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The creative drama method in cultural heritage education: Bursa Grand Mosque

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The creative drama method in cultural heritage education: Bursa Grand Mosque

The research presented here is based on the idea of using creative drama, which adopts the principle of learning by doing and experiencing, as a method to teach individuals about the artistic and historical elements of religious architecture and increase their sensitivity to cultural heritage. This particular study involved introducing Bursa Grand Mosque to 9th grade students, with the aim of raising their awareness of their cultural heritage through processes based on creative drama. The positive feedback from students showed the project was a success, and the authors propose that similar programmes in other mosques will provide historical and cultural contributions in terms of forming a connection between yesterday, today and tomorrow, and having a long-lasting, lifelong impact on the lives of students.

Keywords: cultural heritage, cultural heritage education, creative drama, Bursa Grand Mosque.

Introduction

Education is the transfer of many common elements such as language, religion, customs, tradition, history, and sense of art from one generation to the next. Cultural heritage is an important element that should be considered in the broad scope of education. Culture refers to the entirety of the material and spiritual values of a society. The most important factors that make a society are its values, traditions, beliefs, cultures, and lifestyles.

Culture, a social product, is gained through learning³. Cultural heritage is one of the most important indicators of the traditions of a nation. It is necessary to create educational opportunities that provide and reinforce the social and cultural participation of individuals.

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³ AKIN, Galip. *Antropoloji ve Antropoloji Tarihi*. Ankara, Turkey: Tiydem Yayıncılık, 2011, p. 11.

It is thought that raising awareness among individuals about cultural heritage supports the formation of their sense of social and cultural identity.

Cultural heritage education is a subject of study in several disciplines, including history and education, and it is carried out with various aims in mind, such as arousing young people's interest in the past, ensuring the continuity of traditions, and raising awareness urban citizens about their environment⁴. A person who can perceive and evaluate art as a cultural entity with a critical eye also learns to place works of art in their historical context. In this way, he/she also comprehends the intellectual background of the works. Every work of art is similar to a living and speaking language and what it says can only be accurately revealed with a scientific approach. A work of art gives information about many subjects such as the artist's emotions, thoughts, historical period and the features of his/her society⁵. A thorough search of the relevant literature reveals many studies conducted to date on the relationship between cultural heritage and education, and the importance of the educational process in developing individuals' awareness of cultural heritage⁶.

Mosques, which are part of a society's cultural heritage, can be defined as places where Muslims gather to worship. Mosques and masjids, which have an essential role in the development of the socio-cultural aspects of Islamic society, are among the basic structures of religious architectural practice⁷. Throughout history, mosques and masjids have been used as schools, administrative centres, courts, military headquarters, guesthouses, ambassadorial reception areas, student residences, libraries, wedding halls, showrooms, hospitals and solidarity centres⁸. Yuca⁹ states that since the early days of Islam, mosques have been used for worship,

⁴ SIMSEK, Gokce; ACAR, Esin; CAYIREZMEZ, Nurdan Atalan; KESICI, Ayse Elitok. Exploring the role of the city as a learning environment for heritage education. In: *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, vol. 30, no. 2, 2013, pp. 105–35.

⁵ BURCOGLU, Ebru Baran; AYKAC, Murtaza. Sanat Eserlerini Incelemede Yaratıcı Drama Yonteminin Kullanımına İlişkin Katılımcı Görüşleri [Participant interpretations about the use of creative drama method in the examination of works of art]. In: *Mersin University Journal of the Faculty of Education*, vol. 9, no. 2, 2013, pp. 181–182.

⁶ ALKIS, Secil; OGUZOGLU, Yusuf. Ulkemiz Kosullarında Tarihi Çevre Eğitiminin Önemini ve Gerekçiligidini Arıtan Etkenler [Factors that increase the importance and requirement of historical environmental education in the conditions of our country]. In: *Uludag University Faculty of Education*, vol. 18, no. 2, 2005, pp. 347–361; CURTIS Reagan; SEYMOUR, Cathy. Louisiana heritage education program and heritage in the classroom: Children's attitudes toward cultural heritage. In: *Journal of Social Studies Research*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2004, pp. 20–24; HEIN, George. Evaluating teaching and learning in museums. In: HOOPER-GREENHILL, Eilean (ed.). *Museum, Media, Message*. New York, NY: Routledge. 2005, pp. 189–203; HENSON, Don. The present state of education in the United Kingdom. In: HENSON, Don; STONE, Peter G.; CORBISHLEY, Mike (eds.). *Education and the Historic Environment*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2004, pp. 15–21; HUNTER, Kathleen. Heritage Education in the Social Studies. In: *Heritage Education in the Social Studies*, 1988. ERIC Digest (ERIC ED 300306); LAMBERT, Cathleen Ann. Heritage Education in the Postmodern Curriculum. Unpublished masters' thesis. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, 1996, pp. 1–4; STONE, Peter G. Introduction: A framework for discussion. In: STONE, Peter G.; MOLYNEAUX, Brian L. (eds.). *The Presented Past: Heritage, Museums and Education*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2003, pp. 14–25.

⁷ AKIN, Ahmet. Tarihi Surec İcinde Cami ve Fonksiyonları Uzerine Bir Deneme [An essay about the function of mosques throughout the history]. In: *Hittit University Journal of Divinity Faculty*, vol. 15, no. 29, 2016, p. 181.

⁸ ONDER, Mustafa. Camilerde Sunulan Hizmetlerin Rehberlik ve İletişim Acisinden Degerlendirilmesi [Services offered guidance and evaluation of communication in mosques]. In: *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, no. 44, 2016, pp. 233–248.

⁹ YUCA, Yakup. Türkiye'de Geçmisten Günümüze Camilerin Eğitim Fonksiyonları [In Turkey, education functions of mosques from past to present]. Unpublished masters' thesis. Uludag University Social Sciences Institution, Bursa, Turkey, 2015, pp. 14–20.

administration, and education. The Ottomans used them for both worship and educational purposes.

As institutions, mosques serve society and its development, bear witness to the people and the environment in which they live, protect them, and share information with the community. They are open to the public for research, education, and finding peace. Mosques also benefit from many branches of science and art. For these reasons, it is thought that the many kinds of educational practice in mosques are useful in raising awareness about cultural heritage and establishing a bridge with the past.

Cultural heritage education and creative drama

Creative drama is thought to play an essential role in making cultural heritage education creative, explorative and enjoyable. This is because creative drama, which takes the individual beyond being a visitor, can help establish a link between people and objects. Various forms of learning can be applied in cultural heritage education. Adopting the principle of “learning by doing” as a teaching method, creative drama is thought to contribute to the individual’s awareness of artistic and historical elements. Such learning processes encourage questions such as “Who built it?”, “Why did they build it?”, “For whom did they build it?”, “For what purpose was it built?”, and “Has it ever changed?” and can generate a sense of curiosity and discovery.

In cultural heritage education, the use of creative drama, imagination and conceptual thinking are combined. Individuals who participate in creative drama through games and the engagement of all their senses experience a more permanent learning process. Unlike methods that involve the direct transfer of information, this process creates a free environment in which students can ask questions and make decisions about what and how to learn.

The present paper focuses on research involving the use of creative drama as a learning process in a mosque. In contrast to the traditional classroom environment, the activities carried out in the mosque enabled students to interact with historical works and to learn by doing. Creative drama prioritizes participants expressing themselves as free individuals through interactions with their friends in a social environment. As stated by Adiguzel¹⁰, the general purpose of creative drama is to enable children, adolescents and young people to travel between the real world and the fictional one using roleplay and, through a process of awareness raising and acculturation, to educate creative, self-contained, self-aware individuals who are able to communicate with and improve their environment and who develop aesthetic awareness and democratic attitudes and behaviour. Thus, the creative drama method is thought to help individuals empathize with each other and to raise awareness about history and culture.

To achieve these aims through creative drama and ensure they are internalized by participants, the selected activities should be complementary, and certain stages should be followed¹¹:

1. Warm-up Stage: This is the basic process of familiarising members of the group with each other and with the space. It is key to setting the group dynamics and also lays the foundations for the next stage.

2. Roleplay Stage: In this stage, students improvise individual or group dramas and perform them to each other in a process that helps to shape and explore the subject in question.

3. Evaluation-Discussion Stage: This is the stage where educational achievements are

¹⁰ ADIGUZEL, Omer. *Eğitimde Yaratıcı Drama* [Creative drama in education]. Istanbul, Turkey: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2018, p. 95.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 134–141.

discussed and ideas are shared on what has been achieved and whether these achievements will have an impact on future experiences. Speaking or writing activities can be used to get students' views on their experiences.

For this study, Bursa Grand Mosque was used as a learning environment where creative drama activities were applied. These activities included warm-up activities, games, role-playing, and improvisation.

Bursa Grand Mosque

Bursa Grand Mosque is one of the best examples of religious-architectural works featuring multi-domed structures on columns, a style that is strongly associated with the early Ottoman period¹². It is one of the last and best examples of the Grand Mosque type that was popular in the Seljuk period, characterised by cavernous interior spaces¹³. The Anatolian Seljuk tradition was adopted in the construction of mosques built in the early Ottoman period. The Bursa Grand Mosque (1396-1399) is one of the most significant examples of multi-domed mosques. It was built on twelve massive rectangular columns which support twenty domes with an average diameter of 10.5 meters. There is a fountain (sadirvan) inside the mosque, which also features two minarets made of cut stone and can be entered through gates which open on three sides¹⁴.

Method

The study was based on qualitative research conducted by means of the case study methodology, which examines an actual topic in a real-life framework. A qualitative approach offers the researcher flexibility in designing and conducting the study. Developing new methods and approaches and making alterations in the structure of the research at every stage constitute the essence of qualitative research. Exploratory research is very useful in elucidating under-studied topics¹⁵.

For this study, an interview form was developed as a qualitative data collection tool. Interviewing is one of the most common data collection methods used to learn individuals' knowledge, thoughts, attitudes, and behaviours in relation to various topics and their causes. The interviews were divided into two groups: individual interviews and group interviews¹⁶. A distinctive feature of focus group interviews is that they are aimed at gaining insights from the interactions between participants. The main purpose of the interviews was to reveal the students' attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experiences and reactions in a way that could not be achieved by other methods¹⁷.

At the end of the creative drama activities, the students were asked questions using the interview form, and their answers were evaluated. While deciding upon the items in the

¹² AKIN, Tarihi Surec Icinde..., p. 184.

¹³ KEMIKLI, Bilal. Onsoz. In: KEMIKLI, Bilal (ed.). *Bursa Ulu Cami* [Bursa Grand Mosque]. Bursa, Turkey: Bursa Kultur A.S., 2014. p. 7.

¹⁴ SAHIN, Tahir Erdogan. *Sanat Taribi II* [History of art]. Istanbul, Turkey: Serhat Yayınlari A.S., 1999, p. 79.

¹⁵ NEUMAN, W. Lawrence. *Toplumsal Arastirma Yontemleri, Nitel ve Nicel Yaklasimlar I* [Social research methods, qualitative and quantitative approaches I]. Ankara, Turkey: Yayınevi Yayıncılık, 2014, pp. 232-234.

¹⁶ KARASAR, Niyazi. *Bilimsel Arastirma Yontemi: Kavramlar Ilkeler Teknikler* [Scientific research method: Concepts principles techniques]. Ankara, Turkey: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 2018, p. 211.

¹⁷ KUS, Elif. *Nicel-Nitel Arastirma Teknikleri Sosyal Bilimlerde Arastirma Teknikleri: Nicel mi? Nitel mi?* [Quantitative-qualitative research techniques research techniques in social sciences: Is it quantitative? Is it qualitative?]. Ankara, Turkey: Anı Yayıncılık, 2012, p. 102.

interview form, sample forms from the academic literature¹⁸ were taken into consideration, and the questions were reviewed by experts. Based on their recommendations, some necessary edits were made to the interview form before it was finalized. The focus group interview questions were as follows:

1. What do you think about the introduction of Bursa Grand Mosque through creative drama?
2. Do you feel you have been informed about Bursa Grand Mosque through the creative drama method? What did you learn about the Grand Mosque?
3. What was the most influential and beneficial activity?
4. Did the creative drama activities in Bursa Grand Mosque contribute to your knowledge? If so, what contributions did they make?
5. How did the creative drama activities affect your desire to study and seek more information about mosques? Why?

At the end of the activities, a focus group interview was held with 15 students. The students were asked five questions about Bursa Grand Mosque and their achievements. Their responses were coded and the data obtained interpreted under the themes presented below, in the Findings and interpretation section.

Working group

The activities were carried out with 15 volunteer students enrolled in the 9th grade of Ahmet Rustu Anatolian High School in the 2018/19 academic year. The research included 12 females and 3 males. All but two of the students had never participated in any drama activity before the research.

Creative drama activities

The creative drama activities implemented within the scope of the research aimed to introduce Bursa Grand Mosque to participants and generate sensitivity towards cultural heritage. The workshops conducted as part of the study were structured according to the stages of creative drama method described above (warm-up/preparation, roleplay, evaluation). The workshops were conducted in 10 sessions, requiring a total of 23 hours. The titles of the sessions were: "Meeting-Communication", "Introduction", "Founders of Bursa Grand Mosque", "Exterior Elements of Bursa Grand Mosque", "Construction Stages of Bursa Grand Mosque", "The Opening of Bursa Grand Mosque and Features of the Minbar" (pulpit), "The Calligraphy and Calligraphists of Bursa Grand Mosque", "Suleyman Celebi and the Writing of the First Mevlid", "History of Bursa Grand Mosque", and "General Evaluation". Two of the sessions were held in Bursa Grand Mosque; the others were conducted in Ahmet Rustu Anatolian High School. The present study discusses the two workshops held in Bursa Grand Mosque, namely, "Exterior Elements of Bursa Grand Mosque" and "History of Bursa Grand Mosque" (Fig 1, Table 1 and Table 2).

