMRAD, Advancing the 5E's … pp. 58–67.
[62] DIRSEHAN, Analyzing museum visitor … pp. 103–125.
[63] ÁSVÁNYI, Családok fesztiválélménye - két … pp. 30–37.
[64] SEMRAD, Advancing the 5E's … pp. 58–67.
[65] BONN, Mark A., JOSEPH-MATHEWS, Sacha, DAI, Mo, HAYES, Steve and CAVE, Jenny. Heritage/culture attraction atmospherics: Creating the right environment for the heritage/cultural visitor. In: *Journal of Travel Research,* 45(3), 2007, pp. 345–354. https://doi.org/10.1177/0047287506295947
[66] HAIR, Joe F., SARSTEDT, Marko, RINGLE, Christian M. and MENA, Jannette A. An assessment of the use of partial least squares structural equation modeling in marketing research. In: *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 40(3), 2012, pp. 414–433. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11747-011-0261-6
[67] Ibidem

of 0.5 must be exceeded for each concept.[68] AVE is also in the diagonal in the first and second parts of the table, showing that the data meets the required criteria. The discriminant validity – that is, whether two concepts differ sufficiently from each other – was measured using the Fornell and Larcker test,[69] according to which the AVE index must always be greater than the square of the correlation between the concepts. The first and second parts of the table show that this criterion was also obtained. Overall, there is sufficient statistical evidence for the existence of the concepts in both models and that the variables measured are appropriate indicators of their respective factors.

Tab. 2: *Convergence and discriminant validity of the measured concepts (AVE, Fornell–Larcker criterion).*

Structural model no.1.						
Construct	Entertainment	Active involvement	Aesthetics	Education	Memorable experience	Intention to return
Entertainment	0.6184					
Active involvement	0.2844	0.8355				
Aesthetics	0.5925	0.1886	0.7766			
Education	0.4940	0.1937	0.3242	0.6743		
Memorable experience	0.5722	0.2329	0.5181	0.3418	0.8329	
Intention to return	0.4565	0.2607	0.3393	0.3435	0.4989	0.8840
Structural model no.2.						
Construct		Multisensory experience	Interactive edutainment	Entertainment	Active involvement	Intention to return
Multisensory experience		0.6739				
Interactive edutainment		0.4356	0.8586			
Entertainment		0.4609	0.3292	0.7438		
Active involvement		0.3035	0.2713	0.2391	0.8354	
Intention to return		0.3561	0.3300	0.3832	0.2611	0.8840

Note: I*n diagonal AVE values, below diagonal square of the correlations between the concepts can be seen.*

3.3 Participants

The sample consisted of 195 people – 77 male (39.5%) and 118 female (60.5%) – who filled in the questionnaire. With regard to relationships, 56.9% were married and 22.1% were in a relationship. With regard to who visitors came with, 61.1% arrived with family (relatives, children) and 34.4% arrived with a spouse, partner or friend. With regard to education, 45.2% undertook school up to secondary education and 49.2% had a higher education qualification. Among all respondents, 85.1% were visiting the exhibition space for the first time. Almost all 94.9% of them were from Hungary; the remainder were from Romania, Slovakia, Poland and the UK. Table 3 gives an overview of the descriptive statistical features of the dataset.

[68] Ibidem

[69] FORNELL, Claes and LARCKER, David F. Evaluating Structural Equation Models with unobservable variables and measurement error. In: *Journal of Marketing Research*, 18(1), 1981, pp. 39–50. https://doi.org/10.2307/3151312

Tab. 3: *Descriptive statistics of the survey population (sample size 195 people).*

Variable	Category	Result
Sex	Male	39.50%
	Female	60.50%
Family status	Married	56.92%
	In relationship	22.05%
	Single	13.85%
	Divorced/widowed	7.18%
Arriving from	Hungary	94.87%
	Romania	1.54%
	Slovakia	1.03%
	Poland	1.03%
	UK	1.54%
Arriving with	Alone	1.03%
	With spouse, partner or friend	34.36%
	With a group (3 or more)	3.59%
	With family (relatives, children)	61.03%
First visit	First visit in the exhibition space	85.13%
	Already visited the exhibition space	14.87%
Education background	Elementary education or lower	5.64%
	Secondary education	45.13%
	Higher education or higher	49.23%
Age	Average	51
	Median	41
	48 years or older	25%
	41–48 years old	25%
	31–41 years old	25%
	18–31 years old	25%
How long did you travel today to get to the exhibition space (minutes)?	Average	74 mins
	Median	20 mins
How long time did you spend in the exhibition space? (hours)	Average	1.78 hours
	Median	2 hours

How many children (under the age of 14) did you arrive with?	0	47.2%
	1	24.6%
	2	14.4%
	3	7.7%
	Other	6.2%
In the last year how many times have you visited a museum or exhibition?	Average	4.96
	Median	3.00
	Standard deviation	6.58

4 Results

In the following sections two structural models are presented, one of them analysing the interrelations of the 4E model, the other examining the factors affecting active involvement.

4.1 Structural model no. 1 (4E model)

Only one model fit criterion, the standardised root mean square residual (SRMR), is applied in PLS modelling; its cut-off value is 0.08.[70] The model delineated in this study had an appropriate model fit, with SRMR = 0.051. The results demonstrated that most of the hypotheses can be accepted or, more precisely, cannot be rejected.

It was found that aesthetic experience has a positive impact on the entertainment experience dimension (β = 0.66), suggesting that the more harmonious and well-kept the environment, the stronger entertainment experience (H1 accepted), which confirms Crozier's[71] statements. Aesthetic experience can refer to tidiness, how well-kept the environment inside and outside the exhibition is, whether the interior design or exhibition installation is harmonious, and also the beauty and uniqueness of the exhibited works. Entertainment can also take the form of uncomplicated entertainment which is not affected by anything from the point of view of aesthetics. Based on the examples mentioned in the in-depth interviews in the earlier qualitative research phase, it can also relate to the level of perfection of the installation, whether attention is paid to the smallest detail, or whether there is a visually undisturbed environment throughout the cultural attraction as a whole.

The experience of active involvement was also found to have significant positive impact on entertainment (β = 0.25), meaning that strengthening those elements which provide active physical or virtual participation is likely to result in better entertainment for visitors.

Entertainment was found to have a positive impact on education (β = 0.61), suggesting that the more entertaining the interpretation of a topic is, the more effective the educational experience (H2 accepted). This finding also confirms the concept of edutainment[72] and supports using electronic devices and other methods that entertain while, at the same time, help to achieve the museum's educational goals.

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[70] HU, Li-tze and BENTLER, Peter M. Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. In: *Structural Equation Modeling*, 6(1), 1999, pp. 1–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/10705519909540118

[71] CROZIER, Innovation at heritage…

[72] HOOPER-GREENHILL, Museums and their…; JEGERS, FunTain: Design implications…

Active involvement was not found to have a direct impact on education (H3 rejected); however, through entertainment it had a significant total impact ($\beta = 0.24$; $t = 2.66$; $p = 0.004$). In the frame of the research, it was shown that if visitors engage in active physical/virtual participation in the exhibition or related activities, it will ultimately lead more easily to an educational experience through edutainment.

The results showed that active involvement did not have a direct positive impact on memorable experience (H4 rejected) although, through entertainment, its total impact was significant and positive ($\beta = 0.21$, $t = 3.44$; $p = 0.00$). Activities and exhibition designs which foster active involvement lead to entertainment – as explained above – which results in a more memorable experience.

It is important to mention that among the four experience dimensions, aesthetics ($\beta = 0.33$) and entertainment ($\beta = 0{,}40$) were found to have direct positive impact on memorable experience; the other two (education and active involvement) did not. Active involvement, on the other hand, had an indirect impact through experience on the formation of a memorable experience; education was not found to affect it either directly or indirectly.

The formation of memorable experiences was found to have a significant positive impact on intention to return ($\beta = 0.41$; H5 accepted), which confirms the research of Tung and Ritchie[73] and Manthiou et al.[74] The more memorable a visit is, the greater the chance the visitor will return to the institution in the future. Intention to return was found to be directly affected only by the active involvement dimension ($\beta = 0.15$) among the four experience dimensions. Entertainment ($\beta = 0.46$; $t = 3.44$; $p = 0.00$) and aesthetics ($\beta = 0.59$, $t = 8.73$; $p = 0.00$) only had an indirect impact on intention to return through memorable experience, and education ($\beta = 0.19$; $t = 1.54$; $p = 0.06$) was found to have no significant impact. This also reflects the research of Dirsehan, who found that museum learning does not have a significant impact on willingness to return.[75]

The first model proves that educational experience is strengthened indirectly by active involvement and aesthetics ($\beta = 0.57$; $t = 8.66$; $p = 0.00$) experience. It can be stated that the other three dimensions have an impact on gaining knowledge, but it is not education that affects the behavioural intentions of visitors. This was confirmed in some of the in-depth interviews, in which museum professionals stated that learning is an indirect objective of visitors and that people decide for themselves how much new information they would like to amass.[76] Many visitors attend an exhibition only for recreational reasons and are not aware of learning anything while there. Exhibitions and curators have the challenging task of invisibly piquing interest in a topic.

At the same time, an important conclusion from the in-depth interviews was that the most memorable experiences derive from feeling some kind of emotion, be it nostalgia, pride, a thrill or other emotive experiences. Emotion can be fostered the most through personal interaction (e.g., with a tour guide), through an artefact, or with the aid of an interactive device.

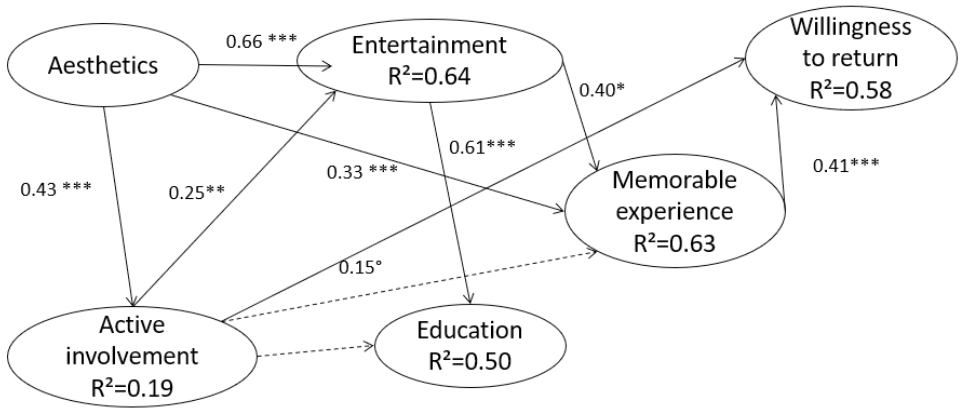
The results of the model are illustrated by Table 4 and Figure 3.

[73] TUNG, Investigating the memorable … pp. 331–343.
[74] MANTHIOU, The experience economy… pp. 22–35.
[75] DIRSEHAN, Analyzing museum visitor … pp. 103–125.
[76] BODNÁR, Látogatói élmény a …

Tab. 4: *Direct impacts between concepts of structural model no. 1.*

Direct impact	β	t-value	p-value
Entertainment → Education (H2+)	0.6058	4.0950	0.0000
Entertainment → Memorable experience	0.4030	2.3376	0.0098
Entertainment → Intention to return	0.1779	0.9106	0.1814
Active involvement → Entertainment	0.2454	2.9535	0.0016
Active involvement → Education (H3+)	0.0891	1.1161	0.1323
Active involvement → Memorable experience (H4+)	0.0930	1.3254	0.0927
Active involvement → Intention to return	0.1503	1.7486	0.0403
Aesthetics → Entertainment (H1+)	0.6632	9.9057	0.0000
Aesthetics → Active involvement	0.4342	5.8988	0.0000
Aesthetics → Education	0.0644	0.4257	0.3352
Aesthetics → Memorable experience	0.3269	2.7598	0.0029
Aesthetics → Intention to return	-0.0050	-0.0461	0.4816
Education → Memorable experience	0.0744	0.7309	0.2325
Education → Intention to return	0.1576	1.3194	0.0937
Memorable experience → Intention to return (H5+)	0.4107	3.7943	0.0001

Fig. 3: *Structural model no.1 (4E model) and its results.*



4.2 Structural model no. 2.

The SRMR model-fit criterion was also calculated regarding the second structural model. Based on this, it can be stated that the second model delineated in this study has an appropriate model fit, with SRMR = 0.068. The results demonstrate that most of the hypotheses can be accepted or, more precisely, cannot be rejected.

Multisensory experiences were found to have a positive impact on interactive edutainment (β = 0.66). This implies that the more senses an exhibition element stimulates, the more a visitor perceives they have learned something through activity and entertainment.

Multisensory experiences were found to have a significant impact on two experience dimensions, entertainment (β = 0.49) and active involvement (β = 0.37), which confirms and

adds nuance to the research results of Dirsehan[77], Crozier[78] and Lai[79]. It can therefore be stated that an exhibition which has more multisensory elements has a greater chance of entertaining the visitor or involving them actively, be it physically or virtually (H6, H8 accepted). Given this, it is a fundamental recommendation to apply in the design and development phase of an exhibition as many elements as possible that engage the senses of seeing, listening, smelling, touching and tasting.

Interactive edutainment was found to positively affect active involvement ($\beta = 0.28$). According to this finding, if an exhibition possesses many edutainment devices that visitors can try out, they are more likely to feel actively involved in the experience through physical or virtual participation (H7 accepted). This finding reflects the statements of Crozier[80] and Zátori[81]. The research of Falk et al.[82] is also relevant in this regard: according to them, visitors for the most part do not expect interactivity in museums, although if they encounter it their perceptions of such institutes as "dusty" or "old" can change in the longterm.

Both entertainment ($\beta = 0.49$) and active involvement ($\beta = 0.27$) have a significant and direct influence on visitors' intention to return (H9, H10 accepted). These are similar relations those investigated by Harrison-Shaw[83], Dirsehan[84], Lee and Chang[85], Radder-Han[86] and Forgas-Coll[87]. These findings suggest that devices and methods which foster either of the two types of experience have a positive effect on visitors' intention to return to the institution.

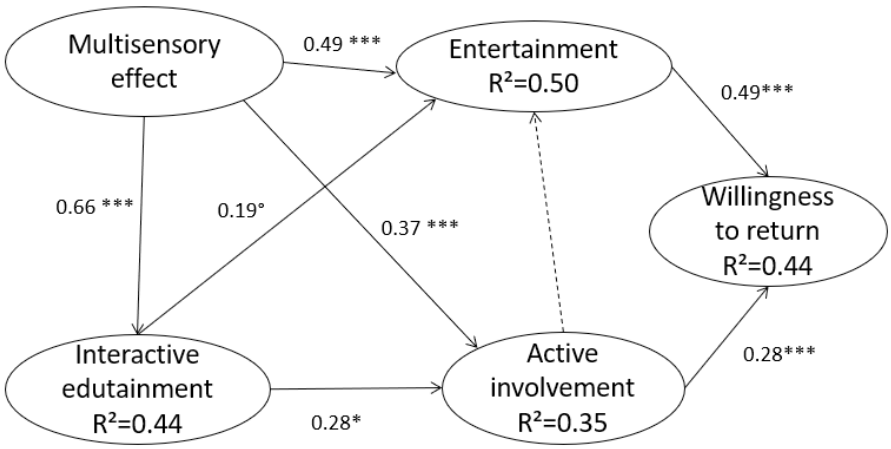
The detailed results are illustrated by Table 5 and Figure 4.

Tab. 5: *Direct effects between components of structural model no. 2.*

Direct effect	β	**t-value**	**p-value**
Multisensory experience → Interactive edutainment	0.6600	8.9291	0.0000
Multisensory experience → Entertainment (H8+)	0.4868	3.8282	0.0001
Multisensory experience → Active involvement (H6+)	0.3670	3.3412	0.0004
Interactive edutainment → Entertainment	0.1886	1.6946	0.0452
Interactive edutainment → Active involvement (H7+)	0.2786	2.3986	0.0083
Entertainment → Intention to return (H9+)	0.4851	6.8838	0.0000
Active involvement → Entertainment	0.1226	1.4436	0.0746
Active involvement → Intention to return (H10+)	0.2738	3.8030	0.0001

[77] DIRSEHAN, Analyzing museum visitor … pp. 103–125.
[78] CROZIER, Innovation at heritage…
[79] LAI, Universal scent blackbox… pp. 1–6.
[80] CROZIER, Innovation at heritage…
[81] ZÁTORI, A turisztikai élményteremtés…
[82] FALK, Interactives and visitor … pp. 171–198.
[83] HARRISON, Consumer satisfaction and … pp. 23–32.
[84] DIRSEHAN, Analyzing museum visitor … pp. 103–125.
[85] LEE, The influence of … pp. 103–121.
[86] RADDER, An examination of… pp. 455–470.
[87] FORGAS-COLL, How do service… pp. 246–256.

Fig. 4: *Structural model no. 2. (factors influencing active involvement) and its results.*



5 Conclusions

The following section presents an overview of the results of the quantitative research, then summarises the overall results of the broader study of which this is one part. Finally, the academic and management benefits of the research discussed.

5.1 Quantitative research

As a result of quantitative research, the authors were able to set up two valid models.

The first model explored the experience dimensions of the enhanced 4E model, their interrelationships, and their impact on memorable experience and intention to return. No hierarchical relationship between the experience dimensions was observed, but it can be stated that both the aesthetic experience and active involvement had a positive effect on entertainment. However, they only indirectly affected the learning dimension through the experience of entertainment. Intention to return was directly influenced by active involvement and memorable experience. Moreover, indirectly through memorable experience the aesthetic and entertainment dimensions had a positive influence on intention to return but not on learning.

The second model examined the components of active involvement, incorporating entertainment and the effect of these two selected experience dimensions on intention to return. According to the most important results, the multisensory experience had a positive effect on the experience dimension of both active involvement and entertainment, and on another component of active involvement: interactive edutainment. Interactive edutainment had a positive effect on the experience dimension of active involvement. Interactivity, as a scale of an independent concept, was not valid and could not be examined further. Both the experience dimensions of active involvement and entertainment were found to have a positive effect on the intention to return.

The scale of escapism was not valid and could not be investigated further.

Among the hypotheses tested in the quantitative research, H3 and H4 were rejected, but the others (H1, H2, H5, H6, H7, H8, H9, H10) were confirmed.

5.2 Overall findings

A review of the concept of escapism and the definition of the concept of active involvement[88] will contribute to the literature on the museum visitor experience, to a better understanding of the concept of the museum experience, and to its more effective measurement. By refining the fourth dimension of the chosen model, the usability of the model as a whole is advanced. As a result, a type of experience that is poorly explained in the literature and is often attributed to its general meaning thus becomes more identifiable.

In regard to the qualitative part of the greater study, a significant number of experts concluded that if an exhibition succeeds in evoking some kind of emotion in the visitor (e.g. nostalgia, pride, personal connection, a thrilling or other experience) then the most memorable experience will derive from that moment. Emotion can be most effectively fostered by an artefact, activities mediated by interactive devices, or a personal interaction with a museum employee. Memorable experiences are the cornerstone of the experience economy and such products[89] influence the visitor's future behavioural intentions (e.g. sharing experiences, returning).

The quantitative research described in this paper also confirmed that memorable experiences have a significant positive effect on willingness to return. These two factors are directly or indirectly influenced by three of the four experience dimensions – aesthetics, entertainment and active involvement – but education has no influence on any of them.