¹⁸ YILDIRIM, Ali; SIMSEK, Hasan. *Sosyal Bilimlerde Nitel Araştırma Yöntemleri* [Qualitative research methods in social sciences]. Ankara, Turkey: Seckin Yayinevi, 2013, p. 39.



Fig 1. Photos of activities

Findings and interpretation

As a result of the content analysis of the data obtained, students' opinions have been presented under four themes: "Introducing Bursa Grand Mosque through creative drama," "Learning about Bursa Grand Mosque through creative drama," "Creative drama's contribution to personal development", and "The effects of creative drama on students' interest and desires to investigate and learn about other mosques".

Introducing Bursa Grand Mosque through creative drama

The students reported that the creative drama activities they participated in at the mosque provided a different type of experience through which they could investigate and learn about Bursa Grand Mosque in a practical way. Several described how they were able to learn about the mosque through seeing, touching and experiencing, which ensured the knowledge they obtained took a more permanent hold. Their thoughts on being introduced to Bursa Grand Mosque through creative drama are presented in Table 3.

Table 1: Activity 1: Exterior elements of Bursa Grand Mosque

Warm-up/Preparation	<p>1. Students, accompanied by an instructor, walked around the courtyard of Bursa Grand Mosque and examined its exterior elements. While in the courtyard, the instructor asked the students to form a circle and then divided them into two groups, called ‘ulu’ and ‘camı’. The two groups were asked to stand in two rows and were told they were going to play Chinese whispers. The instructor showed a word or phrase to the student at the back of each row, who then whispered it to the student in front of him, and so on. The student at the front of the row was given paper and a pen and told to write the word on the paper. The groups started at the same time, and the group that conveyed the word fastest and most accurately was the winner. The words shown to the students at the back of the groups were: Dome, minaret, east gate, crown gate, court gate, colourful stained glass, and fountain.</p> <p>2. The students were told to count 1, 3, 9, 9, to bring to mind the year the mosque was completed (1399). Those who did not say the correct number had to sit out the rest of the game.</p> <p>3. The instructor gave each student the name of one of the mosque’s gates: the “court gate”, “sultan’s gate”, or the “crown gate”. They were then told to form a group with those who shared the same name. The groups were asked to form three lines, with the sultan’s gate group in front, the court gate group in the middle, and the crown gate group at the back.</p> <p>The aim of the game was for students in the crown gate group to reach the sultan’s gate, while it was the job of those in the court gate to hinder them.</p> <p>The court gate group was told, “When I say start, you must make yourselves into obstacles that will prevent the crown gate people from reaching the sultan’s gate. But you have a very short time to get into position. When I clap my hands, you must freeze exactly as you are. Anyone who moves or changes position will be sent out.”</p> <p>The sultan’s gate students were told: “You must pair up with someone from the crown gate group, who will be blind, and help them negotiate the obstacles created by the court gate group. You can do this only by speaking to them. When your friend reaches you, you can eliminate one person in the court gate group.”</p> <p>The crown gate group was told: “Close your eyes and, with the help of directions you will hear from the sultan’s gate, try to get past the court gate and reach the sultan’s gate. When you reach the friend from the sultan’s gate who has been helping you, the two of you can eliminate one person in the court gate.”</p> <p>4. The students formed a circle. In the middle of the circle, two chairs were placed, one on its four legs, and the other overturned. The students were given the following scenario: “You are builders working on the construction of Bursa Grand Mosque. A workplace accident has just occurred. What kind of an accident might it have been? When the accident occurred, where were you and what were you doing? Everyone take their places at the time of the accident and freeze. If I touch you, you must tell us about the accident.” The students then gave their account of the accident.</p> <p>5. Each student was given a number from 1 to 4 and asked to form groups accordingly. Each group was given the beginning of a scenario and told to improvise on it. After a while to prepare, they performed their skits for each other.</p> <p>Group 1: You are construction workers working on the construction of Bursa Grand Mosque. You were supposed to leave the dome above the fountain (one of the twenty domes in the mosque) open to let the sunshine into the building and allow the rain to accumulate in the fountain. You forgot to leave it open, and now the architect is furious with you.</p> <p>Group 2: You are construction workers building Bursa Grand Mosque. You are carrying stained glass to be used in the construction of the mosque. You drop it, and it breaks. You have no other stained glass prepared, and the window needs to be installed by tonight.</p> <p>Group 3: You are construction workers building the minaret of Bursa Grand Mosque. You forgot to build a gate to the balcony of the minaret. (A balcony on a minaret encircles the upper sections from which the muezzin gives the call to prayer.)</p> <p>Group 4: You are construction workers building the crown gate of Bursa Grand Mosque, which is supposed to be aligned with the Qiblah (the position of the Kabaa shrine in Mecca). The kadi (Islamic judge) claims that the Qiblah is in the opposite direction, but you are sure that the location of the crown gate is correct.</p>
Roleplay	

Evaluation-Discussion	<p>6. The students were given the names “dome”, “crown gate”, “window”, or “minaret” and make groups accordingly. The groups were given envelopes, each containing a jigsaw puzzle and a piece of cardboard on which to stick the completed jigsaw. The dome group’s jigsaw puzzle depicted the dome, the crown gate’s puzzle was of the crown gate, and so on. The groups were told to open the envelopes and assemble the puzzles on the cardboard. The completed puzzles were exchanged between groups. Then, the groups were asked to write a riddle about the visual elements of the part of the mosque depicted in their puzzle. The completed puzzles were collected and hung in a place where everyone could see them, and the riddles distributed between the groups. The groups had to guess the answer to their riddle, write it on a post-it note, and stick it on the related jigsaw puzzle. Finally, the students checked whether the riddles were stuck on the correct puzzles.</p>
Warm-up/Preparation	<p>7. Each student was given a number from 1 to 3. The students with the same number came together to form a group. Each group was given a sheet of craft paper and pens. Group 1 were sent to the east gate, group 2 the crown gate, and group 3 the court gate. Each group was asked to draw a sketch of the interior of Grand Mosque, looking in from the perspective of their gate, showing every detail that grabbed their attention in the sketch.</p>
Table 2: Activity 2: History of Bursa Grand Mosque	
	<p>1. The students walked around the Grand Mosque. They studied the mosque’s exterior and its courtyard. Then, they returned to their starting point, formed a circle, and told each other about the things that had grabbed their attention.</p>
	<p>2. The instructor asked for a volunteer, who was told to divide students into As and Bs. Each A was told to partner with a B. They were then told, “Rumour has it that there is a jar of gold coins buried beneath where we stand, in this part of Grand Mosque. With your partner, you must unearth this jar without anyone seeing you. The volunteer police will try to catch you. You must try to find and take the gold without being seen anyone or caught by the police. If you see the police, the only way to escape is to freeze by taking the shape of an object that you have seen outside the mosque. If you are caught, you will continue to play the game as a police officer. The last pair remaining uncaught wins the game.”</p>
	<p>3. Each student was given a number from 1 to 4 and told to form groups according to their number. Each group was given an envelope with a piece of paper and a pencil inside. The students were then brought to the starting point in front of Grand Mosque’s crown gate and asked to walk around the outside of mosque in their group, studying a particular aspect of it, and writing a riddle about that feature. Students were warned to make sure they were not overheard while writing their riddles. Group 1 were told to examine the gates of the mosque, group 2 its windows, group 3 the minaret and courtyard, and group 4 the domes and walls. When they had finished, they were told to place their riddles back in the envelopes and come back to the starting place at the crown gate, where the envelopes were swapped between groups. Students then had to try to answer each other’s riddles.</p>
	<p>4. The students were told to partner with someone they had not yet partnered with. One would be student A, the other B. The As were asked to close their eyes and the Bs’ job was to lead them around the interior of the Grand Mosque, describing what they saw. Then, Bs closed their eyes and As described to them what they saw. Once they had both described the interior of the mosque to each other, the activity ended.</p>
	<p>5. Students were given notepaper and a pen and instructed to find something inside the mosque starting with the same letter as their name and write it down (e.g., Cemil: calligraphy, Merve: minbar). Once they had finished writing, they were asked to form a circle and read the word to the group.</p>
	<p>6. Each student was given a number from 1 to 4 and split into groups accordingly. They were told: “You are four groups of artists working on the construction of the interior of Bursa Grand Mosque, 600 years ago, and each group has a separate task. You will have to perform your task as a mime.” The students were assigned tasks and given some time to prepare. They performed their mimes in front of each other, and the other groups had to try and guess what tasks were being performed.</p>
	<p>7. Each student was given a piece of paper and told to think about a feature in the interior of Grand Mosque that they found interesting and write down five clues about it (e.g., it is made of iron, it has stairs, etc.) They then had to write three sentences about the location of that element (e.g., the crown gate is to the right of it; it is opposite the fountain). When everyone had finished, the sheets were put in the middle, and everyone took one. Each student had to read the clues and try to guess the object being described. Then they read out all the hints to each other, and the whole group tried to guess the answer.</p>

	<p>8. Each student was given a number from 1 to 4 and formed into groups accordingly. Each group was given a photograph of an element in Grand Mosque (the fountain, the minbar, calligraphy of the letter vav in Arabic, or a Kaaba) and told to prepare a skit about that element. The students then performed their skits to one another.</p>
Roleplay	<p>9. Students were given a number, 1 or 2, and asked to form two groups accordingly. 1s were told: "You are with a friend who cannot see. You are describing Grand Mosque for him/her." 2s were told: "You are with a friend who cannot hear. You are describing Grand Mosque for him/her with facial expressions and body language." The students were asked to pair up, 1s with 2s, and improvise according to these instructions.</p>
Evaluation-Discussion	<p>10. Students were split into four groups and asked to try to remember the stories about Grand Mosque that had been roleplayed in the previous sessions. Then were then asked to make a new drama about one of them.</p>
Introducing of Bursa Grand Mosque through creative drama	<p>11. Students were instructed to sit in a circle and share their experiences and thoughts. The following questions were discussed: "How many temples have you ever visited? How many of them did you love? Which ones do you feel you were able to understand? What will you remember most about today in the future?" Students then shared their responses with each other.</p>

Table 3: *Students' opinions about the introduction of Bursa Grand Mosque through creative drama*

Theme	Students' opinions
	<p>S. 13. In the past I have been to Grand Mosque several times to worship, but even though I wondered about the elements in it, I didn't have the opportunity to learn anything about them - or what I learned was not permanent. I learned about all of these things through creative drama. We roleplayed the rumours about the mosque. I learned by seeing, feeling, experiencing. What I learned is now permanent, and it was fun.</p>
	<p>S. 4. In fact, we can learn things that are usually more difficult to learn. To give a short example, we learned that the Grand Mosque was built in 1399 in a game, which made it easier for us to learn.</p>
	<p>S. 3. We thought like the people of that time, and we tried to roleplay the way they behaved. We learned about the difficulties the people of that time had to face and what materials they used. It was beneficial for me.</p>
	<p>S. 8. I had never visited Grand Mosque before. It was more useful to learn by seeing; I was very excited. Normally, I wouldn't be so interested in it, but when I learned some stories about the mosque, it started to attract my attention.</p>
	<p>S. 10. You said Grand Mosque was like a museum. It is indeed like a museum with its minbar, the cover of the gate of the Kaaba, the picture of Kaaba, the letter vav in Arabic, its calligraphy and the muezzin mahfil (a special raised platform in a mosque where the muezzin carries out his duties). The fact that people thought that the planets over the minbar were pea flowers, that they found out that they were in fact planets, the history of the entire mosque, and everything... I think it is a public museum, and the fact that it has been used for centuries is quite valuable.</p>

Learning about Bursa Grand Mosque through creative drama

The students reported that learning about Bursa Grand Mosque through creative drama was very effective. They described how they had been given the opportunity to get to know the history, interior, and exterior of Bursa Grand Mosque and all the history and stories embodied in these features. They noted that through creative drama activities, they had learned about the mosque's founders, features of the various elements within it, and its exterior elements, such as its domes, gates, and minarets, and why the fountain had been built. Students' opinions on learning about Bursa Grand Mosque through creative drama are presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Students' opinions on learning about Bursa Grand Mosque through creative drama

Theme	Students' Opinions
Learning about Bursa Grand Mosque through creative drama	S. 4. I learned that the Grand Mosque was commissioned by Yildirim Bayezid Han. I learned that the architects were Ali Neccar and Haci Ivaz Pasha. I learned that the artists of that time made figures of the planets in the solar system on one side of the minbar at a time when no one knew about the solar system. I learned that the gate of the old Kaaba was in the Grand Mosque.
	S. 10. I didn't know what a dome was, why one of the 20 domes (the one over the fountain) was open, or why it was left open. I discovered that one of the minarets was built later and the elements in it were added later. I learned about these through creative drama activities.
	S. 6. I learned a lot about Somuncu Baba. I learned that he contributed a lot to the construction of Grand Mosque. I knew about Somuncu Baba but did not know that he came out of the three gates at the same time at the opening of Grand Mosque. This was quite interesting for me.
	S. 7. I learned about the location of the fountain, east gate, crown gate, and the court gate.

Contribution of creative drama to students' personal development

The students stated that the creative drama activities contributed to their knowledge of history and their personal development, and some felt they were now able to express themselves more easily thanks to the activities. Students' thoughts about how the creative drama activities contributed to their personal development are presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Students' opinions about how the creative drama activities contributed to their personal development

Theme	Students' opinions
Contribution of creative drama to students' personal development	S. 7. We learned about our history. I learned who built Grand Mosque and how they built it. This experience contributed to my knowledge of history and my personal development.
	S. 6. Now I know all about Grand Mosque. It was cultural learning. Through improvisation and roleplay, I could behave like other people. We thought about what the other person will tell us. We had to use our brains fully, and use body language too. In the community, I can express myself more easily through speaking and body language.
	S. 3. When I saw calligraphy previously, I would just say 'That looks beautiful!' Now I know who wrote the calligraphy and how much effort they put into it. So it is more valuable for me now. In the activities, we role-played and improvised. Moreover, we did that in the Grand Mosque. It was fun to learn about our history in this way.
	S. 1. The roleplays were of great use to us. We also improvised the history of Grand Mosque and tried to guess what might have happened in the construction process. We played our roles and expressed ourselves through improvisation.

The effects of creative drama on students' interest in and desire to investigate and learn about other mosques

The students stated that they learned about the history of Bursa Grand Mosque through first-hand experience. Many of them stated that the activities aroused their interest in the history of other mosques as well. The students' opinions about the effects of creative drama on their interest in and desire to investigate and learn about other mosques are presented in Table 6.

Discussion and conclusion

The creative drama method for teaching and learning includes activities that allow students to observe, review, evaluate, interpret and design. The fact that the students are continuously in contact with each other during the process enables the sharing of experiences and enriches the

Table 6: Students' opinions about the effect of creative drama on their interest in and desire to investigate and learn about other mosques

Theme	Students' Opinions
The effect of creative drama on students' interest in and desire to investigate and learn about other mosques	S. 10. Now I want to learn about the history, architects, elements, and parts of other mosques as well. It was quite useful and interesting to learn about the history and gates, glass, domes, and minarets of Grand Mosque through games.
	S. 15. Frankly, I never wondered about mosques when I went there. I think I would wonder [about them] now if I visit other mosques. I would think, "The Grand Mosque was constructed in that way, so how was this one constructed?"
	S. 6. Mosques are a cultural heritage left for us. Every stone in this cultural heritage has history. This applies to not only the Grand Mosque but also our other cultural heritage, other historical artefacts. I think I will pay more attention to this from now on. This experience provided me with some general knowledge. I had never wondered about mosques before, but I will from now on.
	S. 13. This experience developed a sense of curiosity in me. I would like to learn about other mosques in this way as well. It was a very entertaining and enjoyable experience and provided me with some cultural knowledge.

educational environment. It can be said that such activities contribute to the development of students' creativity and expressive skills, offer new experiences, and enable them to see things from different perspectives through group work.

Based on the students' evaluations at the end of workshops and the results of the focus group discussion at the end of the process, it seems that the research has achieved its purpose. The activities seem to have left students with a positive impression of mosques; many have developed a greater sense of curiosity about mosques, and expressed a desire to learn more about other mosques. After each session, it was observed that the students were willing to participate in future activities that might be held, and that they had developed a fondness for the Grand Mosque and were more curious to learn about it. It was also observed that students were interested in other mosques and were willing to participate in similar activities in other mosques as well. The opinions that the students expressed during the sessions show that they learned by exploring and enjoyed the process. Overall, it seems that creative drama was an effective tool for learning through exploration and having fun, and could be usefully applied in other mosques.

Society is responsible for transferring the entirety of its material and spiritual cultural background and social values from generation to generation. For establishing a relationship between yesterday, today and tomorrow, and ensuring a permanent positive impression regarding mosques on students, the implementation of similar studies in other mosques is quite essential.

Based on the results of this study, the use of creative drama methods to introduce mosques as part of Turkey's cultural heritage can be recommended. There are many more possible activities that can develop students' awareness of the historical and cultural value of mosques and help ensure that future generations will preserve these monuments. The dissemination of creative drama activities and other learning environments that encourage students to develop the habit of visiting mosques will ensure that young people realize the artistic, historical and cultural aspects of mosques.

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Expositional design of the Audi museum in Ingolstadt: representation of the brand's characteristics in automobile industry history

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Expositional design of the Audi museum in Ingolstadt: representation of the brand's characteristics in automobile industry history

Modern automotive brand museums belong to the corporate museum class; thus, they are versatile in that they perform multiple tasks. They not only satisfy the visitors' desire to receive new information, but also realise the business goals of brand representation, both increasing loyalty to it, and developing corporate culture. The current trend in automotive brand museums' design is that the artistic solutions for the exhibition environment form associations among visitors that reflect the personality of a particular brand. This article analyses the scenario-design organisation of the museum exhibition of the Audi brand, which, during over 100 years in the automotive market, has formed its unique and inimitable image. Here we reveal the design means of exposition construction, where the exhibits are integrated into the economic and social conditions of their existence, forming an idea of important milestones in the history of the twentieth century.

Keywords: museum, car, Audi brand, design, museum exhibition, corporate style

The leading mission of museums is to preserve the achievements of humanity and broadcast them to future generations. Traditionally, the museum acts as one of the most important institutes of social and cultural spheres, and is based on the principles of preserving and spreading cultural values. It occupies a special place in the system of development and distribution of socially oriented values. The museum researcher M. Miistrovskaya notes that the museum, as a socially important object, "retains the status of a synthetic and prestigious cultural institution in modern society. It unites the progressive and innovative areas of architecture and design,

research results, fundamental and applied sciences, achievements in engineering and cutting-edge technologies”¹.

Among the various museum facilities, there are automobile brand museums which are of interest for study. According to the specifics of their organisation and appointment, these are categorised as corporate museums. In our publication, we refer to this term as “corporate facility with tangible objects and/or exhibits ... that communicates the history, operations, and/or interests of a company to employees, guests, customers, and/or the public”². Today, as an institution, the corporate museum has become a fashionable entertainment venue, popular among visitors³.

The peculiarity of the corporate museum is that it not only satisfies visitors’ aspirations to receive new information, but also fulfils the business objectives of brand representation, increasing brand loyalty, and development of corporate culture. The undeniable advantages of this innovative way of using a museum institution for commercial purposes include the benefits it creates for both corporations and local socioeconomic structures. In particular:

- Enhancement of the cultural potential of the space in which the museums are built;
- Expansion of tourist and cultural offers in the city;
- Creation of a recognisable element of the city’s marketing image⁴.

By fulfilling its main function of preservation and documentation, the corporate museum influences the formation and development of corporate culture with regard to the history and traditions of the company. The main goals of corporate museums are:

- Preservation and display of the company’s history;
- Development of pride and identity for company employees;
- Informing guests and clients about the company and its product lines and / or services;
- Influencing public opinion about the company⁵.

The main features of corporate museums are that they are usually located inside corporate objects, near the company headquarters, or near the factories where the products are manufactured; they are usually managed by the companies themselves, or sometimes by dedicated foundations, to which companies donate their collections for exhibition⁶. Such a museum actively helps to form a positive public opinion and maintain the image of the enterprise. “Corporate museums are not passive collections of organisational artifacts but are a type of organisational memory that is used strategically by the firm—for identity and image development”⁷. Today, such a museum institution plays not only an institutional role, but is also

¹ MAYSTROVSKAYA, Mariya. Muzeynaya ekspozitsiya: tendentsii razvitiya. [Museum exposition; development trends]. In: *Muzeynaya ekspozitsiya. Teoriya i praktika. Iskusstvo ekspozitsii. Novyye stsenarii i kontseptsii (Na puti k muzeyu XXI vek)*. Sb. nauch. trudov. Moskva: RIK, 1997, pp. 7–23. [In Russian].

² DANILOV, Victor. *A planning guide for corporate museums, galleries, and visitor centers*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1992, p. 4.

³ GRIFFITHS, John. In Good Company? Do Company Museums Serve the Company, its Marketing Department, its Employees or the Public? In: *Museum News*, Vol. 10, 1999, pp. 35–38.

⁴ PIATKOWSKA, Ksenia. The Corporate Museum: A New Type of Museum Created as a Component of Marketing Company. In: *The International Journal of The Inclusive Museum*. 6 (II), 2014, pp. 29–37.

⁵ DANILOV, *A planning guide* ..., p. 5

⁶ BONTI, Mariacristina. The corporate museums and their social function: some evidence from Italy. In: *European Scientific Journal*. 1, 2014, pp. 141–151.

⁷ NISSLEY, Nick; CASEY, Andrea. Viewing corporate museums through the paradigmatic lens of organizational memory: the politics of the exhibition. In: *British Journal of Management*. 13 (2), 2002, p. 8.

used as an instrument in the promotion strategy, creating benefits in the corporate market⁸.

It promotes successful business development, by presenting the brand and helping to establish contact with both the consumer and partners. Developing this idea, the Russian researcher N. Serbin notes that the space of the corporate museum is able to convey the atmosphere of the company, thus affecting the visitor.⁹

In turn, the corporate museum is not only a company business card; it is an integral part of the company's image, and it contributes to the forming of both corporate values and consumer and employee loyalty. According to the German historian and journalist Ursula Kampmann, "with their museums, the marketing teams have a magnificent tool to connect the visitor to the celebrated brand on an emotional level, to make the visitor become part of the greater whole, to transport him to a parallel universe where everything revolves around the brand"¹⁰. Therefore, the design of corporate museums correlates to their companies' corporate style. People buy goods made by specific brands because they can relate to the style those brands represent. So, it is indisputable that large automakers have realised that the architecture and design of their corporate museums, offices, and salons have a valuable impact on the successful sales of their products. We should note that in the architecture of modern buildings created for the automotive industry and commerce, it is becoming more important not only to build a recognisable image, but also to visually represent the brand and its values¹¹. The visual expression of the corporate spirit—the corporate style—helps visitors to associate the museum with that particular company. Brilliant examples of such institutions are the museums of world-famous automotive companies (Mercedes, BMW, Porsche, Ferrari) which have already become examples of innovative museum design. These museums play the role of symbols of national achievements; they show the greatness of technology, emphasising the special significance of the museum for the development of society. Automotive brand museums show the history of development and technical achievements during the evolution of a particular car brand.

But simultaneously, every automobile brand has, during its existence, produced certain values that become the basis for the creation of new generations of cars. "In regard to the Corporate Museum, the most important step is to formulate the message—as explicit as possible, as catchy as possible"¹². Therefore, the designers who form the exhibition face the difficult task of creating conditions not only for the display of technology, but also for the development of such a medium that shows the content of the philosophy of a particular automotive brand. "Museum design is the art of creating an inspiring space that is preserving and interpreting the physical culture for better functional efficiency based on the museum message. The Museum Message is defined as the Museum Mission, which is the cultural [and] historical potentials,

⁸ PIATKOWSKA, The Corporate Museum ..., p. 30

⁹ SERBINA, Natal'ya. Rossiyskiye korporativnyye muzei: perspektivy razvitiya i prodvizheniya. [Russian Corporate Museums: Prospects for Development and Promotion]. In: *Elektronnyy nauchnyy zhurnal Apriori. Seriya: gumanitarnyye nauki*, 6, 2014, p. 3. [In Russian].

¹⁰ KAMPMANN, Ursula. *Corporate Museums. How to Use History as a Tool for Branding*. <https://coinsweekly.com/corporate-museums-how-to-use-history-as-a-tool-for-branding/> (accessed 2 March 2018)

¹¹ BONDARENKO, Bohdan. Ekspozytsiya muzeyu kontsernu Mercedes-Benz: innovatsiyi v dyzayni ta zasoby predstavlennya tsinnostey brendu. [Mercedes-Benz Museum Exposition: Innovations in Design and Branding Tools]. In: *Visnyk Kharkivs'-koyi deržavnoyi akademiyi dyzaynu i mystetstva*. Kharkiv. KHDADM, 2014, 6 (14), pp. 8–12. [In Ukrainian].

¹² KAMPMANN, *Corporate Museums ...*

and the museum identity that is translated into a set [of] aims and objectives displayed in the exhibition space and its collections¹³¹³.

Globalisation and integration processes in society require modern museums to review and update their methods and means of action. The culture of postmodernism, which focuses on mass communication, has influenced the formation of a communication approach in the museum business with an emphasis on interaction with the visitor. Therefore, corporate museums are becoming a means of participation in social responsibility; a place for the meeting of the company, and the public¹⁴. In this sense, the the museum's architectural construction and environmental design are of particular importance, acting as carriers for specific content and channels for its communication.

The researcher A. Chugunova confirmed this opinion, noting that today the architectural image of the museum building has become as important as its content; the architecture is often equated with the exhibit¹⁵. According to M. Maistrovskaya, the creation of an exhibition in modern conditions is the creativity of building a 'conceptually' conditioned environment. It is the conceptual-visual.

The exhibition is formed as a subject-spatial, emotional and creative environment by the unity of plot and visual conceptual lines.

During the development of an exhibition, its formation and style are also guided by the leading trends and criteria of contemporary art: in the avant-garde search exposures, the influence of contemporary art—examples found within postmodernism being collage, assembly, and kinetic art—is observed¹⁶.

To date, as defined by researchers A. Tortika and M. Tortika (Lobanova), there are two concepts in the formation of a museum exposition. The first should be defined as the traditional (conservative) or 'counter-reformational', which is the academic approach to the creation of an exhibition, when the object of the exhibition is traditionally the main focus and all other aspects are organised so as not to interfere with its perception or distract from its contemplation. Contrary to this position, the 'reformational' concept is associated with the dominant development of scenic and artistic means in the creation of an exposition. The main thing in such an exposition is not the series of primary sources, but the artistic and technical methods, the exact scenario and the exact set of ideas, and the artistic and emotional images that the author has invested in it¹⁷. Such an approach to the creation of a museum exposition is entirely within the postmodern style, oriented towards the scenario of addressing the design of the environment. This reformational concept becomes especially important at the present stage of the development of museum affairs, when a rapidly changing historical and cultural situation

¹³ NOURAN, Morsi; YASSER, Mansour; SHAIMAA, Kamel; AYMAN, Farid. The Interpretation of cultural identities within the physical context of the corporate museums. In: *ICMAH Annual Conference. Corporate museums*. Istanbul, Turkey, 10-12 October 2018.