It should therefore be an important mission of curators, museum leaders and exhibition designers to evoke emotions in visitors. To do so, they need to connect audiences today with their past, tell stories that touch the soul (see the heart-touching, so-called "hearts-on" exhibition design by Bradburne[90]), and make use of devices that can convey these thoughts efficiently and impress the visitors visually or evoke an "Aha!" experience.

The quantitative research confirmed that multisensory devices as well as interactive edutainment methods have a positive effect on some dimensions of the visitor experience, facilitating the abovementioned process through the indirect effect of other factors. The results of the questionnaire also showed that all three other types of experience (aesthetic, entertainment and active involvement) contribute directly or indirectly to the realisation of learning goals and knowledge transfer, but that education itself is not a factor that influences visitors' future behavioural intention.

Results from the literature review and the qualitative and quantitative studies improved our understanding the concept of escapism and active involvement in the context of domestic museums and testing the refined 4E model.

5.3 Benefits of the research

The results of this study can be utilised in many areas in the future, including theoretical examination of the museum visitor experience and on a practical level by practitioners working at different levels of the museum sphere, from management and marketing and publicity officers to designers and curators developing new exhibitions.

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[88] BODNÁR, Esapism or active … pp. 18–36.

[89] PINE, Welcome to the … pp. 97–105; PACKER, Conceptualizing the visitor … pp. 128–143.

[90] BRADBURNE, James M. Museums and their languages: Is interactivity different for fine art as opposed to design? Paper presented on Interactive Learning in Museums of Art and Design. 17–18 May 2002, London Accessed: 1 March 2019, http://media.vam.ac.uk/media/documents/legacy_documents/file_upload/5758_file.pdf

The theoretical contribution of the museum visitor experience to the literature is manifested in a better understanding of the concepts of escapism and active involvement, providing the outline of a possible measurement model, as well as clarifying the relationships analysed in the model. In the present research, identifying the experience dimension of active involvement contributes to a better understanding of visitors' experiences. The literature exposed a need to clarify Pine and Gilmore's dimension of escapism[91] and explore the framework of its interpretation.[92] The separated meanings improve the accuracy of measurements of potential future research based on the 4E model and also allows the appropriate placement of each type of experience. The original aim of the broader study was to draw attention to the methods of interpretation in the dimension of active involvement. Although the effect of interpretation methods on experience has been measured by several researchers,[93] these have not yet been included in a complex visitor experience model, which was done in the frame of the presented refined model.[94] The model tested and the scales confirmed or refuted as a result of the quantitative phase of this study can provide the basis for future research and have potential for further development.

One of the contributions of the research to museum, exhibition and other professionals is that it can help them to better serve the needs of museum visitors by applying appropriate interpretation methods and providing ideal physical conditions. Such actions can help expand audiences, improve visitors' willingness to return, optimise the use of resources, and thus enhance the competitiveness and cultural sustainability of museums.[95] Besides serving the purpose of learning and transferring knowledge, the aesthetic, entertainment and active involvement experience dimensions directly or indirectly affect the formation of memorable experiences and visitors' desire to return. The use of multisensory devices and interactive edutainment have a positive effect on several experience dimensions. Therefore, using these methods and strengthening the mentioned experience dimensions also influences management processes in a positive way.

5.4 Limitations

The present research was limited by time and financial constraints. These prevented the authors from carrying out, among other things, quantitative research on a larger number of samples. This would have allowed the construction of a more complex structural model which could have been expanded to explore the relationships between several additional concepts.

Although the purpose of the work – to test the refined model – was fulfilled, examples of its use in other locations would have broadened the scope for interpretation. Therefore, a

[91] PINE, Welcome to the … pp. 97–105.

[92] OH, Measuring experience economy … pp. 119–132.

[93] FALK, Interactives and visitor … pp. 171–198; FORGAS-COLL, How do service … pp. 246–256; PREBENSEN, Nina K., KIM, Hyelin and UYSAL, Muzaffer. Cocreation as moderator between the experience value and satisfaction relationship. In: *Journal of Travel Research*, 55(7), 2015, pp. 934–945 https://doi.org/10.1177/0047287515583359; THYNE, Approaches to managing … pp. 1478–1493; LEIGH, Thomas, PETERS, Cara O. and SHELTON, Jeremy. The consumer quest for authenticity: The multiplicity of meanings within the MG subculture of consumption. In: *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 34(4), 2006, pp. 481–493. https://doi.org/10.1177/0092070306288403 HJALAGER, A review of … pp. 1–12.

[94] BODNÁR, Látogatói élmény a …

[95] FEHÉR, Zsuzsanna, ÁSVÁNYI, Katalin, JÁSZBERÉNYI, Melinda. Fenntartható múzeumok az európai régiókban. In: *Észak-magyarországi Stratégiai Füzetek*, 18(3), 2021, pp. 92–102. https://doi.org/10.32976/stratfuz.2021.44

suggested area for further research would be to test the validity of the model in other museum contexts, such as art or history museums.

Future studies might find it worth including ethnographic research in the methodology, such as personal observation of exhibitions or nethnographic research, which could broaden the results by reviewing feedback published on social media and other online platforms.

A more detailed analysis of the other three dimensions of the 4E model could confirm their current position in the model, thus contributing to its refinement. A systematic analysis of visitor models focused on active involvement could also reveal the dimensions and concepts in which this meaning appears.

Pine and Gilmore[96] considered the richest experience to be the sweet spot at the intersection of the four dimensions of their model. This seems appropriate from the supply side, but we consider it likely that on the demand side its place is always dependent on the consumer, as argued by Gram[97] and Zátori[98].

Although the present work on the relationship between experience dimensions has produced important findings, it did not support our hypothesis of a possible existing hierarchy, which has already been examined by Suntikul and Jachna.[99] It may be worth investigating further whether this sort of sequence exists or not, depending on the target group or type of attraction being visited.

In the framework of this study, quantitative research was carried out in one place, given the nature of the case studies, which aimed to test the refined model. An additional opportunity for research to test the model, modified on the basis of present experiences as needed, in other domestic locations, taking into account the different characteristics of each institution.

There are also future research opportunities regarding which emotions are most often awakened by an exhibition or museum, and which methods trigger each type of emotion most easily. The importance of emotions has been highlighted in this study in many cases, so it is worth exploring this direction as well.

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The Ethical Practice of Displaying Human Remains in Egyptian Museums

Heba Mady Khalil

Professor Heba Mady Khalil
Alexandria University
Faculty of Tourism and Hotels
Egypt
e-mail: heba.magdy@alexu.edu.eg
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6008-2157

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The Ethical Practice of Displaying Human Remains in Egyptian Museums
The International Council of Museums (ICOM) issued a code of ethics for the museums in 2004, several parts of which addressed to how to deal with human remains. This code covers all ethical considerations concerning dealing with human remains. The most interesting part is the one that dealt with need to remove the human remains from public display upon request from the originating communities. Recently, museum professionals have started to investigate this issue from another perspective, raising the dilemma of ethical practice when displaying human remains to the public. They started to think about what the deceased would say if they were asked for their approval for their remains to be displayed to the public after death. Individual museums varied in their opinions, with some approving and others opposing the idea. Some museums have started to set their own ethical codes no how to display remains. Others reached the conclusion that all humans remains should be removed from display. Since this topic has started to be discussed in museums worldwide, I wanted to investigate the opinions of Egyptian museums regarding displaying human remains by means of interviews with museum specialists. Are they concerned about this dilemma? Do they follow ethical procedures in displaying human remains? What are the ethical challenges for museums in relation to the display of human remains, and what changes have there been? A survey was also conducted among members of the Egyptian public to learn how they feel about the display of human remains.

Keywords: ethics, mummies, human remains, Egyptian museums, display of human remains, exhibitions

1 Introduction

Human remains vary; they can be cremated, skeletal, mummified or even artefacts carved from human remains. The acquisition of human remains by museums has been considered a source of information and education. Ancient human remains provide a unique insight into human funerary practices and cultures of the past.

Displaying the dead has long been normal in western societies. An early example is displaying the relics of saints in the Middle Ages.[1] A different reason for displaying human remains started to emerge in Europe between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries in the "anatomy theatre" where human and animal remains were displayed and dissected in public as a source of entertainment.[2] The same era also witnessed the display of the dead with no ethical

[1] WESCHE, A. (ed.). *Recommendations for the Care of Human Remains in Museums and Collections*, German Museums Association, 2013, P. 12.
[2] MARRE, P., and VILLET, R. Anatomy theaters in the history and teaching of surgery, In: *Journal of visceral surgery*, 157(3), Suppl. 2, 2020, pp. 73–76.

concerns in various places, such as Sedlec Ossuary, known as the Bone Church, near Prague, or the Capuchin catacombs in Palermo. There was also the Paris Morgue in the nineteenth century, where the people of Paris were invited to enter and see corpses for free amusement.[3]

Mummies were sold in Egypt to be displayed in cabinets of curiosities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In hope of finding further valuable objects under the bandages, many mummies were unwrapped with no scientific purpose in mind. Up until the twentieth century, the powder made from ground mummies was regarded in Europe as a cure for almost any disease.[4]

Since the late 1990s, there has been an increasing discussion about the rights of the dead and the ethics of storing and displaying human remains in museums. They started to question who owns the dead and speaks for them. Notably, this discussion started in countries with indigenous minorities: the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.[5] In the 1980s, Australian communities were the first to initiate an ongoing campaign to return their ancestral remains from museums all around the world.[6] Discussions on the same topic were held at the World Archaeological Congress in 1989, at its inter-congress meeting in South Dakota, USA. This discussion led to the adoption of the Vermillion Accord on the treatment of human remains.[7]

The International Council of Museums (ICOM) issued a code of ethics for museums in 2004, several parts of which addressed how to deal with human remains, and another code of ethics for natural history museums in 2013, in which Section 1 is dedicated to human remains. This article is concerned with the code of ethics of 2004, which covers all ethics associated with dealing with human remains, from acquisition to scientific research to their exhibition (articles 2.5, 3.7, 4.3). Arguably the most interesting part is article 4.4, as it approves removal from display upon request from originating communities.[8]

All museums started to follow the ICOM code and developed their own codes in which they set out instructions on how to preserve human remains. Most museums differentiated between two types of human remains: indigenous peoples and uncontested human remains. With regard to remains attributed to indigenous peoples, most museums agreed to remove these from display and return them to be buried upon request from the originating community in accordance with their afterlife beliefs. The Smithsonian institution repatriated over 5,000 individuals.[9] There was also the case of the Mungo man, the oldest Indigenous human remains on the Australian continent, which were moved to the National Museum of Australia in Canberra to be studied. In 2017, the skeleton was returned to its place of origin to be buried (Fig. 1).[10]

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[3] ZOLA, E. *Therese Raquin*, Penguin Classics, 1962, pp. 109–110.

[4] WESCHE, A. (ed.). *recommendations for the care of human remains*, P. 16.

[5] ALBERTI, S. et al. Should we display the dead? In: *Museum and Society* 7(3), 2009, pp. 133–149.

[6] MCKINNEY, N., Ancestral remains from Oceania: Histories and relationships in the collection of the British Museum, in: *Regarding the Dead: Human Remains in the British Museum*, Fletcher A. and Antoine D. eds., the British Museum Press, 2014, PP. 34–42.

[7] FFORDE, C. Vermillion Accord on Human Remains (1989) (Indigenous Archaeology). In: Smith, C. (eds) *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*. Springer, New York, NY, 2014, pp 7612–7615.

[8] ICOM. Code of Ethics for Museums. 2017. https://icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/ICOM-code-En-web.pdf

[9] SMITHSONIAN. Annual report 2020: Repatriation Activities of the Smithsonian institution. www.naturalhistory.si.edu/sites/default/files/media/file/2020-annual-report-repatriation-activities-smithsonian-institution.pdf

[10] PERROTTET, T. A 42,000-Year-Old Man Finally Goes Home. In: *Smithsonian Magazine*, September 2019. https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/mungo-man-finally-goes-home-180972835/

Fig. 1: *Mungo Man, Australia*. Source: https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/mungo-man-finally-goes-home-180972835/.

Uncontested human remains – those which are not the subject of claims made by any community group – posed a different set of ethical dilemmas with regard to displaying them to the public. Museums varied in their opinions, some approving and others opposing the idea. However, all agreed on the need to make a clear commitment to the highest standards of governance, accountability and responsibility regarding the treatment of human remains. They also agreed that the opinion of the public in this case matters.

In 2005, the UK Government's Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) conducted visitor surveys on this topic. The surveys indicated that most museum visitors were comfortable with and often expected to see human remains. This led to issue the 2005 "Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums", a code of practice for handling and displaying human remains. This guideline mentions that "human remains should be displayed if the museum believes that it makes a material contribution to a particular interpretation; and that contribution could not be made effectively in another way". Human remains should also be positioned so that people do not come across them by surprise. Such displays should always be accompanied by sufficient explanatory material.[11] In 2009, English Heritage and the National Trust also consulted public opinion about displaying human remains. The majority agreed that displaying human burials can help the public understand how people have lived in the past. However, in the last ten years, wider aspects of the care of human remains have been developed. This resulted in the creation of the British Museum Policy on Human Remains, issued in 2013.[12]

The German Museums Association drew up its first guidelines in 2013. These guidelines recommend that presentation of human remains must be respectful and scientifically accurate. Efforts should always be made to make visitors aware of the sensitive nature of such exhibits by providing appropriate information.[13] Museum galleries Scotland issued their own code of ethics concerning human remains in 2011. They also distributed surveys showing that most visitors are comfortable with, and often expect to see, human remains as part of museum displays.[14]

[11] Department for Culture, Media and Sport, *Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums*, London, 2005.
[12] FLETCHER, D. et al. (eds), *Regarding the Dead: Human Remains in the British Museum*. British Museum, 2019. https://www.britishmuseum.org/our-work/departments/human-remains
[13] WESCHE, A. (ed.). *recommendations for the care of human remains*, p. 58.
[14] https://www.museumsgalleriesscotland.org.uk/advice-article/introduction-to-human-remains-in-museums/

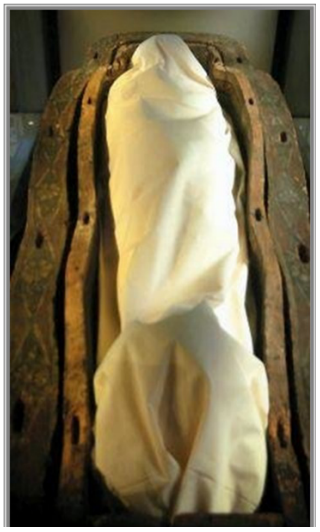

Fig. 2: *Manchester Museum covers the displayed mummies.* Source: SWANEY Meg, The Living Dead.

Fig. 3: *Mummy of Nesmin, Rhode Island Museum.* Source: https://turn-to10.com/archive/risd-mummy-moved-for-new-exhibit.

Changes in the method of display have taken place in museums. In 2008, Manchester Museum covered three of its unwrapped or partially unwrapped Egyptian mummies with white shrouds (Fig. 2), reportedly in response to complaints from visitors who were "concerned or disturbed about their display".[15] After further dialogue with the public, the museum uncovered the mummy of Khary, and the face and feet of Asru. The child mummy was removed from display and returned to its home institution. In the US, the Rhode Island School of Design Museum had had a 2,100-year-old mummified priest named Nesmin in residence since 1938. He was displayed wrapped next to his coffin. In 2014, a debate started to occur concerning this display. In 2016, the museum held a public discussion that results in the mummy being displayed inside its coffin, in 2018 (Fig. 3).[16]

Sometimes, human remains are banned from display. For example, the Staatliches Museum Agyptischer Kunst in Munich, Germany, banned the display of mummies. This was mentioned in the so-called mummy taboo and was written next to a mummy's coffin (Fig. 4) The museum holds in its display only one child mummy because it was completely wrapped. The Royal British Columbia Museum, Canada, now has a policy that does not allow for the display any human remains. This decision was made to ensure equal treatment of all human remains. In its 2018 temporary exhibition, titled "Egypt: The Time of Pharaohs", the museum chose not to display any Egyptian mummies for ethical reasons. The San Diego Museum of Man in California (USA) now has a policy requiring permission from family members or the cultural community of the dead person to put remains on display.[17]

Attempts to humanize the exhibition have also appeared. In 2011, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, UK, put a label by a female mummy (Meresamun) where a translation can be found of an inscription of an offering, which visitors are invited to recite to ensure her food supply in the next world (Fig. 5). A 'Mummified Child' dating to the second century CE is displayed

[15] SWANEY, M. *The Living Dead: Egyptian Mummies and the Ethics of Display*, MS. Thesis, New York, 2013, p. 4.
[16] TARLE, L., *Exhibiting Respect: Investigating Ethical Practice for the Display of Human Remains in Museums*, PhD Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2020, p 96.
[17] Ibidem.

Fig. 4: *Mummy taboo, Staatliches Museum Agyptischer Kunst, Munich, Germany*. Source: photographed by the researcher.

next to a glass showcase showing a 3D construction based on the scans of his body, made by artist Angela Palmer.[18] The same idea of reciting an incantation was used by Petrie Museum in its exhibition "Ancient Egypt: Digging for Dreams". The Bristol Museum and Art Gallery in the UK uses a darkened box. When a visitor approaches the exhibit, a motion-activated interpretation appears on a screen one letter at a time, reading:

Fig. 5: *Female mummy (Meresamun), Ashmolean Museum, England*. Source: https://oxfordshiremummies.co.uk/days-out-in-and-around-oxfordshire/ashmolean-museum-review-for--kids/.

[18] https://www.uncomfortableoxford.com/bones-of-contention-the-ethics-of-displaying-human-remains-in-museums

> Remember that all bodies were once living people, like us. They are not just objects or scientific specimens. Do you think his body should be on display in the gallery? If you want to see his body, touch the two glowing circles to light up the case.[19]

Some museums have moved beyond thinking about the display of human remains to considering photos of human remains on their website. The National Museum of Scotland has removed all images of unwrapped human remains from its online database. If an image is required for scientific purposes, the researcher must contact the museum library. The guidelines adopted by Australian museums states that images and replicas of ancestral remains held in museums must not be exhibited or in any other way made available to the public without the prior permission of the traditional custodians or those authorized by them.[20]

2 Literature review

Recent studies have examined the ethical considerations surrounding the display of remains. Articles have addressed the issue not only in the museums but also in the archeological sites such as the Capuchin Catacombs in Italy.[21] In recent years, this subject has received increased attention, particularly in relation to the ongoing decolonization efforts in the museums. The question of displaying Egyptian mummies has been more thoroughly examined in museums and memory institutions in North America,[22] as well as in certain European countries.[23]

While most visitors support exhibiting these remains, some argue for a more respectful approach to displaying them. Some emphasize the educational value of respectful exhibition to combat stereotypes, as changing the mindset of visitors can prevent such assumptions from arising.[24] The sustainability of mummy research depends on an ethical orientation, requiring an interdisciplinary approach; a balanced approach that respects both scientific inquiry and ethical considerations is essential.[25]

The literature explores arguments for and against displaying human remains, offering no definitive conclusions but rather a respectful dissensus. These studies highlight the complex ethical landscape surrounding human remains in museums, emphasizing the need for careful consideration of the points of view of various stakeholders as well as cultural sensitivities.[26]

However, thus far, no study has addressed the topic of displaying human remains in Egyptian museums or examined the views of the Egyptian people regarding their ancestors being displayed in museums.

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[19] TARLE, L., *Exhibiting Respect*…, p. 97.

[20] Museums Australia, *Continuing cultures, ongoing responsibilities: principles and guidelines for Australian museums working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural heritage*. Museums Australia Inc, 2005.

[21] SQUIRES, K. and PIOMBINO-MASCALI, D., Ethical Considerations Associated with the Display and Analysis of Juvenile Mummies from the Capuchin Catacombs of Palermo, Sicily, *Public Archaeology* 20(3), 2022, pp.1–19; Squires, K. and Piombino-Mascali, D., Public attitudes towards the display of non-adult mummies in the Capuchin Catacombs of Palermo, Sicily. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, *30*(8), 2024, pp. 888–904.

[22] TARLE, L., *Exhibiting Respect: Investigating Ethical Practice for the Display of Human Remains in Museums*, PhD Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2020.

[23] SWANEY, M., *The Living Dead: Egyptian Mummies and the Ethics of Display*, MS Thesis, New York University, 2013.

[24] DAY, J., Thinking makes it so: Reflection on the ethics of displaying Egyptian mummies, In: *Papers on Anthropology* XXIII/1, 2014, pp. 29–44.

[25] BARTALSKÝ, A., Ľudské telo v múzejných zbierkach. In: *Museologica Brunensia*, 12(2), 2023, pp. 1–11.

[26] KAUFMANN, I. M. and RÜHLI, F. J., Without 'informed consent'? Ethics and ancient mummy research, *Journal of Medical Ethics*, 36(10), 2010, pp. 608–613.

3 Methodology

The objective of this empirical study was to evaluate the ethical practices of Egyptian museums when it comes to displaying human remains. In addition, it aimed to investigate the opinion of Egyptians on displaying human remains in museums. The main research questions were:

- Do the Egyptian museums follow any guidelines in dealing with human remains?
- What is the opinion of Egyptians about displaying the human remains of their ancestors to the public?
- Can technology be used as an alternative for displaying human remains?

To fulfil the research objectives and answer these questions, a mixed method approach was employed. The descriptive method was used to narrate the ethical debate that has arisen with regard to displaying human remains and to determine which Egyptian museums hold human remains in their display. For the quantitative aspects of the research, a questionnaire was chosen as a survey instrument for collecting data on a case study. The aim was to seek the opinion of the Egyptian general public regarding the display of the human remains of their ancestors to the public. For the qualitative aspect of the research, interviews were conducted with Egyptian museum professionals.

3.1 Data collection

In Egypt, dead bodies have sanctity. For this reason, Egyptian museums do not display modern human remains; these are only preserved in university museums within faculties of medicine, and for educational purposes only. But what about our ancestors' human remains – do they not have the same right to respectful treatment? Although modern Egyptians do not share the same religious and burial customs of our ancestors, we should still respect their desires. Our ancestors hid their tombs, sealed the doors and inscribed them with magical incarnations to protect them from thieves. They wished their bodies to remain undisturbed. Studies have shown that the evolution of the tomb structure resulted from a desire to secure the tomb.[27] The individuals entombed within never thought that their mummies would be found and displayed to the public.

The Egyptian constitution, issued in 2019, mentions in one of its articles (No. 60) that the human body has its own privacy and should not be tampered with.[28] Neither the Egyptian Penal Code No. 58 of 1937 nor its amendment, No. 141 of 2021, include any penalty for tampering with dead bodies. This issue is only included in article No. 160, with regard to a penalty for cemetery violations.[29]

The debate around the ethical issues of dealing with the mummies emerged in Egypt started during the reign of King Fouad I, following the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun. In 1925, one of the members of the Egyptian parliament sent a telegram to the King asking him not to permit the unwrapping of the mummy of Tutankhamun and to use x-rays instead to study it instead, out of respect for the sanctity of the dead king. The demand was refused, and the mummy of Tutankhamun faced a violation by Carter and his team while it was removed

[27] CLARK, R., *Tomb Security in Ancient Egypt from the Predynastic to the Pyramid Age*, Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, 2016.

[28] https://www.presidency.eg/ar/%D9%85%D8%B5%D8%B1/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D8%B3%D8%AA%D9%88%D8%B1/

[29] https://manshurat.org/node/14677

from its coffin.[30]

In 1977, Egyptian president El-Sadat held an international press conference inside the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, asking the opinion of archaeologists about the ethical display of the mummies. Should they be displayed to the public or returned to be buried in their tombs? Some of the El-Azhar sheikhs, headed by Sheikh Abdel Halim Mahmoud, presented a proposal to the president asking him to close the hall of the mummies in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, as they considered displaying mummies to the public to be unethical. The president agreed to the proposal and the hall was closed for seven years, but reopened in 1987.[31]

In 1980, a fatwa was issued (No. 1279) by Sheikh Gad El-Haq Ali Gad El-Haq, the former head of the El-Azhar, prohibiting the display of dead bodies, including mummies, to the public. However, other Sheikhs allowed them to be displayed, as they considered mummies to be archaeological objects rather than corpses.[32] During the parade of transferring the mummies of Egyptian pharaohs and queens to the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization (NMEC) in Cairo, debate about this ethical dilemma was again stirred. In 2021, Dar El-Ifta (an Egyptian governmental non-profit organisation that offers pragmatic guidance to Muslim institutions) held a public conference announcing that museums were allowed to display mummies to the public if it was done in a disciplined way.[33]

Human remains are displayed in Egyptian museums either as cremated remains, skeletons or mummies. I traced 13 Egyptian museums which hold human remains in their displays:

National Museum of Egyptian Civilization (NMEC)
Egyptian Museum in Tahrir Square
Egypt's Capitals' Museum in the new administrative capital
Museum of Imhotep in Saqqara, Museum of Cairo International Airport
Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria
Antiquities Museum in Bibliotheca Alexandrina
National Museum in Alexandria
Mummification Museum in Luxor
Luxor Museum
Nuba Museum in Aswan
Sharm El-Sheikh Museum South Sinai
Hurghada Museum, Red Sea Governorate

The Greco-Roman Museum is the only museum that holds a cremation urn (Fig. 6). The NMEC and Nuba Museum are the only museums that hold skeletal remains. The one at NMEC is considered the second oldest skeleton in Egypt; it originates from Nazlet Khater archaeological site. It belongs to a boy who used to work in a quarry. The other one, at Nuba Museum, is a 200,000-year-old human skeleton which was found in the Edkobateh area in Aswan (Fig. 7). Both skeletons are displayed in the main hall of the museum, represented in their funerary context. The one in the NMEC is accompanied by stones and tools from the same era. There

[30] HAWASS, Z. and SALEEM S., *scanning the Pharaohs*, The American University press, Cairo, 2016, p. 104

[31] HAWASS, Z. الحارس، ايام زاهي حواس [The Gard: days of Zahi Hawass]. Cairo, Nahdet Mesr press, 2020. [in Arabic].

[32] NADA, A., تحنيط الجثث ونقلها وعرضها بالمتاحف [Mummifying corpses, moving and displaying them in museums], in: Journal of Religious Researches, 36, 2021, pp. 545–622. [in Arabic].

[33] Dar El-Iftaa Facebook page 2 February 2021.

Fig. 6: *Cremation urn, Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria.* Source: photographed by the researcher.

is also an explanatory video representing the shape of primitive humans. The Mummification Museum at Luxor displays a vertical section of a skull filled with linen (Fig. 8). The rest of the human remains displayed in the museums are in the form of mummies.

The researcher noticed no obvious regulations concerning the display of human remains in Egyptian museums. The museum in Cairo International Airport displays two mummies (Fig. 9). This museum was intended for passengers using the airport, with the aim of helping to acquaint them with Egyptian civilization. There is no need to display human remains in such museums, as it is considered a violation of their sanctity.

Skeleton from Nazlet Khater, NMEC

200000 years old skeleton from Aswan, Nuba Museum

Fig. 7: *Skeletons displayed in Egyptian Museums. Source: photographed by the researcher.*

Each museum follows its own perspective in the display of mummies. The majority of Egyptian museums (eight museums, or 62%) use special rooms called the mummy room or rooms for the afterlife. However, the remainder display mummies in their main hall. It is worth noting that dedicating a special room for the mummies does not relate to any ethical concern; it is only a method of display. That is why we see museums that display certain mummies in special rooms while others are in the main hall. The NMEC, for example, displays 20 mummies in a special room, while the skeleton is in the main hall. The Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria displays two mummies in a room specified for the afterlife, while two other mummies are in the main hall, as is the cremation urn. Luxor Museum displays one mummy in a special room and three others in the main hall. Nuba museum displays five mummies in a special room for the afterlife, while the skeleton is in the main hall.

As for how the mummy itself is displayed, this also differs from one museum to another – and even within the same museum from one mummy to another – with no clear regulations governing the reasons. Some mummies are displayed completely wrapped in linen and sometimes covered by their cartonnage, such as the mummy displayed in the Antiquities Museum at Bibliotheca Alexandrina (Fig. 10). Others are displayed intentionally covered with linen shrouds

Fig. 8: *Vertical section of a skull filled with linen, The Mummification Museum, Luxor*. Source: photographed by the researcher.

Fig. 9: *Two mummies displayed in Cairo International Airport Museum*. Source: photographed by the researcher.

Fig. 10: *Female Mummy, Roman period, Antiquities Museum, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Alexandria*. Source: Photographed by the researcher.

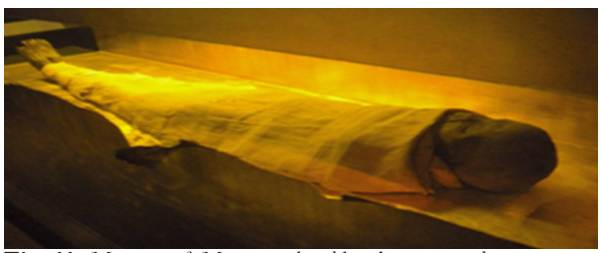

Fig. 11: *Mummy of Merenre, the oldest known royal mummy, Museum of Imhotep, Saqqara*. Source: photographed by the researcher.

except for the head and feet, such as the mummy of Merenre, at the Museum of Imhotep at Saqqara (Fig. 11). There is only one mummy displayed partially wrapped, namely the one from the New Kingdom at the Museum of Cairo International Airport (Fig. 9). Only one mummy is displayed completely unwrapped: the Mummy of a child from the Ptolemaic period at the Egyptian Museum in Tahrir Square (Fig. 12).

Some mummies are displayed without a coffin, such as the previously mentioned mummy in the Antiquities Museum, Bibliotheca Alexandrina (Fig. 10). Other mummies are displayed inside their coffin. The coffin might be completely open, such as the mummy of a female called Shepenkhonsu (1080–740 BC) in Luxor Museum (Fig. 13), or it could be semi-closed, as with the two mummies of Yuya and Thuya (eighteenth dynasty) in the Egyptian Museum in Tahrir Square (Fig. 14). There is only one mummy displayed inside a completely closed coffin (Fig. 15), located in the Antiquities Museum in Bibliotheca Alexandrina. The curator clarifies that the for this is that the mummy was in very bad condition, therefore there is no need for the visitors to see it as long as there is another mummy on display without a coffin.

It is worth noting also that all the mummies are displayed in special display cases filled with nitrogen to maintain their condition. All are displayed lying on linen sheets (which is important to prevent any reactions that could occur between the mummy and the surface) except for one mummy that is displayed in the Antiquities Museum at Bibliotheca Alexandrina which lies directly on the wooden surface (Fig. 10).

Fig. 12: *Child mummy, Ptolemaic period, Egyptian Museum, Cairo.* Source: photographed by the researcher.

Fig. 13: *Mummy of a female called Shepenkhonsu, Luxor Museum.* Source: photographed by the researcher.

Fig. 14: *Mummies of Yuya, Eighteenth Dynasty, Egyptian Museum, Cairo.* Source: photographed by the researcher.

Fig. 15: *Anthropoid coffin with a female mummy inside, Ptolemaic period, Antiquities Museum, Bibliotheca Alexandrina.* Source: photographed by the researcher.

There are no regulations concerning visitors viewing human remains. Photographs without flash are allowed in all museums, as they are for any other artifacts in the museums. Even for mummies displayed in special rooms there are no regulations concerning the number of visitors that can enter the room and no sign by the room's entrance referring to the fact that human remains are displayed within. Children of all ages are allowed to view the human remains. The behaviour of some visitors (especially youngsters) who make jokes or act in a relaxed manner in the presence of the human remains reveals that the educational purpose of displaying human remains is not being achieved.

The NMEC is the only museum that applies some regulations to those visiting the hall of the mummies (excluding the skeleton, which is displayed in the main hall without any regulations). In the hall of the mummies, photography is not allowed and talking is not permitted – even tour guides are not allowed to speak inside. There are guards inside the hall to make sure people follow these rules. However, with no limitations on the number of visitors that can enter, it is hard for the guards to ensure there are no infractions. The hall has only one sign at the entrance, mentioning that entry is not recommended for visitors with claustrophobia. Despite the regulations, shooting a TV episode inside the hall of mummies is allowed! Visitors sometimes faint because the length of stay inside the hall is long and some people cannot bear to see 20 mummies with no break.

3.2 Survey - questionnaire

An online survey was distributed among the study population of Egyptian citizens via Facebook. The questionnaire was divided into five sections. The first section covered respondents' profiles. The second section comprised five questions examining respondents' opinions regarding the display of human remains in museums. The third section contained four questions about the regulations museums should put in place concerning the display of human remains. The fourth section, with five questions, investigated respondents' preferred

method for displaying human remains. The fifth section contained four questions investigating respondents' opinions on the display of the human remains in Egyptian museums.

The questionnaire was distributed in February 2024 and 1,301 completed questionnaires were returned. This is considered a high response rate. Frequency analysis was used as a descriptive statistical method to analyse the results and draw conclusions from the collected data.

The majority of respondents were between 18 and 24 years of age (65.8%). Respondents with a higher education constituted 58.7% of the sample. 37.3% visited museums moderately often, followed by 23.2% who visited repeatedly, 23.2% who rarely visited museums and 9.2% never visited museums.

When asked about their opinion on human remains in museums, the majority (66.1%) considered them either historical or artistic objects, while (33.9%) considered them relics of dead humans. In terms of motivation, 58.0% of respondents said they visited human remains out of historical interest; only 26.3% said they visited them out of curiosity. When asked how they felt when viewing human remains in museums, 66.4% said they were fascinated, while 13% aid they felt uncomfortable. Regarding the importance of displaying human remains, 91.1 % said that this helped them gain a deeper understanding of our ancestors, while only 6.3% saw no importance in their display. When asked how museums should deal with human remains in their possession, almost half (47.6%) felt that they should be displayed to the public, 23.2% said that they should be kept in the museum's storeroom for study and research only, and 22.9% of felt that they should be returned to be buried in their tombs. Other minority opinions also emerged: for example, some felt that the human remains should be displayed in their tombs, as in the case of the mummy of Tutankhamun; others thought that only royal mummies should be displayed, while other unknown mummies could be studied and then returned to be buried in their tombs.

Concerning the regulations that should be set for visiting human remains, only 29% of respondents felt that children should be allowed to visit human remains; 27.2% opposed the idea, and the majority 43.9% were not sure. However, 81.6% of the respondents felt that if children were allowed to visit human remains, they should be over 10 years old. As for photographing human remains, 44.3% of the respondents felt that it should not be allowed. When asked whether it is important to place warning signs referring to the existence of human remains in a room, out of concern for the feelings of sensitive people and children, a large majority (88.3%) felt such signs were essential.

As for respondents' opinions about the preferred method of display, 74.4% felt that human remains should be displayed in special rooms to give the visitor the choice of visiting them or not. However, 13.7% felt that it was fine for them to be displayed in the museum's main hall, while 11.5% opposed the idea of displaying them at all. About half (49.7%) preferred the mummy to be completely wrapped or covered, while the rest preferred the mummy to be totally or partially exposed. When asked about what the information that they would like to see accompanying the human remains, people mentioned the name, position, age at death, cause of death, diseases that they suffered from, place of discovery, and information about the mummification process. Lastly, when asked if they would accept the display of human remains using technology, such as a video or a hologram, instead of displaying the human remain itself, 58.4% of the respondents accepted the idea.

In the last section, the respondents were asked for their opinion about how human remains are displayed in Egyptian museums. Among respondents, 81.1% felt that Egyptian museums

displayed them respectfully, while 18.9% observed that there are no regulations in Egyptian museums concerning human remains. When asked if the accompanying information was satisfactory, 41.2% said that it was not. The questionnaire ended with a clear question about whether they thought it was ethical to display human remains: 65.9% of the respondents said it was ethically acceptable, 12.6% said it was unethical, and 21.5% were not sure. Thus, the majority (over two thirds) of respondents were accepting of the exhibition of human remains.

The survey finished with an open-ended space inviting respondents' suggestions. Some highlighted the importance of using technology alongside the mummies. Facial reconstruction can produce very powerful images, acting as a visual reminder that the people of the past were just like us. Other respondents suggested technologies that could be used as an alternative to displaying human remains. Improvements in 2D and 3D imaging as well as VR technology, for example, could allow museums to carefully catalogue and replicate human remains.

3.3 Interviews

The interviews were conducted with museum professionals responsible for museum displays in Egypt. The aim was to explore ethical changes and challenges for museums in relation to the display of human remains.

Dr Osama Abdel Wareth, Head of the International Council of Museums of Egypt, mentioned that Egyptian museums follow the ICOM's code of ethics. The museums tend to treat human remains as objects that illustrate ancient Egyptians belief in the afterlife rather than as dead human dead bodies. He added that there is no obligation for museums to display human remains in private halls. Regarding museums that consecrate a specific room for human remains, it comes down to the museum's perspective regarding the method of display. As for the restrictions Egyptian museums impose on those visiting human remains, he confirmed that there are no fixed obligations; however, the hall of the mummies in the NMEC specifies that no photos should be taken inside. This obligation does not relate to the ethics of display, only to protecting the mummies as objects by not exposing them to flashes. There is also no regulation regarding at what age children should be allowed to enter such rooms.

Dr Husseim Abdel Baseer, Manager of the Antiquities Museum in Bibliotheca Alexandrina, informed the researcher that the museum has two mummies on display in a special room consecrated for the afterlife. The reason they are displayed in a special room does not relate to any ethical concerns but rather to the method of display. He added that there is no regulation that obliges a museum display a mummy in a particular way, and also no comprehensive regulations dealing with the ethical concerns surrounding displaying human remains. He mentioned that having a code of ethics concerning the human remains in Egyptian museums would be a good idea.

Sami Shanshori, Head of the conservation team in the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria and the Antiquities Museum in Bibliotheca Alexandrina, said that all human remains in Egyptian museums were conserved using the latest scientific methods and displayed in cases that are supplied with nitrogen, either through pipes or from capsules. The mummies are checked regularly for any changes that might have occurred. He also mentioned that mummies from upper Egypt were sometimes brought to Alexandria to be displayed. The more humid weather of Alexandria has the potential to affect the mummy, so in such cases conservators exert extra efforts to maintain the mummy. However, he mentioned that there is no unified conservation protocol concerning human remains across all Egyptian museums, adding that the existence

of such protocol is very important as it allows the conservator to follow set procedures when dealing with different cases. Such a protocol should also contain a section specifying procedures that ensure the safety of conservators.