¹⁴ BONTI, The corporate museums ...

¹⁵ CHUGUNOVA, Anastasiya. Muzeynaya arkhitektura v kontekste sovremennoy kul'tury. [Museum architecture in the context of modern culture]. In: *Voprosy muzeologii*. Sankt-Peterburg: Sankt-Peterburgskiy gosudarstvenny universitet, № 1, 2010, pp. 34–43. [In Russian].

¹⁶ MAYSTROVSKAYA, Muzeynaya ekspozitsiya... pp. 7–23.

¹⁷ TORTYKA (Lobanova), Maryya; TORTYKA, Aleksandr. Teoryya kommunikatsyy kak metodologicheskaya osnova sovremennoy muzeynoy deyatel'nosty. [Communication Theory as a Methodological Basis of Museum Activities] In: *Problemy muzeeyznanstva, zberezhennya ta vidnovlennya istorychnoyi pamyati (do 85-ricchchya Kharkivs'koyi derzhavnoyi akademiji kul'tury ta 25-ricchchya vidkrytya pershoho v Ukrayini muzeynoho viddilennya KHDAK)*, Materialy vseukr. nauk.-teoret. konferentsiyi. Kharkiv: Kharkivs'ka derzhavna akademiya kul'tury, 2014, pp. 4–5. [In Russian].

requires new concepts in addressing the museum's expositional tasks. As M. Chesnokova points out in her dissertation research, in the modern world with its technocracy and urbanism, the personal necessity for emotions becomes especially urgent. This need stimulates the active development of the entertainment industry, which satisfies it at a rather primitive level. A person, being both the creator of culture and its creation, finds fullness of existence only by being simultaneously 'connected' to both the culture of values and their own internal source of culture. The 'museum boom' which began in the middle of the twentieth century and continues in the twenty-first century makes this clear. Against the background of the described processes, the need to determine the internal patterns and guidelines for the development of the museum exposition, which implements the central sociocultural function of the museum, becomes evident¹⁸.

The most accurate definition of exposition design in contemporary literature is the following: "Exposition design is defined as an integrative process that combines architecture, interior design, graphic design of the environment, print graphics, electronic and digital media, light, sound, interactive mechanisms and other areas of design"¹⁹. The main aim of exposition designers is to bring an idea to the target audience in its most vivid and clear form. To do this, they use the powerful interpretation potential of space, in which visitors have to perceive the represented history. The exposition's design, combined with its communicative components and interior design, creates an environment that provides the deepest and most complete transfer of information.

The demands of modern society have led to changes in the organisation of the exposition, and brought to the museum a movement that is expressed, first of all, in the designer's dynamic interpretation of the exhibition's theme, as well as in the use of modern technical methods. In addition, as it tends towards these dynamics, the modern exposition is characterised by the versatility and complexity of its conceptual solutions and the sharpness and brightness of its expression, merging the expositional genre with the specifics of theatrical performance, via the scenographic construction of the museum environment²⁰.

The exposition is one of the main communication channels of the museum. For museums representing automobile brands, it is formed mainly by the cars themselves, and also by the surrounding spatial environment. When the latter are given form and expressiveness, this significantly communicates and 'opens' the brand to the visitor. The peculiarity of modern automotive museums, representing concrete brands, is that the car itself, as an object of exposure, acts as more than a subject showing a certain level of technical development and design. Such a museum, through the imaginative solutions used in the exhibition environment—an art form using well-known symbols—forms associations that reflect the personality of the brand. In this sense, it is interesting to study the developments in the practice of designers creating museums for certain automotive brands, where some of the leaders are German automobile manufacturers. One brand with a significant history of development and innovations is Audi.

During more than 100 years in the automotive market, the Audi brand has formed a unique image. The easy-to-understand language of the simple and functional lines in their design has

¹⁸ CHESNOKOVA, Mariya. Evolyutsiya muzeynoy ekspozitsii kak znakovoy sistemy. [The evolution of museum exposition as a sign system]. PhD dissertation abstract, Sankt-Peterburg, 2010, pp. 3–4. [In Russian].

¹⁹ MAYSTROVSKAYA, Muzeynaya ekspozitsiya... pp. 7–23.

²⁰ SEVERYN, Viktor. Dyzayn suchasnoyi muzeynoyi ekspozitsiyi v konteksti rozvytku innovatsiynykh tekhnolohiy. [Design of a modern museum exhibition in the context of development of innovative technologies]. PhD dissertation. Kharkiv, 2015, pp. 39–40. [In Ukrainian].

made Audi cars a model of elegance. Their forms are the embodiment of dynamics and power combined with true sophistication.

Audi AG is characterised by its complicated history: the cars and engines were launched in the nineteenth century. Its creation is associated with the name of Augustus Horch, one of the founders of the German automotive industry, who was a talented German engineer and designer who mastered the basics of automotive engineering at Carl Benz. In August 1909, Augustus Horch founded a new automotive production line in Zwickau. Since his surname was already used in the company's name and was protected by a trademark, for the name of the new firm, Horch chose a Latin translation of his surname. So the German "horch" ("listen") became the Latin "audi".

Since the foundation of the Audi brand, its history has been associated with the tradition of sporting achievements. Because of the impressive success of the Audi cars in the Austrian mountain rally race between 1911 and 1914, Augustus Horch made the brand world-famous for several years. The most famous model of that time—the Audi C 14/35—even received the nickname 'Conqueror of the Alps'.

In 1921, Audiwerke AG surprised the automotive world by presenting the first German car with a left-handed steering wheel, showing the manufacturer's attention to driving safety and ease of operation. On June 29, 1932, the Audi, Horch and Zschopauer Motorenwerke / DKW plants merged into Auto Union AG. The new company immediately signed an agreement with Wanderer Werke to purchase the Wanderer automotive division. The symbol of the merger was the four rings which still serve as the emblem of the Audi brand. After its creation, Auto Union AG became the second-largest group in the automotive industry in Germany. To create a reputation, Auto Union participated in Grand Prix races in 1934. Over the next few years, the Auto Union's 'Silver Arrow' won in races and championships around the world, setting many world records.

However, the last Audi car of this era was released in April 1940. After that, the production of Audi cars stopped for a quarter of a century. In 1945, after the war, the plants of Auto Union AG were dismantled. On September 3, 1949, a new company, Auto Union GmbH, was created. The company saw its main tasks as continuing the development and production of successful cars, the revival of the brand's past fame, and raising the brand to the level of luxury class. So, in the new Audi 100 model, a new technology was introduced—the all-wheel drive²¹. The new enterprise's innovative desires were embodied in a new advertising slogan in 1971, which since then has expressed the philosophy of the company: "Vorsprung durch Technik" (German), meaning "The Advantage of High Technologies". Under this motto, in particular, the first generation of the Audi 80, which was launched in batch production in 1972, was designed. The brand's history includes at least six models that not only embody this slogan in life but also become the 'icons' of the brand: the racing model Auto Union Typ D (1938), the NSU Ro 80 (1967), the Audi quattro (1980), the concept cars quattro Spyder and Avus quattro, which appeared in 1991, and the Audi A2 1999 release.

1974 was a pivotal year for Audi—Ferdinand Piech was appointed the head of the design department. The 'Era of Piech' was marked by the transformation of Audi into an innovative manufacturer that sought technical advancements. In this period there was a gradual strengthening of the Audi brand's positions. The further success of Audi is closely linked to a range of technical innovations. Among them are perfect aerodynamic design, an aluminium

²¹ Iстория Audi. [Audi story]. <http://de-auto.ru/audi/history.html> (accessed 13 April 2018).

body, a hybrid drive, gasoline engines with direct injection technology, and super-powerful eight- and twelve-cylinder engines.

In addition, the 1980s were the blooming period for rally competitions, in which the company took an active part in order to showcase its achievements. From a technical point of view, Audi has outrun its rivals for at least two years, when it introduced the all-wheel drive model and won the World Championship. In sports competitions between 2000 and 2005, this series of five consecutive victories are unmatched by the records of other automobile brands.

Regarding modern automotive design, the Audi Group Design Center staff find a unique balance between the constructed rational idea of the designer and the emotional vision of the future car. The stylistic code of the famous German brand has undergone changes and has evolved for several decades. Today, Audi's design aims to express and emphasise the technological advantages of the company's models²².

The design of Audi cars is grounded in the technological advantages and sporty elegance of all the brand's historical models. The design approach to shaping is undertaken according to certain stylistic principles. Such basic elements as the single-frame radiator grille, the fast roofline, and the design of the rear lights can be seen today on the brand's whole range of cars. Thus, Audi's credo is to remain at the forefront of innovation, to set new standards for technical excellence, and to be a manufacturer of cars that combine refined style with innovative technological solutions²³. Enrichment with new non-standard ideas and approaches is ensured through the creativity of a group of young designers, employees of Audi Concept Design Studio, located in Munich. The distinctive design of modern Audi cars has been rewarded with various awards, including the Federal Award for Product Design Award (German Oscar for Designers) and the Good Design Award, received for the Audi A4 Avant in 1996. In 2008, the Audi A4 was judged the most beautiful Car of the Year, and in 2010, at the Detroit Auto Show, the new Audi A8 was declared the winner of the Award for Design Excellence by a panel of judges that included well-known automotive and industrial designers. Additionally, the Audi brand was awarded the title "Best Brand" in the first design contest of the magazine *Auto Zeitung*²⁴.

Nowadays, Audi's ideology can be defined as "a true leader who defines values". On this basis, Audi not only satisfies today's consumer demands, but also develops and offers the products of the future, giving the brand such characteristics as dynamism and innovation. For example, the quattro® multitronic® ASF® full drive contains several elements that characterise the progressive nature of the brand. Audi offers its cars as a product for true leaders—for people who value their independence in choosing a refined and individualistic brand²⁵. Thus, the philosophy of the brand—that is, the "advantages of high technology"—is reflected in the following values: design, quality, comfort, safety, and ecology.

²² Osnovnyye vekhi razvitiya. Prevoskhodstvo vysokikh tekhnologiy. [The main milestones of development. Excellence of high technology]. [In Russian]. <http://www.audi.ru> (accessed 23 June 2018).

²³ Marka Audi. [Audi brand]. [In Russian]. <http://www.audi.ru/ru/brand/ru/experience/perfection.html> (accessed June 20, 2018).

²⁴ Dizayn audi. [Audi design]. [In Russian]. <https://www.audi.ru/ru/web/ru/innovations/why-audi/design.htm> (accessed May 03, 2018).

²⁵ Spravochnik menedzhera po marketingu dilerskogo predpriyatiya AUDI AG v Rossii. [AUDI AG dealership marketing manager directory in Russia]. [In Russian]. <http://issuu.com/artvla/docs/audi> (accessed December 10, 2018).

The location of the Audi brand museum was planned along with the production facilities in Ingolstadt (Germany). The concept of the architectural and spatial solution of the museum building, developed by the KMS team under the guidance of Michael Keller and Christoph Rohrer, implemented the company's idea of openness²⁶.

In close cooperation with the owners of the company, the German architect Professor Gunter Henn developed the architectural design of the building, the transparency of which opens up the internal content by addressing the public. This way, Audi's brand values become visible and are presented by the architectural solution.

The museum building, which was constructed between 1998 and 2000, forms the entrance to the production premises from a town-planning point of view, and, in terms of content, implements the company's ideas on transparency and mobility²⁷.

The urban area surrounding the museum is called Audi Forum Ingolstadt. It is formed by buildings which have different functional purposes and architectural solutions. They are:

- A museum that represents the last 100 years of car history and auto technology;
- A customer service center;
- A restaurant and reception;
- An office building;
- An area that serves as a venue for events, campaigns and communications.

Outwardly, the Audi Museum resembles a large glass cylinder. The central idea of the museum's exposition—movement and change—has been reflected in its architecture and the design of the exhibition space. The architectural model for the round shape of the building and its internal structure was borrowed from nature. It is based on the trunk of a tree, divided by its annual rings, which are intended to point to the evolution of the brand's technology (Figure 1).



Fig. 1: Audi Museum building in Ingolstadt (Germany). Author: Brian Clontarf—own work Original text: selbst fotografiert, Copyrighted free use <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=62802224> (accessed Oct 1, 2018)

²⁶ Museum mobile. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Museum_mobile (accessed 23 December 2018).

²⁷ Audi Museum Mobile Ingolstadt. <http://www.henn.com> (accessed 5 November 2018).

The interior of the museum space is designed as an atrium formed by two exhibition tiers, the geometry of which is an irregular circle-like shape, with additional parts in the form of circle segments. This solution eliminates the symmetry of the composite shape, and gives the space a dynamic state. It is fundamental that the number of tiers is four (one is underground)—it is the number of rings represented on Audi's logo.

The purpose of forming an exposition is to make the concept of 'movement' tangible in the volumetric-spatial implementation of the exhibition. In a circular plan, the walls are arranged in a circular grid, unfolding clockwise. The continuous change in the pictures viewed by visitors contemplating the exposition presents a stream of new situations that open and close again.

The exposition of the museum reflects the history and development of the Audi brand, from its origins to the present day. About 60 cars and 20 motorcycles represent milestones in Audi's history.

The museum is built, like most automotive museums, according to the special concept of acquaintance with the history of the brand, and is organised as a view from the upper floor, moving downwards in a spiral.

Modern theoretical studies of the design of museum exhibits show the importance of taking into account at least three regularities in an exhibit's organisation. The first of these concerns the synthesis of at least two time-segments in the structure of the exposition.