4 Conclusions and recommendations

With regard to the display of human remains in Egyptian museums, I found that museums are following ICOM's code of ethics and displaying human remains respectfully. However, there are no specific criteria for displaying human remains that all museums are obliged to follow. Each museum has its own perspective on how remains should be displayed, whether in specified rooms or in the main hall. Mummies might be displayed wrapped, unwrapped, partially wrapped, or covered with linen sheets. There are no regulations concerning visitors' behaviour around or access to human remains.

Upon investigating the opinion of the Egyptian public, it was found that the majority agreed it is ethically acceptable to display human remains in museums. Respondents saw the remains as historical artefacts rather than as their dead ancestors. They found visiting such exhibits provided an educational benefit, teaching them about the past, but felt that comprehensive information should be provided to accompany the display. However, the majority said that they would prefer more regulations to maintain the sanctity of human remains. on the majority agreed it was acceptable to display all kinds of human remains in specified rooms, but highlighted the need for warning signs at the entrance so that people could make an informed choice about whether to visit the room or not. The consensus was that children under the age of ten should not be allowed to enter such rooms, that photography should not be allowed, and that mummies should be displayed totally wrapped or covered with linen sheets.

Reflecting on these findings, I recommend that ICOM Egypt should, in cooperation with the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, work on a code of ethics concerning how all types of humans remains are dealt with in Egyptian museums. The code should cover the following areas:

Storage: the temperature and humidity of the storeroom; the method of storing human remains; criteria for deciding which mummies should be displayed and which should be kept in the storeroom. The Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria decided not to display two mummies that were in too bad a condition to display, instead keeping them in its storeroom, whereas the Antiquities Museum in Bibliotheca Alexandrina decided to display a more fragile mummy in a completely closed coffin.

Research: factors determining which human remains it is permissible to conduct research on. A handling protocol for those studying or working with such items should be available and referred to before studying or handling. A record of the research that has been conducted on each mummy should be kept in order not to duplicate the same research.

Conservation: regulations governing conservation and a guide for conservators to follow on how to maintain the condition of the mummy and also keep themselves in good health. Inspection and monitoring routines should be defined and an integrated pest management program should be established. Mummies found in upper Egypt should not be transferred to be displayed in lower Egypt, to maintain their preservation.

Display: any code should include rules for how mummies are displayed, according to the opinions of the Egyptian public. Conclusions regarding the display of mummies are summarised as follows:

- Displaying human remains should be allowed as long as their sanctity is retained, visitors are made aware of the sensitive nature of such exhibits, and the museum believes that exhibiting them makes a material contribution to a particular interpretation that could not be made effectively in another way. According to this logic, the mummies in Cairo International Airport Museum should be removed from display.
- Specifying certain rooms for human remains is preferred so that visitors do not come across such displays unawares.
- There should be warning signs at the entrance of such rooms to give the visitor a free choice of visiting the room or not, and to allow visitors to prepare themselves to view the remains respectfully.
- The number of visitors at any one time should be limited.
- Children under 10 years old should not be permitted to enter such rooms.
- Photography of human remains should not be allowed.
- Mummies with wrappings should be presented wrapped and exposed are should be covered with linen sheets, unless certain parts of the body were exposed to show the effect of a certain disease or show the cause of death.
- There should be criteria defining whether the mummy is displayed in its coffin or not.
- A mummy should not be displayed in a completely closed coffin – in such cases it would be preserved in the storeroom and kept for research only.
- Display cases should meet the standards required to maintain the condition of the mummy. All mummies should be placed upon linen sheets to avoid interaction with other surfaces.
- The accompanying information should meet visitors' needs. Important information includes the name, position, age, cause of death, any diseases that the individual suffered from, the place of discovery and information about the mummification process.
- Humanizing the exhibition is important. This could be done by the accompanying text, which should provide the name, origin, age of death, and cause of death. Using modern technology as part of the display should be considered, such as videos that explain ancient Egyptians' beliefs regarding the afterlife and the mummification process, or facial reconstruction. However, with regard to the latter it is important not to show features that are not justified by scientific evidence, and not to reinforce racial stereotypes or popular notions of racial identity.
- Using technology to display human remains by was accepted by respondents, and this could be applied in certain cases that can be determined.

- Images of Egyptian human remains should not be reproduced on gift shop items or featured in museum marketing materials.

- The visiting time inside the NMEC's hall of mummies inside the NMEC should be shortened, as some people cannot bear seeing so many mummies. Either the mummies could be distributed between two rooms, or a rest area should be created inside the hall in which visitors can watch a movie about the afterlife in ancient Egypt or learn about the mummification process before continuing to explore the exhibition.

- Finally, ICOM Egypt should conduct regular questionnaires with visitors to Egyptian museums, to continually develop this code in light of the ongoing changes. Public awareness should be raised to inform people that human remains in museums should be considered as museum objects but as the remains of once living humans that have dignity and should be treated respectfully. Museums have to realize that the respectful professional standards of the exhibition designers do not necessarily mean that visitors will respect the dead. It is therefore still necessary to provide the appropriate and comprehensible context that will lead the visitors to respect the human remains.

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Recovered Objects as Agents of Memory in a Holocaust-site Museum: Intrinsic Intimacy and Memory Practice in the 2020 Sobibór Exhibition

Marta Kubiszyn

Marta Kubiszyn
Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin
Institute of Cultural Studies
Poland
e-mail: marta.kubiszyn@mail.umcs.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3868-9398

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Recovered Objects as Agents of Memory in a Holocaust-site Museum: Intrinsic Intimacy and Memory Practice in the 2020 Sobibór Exhibition
Drawing on scholarship on Holocaust archaeology, object theory and museum studies, this article demonstrates the potency of historical objects as active agents of memory bestowed with a capacity to co-constitute the museum narrative and generate meaning. Using the 2020 exhibit at the museum of the Sobibór death camp as a case study, the article discusses objects on display that once belonged to the Jews deported there in 1942 and 1943. Specifically, the objects in the exhibit are not intended to tell any general story nor to represent the victims symbolically; instead, they communicate individual interests, needs and identities of the deportees. Moreover, these objects, atypical for the setting of a death camp, summon social relations of intimacy with the museum audience.

Keywords: Holocaust museums, Poland, Sobibór, memory, exhibition, personal objects

Introduction

At the small museum located on the site of the former Nazi death camp known as Sobibór, in Poland's Lublin Region, the visitor's gaze may catch sight of a child's pin exhibited in a small cabinet situated on the wall. This particular object stands out among the hundreds of other personal items and everyday objects displayed in a glass case that extends across the entire museum. These objects make up a portion of what Jewish deportees from Poland and other European countries in 1942 and 1943 brought with them to Sobibór. Made of brass, the pin is only 1.5 inches high and half an inch wide. Although the surface of the pin is burned, one can easily identify the famous cartoon mouse figure known to many around the world: Mickey Mouse. This image, created by Walt Disney together with his brother Roy O. Disney and his fellow animator, Ub Iwerks, in 1928, was popular throughout Europe in film and comics but also reproduced as figures to collect and carry.[1] The round ears, the form of the nose, the line of the tail and the shape of shoes that seem too big for the feet: are all present and identifiable. A careful observer may also discern the outline of a hand clad in a glove. The sight of the famous character, beloved by both children and adults, in an exhibition at a Nazi death camp is

[1] APGAR, Garry. Introduction. In: APGAR, Garry (ed). *A Mickey Mouse Reader*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2014.

initially jarring and then troubling, as the visitor may realise that a person chose this item from among their personal belongings to bring with them on a deportation in the 1940s.

Mickey Mouse was found in a section of the former camp known as Lager II, where deportees were admitted and their property plundered. This is where the undressing and sorting rooms were located as well as warehouses of plundered property and adjacent dump pits into which items that were considered worthless were thrown and burned.[2] The pin spent several decades in the ground. After it was retrieved by archaeologists, it was included among hundreds of other objects in the exhibition launched in October 2020 presenting the history of the camp with sensitivity to the experiences of the victims.

This article presents the argument that the objects curated in the Sobibór exhibit, Mickey Mouse among them, function in an "agentic" sense to deliver memory through an intimacy with the viewer that is both constructed curatorially and evoked by the nature of the objects themselves, that is, intrinsic to them. These objects are more than artefacts from the past, or evidence that this deportation occurred. As will be shown below, they indicate the life prior to deportation, the act of choosing before a journey, the holding close during the train, and the chaos of disembarking and being forced to undress. In regard to Mickey Mouse, the pattern by which it has been degraded reveals that it was burned together with other items considered worthless by the perpetrators. The Nazi decision to cover the site after the uprising that broke out in October 1943 effectively buried many objects and hid them from view. Postwar years of neglect and restrictions on historical research compounded this until the 2008 decision to transform the landscape and surviving structures of the former camp into a memorial site.[3] In a sense, Mickey Mouse is a storyteller, carrying a narrative from the past that is otherwise not available and initiating a relationship of closeness and familiarity in the present.

To develop this argument, this article engages with three distinct literatures, each of which has made contributions to the study of memory and museology in recent years. The first is Holocaust archaeology, in which Caroline Sturdy Colls poses questions about the material artefacts of displacement and genocide. The second is object theory, which conceptualises material objects (including museum objects) as bestowed with agency, i.e. as influencing the social world. The third literature is museum studies theory and focuses on curation processes as crucial for creating meanings and interacting with an audience as well as on how the curators interpret difficult, sensitive historical issues in their exhibitions.

The research included several study visits and participant observation at Sobibór Museum in 2021 and 2022, resulting in photographic documentation and analysis of published statements of individuals who collected, processed and curated the materials for the Sobibór exhibition. Building on these source materials, this article will make a case that certain Holocaust objects should be considered agents of memory, taking into account how they are framed and positioned within the museum display but also in regard to specific concepts of agency and intimacy. These particular objects were curated to highlight their singularity, which allows them to express an affective resonance that explains a specific persecution journey – that is, an individual Holocaust history – and to bring the viewer into emotional proximity to this history without reducing it to a mass or one-dimensional victim experience. The exhibit at Sobibór

[2] KRANZ, Tomasz. Planowana ekspozycja historyczna na terenie byłego niemieckiego obozu zagłady w Sobiborze. Koncepcja i struktura [A planned historical exhibition on the site of the former German extermination camp in Sobibór. Concept and structure]. In: LEHNSTAED, Stephan & TRABA, Robert (eds). Akcja "Reinhardt". Historia i upamiętnianie [Operation Reinhardt. History and Memorial], Warszawa: Neriton, 2019, p. 394.

[3] Ibidem, p. 399.

generates a narrative for the visitor to partake in, one not dominated by the owner's death but instead originating in a particular social context in which a person from the past made choices, had preferences and was part of a rich prewar culture of Jews living in different European countries.

Sobibór's exhibition is a revealing case study because the Nazi attempt to obscure it completely meant that postwar reconstruction was very challenging and demanded creative technical solutions in the absence of material markers of a human presence at the site.

The Nazi regime established the Sobibór death camp in May 1942 as one of three killing centres (along with Bełżec and Treblinka) operating as the camps of *Einsatz Reinhardt*, or Operation Reinhardt – a project to exterminate all the Jews in the General Government (an occupation zone established by Germans in the territories of invaded Poland). The purpose of these three sites was to carry out the murder of the Jews throughout Poland and Nazi-occupied Europe, as well as appropriate their belongings.[4] In his most recent work, Polish historian Dariusz Libionka estimates that from May 1942 to October 1943, Nazi authorities and their collaborators killed approximately 170,000 – 180,000 people in Sobibór.[5] About half of the victims were Polish Jews; the other half were Jews from other European countries such as Slovakia, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, Germany, Austria, France, the Netherlands and the area that is today's Belarus.

Almost all the Jews arriving at Sobibór were immediately murdered. The exception was about 600 Jewish prisoners who were kept in the camp as forced labourers supporting the SS staff on site. Some of them were assigned to organise plundered property, while others performed clean-up work or worked in the adjacent forest. There was also a separate group, isolated from the other labourers, who were forced to handle those killed in the gas chambers.[6] It was a group of forced labourers who organised the uprising in October 1943. The rebels killed nine SS officers and two guards and approximately 300 prisoners escaped through the fences under heavy fire. Nazi authorities responded by killing all the Jews who had not escaped and hunting down the fugitives in the nearby forests for the next few days. As a result of the uprising, the Nazi authorities decided to destroy the camp's infrastructure to obscure evidence of the killing process. They dismantled the gas chambers and planted trees over the entire area, such that any recovery would be very difficult, and even evidence of camp borders would be extremely hard to identify.

Thus, one of the most murderous Holocaust sites became one of the most obscured. Moreover, the Nazis demolished most of the documents regarding *Einsatz Reinhardt* in general and Sobibór camp in particular. Historians and curators dealing with issues related to the Sobibór camp have had to rely mostly on what might be called "memory sources", that is, accounts of Jewish survivors and Polish bystanders, as well testimonies given in postwar trials by SS officers and guards.

The process of musealisation of the space of the former Sobibór camp began in the early 1960s, when an understanding of the spatial layout was developed to secure the area and commemorate the victims. The project did not include archaeological research, and the

[4] ARAD, Yitzhak B. *Belzec, Sobibór, Treblinka. The Operation Reinhard Death Camps*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press Indianapolis, 2018, p. 16.

[5] LIBIONKA, Dariusz. Sobibór camp as an Extermination Site of European Jews. In: KRANZ, Tomasz (ed). *Recovered from the Ashes. Personal Belongings of the German Death Camp in Sobibór*. Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 2018, p. 19.

[6] SCHLEVIS, Jules. *Sobibór: A history of a Nazi Death Camp*. Oxford-New York: Berg, 2021, pp. 111–117.

commemoration itself did not clearly indicate the ethnic identity of the victims and did not reveal the actual nature of the Sobibór camp. The next stage of the musealisation began in 1993, when a small museum was established on site as a branch of a museum in nearby Włodawa. In May 2012 this arrangement was replaced by the establishment of the Museum and Memorial Site in Sobibór, operating as a branch of the State Museum at Majdanek in Lublin.[7] In 2013, a competition for the commemoration design was held; construction began in 2016. Although some archaeological work had occurred in Sobibór in 2000, in 2011 this work expanded, ultimately providing extensive information on the camp's spatial structure and revealing thousands of material objects that belonged to the victims.[8]

Fig. 1: *Sobibór Memorial Museum, the main building.* Photo by Marta Kubiszyn (2022).

Techniques of reconstruction and the new Holocaust archaeology

Working with very little evidence, most scholars who studied Sobibór, as well as other *Einsatz Reinhardt* camps, took a descriptive, documentary approach. Recent archaeological approaches have made it possible to recover material traces of camp infrastructure preserved below the surface, as well as other physical evidence of Nazi crimes. Non-invasive tools, such as ground-penetrating radar and laser scanning, allowed for the identification of mass graves as well as a multitude of objects without destroying the camp's original features or violating

[7] KRANZ, Planowana ekspozycja…, p. 399.

[8] BEM Marek, MAZUREK Wojciech, *Sobibór. Badania archeologiczne prowadzone na terenie po byłym niemieckim ośrodku zagłady w Sobiborze w latach 2000 – 2011* [Sobibor. Archaeological research in the area of the former German extermination center in Sobibór in 2000 – 2011], Warszawa–Włodawa: Fundacja Polsko-Niemieckie Pojednanie 2012; ZALEWSKA Anna I., Pamięć miejsca naznaczonego akcją Reinhardt. Materialne pozostałości po SS-Sonderkommano Sobibór z perspektywy archeologa [The memory of the Operation Reinhardt site. Material remains of the SS-Sonderkommano Sobibór from the perspective of an archaeologist]. In: LEHNSTAED, Stephan & TRABA, Robert (eds). *Akcja "Reinhardt"*…, pp. 339–368.

Jewish religious practices on sites of the dead. These techniques mean new evidence is available for historical research.

Archaeology has also become a theoretical contributor to historical and memory studies, as well as to museological practices. Sturdy Colls in particular has shown how archaeology has the potential to challenge several assumptions in these fields. Regarding Holocaust sites, she argues:

> Although the above-ground traces of buildings and monuments were damaged and removed, below the ground an abundance of archaeological examples highlight that remnants will likely remain. It is precisely because cultural genocide had a complex and permanent effect on the landscape that it will be detectable; such large-scale destruction cannot help but leave an equally complex and permanent trace.[9]

In this quotation, Sturdy Colls offers a conceptualisation of genocide that differs from the common emphasis on human life. Instead, she focuses on the non-human material remnants of genocide, formations that cannot be easily erased because of their physical permanence and location in a specific space. Furthermore, she notes that the treatment of objects as well as people has affected the landscape and influence it in different ways.[10]

While Sturdy Colls (who conducted surveys at the former Nazi death camp in Treblinka) is firm in viewing objects as material evidence of historical events, she also links her concept of genocidal traces to memory. Discussing Nazi crimes as a part of the collective memory of the twentieth century which continues to have powerful political and social impacts, she views the Holocaust not just as history but as an important element of cultural narratives very much present for living generations.[11] Together with her emphasis on the permanence of remnants, she shows how archaeological work has the potential to co-constitute the narratives of the past and present memory by foregrounding objects. Thus, rather than viewing objects as symbols – that is, representations of "something else" – the archaeological approach to Holocaust positions objects as active participants affected by genocidal perpetration. They are survivors.

In this way the archaeological approach is in productive conversation with object theory, a longstanding cultural studies approach that has recently been reinvigorated by new attention to materiality and representation. Many scholars approach Holocaust objects as having the capacity to "represent" – in a way – their owners. For instance, Alison Landsberg recognises objects as standing in for the absent victims, that is, acting as their metonymic representations. She believes that objects can mediate knowledge and support the work of memory by engaging viewers on an emotional level.[12] Bożena Shallcross, in her book on literary accounts that reference Jewish belongings, also assumes that objects can stand in for their owners as metonymic representations because of their physical proximity to people who have carried them.[13] Numerous researchers, however, take issue with this approach. Sharon B. Oster for instance, who examined Holocaust shoes as objects displayed in museums, expresses her doubts regarding the value of objects as vehicles of memory evoking events and people from

[9] STURDY COLLS, Caroline. The archaeology of cultural genocide: a forensic turn in Holocaust studies? In: DZIUBAN, Zuzanna (ed). *Mapping the 'Forensic Turn': The Engagements with Materialities of Mass Death in Holocaust Studies and Beyond*. Vienna: New Academic Press, 2017, p. 127.

[10] Ibidem.

[11] STURDY COLLS, Caroline. *Holocaust Archeologies: Approaches and Future Directions*. New York-London: Springer, 2015, p. 6–7, 228.

[12] LANDSBERG, Alison. America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy. In: *New German Critique*, vol. 71, 1997, pp. 80–81.

[13] SHALLCROSS, Barbara. *The Holocaust Objects in Polish and Polish-Jewish Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011, pp. 2–3.

the past.[14] Oster claims that to fulfil memory functions, objects need to be accompanied by narratives that endow them with meanings beyond their materiality.

Moving beyond these works, Leora Auslander conceptualises Holocaust objects as potentially active agents in history, stating that "In their communicative, performative, emotive and expressive capacities [objects] act, have effects in the world."[15]

Auslander uses several specific terms to consider objects as having inherent potentialities to affect an audience. She goes further, noting that the communicative capacity of objects is very different from that of texts, as artefacts can communicate things that cannot be expressed in written texts; they are "beyond words".[16] The perspective presented by Auslander fits into a lively scholarship on objects and agency. Museum specialists such as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett have shown that placing an object in a museum setting or curating it in an exhibition changes the object itself.[17] Theorists of object agency, however, argue that these moves change more than the object. They influence the social world by causing reactions, creating meaning, or changing the behaviour of individuals or groups.

The scholarship on curating includes the specific challenges that museum curators encounter when developing exhibitions regarding "difficult" history, i.e., history that is contentious, sensitive, controversial or taboo, and that potentially might be uncomfortable, offensive or upsetting for audiences.

Jennifer Bonnel and Roger I. Simon have documented an increased interest in "difficult history" among museum curators globally.[18] These issues have been developed further by Julia Rose in her monograph on United States history (2016) in which she address the practical and ethical issues of taking up, displaying and commemorating "difficult" topics.[19] Examining the characteristics of the museal environment that would enable visitors to confront "the history of oppression, violence and trauma, pain and shame",[20] Rose stresses that a curatorial interpretation of a difficult past should include and respect the experiences of the different participants in those historical events. Investigating strategies applied by different museums across the US, she explains how the curators can help the visitors to navigate through painful and disturbing topics – including topics that might be "too much to bear" – through the techniques that allow for intimate interaction and connection to personal stories.[21]

Sobibór objects as agents of memory

Assessing the exhibit as an outside researcher, it appears that the creators of the Sobibór 2020 exhibition identified particular objects that possessed capacities that make them active agents in history and memory, rather than ones that play a role of symbols or function as material representations of the historical past. Aleksandra Szymula – an employee of the State

[14] OSTER, Sharon B. Holocaust Shoes: Metonymy, Matter, Memory. In: AARONS Victoria & LASSNER Phyllis (eds). *The Palgrave Handbook of Holocaust Literature and Culture*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, pp. 764.
[15] AUSLANDER, Leora (2005). Beyond Words. In: *The American Historical Review*, vol. 110, 2005, No. 4, p. 1017.
[16] Ibidem, p. 1015.
[17] KIRSHENBLATT-GIMBLETT, Barbara. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, p. 3.
[18] BONNEL, Jennifer & SIMON, Roger (2007). Difficult Exhibitions' and Intimate Encounters. In: *Museum and Society* vol. 5, 2007, No 2, p. 65.
[19] ROSE, Julia. *Interpreting Difficult History at Museums and Historic Sites*. Lanham – Boulder – New York – London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.
[20] Ibidem, p. 7.
[21] Ibidem, p. 1 and ff, 105, 125.

Museum at Majdanek, which processed the Sobibór objects – notes that while most of the items remain anonymous, there are several with markings that allowed historians to identify the place of origin or even the names of their owners.[22] The latter is true of several children's identification badges, given to them by family members in case of separation during what they believed would be resettlements.

One of these badges, retrieved in October 2016, especially captured the attention of historians and its story was reported in the press and social media. The pendant was found in 2016 in the area of the Lager II. Although it is not marked with a name, it does have a date of birth embossed along with the name of the city. Researchers from Yad Vashem, together with the Israeli archaeologist Yoram Haimi, managed to identify its owner as Karoline Cohn. Her personal data can be found on the list of Jews deported from Frankfurt am Main to the ghetto in Minsk (today's Belarus) on 11 November 1941.[23]

Fig. 2: *Pendant belonging to Karoline Cohn, collection of the State Museum at Majdanek (2016).* Photo by Justyna Bajuk (2023).

The discovery that Anne Frank, who was also born in Frankfurt, owned a similar pendant sparked interest in Karoline's story around the world. Further research revealed that these pendants were offered to Jewish girls born in Frankfurt in 1928 and 1929, probably by a local rabbi. Nevertheless, it was not possible for historians to establish that Karoline was sent to Sobibór along with her family from Minsk in September 1943.[24] Aiming at reconstructing the Cohns' story, researchers noted that her parents, while in Minsk, could have sold the pendant and that it could have been taken to Sobibór by another ghetto inhabitant. Alternatively, if Karolina died in the Minsk ghetto, her relatives might have kept it to remember her. In this way, a single material object revealed a number of aspects of the persecution journey of a Frankfurt Jewish family.

Like the Mickey Mouse pin described earlier, another object in the exhibition resists symbolising "the many" because of its singularity and cultural embeddedness – namely, a pair of gold-coloured brass theatre binoculars. The materials and their obvious function, associated with attending an artistic event, evoke a sophistication specific to a European urban middle- or upper-class setting. Among the other items presented at the exhibition, the binoculars are a relatively large object, eye-catching due to their shining golden colour and shape. Not an object for everyday use, the binoculars raise questions about why such an item was chosen to be packed by someone who had limited possibilities when it came to the amount of luggage that could be taken.

[22] SZYMULA, Aleksandra. Muzealia Sobiborskie. Przedmioty znalezione w miejscu zbrodni. In: *Varia*, October [special issue], 2020, p. 40.
[23] SZYMULA, Aleksandra. Der Anhänger von Karoline Cohn, accessed 11 November 2022, https://www.bpb.de/themen/zeit-kulturgeschichte/geteilte-geschichte/342942/der-anhaenger-von-karoline-cohn/.
[24] Ibidem.

Fig. 3: *Binoculars, collection of the State Museum at Majdanek (2016).* Photo by Justyna Bajuk (2023).

In their study of the death camp in Chełmno, scholars Łucja Pawlicka-Nowak and Jolanta Adamska note that German authorities had told Jewish families they were going to a new settlement in Eastern Europe and suggest that the adult women in the family selected and packed the items the family would take.[25] This was probably also the case with the families deported to Sobibór, who packed for a journey unaware that they were going to a death camp. The packed items included food, medicine, items for hygiene, items related to religious worship and work tools. Since binoculars do not fall into any of the above categories, it seems that they might have been packed as a memento of a loved one, or a family heirloom that was of emotional value to its owner. It is difficult to imagine anything other than sentimental reasons for taking this type of item on such a trip. It can be assumed, however, that the person who possessed the binoculars had a special attachment to them. They were, perhaps, an indicator of prewar life or an object that offered hope of an imminent end to the war and the possibility of returning to old habits. Their presence at Sobibór communicates hope of once again having the opportunity to pursue cultural interests, either in the new location or upon return home.

Hope is also communicated by the keys and doorplates that were excavated in Sobibór. These doorplates are rectangular, slightly elongated metal plates, from 1 to 1.5 inches wide and 2.5 to 5 inches long. Their surfaces are covered with white enamel on which initials of names and surnames are written in various fonts. Most of the doorplates shown in the exhibit were partially burned, probably in the pits of Lager II.

Fig. 4: *A doorplate from Holland, collection of the State Museum at Majdanek (2016).* Photo by Justyna Bajuk (2023).

Doorplates (as well as keys) are neither personal items nor necessary for day-to-day utility. They are associated with individual residences, or perhaps small stores or workshops. Doorplates with specific names are objects that make sense only if hope exists for a new life in the new place of residence where they can be attached to new doors. Since they are painted with specific names, they are of no value to anyone else. These plates communicate a specific perspective held by individuals, made legible to the viewer in the present

[25] PAWLICKA-NOWAK, Łucja & ADAMSKA, Jolanta (eds). *Świadectwa Zagłady. Obóz w Chełmnie nad Nerem. Getto wiejskie Czachulec [Holocaust testimonies. Camp in Chełmno on the Ner. Rural ghetto Czachulec]*. Gdańsk: Museum of the Second World War, 2014, pp. 335–340.

day via the object. When analysed alongside other information, such as transport lists, the doorplates can be identified as belonging to Jewish residences in Amsterdam. These plates allowed historians in some cases to trace them first to individuals and then to other documents revealing details of personal histories.[26]

In contrast to doorplates, the keys are a part of an intention to return to the original place of residence; they may also preserve memories associated with home. Keys from the prewar era were heavy and inelegant, and the keys uncovered at Sobibór are quite large – 2, 3 or 4 inches long, made of steel – and inconvenient to carry; they would likely not have been packed unless considered necessary. Some keys are single, others are connected together in bunches on small wheels. Damaged by corrosion after spending several dozen years in the ground, the keys are blackened, with partly obliterated shapes, and no longer capable of opening any doors. When displayed at Sobibór, these objects direct the viewer's attention to personal experience but also express the shared understanding of a community that believed wartime dislocation was temporary and reversible.

Fig. 5: *The keys, collection of the State Museum at Majdanek (2016)*. Photo by Justyna Bajuk (2023).

Like other items found in the area of the former Sobibór camp, the Mickey Mouse pin was partly distorted by fire. Nevertheless, it is quite well preserved and can be easily identified, unlike other objects that were significantly deformed and even welded together by the burning process. The pin is less than an inch and a half in diameter, made of brass enamel. Due to the shape of the Mickey figure, it can be estimated that it was manufactured in the 1930s. But its most compelling feature is that it may be presumed that the original owner was a child or had cherished it from childhood.

As in the case of Karolina Cohn's pendant, it is difficult to say whether the Mickey Mouse pin was brought to Sobibór by its owner or whether it was saved and carried by a family member

[26] SKRABEK, Aleksandra. O nowej wystawie w Muzeum i Miejscu Pamięci w Sobiborze oraz działalności Państwowego Muzeum na Majdanku: an Interview with Tomasz Kranz. In: *Varia*, February, p. 2021, p. 11.

as a memento of a deceased child. While there are no identifying marks to associate it with a specific individual, the cartoon character itself has strong associations with joy in childhood and thus challenges visitors' expectations of a Holocaust site. The figure itself evokes a positive attitude toward the world: small but smart and brave Mickey successfully confronts opponents and overcomes any difficulties. The transnational popularity of Mickey Mouse means that present-day visitors to the museum recognise the character as a popular culture icon as well as an "emblem of the American Spirit", as Garry Apgar captures it in the title of his book regarding the cartoon character.[27]

Multiple authors confirm the transnational popularity of Mickey Mouse in the early 1930s.[28] Scholars offer varying reasons for the character's popularity in Europe and beyond. For example, Bruce D. Forbes argues that Mickey Mouse's influence can be derived from the fact that this character not only reflects the needs and desires of the audience but also the values that guide them.[29] Even Walter Benjamin reflected on Mickey Mouse's significance in his notebooks, anthologised in Apgar's edited volume, pointing to the fact that in the character's adventures the audience can recognise the difficulties of their own existence.[30]

Fig. 6: *The Mickey Mouse pin, collection of the State Museum at Majdanek (2016).* Photo by Paulina Pętal (2023).

In the context of Sobibór, the Mickey Mouse pin creates a powerful connection with a multidimensional, individual story, since it is an interruption of the expectation of grief and horror that is present when visiting a Holocaust site. The character on the pin is childish, ornamental and expressive of a lived context in which humour and fantasy function. The pin does not disrupt the solemnity of the killing site but rather illuminates the stakes of living as a European Jew in the 1940s. In doing so, it breaks through the abstracted "mass" nature of the genocide; it acts a rebellion against a narrative that neglected individual victims for many decades. Due to the nature of its damage and the place where it was excavated, the Mickey Mouse pin has value as both a record of a crime and an extension of the personal narrative. Found in the area of Lager II, it can be assumed that it was either lost or abandoned by its owner or was taken from someone and then rejected as worthless when plundered property was segregated, perhaps discarded to be burned in a pit with other objects designated as worthless, such as private documents, letters, school certificates and family pictures.

Crucial to honouring the capacity of the Sobibór objects as agents of memory was the decision to make them central to the exhibition and to display them in a specific way that makes the past more individual in the moment of encounter by the visitor and which allows emotional and physical proximity. Most of the Sobibór objects are exhibited in a 35 m long glass display case that forms an axis inside the hall, which itself constitutes the entire exhibition space. Inside the display case, against a milky-white background, about 700 items are laid out, one

[27] APGAR, Garry. *Mickey Mouse: Emblem of the American Spirit*. San Francisco: Weldon Owen, 2014.

[28] FORBES, Bruce D. Mickey Mouse as Icon: Taking Popular Culture Seriously. In: *Word & World*, vol. 23, 2003, No 3; APGAR, Garry, Introduction…; APGAR, Garry. *Mickey Mouse*….

[29] FORBES, Mickey Mouse…

[30] APGAR, Garry, Introduction…

Fig. 7: *The Sobibór display case, photo by Marta Kubiszyn (2021) To clarify, viewers may approach the case from various points between the panels.*

next to the other. The display includes both everyday items, such as dishes, cutlery and pots, and personal objects such as jewellery, watches, eyeglasses and toiletries. According to the curator, Tomasz Kranz, the glass display was designed to evoke associations with a laboratory table on which crime evidence is examined, while referring at the same time to the form of a corridor through which the victims were led to the gas chambers and where they lost or abandoned their valuables.[31] Except for the objects in the main display case, a few of the objects, including the Mickey Mouse pin, were placed in individual small cabinets hung on the museum's walls. The backgrounds on which the objects are displayed and the way they are lit emphasises their singularity, as if the curators wanted them to be perceived as precious jewels.

The issue of "mass" objects in Holocaust exhibitions

While the experts curating the Sobibór exhibition likely had multiple priorities, in terms of museology, Holocaust objects are frequently considered evidentiary in their value. Incorporated into specific collections and displayed to reflect both the policy of a particular museum and the objectives of the curators, objects might lose their agency as the focus is shifted from presenting them to using them to legitimise the Holocaust narrative and co-constitute a memorial practice.[32] At the same time, objects have often been positioned as symbols going beyond the specific instance in which they were discarded, lost or hidden. This "symbol"

[31] KRANZ, Tomasz. Wystawa stała Muzeum i Miejsca Pamięci w Sobiborze [Permanent exhibition in the Museum and Memorial Site in Sobibór]. In: *Varia*., 2020, October [special issue], p. 47.

[32] STILES, Emily-Jane. *Holocaust Memory and National Museums in Britain*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022, pp. 103–105 and ff.

approach – or the "metonymic" approach, as Shallcross describes it – can be seen in numerous exhibitions where curators position items as masses to communicate mass death.[33]

The idea to present objects taken from Jewish victims in the form of mass piles was implemented by curators in Poland as a strategy in the very first museums created after World War II. These initial museum sites were in the areas of the former Nazi camps in Oświęcim (Auschwitz-Birkenau) and in Lublin (Majdanek). In these two sites, material remnants were not curated to refer to murdered individuals, but rather to invoke something more intangible: to represent historical authenticity and to reveal the perpetrators' methods. For this reason, exhibitions centred large piles of objects, such as shoes, to exert an emotional imprint of horror and to communicate the scale of both genocide and the plunder of property. Ziębińska-Witek, in her study of Holocaust representation in Polish museums, explains that curators avoided any interpretive commentary in order to keep viewers' attention on the perpetrators.[34] Jonathan Huener, in his book on Auschwitz, sees in this early period a "martyrological paradigm".[35] Explaining this paradigm Ziębińska-Witek underlines that in these years officials categorised victims as collective nations.[36] She quotes an excerpt from a speech given by the then Prime Minister of communist Poland, Józef Cyrankiewicz, during the ceremonial inauguration of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum in June 1947: "The tragedy of Oświęcim, a monstrous death factory for innocent people, should not dissolve into personal, individual memories".[37] This approach manifested itself in the form of items curated in the form of mass piles.

Thus, into the present day, mounds of plundered objects in numerous museums, often displayed in a chaotic manner in some kind of enclosed space or container, have evolved into an essential aspect of Holocaust exhibitions, or what scholar Alison Landsberg calls the "emerging iconography of the Holocaust".[38] She points out that "[t]he pile has become the "aesthetic" of the Holocaust, precisely because it now evokes a deathworld".[39] In other words, mass objects stand in for the inevitability of genocide. Thus, in the convention developed by many curators of Holocaust exhibitions, material objects positioned to represent the mass nature of death function to prevent – in a sense – their capacity as singular objects to communicate a specific history.

Numerous scholars have expressed their doubts regarding piles of objects as unproblematic visual representations of the Holocaust. James Young, for instance, in his influential text, *Texture of Memory*, argues that the "pile strategy" does not invoke the specific heritage and values of the destroyed Jewish communities, but rather presents the way the Nazis perceived their victims.[40] Criticism of the "pile strategy" as imposing on visitors the depersonalising perspective of the perpetrators and obscuring clear references to victims as individuals has also been developed by several other authors. Sharon B. Oster, in particular, shares Young's

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[33] ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, Anna. Muzea [Museums]. In: BURYŁA, Sławomir, KRAWCZYŃSKA, Dorota & LEOCIAK, Jacek (eds). *Reprezentacje Zagłady w Kulturze Polskiej (1939-2019). Problematyka Zagłady w sztukach wizualnych i popkulturze [The Holocaust in visual arts and pop culture]*, Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich, vol. 2, 2021, pp. 32–33.
[34] Ibidem, p. 34.
[35] HUENER Jonathan. *Auschwitz, Poland and the Politics of Commemoration 1945–1979*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003.
[36] ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, Muzea…, p. 32.
[37] Ibidem.
[38] LANDSBERG, Alison. America, the Holocaust, and the Mass Culture of Memory: Toward a Radical Politics of Empathy. In: *New German Critique*, vol. 71, 1997, p. 71.
39 Ibidem, p. 79.
[40] YOUNG, James E. *The Texture of Memory*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993, pp. 132–133.

scepticism about the ability of Holocaust objects to go beyond the evocation of the power of the Nazis and their dehumanising perspective, arguing that objects require humanisation and narrativisation to work as genuine forms of remembrance.[41]

Thus, objects can actually detract from understanding the narratives of those most affected by genocide if presented in particular ways. Helpful to addressing this issue are contemporary theories on the process of creating meanings through museum curation. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, the author of the influential work *Destination Culture*, brings together theories on tourism, audience, museology and culture to address how space, place and framing shape memory work. Analysing the status of ethnographic objects in museums she argues that "ethnographic objects are made, not found, despite claims to the contrary. They did not begin their lives as ethnographic objects. They *became* ethnographic through the process of detachment and contextualization."[42]

Here Kirshenblatt-Gimblett expresses one of her main interests: the process of creating the museum experience through the process of the curation of objects, which includes transferring objects from their original location to the museum context and thereby endowing them with particular meanings. She finds that the process of choosing and transforming everyday items into a representation of something significant by curators often requires a distancing and disruption from an original context. This process is a form of creation which results in transforming the items of everyday use into artefacts or ethnographic objects that are similar to art objects and valued for reasons that allow them to perform the needed representative functions.[43] Thus, following Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, choices made in the curation process are crucial to allowing objects to communicate with audiences, an issue addressed by scholar Emily-Jane Stiles in regard to Holocaust representation in the Imperial War Museum in London.[44] Stiles stresses that selecting specific historical objects, attaching a narrative created around particular issues and constructing a certain spatial arrangement might open up the possibility of instrumentalising the items and forcing them to serve particular purposes.

Intimacy and agency in the Sobibór Exhibit

As noted earlier, the curators of the Sobibór display stayed away from piles altogether. Instead, discrete objects were placed to keep them distinct from one another and highlight their specificity. In practice, as viewers approach the exhibit, this positioning functions to allow the generation of a particular relationship of viewer to object, one that can be conceptualised as "intimacy", defined as a relational physical and emotional closeness in which individual beings are separate as they exist in their social and physical world but maintain a specific attachment that carries a sense of interiority, privacy and personal meaning.[45] Typically, intimacy assumes sentient beings – humans or animals. Yet in a powerful sense the Sobibór objects allow for a meaningful intimacy that is intertwined with memory and that functions on a number of levels.