This aspect of the design should be traced in the presence of a depiction of time. The exposition should show the time period of the museum's narrative, and the time from which this narrative if being carried out—that is, the time when the exhibition was created. The temporal ambiguity of this image in the exposition creates for the visitor a sense of its simultaneous existence at two intervals, and a sense of involvement in historical events which at the same time sharpens today's assessment of these events.

Secondly, the synthesis of architectural and exhibition spaces is extremely important for the successful design of a museum exposition. These spaces are in complex relationships that encompass their functional, stylistic and emotional connections. Functional relations are reflected in accordance with the volume-spatial construction of the museum's structure and the structure of the museum exposition. Stylistic correlations of architectural and expositional forms act as a visual expression of the synthesis of time.

They can be arranged in a way that enhances the viewer's perception of time corresponding to the exhibited artifacts. The opposite is the reception of contrast, when the perception of the time of the exhibit's creation, the connection between different times, and the dynamic of the historical process increases. Third, the interconnection of individual exhibits is of fundamental importance; it visually facilitates the perception of the structure of the museum exhibit.

It is the application of these principles that we observe in the design decisions of the Audi brand museum's exposition. From the entrance, at the zero level, the elevator—as a 'time machine'—takes visitors back to 1899. Two levels contain permanent expositions: from 1899 to 1945 and from 1946 to 2000. These are divided into seven sections. Each zone provides an idea of the individuality of the era; texts and images represent the relationship between cars, technology and society. The purpose of the exhibition is not only to illustrate the development of technical achievements and brand design, but also to form the idea of important historical milestones in the twentieth century. Therefore, most of the exhibits are presented with a background of black and white photos that characterise the events of their specific periods. It is important to note that in interpreting these photographs, the designers have chosen to

use an enlarged scale, and as a result the environment displayed in the photograph below does not have a passive background, and each image chosen is of equal significance to the exhibit presented in front of it (Figure 2).



Fig. 2: Design of the exhibition space of the Audi Museum. Posted by: Lothar Spurzem—own work, CC BY-SA 2.0 de, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=14669565> (accessed Oct 1, 2018)

A special approach was taken by designers to address the exhibit that reveals the sporting aspect of Audi's history. To convey the spirit of competitiveness, the podiums on which the exhibition automobiles are located are tilted, resulting in the perception of cars in a state of motion. To complete this association, the surfaces of some of these podiums are made using natural materials, realistically representing off-road driving. Additionally, the exhibits are positioned using a technique that supports the overall impression of movement.

In the exhibition space, cars are mostly located either along the line of moving visitors, merging with the general flow of traffic, or at an angle, as if pouring from it.

As one of the leading design tools that represents the brand, there is a comprehensive color gamut solution throughout the interior environment, based on a combination of white, silvery-grey and locally incorporated red colour accents. This choice is due to the colours of the corporate style, and it also emphasises a feature of the technical solutions of the brand—the use of aluminium in its developments. Given this, it is important to emphasise that the black and white color scheme selected for the background photographs supports the overall color scheme.

We think the most bright and vivid embodiment of the idea of motion and change is in a unique technical design—the elevator, or paternoster, with its constantly moving platforms which hold fourteen of the most important cars in the brand's history. The peculiarity of its placement is such that the process of movement can be observed not only from within the museum's space, but also from the exterior, because as a car goes down, other cars move along the facade, representing the continuity of the Audi Brand's movement to the “advantages of high technologies.”

Multimedia technologies play a significant role in the organisation of the exhibition. The important events in Audi's history, such as the merger with Auto Union in 1932, are illustrated on multimedia displays, allowing visitors to witness the brand's history. In addition,

a gallery of interactive practical exhibits gives an overview of the most important milestones of car development, in which the founders and creators describe important technical achievements²⁸.

This analysis has made it possible to argue that, in addressing the museum exposition, the corporate history of Audi AG is considered to be the technical progress of the car in the context of the events of the last century. The design of the museum exposition focuses on the disclosure of the technological progress that took place in the automotive industry during the twentieth century. The fact that the exhibits are integrated by means of design in their socially historical environment makes this museum much more than just a technical museum: familiarity with the history of the car provides an opportunity to perceive the twentieth century against the background of its radical changes.

The spacial solution of the building reflects the shape of the main logo of the brand—the four rings—and its transparency, due to the continuous glazing, visually represents one of the leading values of the brand: openness. The organisation of the space in the interior design, based on the idea of the structure of the annual rings of the tree, points to the connection between the modern brand Audi and its predecessors, and also symbolically combines the changes in history and constancy with the aspirations of the brand. The colour scheme of the interior is also based on corporate colours, led by white-grey ratios, which is connected to the use of aluminium being associated with many achievements of this brand. Red is incorporated in an identical ratio to that of the logo, where this colour emphasises the verbal marking of the brand. Thus, the architectural design decisions of the Audi Museum embody the leading values of the brand—transparency and mobility—due to the design of the overall structure as a solid glass volume, the asymmetric shaping of the exhibition tiers, and the cohesive colours of the interior. The scenario organisation of the exhibition aims to present important historical milestones in the twentieth century, which makes this museum much more than a normal static car exhibition.

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²⁸ Audi Museum. <http://www.topspeed.com> (accessed 5 May 2018).

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History and memory of hospital sites. On the example of the “old” hospital in Topoľčany¹

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History and memory of hospital sites. On the example of the “old” hospital in Topoľčany

This paper deals with the site of the old hospital in Topoľčany, which is listed among Slovakia’s national cultural sites. It combines selected historical and ethnological approaches to the research of the site and its structures with the aim of capturing its historical and ethnological links and values within an urban environment. The paper is an output of a scientific project featuring the cooperation of several scientific and research institutions which are active in the technical, social, and human sciences.

Keywords: urban history, historical approaches, ethnological approaches, the “old” hospital site in Topoľčany, Slovakia, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

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Approaches to the protection of cultural and natural heritage encompass a relatively wide range of disciplines, including the technical and natural sciences as well as the social sciences and the humanities. Each discipline has its specifics, defines its own scientific questions, and looks for adequate answers. These answers or goals are then evaluated according to the fundamental concepts of the given discipline.

The methodology and sources concerning the history of Topoľčany Hospital

Historical and ethnological approaches have their own specific goals and methods, which primarily depend on the subject of analysis. This paper focuses on the original historical buildings of Topoľčany Hospital and primarily examines them through the lens of urban history and other approaches traditionally used for such topics. Because urban history is closely related to economic, social, and cultural history,² these perspectives must be taken into consideration as well.

The historical approach to sites and structures is characterised by the fact that the background knowledge necessary for research can usually be found in diverse sources. In general, historical sources can include virtually anything providing information about the past,³ and this simple definition is apt for those sources that illustrate the history of the hospital site in Topoľčany. These sources are predominantly in written form, but they also take the form of collections of old photographs, preserved artefacts, naturfacts, and mentefacts connected with the site, as well as the results of ethnological field research (interviews) focusing on respondents' testimonies. These primary sources of basic research are complemented by equally important secondary sources from the scientific and popular educational literature, which, however, is not very abundant in the case of the particular site under analysis.⁴ The limitations of research depend in particular on the availability and the state of preservation of sources and on ethnological research. The hospital site cannot be completely historically isolated, because that would mean disregarding its contextual development. The site's links to the town of Topoľčany and its historical and urbanistic development, and the link to its inhabitants, are of primary importance.

Using a heuristic approach to the history of the Topoľčany Hospital site, it is important to consider the position of the structure within the region and its past use. Fundamental starting points can be divided into three basic groups from the historical and ethnological perspective:

1. The site is located within the limits of the town of Topoľčany. It is composed of several structures which were constructed over time based on needs as well as the financial

² STORCHOVÁ, Lucie et al.: *Koncepty a dějiny: promněny pojmu v současné historické vědě*. Prague: Scriptorium, 2014, p. 338. For more details, see OKHOVAT, Hanie; NEJATI DOLAGH, Mastaneh; REZA NASROLAHI, Mohammad: The study of the principles and methods of architectural design in the protected context of Meymand Historic Village. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, vol 7, 2019, is. 1, pp. 123–142; RYŠKOVÁ, Michaela: Specifické problémy ochrany průmyslového dědictví: Otázky autenticity průmyslové architektury na dvou příkladech. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, vol 7, 2019, is. 1, pp. 167–176; JANTO, Juraj. Moderné mesto a jeho kultúrne dedičstvo – príklad Partizánskeho a Novej Dubnice. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, vol 7, 2019, is. 2, pp. 109–121; VYSKOČIL, Aleš: Kulturní dědictví a paměť industriálního centra (případ textilního Brna). In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, vol 5, 2017, is. 2, pp. 83–98.

³ See Coll.: *Úvod do studia dějepisu. I. díl.* Brno : Masaryk University, 2014, pp. 44–45.

⁴ We need to mention the synthesis of work dealing with the history of the hospital: BRÁZDIL, Bernard et al.: *Storočnica topoľčianskej nemocnice*. Martin: Osveta, 1986. Helpful information is also provided in a BA thesis on the Stummer family (PÍRY, Jozef: *Stummerovi: Augusta Haupt-Stummerová (1862–1945)*). BA thesis. Bratislava: FiF UK, 2016) as well as in the results of preservationist research (GAŽIOVÁ, Eva et al. *Zásady ochrany pamiatkovej zóny mesta Topoľčany : Stummerova ulica s areálom „staréj“ nemocnice*. [online], accessed 15 October 2019, https://www.pamiatky.sk/Content/PZ_ZASADY/Topolcanystummerova/0101-TO-STU-text.pdf).

possibilities of the hospital.

2. While a private individual and his family founded and initially donated to the hospital, it was gifted to the county of Nitra upon being built, and so it acquired a public character. The hospital's funding and operation were a matter of official supervision. It acquired the status of a county hospital, which was significant for the town of Topoľčany and the surrounding region.



Fig. 1: A drawing of the hospital site on the Topoľčany cadastre map from 1895 (GKÚ Archive)

3. The hospital was a place of work for people in various positions, but especially for healthcare professionals, who developed their own relationship to the hospital site and created their own story. Moreover, the hospital was genuinely a part of the everyday life of the people of Topoľčany and was not just registered by those who used its healthcare services.

The hospital site in Topoľčany

For Topoľčany, the hospital site represented a new and spacious group of buildings which gradually developed and expanded. This process is most vividly documented by a preserved set of cadastre maps, beginning with the original cadastre file from 1895, which simply lists the basic information about the site (the owner, area, and purpose).⁵ At that time, the hospital site was composed of four buildings with a courtyard and had a total area of roughly 1,460 square

⁵ The Geodesy and Cartography Archive of the Slovak Republic (hereinafter the “GKÚ Archive”), f. original cadastral file, Topoľčany, 1895.



Fig. 2: The hospital chapel and buildings in a 1913 postcard. In the foreground it is possible to see a part of the park between the street and the entrance to the site (Postcard – segment – Tribeč Museum in Topoľčany).

fathoms (around 5,250 m²).⁶ All four structures were registered under number 282, and the owner was given as the county of Nitra.

The oldest cadastre map of Topoľčany was based on cadastre files. It was created in 1895 (Figure 1) and forms a part of the collection of cadastre maps of the Geodesy and Cartography Archive of the Slovak Republic. It was drawn in detail to a scale of 1:2880. The hospital is registered under the name “August’s Hospital” (Ágoston közkórház), commemorating its founder August (Ágoston, also Augustín) Stummer. At that time, it was located near the town and was next to the Chotina River. The other preserved cadastre depictions are from 1905,⁷ 1913, 1954,⁸ 1960, and 1982.⁹ They all document major changes to the hospital site (Figure 2) as well as changes in its immediate vicinity, particularly the gradual increase in construction activity when the hospital became a fixed part of a built-up zone in Topoľčany, specifically in the area of Stummer Street.

The hospital as a public institution

The original hospital was built in 1885.¹⁰ The idea to establish the hospital came from the Stummer family, who were local aristocrats, and more specifically from August Stummer himself, who funded the hospital's construction. After the construction was complete, Stummer gifted the hospital to the county of Nitra in 1886. However, this otherwise altruistic decision was also motivated by personal gain. Stummer did not have a male heir, and he was trying to preserve his noble title of baron, which he had only received in 1884, for his two daughters. This effort needed to be supported by a significant deed in favour of the development of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In 1886 the authorities agreed to the adoption of Stummer's sons-in-law,

⁶ One square fathom is 3.5966 m².

⁷ Tribeč Museum in Topoľčany, a collection of photographs.

⁸ GKÚ Archive, Topoľčany Cadastre to a of 1:1000.

⁹ The Cadastre Section of the District Office in Topoľčany (hereinafter “KoOÚ”), cadastre maps from 1913, 1960, and 1982; scales of 1:2880 and 1:1000. Land survey sketches from 1981 with a scale of 1:1000 have also been preserved.

¹⁰ BRÁZDIL, Bernard et al.: Storočnica topoľčianskej nemocnice..., p. 28.



Fig. 3: The hospital buildings before 1918 (Tribeč Museum in Topoľčany)

thus confirming the noble title of baron. Stummer would later provide financial support to the hospital for the maintenance of its buildings, which were prone to damp.¹¹

Through being donated to the local authorities, the hospital gained a public character and provided healthcare for the upper part of the county of Nitra. At the time of construction, healthcare legislation in Hungary was quite well developed. In 1876, Article XIV was adopted in the Hungarian kingdom and remained in effect in Slovakia, albeit with minor amendments, until the 1950s.¹² It specified the basic structure of public healthcare and its oversight, and it defined the basic legal relationships and links to public authorities.¹³ The Hungarian government adopted another law in 1908 (Article XXXVIII: 1908); according to this regulation, each municipality with a population exceeding 5,000 (thus including Topoľčany)¹⁴ was obliged to have a doctor. Smaller municipalities were joined together into healthcare communities with doctors and midwives.¹⁵

The first organizational level of administration in public health was the *iudices nobilium* (later in the interwar period, this was the district superintendent) who managed the *processus* (later known as the district office). His direct subordinate, responsible for healthcare in the district, was the district doctor, who was also in charge of supervising the municipal and community doctors. A similar administrative position was held by the county doctor, who worked in the county office and supervised county facilities, including hospitals. After the creation of Czechoslovakia, the healthcare sector only experienced minor changes. The old Hungarian articles continued to apply to Slovakia, being transposed into the legal system of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918.¹⁶

¹¹ PÍRY, Jozef: Stummerovci..., pp. 19–20.