A theoretical contribution to these issues is offered by Laura Levitt in her book *The Objects that Remain* (2020). Although Levitt does not address Sobibór, her writing regarding the treatment of

[41] OSTER, Holocaust Shoes…, pp. 762–763, 772.
[42] KIRSHENBLATT-GIMBLETT, *Destination Culture*…, p. 3.
[43] KIRSHENBLATT-GIMBLETT, Barbara. From Ethnology to Heritage: The Role of the Museum. SIEF Keynote, Marseilles (28 April 2005), accessed 8 August 2022, https://aesthetischepraxis.de/Seminar/BKG_RoleoftheMuseum.pdf.
[44] STILES, *Holocaust Memory*…, p. 106 and ff.
[45] Cf. ROSE, *Interpreting Difficult*…, p. 6–7, 61, 88, 90 and ff.

intimate objects and memory emerges from her engagement with clothing and other intimate objects preserved in Auschwitz museum. As will be developed below, Levitt's haptic conception of the intimacy of objects clarifies how the Sobibór objects can be approached as agentic. Two levels of intimacy are at work here: a primary relationship between the objects and their original owners and a second relationship between the objects and the current day exhibit viewer, the latter inclusive of the former. Using these two understandings of intimacy, the capacity of these particular objects to summon new forms of memory, influence understandings of past and present, and refuse abstraction and identification with the perpetrator, becomes clear.

Levitt emphasises the importance of close, emotionally charged contact between the object and its owner, noting that "[t]here is a tenderness between handled objects and those who use them".[46] In her formulation, "tenderness" is "between" human and object, such that the object is touching the handler as much as the handler is touching it. Her carefully rendered observation of how objects are touched highlights the emotional, personal and tactile connection that individuals develop toward personal and everyday items, but also an intrinsic quality that an object can carry through time.

Levitt also discusses the other aspect of the intimacy of objects, noting that their haptic qualities give them the ability to connect the past with the present on a very physical level. Arguing that "[o]bjects, both worn and pristine, offer tactile access to [an] otherwise often inaccessible past",[47] Levitt expresses the belief – one of the fundamental theses of her book – that due to their materiality, objects can provide a sense of the reality of a certain historical event and continuity over time, including narrative cohesiveness. Developing this concept further, she states that material objects "keep the event tangible, suspended and within our reach",[48] thereby indicating that such items can encourage the audience to perceive past events as specific, allowing them to co-create the imagined connection between historical events and their personal, interior, present reality.

In light of this tactile understanding of intimacy, viewers of the Sobibór exhibit have access to, firstly, the direct haptic connection between the exhibited artefacts and the victims. Someone specifically chose a Mickey Mouse pin, acquired it, or gave it to someone else, and that person held it, carried it, chose it to take from among all other possible pins, and that person recognised Mickey Mouse similarly to the way the museum visitor likely recognises Mickey Mouse. The spacing of each object and the use of lighting to further allow for a sense of specificity align with the choice of objects as deeply personal items – almost idiosyncratic, as the binoculars attest. In contrast to several Holocaust-site museums in which objects are presented in large numbers and behind a glass wall, in the Sobibór exhibition the entire space is configured to facilitate close contact (although not physical touch) with the objects arranged in both a central display case, which is set at waist level, and in cabinets on the walls, allowing their viewing at a very close range. This positioning directs the viewers' attention to their own possessions, the items they use and hold close in their everyday lives.[49]

[46] LEVITT, Leora. *The objects that remain*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2020, p. 46.
[47] Ibidem, p. 39.
[48] Ibidem, p. 6.
[49] Cf. ROSE, *Interpreting Difficult*…, p. 7 and ff.

Conclusions

Drawing on scholarship on Holocaust archaeology, object theory and museum studies, this article has demonstrated the potency of historical objects as active agents with capacities to co-constitute the museum narrative and generate meaning in the Holocaust memory field. Several material objects have made significant contributions to the exhibition, launched in 2020 in a museum erected in the area of the former Sobibór death camp. Intended neither to tell the general story of the Holocaust nor to represent symbolically experiences or events, their capacity as agents relies on their ability to summon social relations of intimacy with viewers on more than one level, in part because those particular objects displayed had been touched and carried.

Drawing on work in Holocaust archaeology, object theory and museum theory – especially the importance of curatorial practices in de-contextualising artefacts and in this way changing their meanings and capacities – this paper also brought the concept of intimacy with objects into the study of the museology of the Holocaust. Analysing how the Sobibór curators respected the singularity and the agency of each object to make sure it did not get lost in the process of creating the narrative of the exhibition and of visitor expectations, this article showed how the exhibition's creators were able to achieve the possibility of intimacy, past and present. Objects were curated to challenge the perpetrators perspective, instead foregrounding a victim-centred narrative and personhood. Throughout this article, the example of the Mickey Mouse pin was referred to frequently to centre the unexpected and very personal nature of the exhibit's objects. A child grasping a piece of metal that would not help in her survival but would possibly keep her identity, her emotional core, her memory of herself as a joyful person, her sense of a future, intact – these are the aspects of the Holocaust that these objects insist we remember. The article thus contributes to the debate on the role of material objects and the processes of the curation of the museal arrangements in the context of memory work.

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Original Research Procedure as an Important Stage of Heritage Site Investigation: The Case of the Manor and Garden Complex in Wrocanka

Dominika Kuśnierz-Krupa, Małgorzata Hryniewicz, Łukasz Bednarz, Oleksandr Ivashko

Professor Dominika Kuśnierz-Krupa
Cracow University of Technology
Faculty of Architecture
Poland
e-mail: dominika.kusnierz-krupa@pk.edu.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1678-4746

PhD Małgorzata Hryniewicz
Cracow University of Technology
Faculty of Architecture
Poland
e-mail: malgorzata.hryniewicz@pk.edu.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8034-1520

BEng, MSc, PhD, DSc, Assoc. Prof. Łukasz Bednarz
Wroclaw University of Science and Technology
Faculty of Civil Engineering
Poland
e-mail: lukasz.bednarz@pwr.edu.pl
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1245-6027

PhD Oleksandr Ivashko
Kyiv National University of Construction and Architecture
Ukraine
e-mail: ghok2233@gmail.com
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9194-2153

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Original Research Procedure as an Important Stage of Heritage Site Investigation: The Case of the Manor and Garden Complex in Wrocanka
This paper presents an original research procedure developed for a project that focuses on the restoration of the Gołaszewski Manor and Garden Complex in Wrocanka. The introductory section outlines the objectives, scope and methods of the tests and sub-procedures that make up the procedure in question, and then presents the results of the investigation, broken down into individual stages. The conclusion emphasises the role of the investigation in the properly conducted process of restoring the historic complex, which is subject to statutory conservation as a result of being listed in the register of monuments.

Keywords: Wrocanka, manor and garden complex, immovable monument, investigation procedure

Introduction

Heritage protection is one of the most significant tasks faced by governments and societies, as it is our duty to preserve and protect cultural heritage, and to pass it on to future generations.

Heritage protection concerns archaeological monuments, cultural landscapes, urban and rural layouts with complexes of built structures, works of architecture and engineering, defensive works and engineering artefacts, as well as parks, gardens and other forms of landscaped greenery.[1] Heritage preservation should be exercised primarily by the owners of historic buildings, which should be restored and subjected to adaptive reuse to avoid further degradation.[2]

In reference to the above, the most important document concerning Polish monuments is the Monument Protection and Preservation Act,[3] first adopted in 2003 and amended numerous times. The Act, apart from a range of crucial regulations on heritage, includes the essential provision that the owner is responsible for a heritage building or site's state, especially when it is subject to statutory conservation.

It is well known that when planning a project on a property under a conservation order, one must first perform a detailed investigation into its history, substance, structure, and the wider urban, landscape and cultural context in which it was built.[4] This kind of non-invasive investigation, which should not interfere with the site's structure or its immediate vicinity, forms the basis for subsequent actions (including, among others, architectural investigation or other invasive tests) and should not be ignored when carrying out historic building restoration, as the results can affect planned conservation works in tangible ways. Unfortunately, there are often cases where this is not done and the investigation in question is not conducted. The reasons for this can be attributed to, among others, insufficient training of architects in independent pre-design exploration of historic buildings (resulting in a lack of awareness of the need to thoroughly investigate a building); time and financial pressures; and the fact that a historical or historico-urban investigation is typically not required when obtaining a conservation permit to undertake construction work on a historic building or site from a voivodeship conservation officer.[5]

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[1] EBEJER, John, STANIEWSKA, Anna, ŚRODULSKA-WIELGUS, Jadwiga, WIELGUS, Krzysztof. Values as a base for the viable adaptive reuse of fortified heritage in urban contexts, In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 2023, vol. 11, Iss. 2, pp. 41–72; TIŠLIAR, Pavol, KAČÍREK, Ľuboš, JANTO, Juraj. History and memory of hospital sites. On the example of the "old" hospital in Topoľčany, In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 2020, vol. 8, Iss. 1, pp. 31–45; ZIMNA-KAWECKA, Karolina, KUŚNIERZ-KRUPA, Dominika, KRUPA, Michał. Heritage of (non-)existing cities – on the Polish examples of medieval Świecie and Renaissance Krasiczyn, In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 2021, vol. 9, Iss. 3, pp. 65–92;

[2] DING, Yang, IVASHKO, Yulia, KOBYLARCZYK, Justyna, KRUPA, Michał, PAWŁOWSKA, Aneta. Specificity of the construction of historical temples of Shaanxi province as the basis of their preservation and restoration, In: *International Journal of Conservation Science*, 2023, vol. 14, Iss. 2, pp. 435–452; LISIŃSKA-KUŚNIERZ, Małgorzata, KRUPA, Michał, PAPRZYCA, Krystyna, SYGUŁA-CHOLEWIŃSKA, Justyna, KUŚNIERZ, Kazimierz, IVASHKO, Oleksandr. Deterioration of wood by microorganisms in a historical building on the example of a historical health resort villa, In: *International Journal of Conservation Science*, 2020, vol. 11, Iss. 4, pp. 905–916.

[3] Ustawa z dnia 23 lipca 2003 r. o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami z późniejszymi zmianami, https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20230001904, accessed: 08.08.2024.

[4] IVASHKO, Yulia, KUŚNIERZ-KRUPA, Dominika, PENG, Chang. History of origin and development, compositional and morphological features of park pavilions in Ancient China, In: *Landscape Architecture and Art*, 2019, vol. 15, Iss. 15, pp. 78–85; MIČKOVÁ, Zuzana. The Late Gothic Chapel of St Barbara in the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Banská Bystrica, In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 2020, vol. 8, Iss. 1, pp. 47–65.

[5] KUŚNIERZ-KRUPA, Dominika. Problematyka rewaloryzacji zabytkowych willi w miejscowościach uzdrowiskowych na przykładzie willi: Primavera, Jaworzyna oraz Wawel w Rabce Zdrój. In: *Czasopismo Inżynierii Lądowej, Środowiska i Architektury – Journal of Civil Engineering*, Environment and Architecture, vol. 32, b. 62, no. 2, pp. 265–273; Orlenko, Mykola, IVASHKO, Yulia, KUŚNIERZ-KRUPA, Dominika, KOBYLARCZYK, Justyna, IVASHKO, Oleksandr. Conservation of the residential and public architecture of the 19th – early 20th centuries (on the examples of Kyiv and Cracow). In: *International Journal of Conservation Science*, 2021, vol. 12, b. 2, pp. 507–528.

This paper presents an investigation procedure prepared and carried out in relation to the restoration of the nineteenth-century Gołaszewski family manor. The manor is located in the village of Wrocanka in the municipality of Miejsce Piastowe, Subcarpathian Voivodeship, Poland. The procedure is universal and identifies for project owners and designers which pre-design actions should be taken before other activities such as architectural investigation, invasive testing and, finally, design work can begin.

Purpose, scope and methods

This paper presents, with reference to the proposed procedure, the most comprehensive possible set of baseline information that was needed to carry out the project of restoring the nineteenth-century manor and garden complex of the Gołaszewski family in Wrocanka, a site covered by statutory conservation after being listed in the register of monuments of the Subcarpathian Voivodeship.[6]

The investigation covered the entire complex and its surroundings, including the village of Wrocanka (which lies within the area of historical development) in order to determine any possible spatial and compositional linkages. This historical development includes the oldest part of the village, located in close proximity to All Saints' Church.

Fig. 1: *Orthophotomap of the village of Wrocanka with the location of the manor and garden complex marked.* Original work using orthophotos from https://earth.google.com/web/accessed: 19 December 2023.

As it targets a historical site, the planned project had to be preceded by a range of investigative processes. To this end, a five-step procedure was developed, with the selected methods being used in a strictly defined sequence: i) desk research, ii) aerial archaeology, iii) field research and

[6] *Wykaz obiektów wpisanych do rejestru zabytków województwa podkarpackiego*, as of 31 December 2022, p. 31, no. A-1732 dated 28.09.2021.

surveying measurements, iv) historical–interpretive research via an analysis, and v) synthesis (of previously acquired information).

The first stage of the procedure consisted of desk research, initially carried out in archival intuitions such as the Historical Records Archive in Warsaw, the National Archives in Kraków, the State Archives in Przemyśl, the Archives of the Subcarpathian Voivodeship Office for Monument Conservation in Przemyśl – Krosno Branch, and the Archives of the Urban History Group in the Chair of Architecture History and Monument Conservation, at the Faculty of Architecture, Cracow University of Technology. After this, a literature review was conducted to establish the history of Wrocanka's origins and that of the Gołaszewski manor and garden complex, focusing on its use and its spatial and architectural structure.

The second stage featured the use of aerial archaeology to perform analyses of possible compositional connections between the manor and garden complex and the spatial layout of Wrocanka, as well as in terms of transformations and remains of the original layout of the complex.

The third stage consisted of field research conducted in the village of Wrocanka, including the area of the manor and garden complex in question. At that time, a detailed photographic documentation of the site was undertaken, along with an architectural survey of the site using the survey method (laser rangefinder, laser level) and a preliminary dendrological survey of the garden.

The next stage was historical and interpretative research, which consisted of analysing and mutually confronting the results obtained in earlier stages, as well as analysing them in terms of changes in the spatial structure of the manor and garden complex.

The final, fifth stage of the procedure was performed using the synthesis method, systematising the materials and information acquired earlier.

State of the art

The scope of the first stage of the procedure included a literature review, which, in addition to specific information about Wrocanka and the manor and garden complex, also allowed us to establish the state of the art concerning the problem explored.

With regard to research on the history of the village of Wrocanka, it is necessary to highlight the data contained in *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*[7], *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziem polskich w średniowieczu*[8], Fr W. Sarna's publication *Opis powiatu krośnieńskiego pod względem geograficzno-historycznym*[9], *Krosno studia z dziejów miasta i regionu* – volumes I[10] and II[11], *Nazwy miejscowości dawnej ziemi sanockiej*[12], *Stanisława Tomkowicza Inwentarz zabytków*

[7] *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*. Wyd. nakl. SULIMIERSKIEGO, Filipa, WALEWSKIEGO, Władysława. Warszawa 1880–1914, vol. XIV, p. 22.

[8] *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziem polskich w średniowieczu*, ed. JUREK, Tomasz, digital version, http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?id=23998, accessed: 15.12.2023

[9] SARNA, Władysław. *Opis powiatu krośnieńskiego pod względem geograficzno-historycznym*, Przemyśl 1898.

[10] *Krosno. Studia z dziejów miasta i regionu*. GARBACIK, Józef (ed.), vol. 1 (up to 1918), Kraków 1972.

[11] *Krosno. Studia z dziejów miasta i regionu*. GARBACIK, Józef (ed.), vol. 2 (1918–1970), Kraków 1973.

[12] MAKARSKI, Władysław. N*azwy miejscowości dawnej ziemi sanockiej*, Lublin 1986.

powiatu krośnieńskiego…[13] and volume 5 of *Galicja na józefińskiej mapie topograficznej 1779–1783.*[14]

A group of publications was found to include essential information concerning the history of the manor and garden complex or other complexes, including: Z. Gil's *Dwory i dworki z krośnieńskiego*[15], M. Michałowicz-Kubal's *Zamki dwory i pałace województwa podkarpackiego*[16], P. Libicki's book on the manors and palaces of Lesser Poland and Subcarpathia[17], J. Piracki's publication on Krosno Voivodeship's gardens and parks[18], a catalogue-like book by S. Polakowski entitled *Pozostałości założeń dworskich województwa podkarpackiego*[19] and *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce. Województwo Krośnieńskie: Krosno, Dukla i okolice.*[20]

Among the unpublished works worth mentioning, we mention M. Baran's study *Dworek we Wrocance*[21], C. Grabowski's study *Katalog parków woj. Krośnieńskiego – Wrocanka*[22], and documents related to the statutory conservation to which the surveyed complex is subject, such as the decision to add the site into the register of monuments dated 28 September 2021; a record card (known as a green file) written by W. Dąbrowski and dated 1959; and a monument record card (known as a white file) of the manor house by A. Bargiel dated 2021.

A great deal of valuable information about the history of the site is included in publications on the history of the Załuski family, namely, *Wspomnienia o rodzinie Załuskich w XIX stuleciu*[23], H. Wysocki's book *Przemówiły stare listy*[24] and A. Kwilecki's *Załuscy w Iwoniczu.*[25]

Results

1 Desk research

As a result of the procedure, essential archival materials were uncovered in stage 1, which allowed for a thorough identification of the history of Wrocanka, the manor and garden complex, and its spatial composition.

An archival query was performed in, among others, the Archive of Historical Records in Warsaw (hereinafter: AGAD), which resulted in the discovery of a Lustration of the village from 1765, and an Inventory of the manor and the village from the same year. The contents of the lustration, which was carried out in connection with the Lustration of All Royal Lands in the Land of Sanok, included, among other things, a description of the manor at the time (Fig. 3). The Inventory documented the manor, its contemporaneous technical state, the grange and other buildings located on the land that belonged to the manor.

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[13] TOMKOWICZ, Stanisław, ŁOPATKIEWICZ, Piotr, ŁOPATKIEWICZ, Tadeusz. *Stanisława Tomkowicza Inwentarz zabytków powiatu krośnieńskiego. Z rękopisów Autora wydali i własnymi komentarzami opatrzyli Piotr i Tadeusz Łopatkiewiczowie*, Kraków 2005.

[14] *Galicja na józefińskiej mapie topograficznej 1779–1783 – Die Josephinische Landesaufnahme von Galizien 1779–1783*; BUKOWSKI, Waldemar, DYBAŚ, Bogusław, NOGA, Zdzisław (ed.), Kraków 2014, vol. 5, parts A, B.

[15] GIL, Zdzisław, *Dwory i dworki z krośnieńskiego*, Krosno 1995.

[16] MICHAŁOWICZ-KUBAL, Marta. *Zamki dwory i pałace województwa podkarpackiego*, Rzeszów 2006.

[17] LIBICKI, Piotr. *Dwory i pałace wiejskie w Małopolsce i na Podkarpaciu*, Poznań 2012.

[18] PIÓRECKI, Jerzy. *Ogrody i parki województwa krośnieńskiego*, Przemyśl 1998.

[19] POLAKOWSKI, Sylwester. *Pozostałości założeń dworskich województwa podkarpackiego*, Rzeszów 2013.

[20] ŚMNIEŻYŃSKA-STOLOTOWA, Ewa, STOLOT, Franciszek. *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce. Województwo Krośnieńskie: Krosno, Dukla i okolice*, Warszawa 1977.

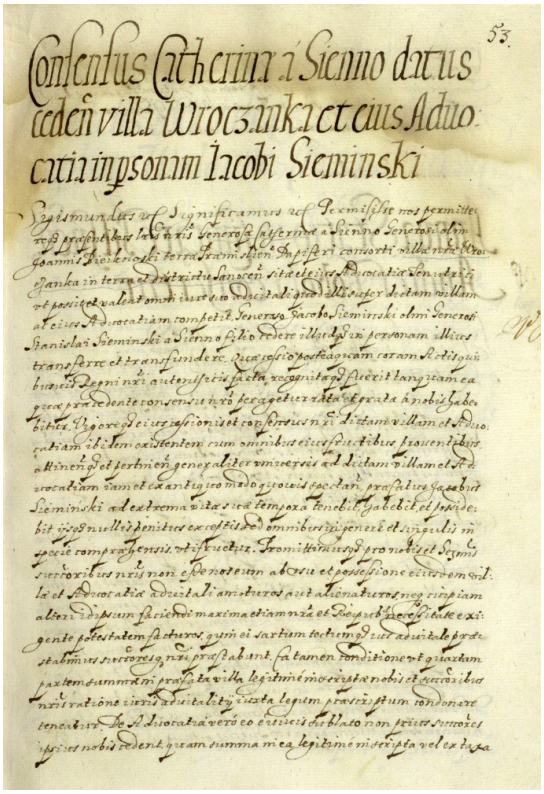
[21] BARAN, Malgorzata. *Dworek we Wrocance*, Wrocanka 2007, manuscript.

[22] GRABOWSKI, Cezary, *Katalog parków woj. krośnieńskiego – Wrocanka*, Warszawa 1982, manuscript.

[23] *Wspomnienia o rodzinie Załuskich w XIX stuleciu*, Kraków 1907.

[24] WYSOCKI, Hieronim. *Przemówiły stare listy*, Kraków 1986.

[25] KWILECKI, Andrzej. *Załuscy w Iwoniczu*, Kórnik 1993.



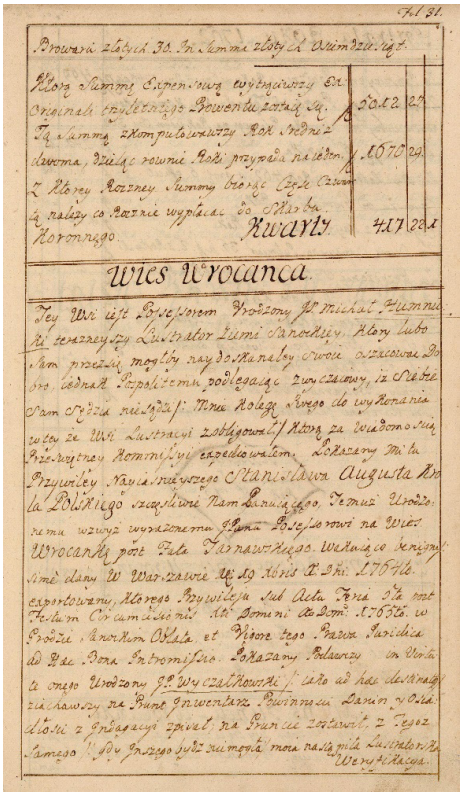


Fig. 2 (left): *Document certifying the transfer of the village of Wrocanka with the aldermanship by Katarzyna Sienieńska to her brother Jakub Sienieński in 1601*. In AGAD, Metryka Koronna ("Regestrum quartum cancellariae minoris – privilegiorum ad relationem – Petri Tylicki – vicecancellari"), no. 147, f. 53.

Fig. 3 (right): *Dokument Lustracji wsi Wrocanka z 1765 roku*. [in:] AGAD, Metryka Koronna, section XVIII Lustracje ("Designatio omnium bonorum regalium una cum proventu annuali atque quartae et hybernae quae silvuntur a possessoribus"), no. 4, sign. 14, f. 31.

In turn, a query conducted at the National Archives in Kraków turned up documents of the Wrocanka Dominium from 1852 and for the years 1855–1856, at which time the site belonged to Amalia Załuska.

The archival materials, which were interpreted in the subsequent stages of the procedure, also included historical map of the village, including the manor and garden complex. It consists of four historical maps: the First Military Survey – a topographical map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria from 1779–1783 (Originalaufnahme des Königreichs Galizien und Lodomerien), the Galician cadastre of the village of Wrocanka from 1851 (Dorf Wrocanka in Galizien Jasloer Kreis), the Second Military Survey – a topographical map of Galicia and Bukovina from 1861–1864 (Originalaufnahme des Königreichs Galizien und Bukowina), and the Third Military Survey – a topographical map of the Habsburg Empire from 1869–1887 (Österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie).

Fig. 4: *Wrocanka with the manor and garden complex (marked with a red circle) on the topographical map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria from 1779–1783*. Copy of the map in the Archives of the Chair of the History of Architecture and Monument Conservation of the Faculty of Architecture of the Cracow University of Technology.

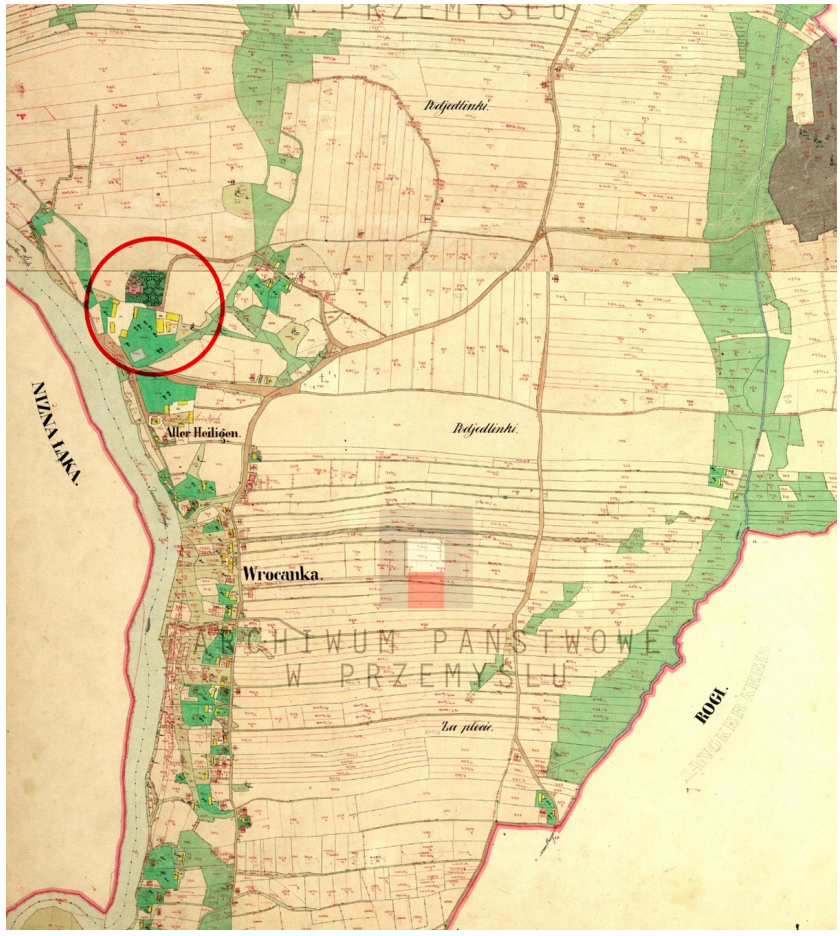


Fig. 5: *Wrocanka with the manor and garden complex (marked with a red circle) on the 1851 Galician cadastre.* Map in Archiwum Państwowym w Przemyślu, sign. 56/126/0/1801M.

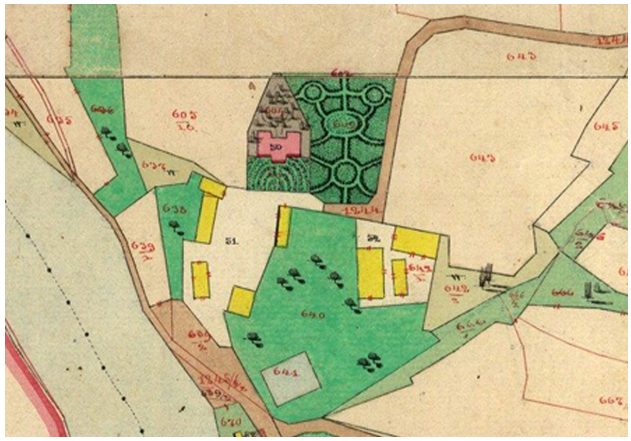


Fig. 6: *Manor and garden complex in the 1851 Galician cadastre of the village of Wrocanka*. Map in Archiwum Państwowym w Przemyślu, sign. 56/126/0/1801M.

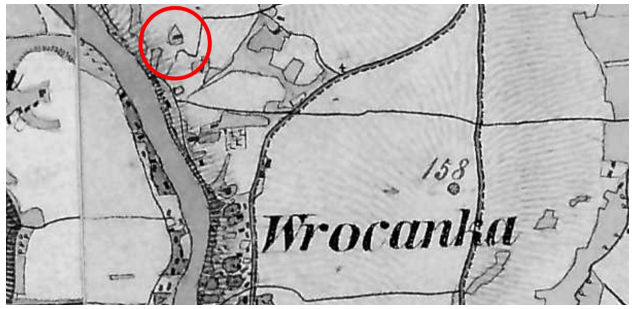


Fig. 7: *Wrocanka with the manor and garden complex (marked with a red circle) on the 1861–1864 topographic map of Galicia and Bukovina* (Originalaufnahme des Königreichs Galizien und Bukowina). Copy of the map in the Archives of the Chair of the History of Architecture and Monument Conservation of the Faculty of Architecture of the Cracow University of Technology.

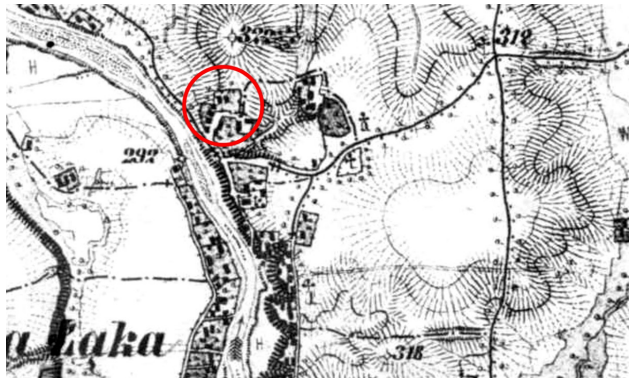


Fig. 8: *Wrocanka with the manor-garden complex (marked with a red circle) on the topographic map of the Habsburg Empire from 1869–1887* (Österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie). Copy of the map in the Archives of the Chair of the History of Architecture and Monument Conservation of the Faculty of Architecture of the Cracow University of Technology.

In addition to historical maps, archival photos of the mansion were also found. The first, oldest one (Fig. 9) comes from a private collection and dates to the first half of the twentieth

century. Two others (Figs. 10, 11) were included in a record card – the green card of the site from 1959.

Fig. 9: *View of the manor house building (front facade) in Wrocanka in the first half of the twentieth century*. Photo from the owner's archive.

Fig. 10: *View of the manor house building (front facade) in Wrocanka with a fragment of the garden complex*. Photo by W. Dąbrowski, 1959.
Fig. 11: *Side view of a fragment of the front facade of the manor house in Wrocanka (centrally located risalit on the front facade with an arcade supported by four columns)*. Photo by W. Dąbrowski, 1959.

Fig. 12: *View of the manor building (front façade) in Wrocanka, along with a fragment of its garden complex*. Photo by J. Jurek, 1982.

The literature search revealed information on the history of the manor and garden complex and the village itself. Wrocanka has had many owners over the centuries. More detailed data was found in selected publications and unpublished documentation, including previously unknown information about Wrocanka Manor.

This information was interpreted in the fourth stage of the historical–interpretive investigative procedure using the analysis method.

2 Aerial archaeology

Aerial archaeology, which is often used in the process of documenting historical landscapes, was used to analyse the degree of preservation of the complex, taking into account the spatial composition and extent as well as historical property divisions.

When the current aerial photo was superimposed on the 1851 cadastral plan, drawn up to a relatively accurate scale of 1:2880 (Fig. 12), it was found that the outline of the manor building (marked as a masonry structure), a rectangle measuring about 25 × 13 m, essentially agrees with the dimensions of the structure marked on the plan. Only a change in the northern part of the ground plan (at the northern elevation) is shown here, where in the first half of the nineteenth century, in the central part of the ground plan, there was an "indent" – a porch open to the garden, identical in its dimensions to the risalit located on the southern facade. This "indent divided the plan into three distinct parts, forming two side risalits (west and east) and a central section.

Major changes were seen in terms of the complex's land use. The wooden outbuildings located to the south of the manor house on the plan, on a vast area reaching as far as the tract of land along the Jasiołka River to the north, have not survived. However, the development of the area itself in the form of a meadow and greenery, currently left unmaintained, has been preserved.

With regard to the well-defined garden layout (which includes a triangular lawn – an area of freeform greenery of the English type – and a small symmetrical park) marked on the Galician cadastre, only fragmentary elements of the formal part of the entrance (fragments of the lawn), and individual clusters of greenery have survived. Fragments of an orchard have also survived a little further south of the manor building.

Fig. 13: Current aerial ph*otograph of the manor and garden complex superimposed on the 1851 Galician cadastre*. By D. Kuśnierz-Krupa, 2023.

3 Field research with survey measurements

Three site visits to Wrocanka's manor and garden complex and its buffer zone were made (two in May and one in June 2021). The basis for these visits was provided by the two archival plans discussed previously, as well as contemporary maps (a copy of a survey map drawn up to a scale of 1:500; a survey documentation drawn up to a scale of 1:50) and orthophotos of the locality.

It was possible to identify historical elements of the village's spatial development preserved to this day, such as the former tract along the Jasiołka River and the informal central zone of the village with the historic All Saints' Church, erected in 1770 on the site of an earlier church mentioned in 1490.[26] An attempt was also made to determine the original boundaries of the manor and garden complex, along with its farming (grange) section, primarily using a Galician cadastre compiled in 1851.

Detailed photographic documentation of the site, an architectural survey and a preliminary dendrological survey of the garden were undertaken.

Fig. 14: *View of the south-facing frontal facade of the manor house.* Photo by M. Krupa, May 2021.

Fig. 15: *View of the back, north-facing facade of the manor house.* Photo by M. Krupa, May 2021.

[26] ŚMNIEŻYŃSKA-STOLOTOWA, Ewa, STOLOT, Franciszek, op. cit., p. 155.

Fig. 16: *View of the manor and garden complex from the west*. Photo by M. Krupa, May 2021.

Fig. 17 (left): *View of the side, west-facing facade of the manor.* Photo by M. Krupa, May 2021.

Fig. 18 (right): *View of a risalit with an arcade on the front facade of the mansion*. Photo M. Krupa, June 2021.

Fig. 19 (left): *A view of the remains of polychrome decoration in the vestibule and the ogival interior doorway.* Photo by M. Krupa, May 2021.

Fig. 20 (right): *A view of the remains of the polychrome decoration in the room near the vestibule*. Photo M. Krupa, June 2021.

Fig. 21 a, b: *Views of the remains of polychrome decorations in the spaces of the building's south section.* Photo by M. Krupa, June 2021.

Fig. 22 a, b: *View of the cellar underneath the manor's west section.* Photo by M. Krupa, June 2021.

Fig. 23: *Architectural and structural survey of the manor building. Front, south-facing elevation with the colour, texture and material types shown.* By M. Krupa, D. Kuśnierz-Krupa, Ł. Bednarz, 2021.

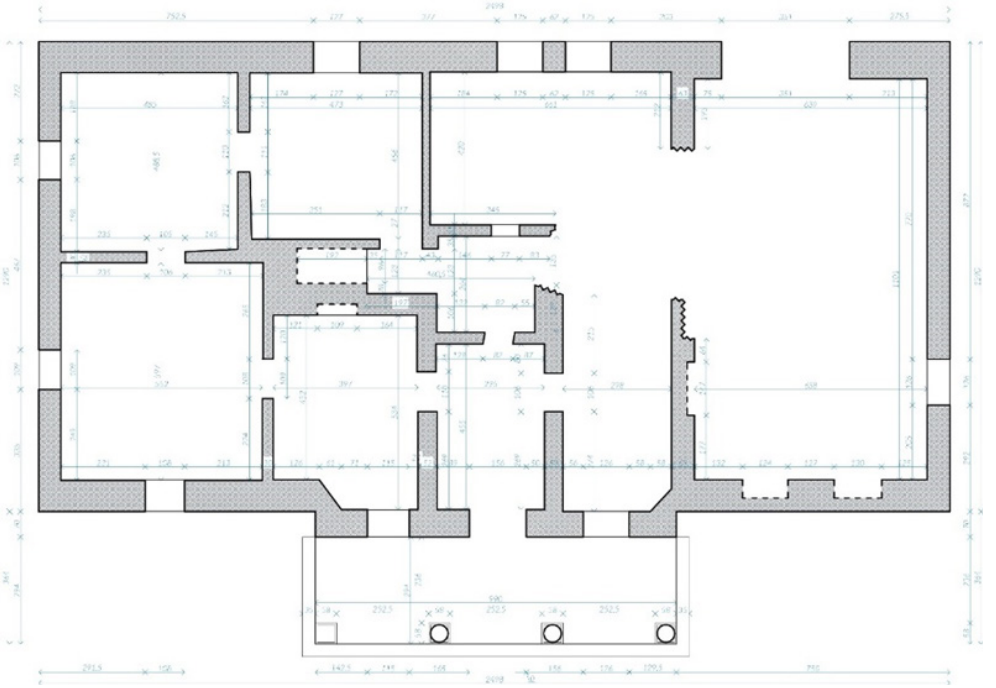


Fig. 24: *Architectural and structural survey of the manor building. Ground floor plan*. By M. Krupa, D. Kuśnierz-Krupa, Ł. Bednarz, 2021.

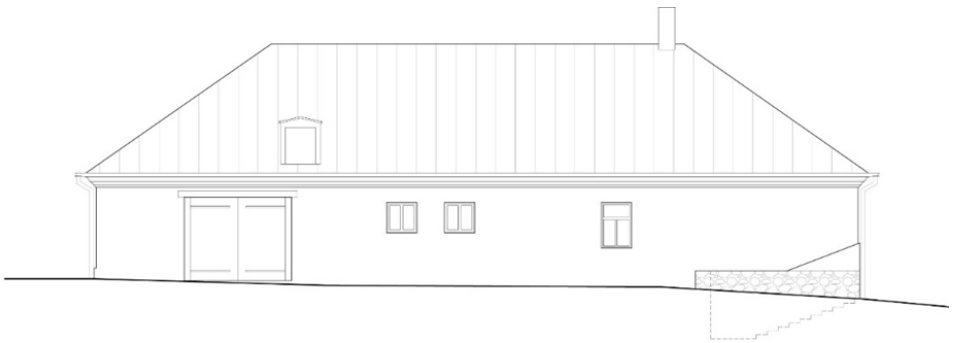


Fig. 25: *Architectural and structural survey of the manor building. Back, north-facing elevation*. By M. Krupa, D. Kuśnierz-Krupa, Ł. Bednarz, 2021.