¹² MICHAL, Gašpar: *Zdravotníctvo v sociálnej politike štátu*. Bratislava: Osveta, 1971, p. 61. Amendments included Article V:1886, Article XXI:1898, Article XXII:1887, Article XXXVIII:1908, which, alongside certain decrees of the Ministry of the Interior, collectively amended and supplemented provisions regarding vaccination, the spread of trachoma, and changes and modifications of the healthcare service in municipalities, and which dealt with the hospital statute.

¹³ TIŠLIAR, Pavol: Náčrt populačnej politiky na Slovensku v rokoch 1918–1945. In: Tišliar, Pavol (ed.): *Populačné štúdie Slovenska I*. Krakow: Spolok Slovákov v Poľsku, 2013, p. 56.

¹⁴ In 1869 the population of Topoľčany was 3,426, by 1910 it had doubled to 6,399, and by 1940 the town was inhabited by 10,242 people. *Vlastivedný slovník obcí na Slovensku III*. Bratislava: SAV, 1978, pp. 166–168. As of 31 December 2018, the town had a population of 25,181.

¹⁵ BRÁZDIL, Bernard et al.: Storočnica topoľčianskej nemocnice..., pp. 22–24.

¹⁶ For more details, see TIŠLIAR, Pavol: *Okresné zriadenie na Slovensku v rokoch 1918–1945*. Krakow: Spolok Slovákov v Poľsku, 2013. Also see BOKESOVÁ-UHEROVÁ, Mária: *Dejiny zdravotníctva na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Osveta, 1989.

In Topoľčany and its surroundings, information about healthcare only started to be recorded in the eighteenth century. Healthcare for the inhabitants of the county of Nitra was the responsibility of the county doctor, a position which had been established by the authorities in 1733. A county hospital was opened in Nitra in 1834 and was also used by the inhabitants of Topoľčany before the “Stummer” hospital was built. A town infirmary for the elderly and ill was founded in Topoľčany in 1770 by Count Žigmund Forgách. Another infirmary, with fifty beds, was founded in 1872 for the municipalities of Horné Obdokovice, Oponice, and Tovarníky by Alexander Stummer,¹⁷ August’s younger brother,¹⁸ and the third biggest land owner in the Topoľčany district of the nineteenth century (after his brother August Stummer and the Thonet family, the owners of the bentwood furniture factory in Veľké Uherce).

The above information and milestones determine the direction of the core research for this paper. Information about the history of the hospital site in Topoľčany can be primarily found in the archives of the relevant supervising authorities. For the end of the nineteenth century, this includes the archival documents of the County Office in Nitra, which continued to hold territorial jurisdiction over the Topoľčany *processus* after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic until the public administration reforms in Slovakia in 1922.¹⁹ In the county and *processus* archives, there is some (unfortunately fragmented) information about the creation or beginnings of the hospital and some highly incomplete information about its existence in the first half of the twentieth century. The same information is also provided by an inaccessible archive of the Topoľčany manor in Tovarníky.²⁰ Documents from the county of Nitra have been preserved from the interwar period as well as from the time of World War II.²¹ A larger set of documents connected with the operation of the hospital (reviews) and partially concerning changes to the site (the purchase of land) is located in the archive of the Regional National Committee in Nitra in its healthcare section.²² This file also includes authentic historical records covering the first half of the 1940s.

A somewhat larger amount of useful information is provided by preserved documents stored in the State Archive in Nitra, in its Topoľčany office. This material includes the largest group of technical documentation in different scales; technical reports (also preserved as copies) which formed the basis of the buildings’ design; and documentation on modifications, adaptations, and extensions, such as the infectious diseases facility. The technical documentation mainly comes from the period between the 1920s and 1950s and is a part of the archive of the district national committee in Topoľčany.²³ Other documents of interest include archival records from

¹⁷ BRÁZDIL, Bernard et al.: Storočnica topoľčianskej nemocnice..., 130 p. Chapter “Zdravotníctvo v dobe výstavby topoľčianskej nemocnice v rokoch 1885–1918”, pp. 22–27.

¹⁸ PÍRY, Jozef: Stummerovci..., pp. 8, 17–18. The Stummer family became wealthy thanks to the expansion of the sugar industry. In 1871 the brothers Karol, August, and Alexander Stummer were given a noble title. August Stummer became a baron in 1884.

¹⁹ MI SR – State Archive in Nitra, Ivanka pri Nitre Office (hereinafter “ŠA Nitra”), f. Nitrianska župa I., 1464–1922; f. Služobný úrad v Topoľčanoch, 1851–1922.

²⁰ ŠA Nitra, f. Topoľčianske panstvo v Tovarníkoch, (1347) 1589–1942.

²¹ ŠA Nitra, f. Nitrianska župa II., 1923–1928; f. Nitrianska župa III., 1940–1945.

²² ŠA Nitra, f. Krajský národný výbor v Nitre, 1949–1960.

²³ MI SR – State Archive in Nitra, Topoľčany Office (hereinafter “ŠA Nitra, Topoľčany Office”), f. Okresný národný výbor v Topoľčanoch, 1945–1989 (hereinafter “f. ONV Topoľčany”).

the notary office and the municipal national committee,²⁴ including several authentic historical photographs of Topoľčany, and a landscape review dealing with the operation of Topoľčany Hospital. Another useful source is the Topoľčany Chronicle for the years 1850 to 1930, which also mentions the local hospital.²⁵

The preserved photographic material depicting the old hospital site in Topoľčany in the past has various origins. Some images are located in archives, while others are in the collections of the Tribeč Museum in Topoľčany²⁶ or in private collections. The museum collection of photographs depicts different views of the hospital site in the form of postcards with a Topoľčany theme. The photographs also capture the later extensions to the modern part of the hospital site.

The history of the “old” hospital site in Topoľčany

The oldest hospital building, which, incidentally, still stands today, was opened ceremonially on 2 January 1886.²⁷ It initially had seventy beds, and, as the largest landowner in the Topoľčany district, Baron August Stummer contributed significantly to its construction with the sum of 12,000 gulden. Stummer invested in the surroundings of the hospital as well. The hospital site included four buildings: a chapel, which offered entry into the site and flats for employees and the gatekeeper; the main building, located opposite the chapel, containing the surgical and internal medicine departments; an administrative building; and an outbuilding with spaces for stores, a laboratory, and a dissecting room.²⁸ These four buildings formed a site with an area of 1,700m². A memorial plaque was placed next to the entrance to the site. The hospital was also a place where nuns of the Order of St Vincent from Graz were active.²⁹

At that time, the hospital site was relatively distant from the centre of the town. The construction of the hospital contributed to urban development in this area, and the town houses of local notable citizens gradually multiplied along the road connecting the hospital to the town centre. Many of these houses are now listed as national cultural sites.³⁰ Originally, the hospital was a branch of the hospital in Nitra, but it became independent as early as 1887. Shortly after it opened, it became evident that there was insufficient space, hence the construction of new spaces – notably a kitchen and a woodshed – began in 1899. The water storage unit was also moved to the attic. Thanks to the redevelopment of these spaces, the number of beds increased to 98. In 1904, the construction of an infectious diseases facility began, following a proposal by Filip Bineter.³¹

²⁴ ŠA Nitra, Topoľčany Office, f. Notársky úrad v Topoľčanoch, 1873–1945 (1957) (hereinafter “f. ONÚ Topoľčany”); f. Mestský národný výbor v Topoľčanoch, 1945–1990.

²⁵ ŠA Nitra, Topoľčany Office, f. Zbierka kroník a pamätných kníh, 1952–1999.

²⁶ Tribeč Museum in Topoľčany, a collection of photographs.

²⁷ The construction of the site took place from 1884 to 1885, hence these years can be found in the literature as indicating when the hospital was opened or began operations.

²⁸ ŠA Nitra, Topoľčany Office, f. ONÚ Topoľčany. Topoľčany. Krajinská nemocnice Masarykova No. 53.

²⁹ BRÁZDIL, Bernard et al.: Storočnica topoľčianskej nemocnice..., pp. 28–32.

³⁰ For more information, see: GAŽIOVÁ, Eva et al.: Zásady ochrany pamiatkovej zóny mesta Topoľčany...

³¹ BRÁZDIL, Bernard et al.: Storočnica topoľčianskej nemocnice..., p. 28 et seq. Historické budovy v okrese Topoľčany. TOPOĽČANY. Nemocnica. Accessed 9 September 2019, <http://krizom-krazom.eu/regiony/historicke-budovy-v-okrese-topolcan>. According to archival documents, the facility was opened only in 1912. ŠA Nitra, Topoľčany Office, f. ONÚ Topoľčany. Topoľčany. Krajinská nemocnice Masarykova No. 53.

New modifications to the hospital site took place in the interwar period. In 1922, the reception area (gatehouse) was renovated.³² In 1926, new outbuildings (a garden house and greenhouses) were built and buildings for a washhouse, an engine house, a dissecting room, and a morgue were added. As specified in the report, most of the buildings were in good condition, whereas two buildings from 1884 and one building from 1890 were neglected.³³ In 1935, the adaptation and modification of the chapel was planned. One side of an underpass provided entry into the historical chapel itself, and the space on the other side was modified into two housing units with common social areas.³⁴ In the late 1930s, the construction of a second infectious diseases facility was planned; the work itself began in 1939 and was completed in 1943.³⁵ In 1936, the administrative building was extended by another floor, and a side extension was also added. Ten rooms for patients with kitchens and social rooms were built in the spirit of the hygienic standards of the time. The documentation on the renovations from that time emphasizes that "It is strongly recommended that a well, a cesspit, toilets, and a dung pit be constructed in line with the type plans issued by the state healthcare institute in Prague."³⁶

During the first sixty years of the hospital's existence, the whole site underwent several gradual changes connected to the significant development of the hospital, its modernization, and an increase in the quality of the services provided to patients. The original site was composed of three zones: an entry park between the gatehouse and the chapel, with the latter forming the boundary of hospital site itself; the building housing the internal medicine facility opposite this; and side buildings for administration purposes which also included a kitchen and an accommodation facility for the nuns. In the interwar period, and from the beginning of the 1940s, new buildings were constructed on the site and were connected to the original ones. The hospital site was expanded, with a new area extending towards the Chotina River that was originally intended to be bounded by a new surgical facility; however, this facility was designed but never built. The second infectious diseases facility dating from the 1940s was situated in an eccentric manner from the hospital buildings. The original core of the hospital thus gradually became surrounded by a complex of medical facilities which continued the original urbanist design of the earlier buildings.

The development of the hospital site was also affected by the preparation of the town's masterplan. The first principles were adopted by the town authorities as early as 1927, but the process really started to get underway in the 1930s.³⁷ However, the timeframe for its creation was repeatedly extended. A draft plan for Topoľčany was finally drawn up by the architect Artúr Szalatnai-Slatinský in 1940.³⁸ During construction and the development of the town in a south and south-easterly direction, which was also the position of the hospital site, it

³² ŠA Nitra, Topoľčany Office, f. ONÚ Topoľčany. Kolaudačný plánek strážneho domku žup. nemoc. vo Vel. Topoľčanoch. Nitra, 3 December 1922.

³³ ŠA Nitra, Topoľčany Office, f. ONÚ Topoľčany. Krajinská nemocnica v Topoľčanoch, 31 October 1928. Súpis budov a ich technický stav; Topoľčany. Krajinská nemocnica Masarykova No. 53.

³⁴ Adaptácia a pristavba kápličky kraj. ver. nemocnice v Topoľčanoch. 24 December 1935.

³⁵ BRAZDIL, Bernard et al.: Storočnica topoľčianskej nemocnice..., p. 37; ŠA Nitra, Topoľčany Office, f. ONV Topoľčany. Výst. št. nemocnice, kart. 1136.

³⁶ ŠA Nitra, Topoľčany Office, f. ONÚ Topoľčany. Okresný úrad v Topoľčanoch. Výmer (22 October 1936). The renovation was carried out by the Rahas company based in Malacky and Eugen Škopec, a builder from Topoľčany.

³⁷ ŠA Nitra, Topoľčany Office, f. ONÚ Topoľčany. Regulácia Topoľčian 1933. The document includes the principles for the preparation of the town master plan.

³⁸ ŠA Nitra, Topoľčany Office, f. ONÚ Topoľčany. SZALATNAI, Artur: Regulačný plán obce Topoľčany, 1940, ostatný materiál, 1936–1941.

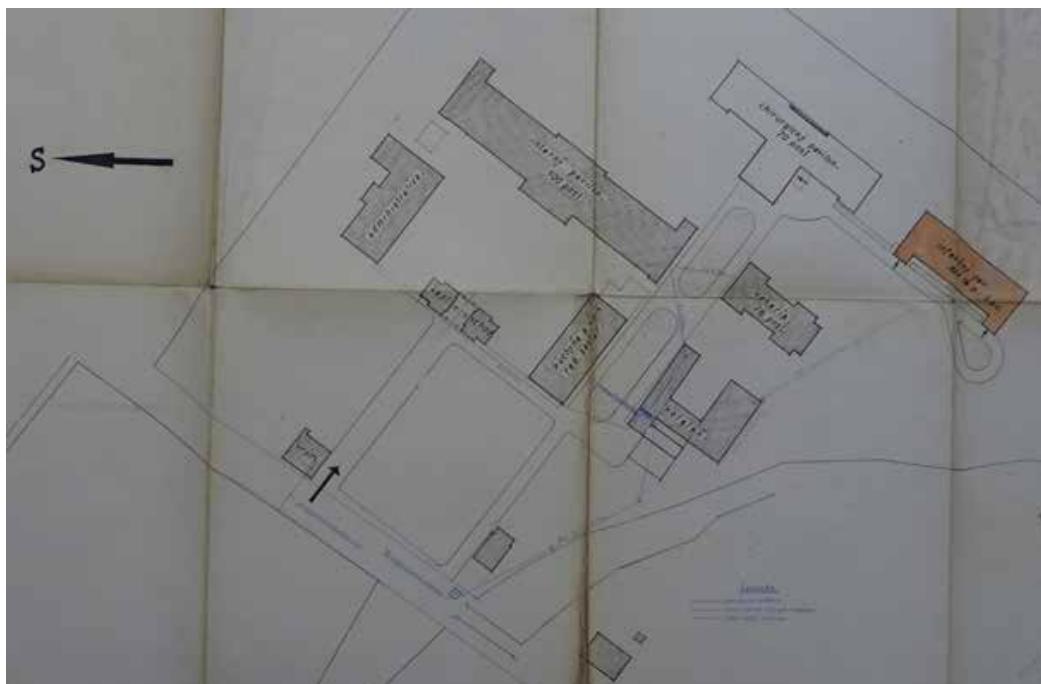


Fig. 4: The extension to the hospital site with the addition of the infectious diseases facility, 1941. Based on these plans, the hospital complex was supposed to include a surgical facility that was intended to close off that part of the site that had been constructed in the interwar period (State Archive in Nitra – Topoľčany Office).

was necessary, among other things, to deal with the regulation of the Nitra River and the Chotina River and avoid building anything in their flood plains. Ground water and the flooding of the Chotina River posed a threat to the hospital buildings from the very beginning, and the hospital's administration continually had to deal with problems of damp basements and ground-floor spaces.

After World War II, the hospital was put under state control. At the beginning of 1947, the representatives of the Healthcare Commission, Technical Commission, Topoľčany Local National Committee, and the State Hospital in Topoľčany adopted a decision on the construction of eight new buildings: a gatehouse and waiting room for visitors, flats for nurses and nuns, flats for employees of the hospital, an outbuilding with a kitchen, a boiler house, a surgical facility, a gynaecology and obstetrics facility, and an internal medicine facility. The old gatehouse was supposed to be demolished because it did not meet regulations. Moreover, the hospital site was supposed to be fenced off from the side of the street and the Chotina River by the end of 1948. For this reason, it was proposed that a new gatehouse with a waiting room and a new entrance gate be built by that time. The management of the hospital understood the complexity of the construction in terms of time and cost, so it proposed the individual facilities be built in an order which they would specify.³⁹ The prioritisation of constructing a waiting room was also based on a critical article in the daily newspaper *Pravda*⁴⁰ pointing out that citizens from more distant places would come to the hospital to visit their family and

³⁹ ŠA Nitra, Topoľčany Office, f. ONV Topoľčany. Štátnej nemocnici v Topoľčanoch Povereníctvu zdravotníctva, 26 April 1948. Výst. št. nemocnice, kartón 1136.

⁴⁰ CA, Topoľčany: Čakáreň pod mostom. In: *Pravda*, vol. 5, 1948, issue 96.



Fig. 5: Laying the foundation stone of the new facility of the hospital in 1969 (Tribeč Museum in Topoľčany)

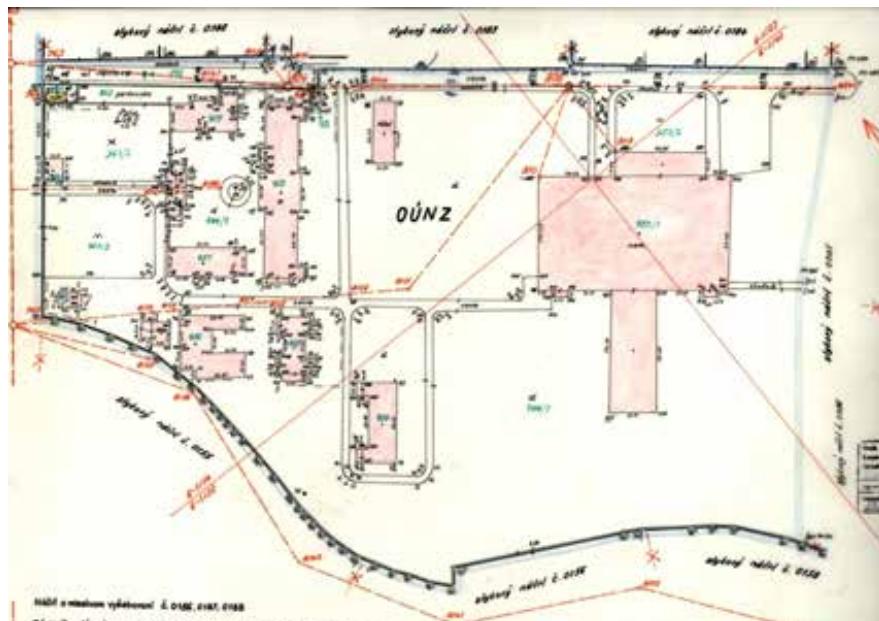


Fig. 6: A land survey sketch of the OÚNZ (District Institute of National Health) Topoľčany from 1981 to a scale of 1:1000 after the construction of the new hospital complex (Cadastral Section of the Topoľčany District Office) (KoOÚ Topoľčany, Land surveyor sketch of the OÚNZ Topoľčany to a scale of 1:1000, 1981.)

friends using public transport but would have no place to shelter from inclement weather before hospital opening hours; many of them would end up waiting under the wooden bridge spanning the Chotina River.

Extending the hospital site was successful only in a later period. In 1954, the administrative part of the hospital was modified, and its capacity was increased to 170 beds. In 1964, a design for the construction of a new hospital building was prepared, and construction took place from 1969 to 1977. After opening the first stage of the new hospital, the spaces of the old hospital were made available to the gynaecology and obstetrics department. In 1970, new lodgings for 36 employees became available. In the second half of the 1980s, there were efforts to build the second stage of the hospital site.⁴¹

The recollections of workers about the Topoľčany Hospital site *The starting points, goals, and methods of ethnological research*

Historical documents are fundamental to the professional description, recording, and interpretation of cultural heritage. However, recollections can uncover other tangible and intangible aspects of these places, like their use, cultural significance, and the changes they have undergone.⁴² Oral history is often wrongfully omitted when documenting historical buildings. However, it is key to understanding intangible phenomena and uncovering the “significance of a place”. It records physical, social, and ritual aspects—the things that cannot be found (or are only very rarely found) in archival and other historical documents.

Collective memory encompasses notions (representations) of the past in a given (e.g., ethnic, local, professional, and recreational) community or group.⁴³ Oral history covers the recollections of people who personally experienced certain historical events; it is a narrative interpretation of these processes and a narrower category which focuses on representations of the past and the memories of direct participants. Oral history is also a specific methodological approach to ethnological interviews which focuses on researching such memories.

Oral history can help in the reconstruction and examination of past events. However, it must be understood that the testimonies of contemporary witnesses offer a highly subjective interpretation of the past from the perspectives of the present, so they cannot be considered equivalent to historical facts.⁴⁴ However, if they are sufficiently verified, critically assessed, and compared to other sources, they can be used for objective historical research. Where other sources are missing, they can even serve as the only available source.

However, examining recollections can also have another goal. It is not primarily about an “objective” search for “what really happened and what it was like in reality”, but rather about examining representations of the past, opinions, approaches, and their significance. These are things that form a part of the interpretation of history. The goal is to examine distinctive experiences of the past and the relationship of specific people and groups to them. Although this approach is often used in ethnology and other social sciences, historians also use it to make historical facts more colourful and personal by using the testimonies of specific witnesses. Moreover, the personal stories and recollections of people – especially if they are connected

⁴¹ BRÁZDIL, Bernard et al.: Storočnica topoľčianskej nemocnice..., p. 53 et seq.

⁴² MARCUS, Benjamin: Oral History and the Documentation of Historic Sites: Recording Sense of Place. In: *16th ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium: Finding the Spirit of Place – Between the Tangible and the Intangible*, 29 September to 4 October 2008, Quebec, Canada..., 2008, p. 1.

⁴³ HALBWACHS, Maurice: *Kolektívni pamäť*. Prague: SLON 2009. ISBN 978-80-7419-016-2.

⁴⁴ The narrative interpretation of the past is characterized by its presentism (narrated from the present perspective), self-importance (focusing on the narrator and the story of their group), and selectiveness (only some events are chosen). HLÓŠKOVÁ, Anna: Kategória minulosti v rozprávacskej stratégii. In: *Slovenský národopis*, 44, 1996, pp. 319–333.

to places and buildings – are a part of the values of these sites; they are their “living history”.

It is precisely the latter two approaches that were used to perform the ethnological research into the buildings and the site of the old hospital in Topoľčany. Instead of searching for and reconstructing historical facts, the main goal is to record memories as a distinctive interpretation of lived history and parts of the value (*genius loci*) of a specific place and its structures.⁴⁵ Opinions about the present state and future use of the buildings were also examined.

The main empirical method was the ethnographic (semi-structured) interview. Attention centred on those employees of the hospital who had worked there for many years. Those interviewed included doctors, nurses, and laboratory workers who had worked in the hospital for a long time (indeed, some of them still work there) and experienced its original buildings.⁴⁶ The questions that were asked dealt with their memories of working in the old hospital⁴⁷ with an emphasis on the context of the buildings, the site, the present state of the spaces and structures, and their further use.

Research results⁴⁸

When those interviewed recalled the old hospital, their narrations focused mostly on topics relating to the character and style of their work, their careers, gaining work skills, and the differences when compared to the present time. Another relevant and significant topic was the interpersonal relationships with colleagues and patients. The testimonies mostly included positive assessments.⁴⁹ The buildings and the site only served as a context, and memories about them were acquired only through and in connection with the key topics which were naturally dominant in the presented life stories. Most of the time, the interviewees remembered the structures and the site of the old hospital in the context of the working life of doctors and nurses, and their descriptions were usually connected to the performed activities.⁵⁰

For questions about the working environment, statements can be categorized into those that mentioned positive aspects and those with a more negative focus. Sometimes the same interviewee would mention both positive and negative aspects. Doctors and nurses also compared the old hospital with the conditions provided by the new buildings. Negative aspects

⁴⁵ Of course, this does not mean that these recollections cannot include historically objective and true facts.

⁴⁶ The interviews were organized based on acquired contacts, availability, and the interviewees' willingness and state of health. They mainly took place in July and August 2018 in Topoľčany or its close vicinity. The research included a total of fourteen interviewees.

⁴⁷ The work of nuns at Topoľčany Hospital was also dealt with by E. Hulová in her MA thesis, where she recorded their testimonies. HULOVÁ, Eva. Vplyv kresťanských reholí na ošetrovateľstvo v topoľčianskom regióne. MA thesis. Department of Nursing Care, FSVaZ UKF: Nitra 2010.

⁴⁸ For an illustration of findings, specific testimonies of interviewees were chosen and are given in the relevant footnotes in italics. Although no particularly sensitive information appeared in the interviews, the statements were recorded anonymously in line with ethical standards. Because of the low number and the narrow and specific group of interviewees, there is no personal description given.

⁴⁹ *We came into the team, where the relationships were usually very positive. The older workers who had been there longer were interested in helping us learn. We had fun and a good time there.... We were a very good team, and there were no arguments. We had fun all the time.*

⁵⁰ *It was one large building with gynaecology and obstetrics in one half and surgery in the other half. And we had one large room with thirty-five beds. Back then, many babies were born, so we had a lot of work.*

focused on the damp walls and the problems of mould, as well as the limited space.⁵¹ The positive aspects usually dwelt on the peaceful surroundings, the well-tended park, the trees, and the greenery.⁵²

As far as the opinions of doctors and nurses about the present state of the site and the buildings are concerned, the dominant feeling was one of sadness over the fact that the old hospital was falling into disrepair and becoming more and more dilapidated.⁵³ When asked about the possible future use of the buildings of the old hospital, interviewees responded with two types of proposal. The first type spoke of the need for long-term care homes, day-care centres, and retirement homes.⁵⁴ The second group of answers had a more sceptical approach to the state of the buildings and merely proposed their use for cultural purposes.⁵⁵

Summary and interpretation

The results and interpretation of the presented ethnographic research show the following:

- Notions (representations) of the buildings and the site of the old hospital are significantly connected to the memories of the doctors and nurses about their working experiences; their memories reflect and exist through these structures.
- The memories informants shared about working at the hospital emphasize the good team dynamics and positive interpersonal relationships, with helpful and obliging colleagues and superiors.
- The old hospital site was mainly assessed positively, emphasizing the quality of the greenery and the trees and the calm and peaceful environment it provided for both patients and staff.
- In terms of memories about the buildings themselves, there were opinions about the inadequate state of the buildings, which were not always fully fit for purpose: specifically the dampness, mould, and confined spaces. Positive assessments were connected to the accessibility and “family” atmosphere of the spaces and the aesthetics of the buildings.
- Opinions about the present state of the site included sadness and disappointment over the dilapidation of the spaces and buildings which have fallen into disrepair.
- Opinions about the future use of the old hospital included two proposals: (a) a long-term care facility, a day-care centre, and a retirement home; and (b) repurposing it for cultural, artistic, and commemorative use in the form of a museum, gallery, or lecture hall.