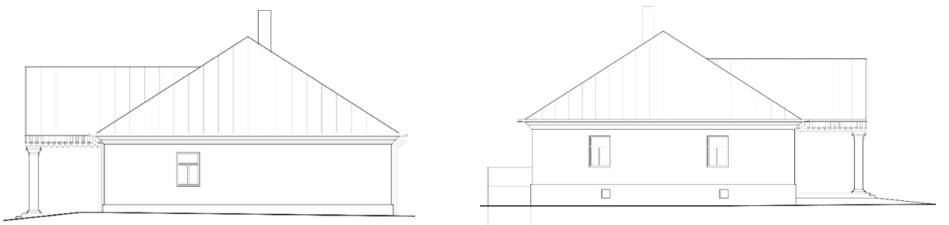


Fig. 26 (left): *Architectural and structural survey of the manor building. Side, east-facing elevation*. By M. Krupa, D. Kuśnierz-Krupa, Ł. Bednarz, 2021.
Fig. 27 (right): *Architectural and structural survey of the manor building. Side, west-facing elevation*. By M. Krupa, D. Kuśnierz-Krupa, Ł. Bednarz, 2021.

It should be noted that only fragments of the extensive former manor and garden layout and its grange section have survived to the present day. This is because the complex was divided after the First Partition of Poland and sold off.

As a result of site visits and surveys, it was determined that the manor house, located on a hill (Fig. 16) in close proximity to the Jasiołka River that flows through Wrocanka, is in poor technical condition.

The mansion is a one-story building, erected on a rectangular plan measuring 24.9 × 12.9 m in a form similar to the present building. It probably dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century, but various manors were erected on this site as the residence of the owners of Wrocanka from at least as far back as the beginning of the sixteenth century.[27] Unfortunately, there is no detailed information on this.

It is a two-bay building with a basement in the western part (a stone cellar with a barrel vault and lunettes); it has masonry walls (partly stone, partly brick), a wooden ceiling over the first floor and a wooden tie-beam truss supporting a hipped roof. This roof was originally covered with shingles. At present it is covered by sheet metal cut into rectangles with a seam joint. A brick chimney is located on the ridge on the western side of the building.

In terms of architectural decor, it was built in the Classicist style. The front facade features a risalit that transitions into an arcade supported by four stone columns (one of which had fallen over and was found in the area around the mansion). The gable of this risalit is finished in wood with a centrally located, small arched window (Figs 14, 18, 23).

Originally, the front facade had seven axes, with the central axis was formed by the entrance. The two side facades, west and east, had two axes each, while the rear facade probably had five axes, with a porch facing the garden (see the plan on the 1851 Galician cadastre). The windows were of similar size and were topped with segmental arches. Currently, some of these windows are bricked up and need to be restored (there are three windows in the south facade, two in the west facade, one in the east facade and three in the north facade, as well as a secondary gate from the period when part of the mansion was used as a stable, see Figs 14, 15, 17 18, 23, 25, 26, 27).

Signs of the masonry walls being remodelled are clearly visible in the facades. The western part of the mansion (above the basement), which served as a dwelling in the twentieth century, has been rebuilt (Fig. 17). This might have taken place in 1908.[28]

The interior of the mansion has been partially remodelled. Originally, it probably consisted of nine rooms, including a vestibule that connected the entrance area with a porch located on the garden side, a living room, dining room, kitchen, bedroom, bathroom and ancillary rooms.

Polychromatic decorations in the central and eastern sections (see Figs 19, 20, 21a, b), as well as large internal ogival doors (Fig. 19) have survived from the period of the building's heyday in the mid-nineteenth century.

Material tests were also performed when conducting field measurements. Non-destructive and quasi non-destructive tests of the structural timber and masonry material used in the construction of the building were performed. All results were compared with those obtained from destructive laboratory tests.

Surrounding the manor building, relics of the manorial garden survive. Around the middle of the nineteenth century, it consisted of three separate parts, as mentioned above.

[27] AGZ, Lwów 1894, vol. 16, no. 2982, p. 347.

[28] BARAN, Malgorzata, op. cit. p. 6.

To the front of the building, on the south side, a formal driveway with a semicircular lawn was located, reachable via an avenue that passes through a gate. Fragments of this route survive to this day (Fig. 30). This zone was characterised by low-cut hedges extending in a semicircle from the entrance area to the manor house (Fig. 6).

Behind the manor house, to the north, there was a triangular area with tall trees that formed a sort of a composed grove and behind them, agricultural plots related to the economic function of the manor complex. To the east side of the building, there was a well-defined garden with landscaped paths, of which fragments of one survive (Fig. 6).

Only fragments of the historical woodlands that surrounded the mansion have survived. A comprehensive survey of the garden complex was performed forty years ago for a catalogue of the voivodeship's parks. Its general condition was described as "poor" at the time. However, remnants of the old hornbeam avenue (see Fig. 28) and several groups of old trees – robinias (*Robinia pseudoacacia*), ash trees (*Fraxinus exelcior*), hornbeams (*Carpinus betulus*) and maples (*Acer*) – were still present. The oldest of these were located in front of the manor and to the west of it.[29] At present, the tall greenery within the former garden complex consists a small number of the old trees that have survived from among those mentioned above (see Figs 29, 31a, b, 32a, b) and numerous volunteer plants, which produce an impression of disorder and spatial chaos. They have also caused the historical layout of the garden to disappear.

Fig. 28 (left): *View of a fragment of the hornbeam avenue*. Photo by J. Jurek, 1982.
Fig. 29 (right): *View of the historical, partially preserved tree stand located in the complex's west side.* Photo by M. Krupa July 2021.

[29] GRABOWSKI, Cezary, *op. cit.* p. 1–4.

Fig. 30: *View of a part of the fragmentarily preserved garden complex and its entrance gate.* Photo by M. Krupa, May 2021.

Fig. 31a, b: *View of the remains of the manorial garden in the complex's west side.* Photo by M. Krupa, June 2021.

Fig. 32 a, b: *View of the remains of the manor garden in the formal part at the front-facing, southern facade.* Photo M. Krupa, 07.2021.

4 Historical–interpretive analysis

The research conducted in the first phase of the procedure uncovered many important facts about the history of Wrocanka. These facts were analysed and interpreted in the fourth phase.

Wrocanka, as a village, was probably founded under the Magdeburg Law by King Casimir the Great after 1340, along with other villages in Krosno County, such as Cergowa, Iskrzynia, Miejsce Piastowe and Rogi, Równe. However, no source documents have survived on this topic.[30]

The first owner of Wrocanka revealed so far in the sources was a nobleman named Ścibor, mentioned in documentation from the early fifteenth century (1424).[31] It is likely that he was a so-called "pledge" owner, which meant that the village was a part of royal lands. In the fifteenth century, due to the weakening of the royal power of the Jagiellons in favour of the wealthy nobility, as well as the need to raise funds to conduct active foreign policy (war campaigns), the monarch was often forced to take loans with the pledge of royal lands.[32]

It can be presumed that Ścibor and his successors were in possession of Wrocanka until the sixteenth century.[33] Among them was Mikołaj Ściborowicz Wroczeński of Wrocanka, who owned the village in 1435–1452. After Mikołaj's death, Wrocanka was inherited by his wife, Jadwiga, and later his children: Apolonia, Jadwiga, Ścibor, Mikołaj and Stanisław. The sisters Apolonia and Jadwiga ceded their due share of paternal property to their brothers.[34]

In the years 1494–1504, the leaseholder and alderman of Wrocanka, designated as a royal estate, was Wojciech, who gave part of his property to his wife Dorota, daughter of Mikołaj Radwan.[35] Dorota, in turn, ceded her rights to Wrocanka to her sister Katarzyna Wróblewska.[36]

In 1504, the owner of Wrocanka, as well as the manor house located there, was Anna, wife of Jan Lubiatowski.[37]

In 1521, King Sigismund Augustus bestowed upon Szczęsny Wroceński a lifetime lease of the village of Wrocanka,[38] but later that year he allowed an undisclosed person to buy this right out of the hands of the Wroczeński family.[39]

In 1548, King Sigismund Augustus gave the lease of Wrocanka to the Zaporski family: to Jan, his wife Anna and son Joachim. The estate remained in their hands until 1565.[40]

Wrocanka was still a royal village as late as the end of the sixteenth century. Its tenant was Mikołaj Ostrowski and after his death, according to the law of *Ius communicativum*, that right

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[30] PERZANOWSKI, Zbigniew. Średniowieczne osadnictwo rejonu Krosna. Część 1, Zarys rozwoju osadnictwa, [in:] *Krosno. Studia z dziejów miasta i regionu*. GARBACIK, Józef (ed.), vol. 1, op. cit., p. 67.

[31] *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie w skutek fundacyi śp. Aleksandra hr. Stadnickiego*, Lwów 1886, vol. 11, no. 65, p. 2 and no. 88, p. 12 (hereinafter: AGZ); *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziem polskich w średniowieczu*, op. cit., p. 240.

[32] MYŚLIŃSKI, Kazimierz. Recenzja Własność ziemska w województwie lubelskim w średniowieczu, Anna Sochacka, Lublin 1987. In: *Rocznik Lubelski*, 1989–1990, no. 31–32, pp. 255–257.

[33] TOMKOWICZ, Stanisław, ŁOPATKIEWICZ, Piotr, ŁOPATKIEWICZ, Tadeusz, op. cit., p. 157.

[34] *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziem polskich w średniowieczu*, op. cit., p. 240.

[35] AGZ, Lwów 1894, vol. 16, no. 2199, p. 253.

[36] *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziem polskich w średniowieczu*, op. cit., p. 240.

[37] AGZ, Lwów 1894, vol. 16, no. 2982, p. 347.

[38] *Matricularum Regni Poloniae summaria, excussis codocibus, qui in Chartophylacio Maximo Varsoviensi asservantur, contexuit indicesque adiecit Theodorus Wierzbowski, P. 4, Sigismundi I regis tempora complectens (1507–1548),* vol. 1, Acta cancellariorum 1507–1548, no. 3921.

[39] *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziem polskich w średniowieczu*, op. cit., p. 240.

[40] Ibidem.

passed to his wife Katarzyna, née Sienieńska.[41] In 1601, she obtained permission from King Sigismund III Vasa to transfer the village of Wrocanka with the aldermanship to her brother Jakub Sienieński.[42] It is possible that Jakub Sienieński – a member of the community of Polish Brethren and of the Sejm of the First Republic and founder of the Raków Academy – owned the estate until his death in 1639.

In 1665, Wrocanka was owned by Stanisław Zawisza and his wife Konstancja[43], and before that by the Dunikowskis: Zygmunt, a scribe and judge of the Sanok lands, and after him his wife, Katarzyna.[44]

In 1765, Wrocanka was donated by King Stanisław August Poniatowski to Michał Humnicki, the Sochaczew king's cup-bearer. An inventory of the manor and the village was drawn up on this occasion. This inventory stated that the manor, which had been in a very poor state of repair at the time, also included a grange with a number of barns, a granary, a bakery and a brewery.[45] Humnicki was certainly still Wrocanka's owner in 1770.[46]

After the First Partition of Poland, that is, after 1772, the estate in Wrocanka, like many other royal estates, was divided and sold off.[47] From then on its boundaries were probably different than the original ones and the area it covered became much smaller.

It is not known exactly when Teofil Załuski (1760–1831), son of Ignacy Załuski and Marianna Dębińska, bought Wrocanka. It was probably at the end of the eighteenth century, around the same time that he bought the village of Iwonicz (1799). However, it is known that at the time Karol Załuski purchased Iwonicz from his father in 1825, he also purchased Wrocanka,[48] which he visited during one of his trips to Galicia before 1835, during the period when he was a wanted man by decree of the Russian authorities.[49] Shortly thereafter, the property in Wrocanka was handled on his behalf by a Mr Bielański, who leased it from Załuski.[50]

It is possible to hypothesise that the well-kept manor and garden complex, together with the extensive and carefully planned garden layout depicted in the 1851 Galician cadastre, was not created on the initiative of Maria and Władysław Gołaszewski, but by Maria's parents, Karol and Amelia Załuski.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Karol and Amelia extended and modernised the health resort in Iwonicz. Conceivably, at that time they also took care of the property in Wrocanka. Amelia, née Ogińska, who came from an illustrious and wealthy family – the daughter of Maria, née Neri, and Michał Kleofas Ogiński – was considered the first town planner and architect of Iwonicz. She was particularly keen on landscaping the garden and

[41] ANUSIK, Zbigniew. Krąg rodzinny Katarzyny z Sienna Myszkowskiej, podczaszyny lubelskiej (zm. 1619). Studium genealogiczno-obyczajowe. In: *Przegląd Nauk Historycznych*, 2020, y. XIX, no. 2, pp. 258–260.

[42] TOMKOWICZ, Stanisław, ŁOPATKIEWICZ, Piotr, ŁOPATKIEWICZ, Tadeusz, op. cit., p. 157.

[43] *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*…, op .cit., p. 22.

[44] *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*…, pp.cit., p. 22, features a misspelled version of the name, as "Dunkowski" Zygmunt, a scribe of the land of Sanok. Correct name: Dunikowski, [in:] *630. Rocznica przybycia Franciszkanów do Sanoka*, BANACH, Wiesław, KASPRZYK, Ewa (ed.), Sanok 2008, p. 120.

[45] Inwentarz wsi Wrocanki z 1765 roku, [in:] Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego, sygn. 1/7/0/10/19.

[46] PIOTROWSKI, Eligi. *Summarjusz Królewszczyzn w całej Koronie Polskiej z wyrażeniem possesorów i siła ktora płaci rocznej kwarty spisany roku 1770*, Żytomierz 1861, p. 26.

[47] TOMKOWICZ, Stanisław, ŁOPATKIEWICZ, Piotr, ŁOPATKIEWICZ, Tadeusz, op. cit., p. 157.

[48] KWILECKI, Andrzej, op. cit. p.19.

[49] Ibidem, p. 38.

[50] *Wspomnienia o rodzinie*…, op. cit. p. 14.

park.[51] She was a well-rounded person who knew foreign languages and could sing, dance and draw.[52]

Maria Załuska (1829–1910)[53], who received Wrocanka as a dowry from her mother (her father died earlier, in 1945), married in 1849[54], so it seems impossible that it was the Gołaszewski family who initiated the remodelling of the manor house and designed its surroundings. This had probably been accomplished by her parents. However, this does not exclude the hypothesis that Maria and her husband also remodelled the manor house, for example, building a porch on the side facing the garden and introducing polychrome decorations there, some of which have survived to this day.

Amelia Załuska was listed as the owner of Wrocanka, a one-village dominion in Jasło Kreis, as late as 1855.[55]

When her husband, Władysław Gołaszewski, took over the family estate in Targowiska (Władysław was the only child of Leon Gołaszewski and Maria Gorayska), Maria Gołaszewska sold Wrocanka to her brother, Iwo Załuski (1840–1881[56]).[57] It is known that in 1862, the Gołaszewski family already lived in Targowiska,[58] and Iwo Załuski was mentioned in sources as the owner of Wrocanka in 1861[59] and 1864,[60] among others. He lived in the then well-kept Wrocanka Manor but took relatively little interest in the economic development of the estate, which brought in little income.[61]

The next owner of Wrocanka was Jan Kozłowski, but it is not known when exactly he acquired the property.[62] He was followed by Stanisław Ochała. Ochała remodelled the mansion, partially replacing the stone building materials with brick. At the time, some of the rooms were used as stables for animals,[63] which eventually influenced its progressive destruction.

In summary, it may be presumed that until 1772 – that is, the first partition of Poland, when the Wrocanka estate and manor house were divided and sold – the property played the role of an important regional noble seat, possibly also of defensive significance (towards the end of the Middle Ages and in the modern period). However, it was never an estate of supra-regional significance given the historical context.

5 Research by synthesis (of previously acquired information)

In the final, fifth stage, all the previously analysed data was synthesised. This allowed us to determine the condition of the existing building, i.e., the manor house and the entire manor and garden complex in Wrocanka. It was found that there were no compositional links between the ensemble and the historical spatial layout of the village. Of the four historical plans on

[51] KWILECKI, Andrzej i, op. cit., p. 43; *Wspomnienia o rodzinie*…, op. cit. p. 10.
[52] KWILECKI, Andrzej, op. cit., p. 32.
[53] Ibidem, p. 100.
[54] *Wspomnienia o rodzinie*…, op. cit. p. 69.
[55] ŚLUSAREK, Krzysztof. *W przededniu autonomii. Własność ziemska i ziemiaństwo zachodniej Galicji w połowie XIX wieku*. Warszawa 2013, p. 195.
[56] KWILECKI, Andrzej, op. cit., p. 97;
[57] Ibidem.
[58] WYSOCKI, Hieronim. *Przemówiły…,* op. cit., p. 118.
[59] *Dziennik Urzędowy dla Gazety Lwowskiej*, no. 72, 1861, p. 480.
[60] WYSOCKI, Hieronim, *Przemówiły…,* op.cit., p. 139–143.
[61] KWILECKI, Andrzej, op. cit., p. 97;
[62] ŚMNIEŻYŃSKA-STOLOTOWA, Ewa, STOLOT, Franciszek, op.cit., p. 158, BARAN, Malgorzata, op. cit., p. 6.
[63] Ibidem, p. 4.

which the villages and the manor and garden complex were marked, only the 1851 Galician cadastre yielded specific information about the composition and spatial layout of the complex. The archival research and literature review allowed us to verify and organise the history of the ensemble, which was not an easy task. In the future, this research may serve as a contribution to a monographic study.

Thanks to carefully conducted field surveys and measurements, a detailed documentation of the complex's existing state was prepared, consisting of photographic documentation and architectural and construction survey drawings.

Compositional identification of the building and its surroundings was also carried out, identifying architectural changes, including remodelling, extensions and replacement of original building materials.

This stage of the procedure also revealed the need for more detailed and specialised investigation, including conservation studies of the polychrome decorations and further architectural investigation.

Conclusions

The investigation of the manor and garden complex in Wrocanka was conducted using a five-stage procedure. The conclusions facilitated the preparation and execution of designs for the restoration – the first phase of restoring the entire manor and garden complex. Successive phases included the preparation of an interdisciplinary technical design; seeking its approval with the conservation office and, later, in the architectural administration office; and, finally, the execution of the project (under the close supervision of the Voivodeship Monument Conservation Officer), which was not easy as it dealt with a historical building.

The procedure presented in the paper can be successfully applied to preparatory works for any project that features the restoration and adaptive reuse of historic buildings and sites subject to statutory conservation orders, especially those of the highest value, both in Poland and abroad. The procedure is universal and offers methods and stages which can enhance typical monument restoration procedures with new elements (e.g., aerial archaeology).

It should be noted that a thorough and multi-aspect identification of a building or site to be restored facilitates the correct preparation of an interdisciplinary design documentation. This documentation and the execution of the design cannot lead to an irreparable loss of the building's values and its surviving historic substance.

We hope that, through using the presented procedure and executing the proposed projects correctly, the historical manor and garden complex in Wrocanka will regain its former glamour and remind people of the history of this part of Poland and the architecture of its past noble residences for years to come. The restored complex will likely be used as either a residential building or a hotel.

It would also be good to continue the restoration of this manor and garden layout as the manor garden area also requires this. This is essential as the manor and its surrounding tree stands form an important landmark in the landscape. It is postulated that conservation authorities perform an analysis of the potential to expand the area subject to statutory heritage conservation by including the "monument's surroundings" into it so that development around the complex will be prevented from threatening its historical and landscape values.

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