⁵¹ *Look, there were large spaces and thick walls, so it was very confined... It was old. It was quite damp; the drainage, sewerage, and various other things were damaged, so we often had problems that we had to deal with. Things always had to be sorted out. It was an old building, and the insulation wasn't any good. You could see it in the fact that the walls often needed to be painted because of mould and falling and crumbling plaster. That was one thing. And another thing – the rooms were adjusted to the period when they were built, meaning that there were six to eight patients per room, maybe four in some of them, but there were bigger ones as well. And you can imagine, with eight groaning people in the room, it wasn't very comfortable.*

⁵² *But the location is beautiful. There is a park, and it used to be well-tended... There are beautiful trees, I always admired them... It was relaxing for me. There was a back door, and when I needed to clear my head, I went to the park to breathe some fresh air.*

⁵³ *The whole hospital site gives a very good mental impression. The bad impression concerns the state of the buildings – they are in disrepair, with holes, and in ruins.... It's heart-breaking to see that something so beautiful that had been created in Topoľčany and that had served so many generations of patients was allowed to go so far as to become a ruin. I don't go there anymore, because I want to keep that memory of when it was cultivated, tended, and not destroyed.*

⁵⁴ *If there was a sanatorium or an institution for seniors, something like that... Various day-care centres, because we have more and more people who need to be cared for, and there are problems with that. Look, it's simple: the population is growing older, so, for instance, hospices, homes for the elderly... I think it could be for long-term care. They could use it for hospices and social services homes.*

⁵⁵ *Turn it into a museum, or maybe what was done in Továrníky Park.... It would have to be renovated, those historical parts. Use them as a museum or something similar.... Museum spaces, the history of the Stummer family.*

Relationships towards specific physical spaces and buildings are a non-material part of their value; they are also a condition for ongoing interest in them, their protection, and their future existence. A significant part of this relationship is created through representations of the past in the memories and stories of people. The recollections of staff who had worked at the hospital for many years—doctors, nurses, and laboratory technicians—were examined in the presented ethnological research into the values associated with the old hospital site. This was done to try to enrich existing perspectives on the significance and importance of this unique complex.

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The Late Gothic Chapel of St Barbara in the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Banská Bystrica

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The Late Gothic Chapel of St Barbara in the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Banská Bystrica

The present study maps the history of the Chapel of St Barbara in the Parish Church of the Assumption of Virgin Mary in Banská Bystrica from several aspects. The first part of study follows the building and historical development of the chapel. In the second part, the original furnishings of the chapel, of which the altar of Master Paul of Levoča is still preserved, are the focus. The third and last part focuses on the funds bound to the chapel, through which it is possible to observe the intricate interconnections of the local burghers' families. In addition to the aforementioned, the author attempts to look through the history of the chapel into the wider historical context of the town of Banská Bystrica in that period.

Keywords: Banská Bystrica, Church of the Assumption of Virgin Mary in Banská Bystrica, late Gothic, Chapel of St Barbara, endowment

Introduction

Sacral monuments form a significant part of our cultural heritage. From a construction point of view, chapels are considered the most demanding form, due to their diverse typology.¹

The phenomenon of founding of chapels has existed in European sacral art since the fourteenth century.² A characteristic feature of chapels built in the Gothic and Late Gothic style is that they are set up side by side in the lateral naves or apses of churches. Alternatively, they are constructed as separate buildings from the main body of the church with a separate entrance. As sacred buildings, chapels served their founders and later donors as places for private worship and also as their last resting place. The founder of a chapel could be a person or a whole family, but also a community. The bishop under whose administration the territory fell first had to authorize such a building and later consecrate it. A chapel's founder would need to have the money not only for the construction of the building and its furnishings, but also for its future maintenance and to pay the clergyman.³ This capital might, for example, take the form of an initial financial guarantee, officially for the administration of the founded chapel, or it might be in the form of testamentary legacies from the chapel's patron or patrons. In return

¹ KACÍREK, Ľuboš. *Kultúrne dedičstvo Slovenska*. Bratislava: Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, o.z., 2016, p. 36.

² DUBY, Georges. *Umění a společnost ve středověku*. Praha – Litomyšl: Paseka, 2002 p. 69.

³ GLEJTEK, Miroslav. Práva a povinnosti uhorských biskupov pri správe diecéz v 11. až 14. storočí z pohľadu kánonického práva. In: *Konštantíne listy* vol.11, 2018, no. 1, pp. 88–89.

for the money spent, aside from burial space in the chapel's crypt, indulgences were granted, associated with the vision of eternal salvation for the founder and his family.

The trend of founding chapels was also known in Banská Bystrica. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the late Gothic reconstruction of the Parish Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary began with the addition of chapels with the abovementioned typical attributes.

In the present study, we will focus on one of these chapels, namely the Chapel of St Barbara, which is interesting from several aspects. At present, details of its oldest architectural and historical development are not entirely clear. However, its financing can be mapped in detail and, last but not least, the chapel's furnishings, which include the altar of St Barbara from the workshop of Master Paul of Levoča, must also be mentioned.

These aspects, from the perspective of which we will examine the pertracted monument and its equally precious furnishings, should ultimately help to complete a more detailed picture, which is important not only with regard to our material cultural heritage, but also in terms of intangible values based on knowing the past of our cities.

Architectural and historical development of the Chapel of St Barbara

The Chapel of St Barbara is part of the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, a landmark building in Banská Bystrica. This church belongs to the Banská Bystrica castle complex, a set of buildings which were designated a national cultural monument in 1955.

The first written mention of the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary dates back to 1300,⁴ but by analogy it can be assumed that a smaller sacral building already existed in Banská Bystrica before this. This is evidenced in a privilege issued to the German guests by Belo IV, dated 1255, which refers to the right of the free choice of a parson, to be confirmed by the Archbishop of Esztergom.⁵ It is also known that Banská Bystrica was founded on the site of an older Slavic settlement, whose territory was subject to the *comitatus* (county) of Zvolen; as regards its ecclesiastical administration, it was subject to the Archdeacon of either Hont or Zvolen.⁶ Belo IV's privilege extricated the entire town of Banská Bystrica from this structure and made it clear that all ecclesiastical affairs of the Banská Bystrica town rectory were, from that time, subject to the direct supervision of the Archbishop of Esztergom.

In addition to a degree of confusion over the precise date that construction of the Parish Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary began, there are some outstanding disputes over the church's original layout.

On the one hand we have encountered the opinion that the original church was a single nave (V. Mencl, B. Kovačovičová, A. Filip, A. Vallášek, M. Mácelová⁷) and on the other that

⁴ MATULAY, Ctibor (ed). *Mesto Banská Bystrica: Katalóg administratívnych a súdnych písomností (1020) 1255–1536*. Bratislava: Archívna správa MV SSR, 1980, reg. 21, p. 21.

⁵ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 6, p. 15.

⁶ TOMEČEK, Oto. *Drevorubač a ubliari v lesoch Banskej Bystrice*. Banská Bystrica: Fakulta humanitných vied UMB, 2010, p. 159.

⁷ VALLÁŠEK, Adrián. Výskum interiéru farského kostola v Banskej Bystrici. In: AVANS, Nitra: Archeologický ústav SAV, 1985, p. 243; KOVAČOVIČOVÁ, Blanka. Stavebné pamiatky mesta. In: *Banská Bystrica. Sborník prác k 700. výročiu založenia mesta*. Martin: Osveta, 1955, pp. 67–74; FILIP, Anton. *O banskobystrických cirkevných i svetských staviteľských pamiatkach*. Banská Bystrica, 1938. Manuscript deposited in the archive of the Regional Monuments Bureau Banská Bystrica, Archív Krajského pamiatkového úradu v Banskej Bystrici (hereinafter referred to as the "Archive KPÚ BB") pp. 155–156; VALLÁŠEK, Výskum interiéru..., pp. 242–243; MÁCELOVÁ, Marta. Pochovávanie v mestskom hrade v Banskej Bystrici. In: *História Banskej Bystrice – dielo a význam Emila Jurkoviča*. Banská Bystrica: ŠVK, 1999.

the original church was built as a three-nave basilica. The first view is supported by the result of the most recent archaeological research, the conclusions of which were published in 1985, which also confirmed that the building's construction can be dated back to the mid-thirteenth century.⁸

The second view of the layout emerges from older publications. The three-nave basilica proposal of the layout was proposed by Matej Bel⁹ and also by A. Stummer-Ipolyi, a bishop and historian.¹⁰ In the academic literature of the second half of the last century, this opinion can be seen in publications by K. Kahoun¹¹ and M. Sura.¹²

The second phase of the church's construction took place during the fourteenth century. We know about it thanks to indulgence charters from 1323,¹³ 1332¹⁴ and 1335.¹⁵ The document from 1323 was confirmed in 1396¹⁶ and 1398.¹⁷ However, there is not enough information about the specific extent of these construction activities.

In the first half of the fifteenth century, according to M. Sura, the sacristy was probably lengthened and an unidentifiable chapel on the first floor was built; the remnants of its vaulting being part of the cross vault of St Johannes The Almoner's Oratory.¹⁸

In the second half of the fifteenth century there is a period of busy construction activity, documented by preserved indulgence charters relating to the construction of side chapels. The founders of these chapels were burghers. However, the miners who were associated in the Brotherhood of Body of God also contributed financially to the overall reconstruction of the church.¹⁹

The burghers, as initiators of the reconstruction and founders of the chapels, can be divided into two generations: one from the second half of the fifteenth century and the other active around the turn of the sixteenth century.

The first generation were representatives of Buda's financial capital who had penetrated as far as Banská Bystrica, and they had close connections with the ruler Matthias Corvinus. Typical representatives of such burghers include Vitus Mühlstein (Buda's burgher, and later a head the County of Zvolen) and Johannes Colman (royal financial custodian).

⁸ VALLÁŠEK, Výskum interiéru..., pp. 242–243.

⁹ Matej Bel (1684–1749) considered the Church of St. Elizabeth, so called "hospital church", still located at the end of Dolná street, as the oldest church in the town. NAGY, Imrich; TURÓCI, Martin (eds). *BEL, Matej. Zvolenská stolica*. Čadca: Kysucké múzeum v Čadci. 2017, pp. 197–199.

¹⁰ MÁCELOVÁ, Marta. Pochovávanie v mestskom hrade v Banskej Bystrici..., p. 29. Arnold Ipolyi-Stummer (1823–1886)

¹¹ KAHOUN, Karol. *Neskorogotická architektúra na Slovensku a staritelia rýchodného okruhu*. Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1973, p. 27.

¹² M. Sura presents as an argument the discovery of part of the masonry in the eastern wall of the Chapel of St Barbara, which has the character of a possible semi-circular closure of the side nave of the oldest layout.

SURA, Miroslav. *Banská Bystrica. Pamiatková rezervácia*. Bratislava: Tatran, 1982, p. 8. Also, see SURA, Miroslav: *Kostol Nanebovzatia Panny Márie. Komplexný záštitovací reštaurovateľský prieskum fasád. Návrh na reštaurovanie*. Banská Bystrica: 1975; Banská Bystrica 1984, sig. R4, R5 Manuscripts, p. 10. Archive KPÚ BB.

¹³ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 25, p. 22.

¹⁴ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 29, p. 23.

¹⁵ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 30, p. 23.

¹⁶ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 150, p. 53.

¹⁷ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 174, p. 59.

¹⁸ SURA, Kostol Nanebovzatia..., p. 15.

¹⁹ Initially, this organization was of a religious and later social character.

The second generation of burghers, who partially overlapped with the first, were associated with the period after the death of Matthias Corvinus, when the business-minded Johannes Thurzo set out to acquire various core mining enterprises (including Johannes Corvinus' holdings)²⁰ with the financial support of the Fuggers, and created a copper mining company of global importance.²¹ Those burghers who supported his plan and became a part of his business became very wealthy, and this was reflected in their religious donations. These burghers also included Michal Königsberger and Benedict Glöcknitzer.

The late Gothic reconstruction of the church in Banská Bystrica, and the building activity of the burghers of that period, is thus only a reflection of the above-mentioned conditions, while construction activities related to the chapel in the second half of the fifteenth century were mainly carried out by the wealthier individuals among the town's burghers who had better connections to the state's political elites than their contemporaries.

The earliest preserved document that provides evidence for the construction activity in this period is an indulgence charter from 1463, linked to the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and the Brotherhood of the Body of God.²² With regards to the chapels in particular, the foundation of the Chapel of the Body of God by Vitus Mühlstein in 1472 is documented as the first to be built.²³ The second, the Chapel of St Anton, was founded in 1475 by Urban Aurifaber. We know about it only indirectly through canonical visitations²⁴ and schematism of the Diocese of Banská Bystrica.²⁵ In 1477, the Chapel of St Barbara is mentioned for the first time.²⁶ Sometime before 1480, according to information from canonical visitations,²⁷ a chapel, founded by Johannes Colman, was built on the southern side of the church. Lastly, the Chapel of St Johannes The Almoner was built above the sacristy on the northern side of the church.²⁸ Its donor was the burgher Michal Königsberger, as evidenced by the figural console holding his coat of arms. Three years later, the chapel is also mentioned in his testament, which has been published several times.²⁹

The Chapel of St Barbara, built on the north wall of the nave of the parish church, occupies approximately two thirds of the length of the church. The name of the chapel changed over time according to the altars that were in it or according to the family that had patronage over the chapel at that moment. Over the course of several centuries, it has been variously called the

²⁰ This property was given as a gift from Matthias Corvinus to Barbara Edelpöck, the mother of his only son, Johannes Corvinus, in 1473. MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica, reg. 269, p. 8. Also, LUKAČKA, Ján (ed). *Pod osmanskou hrozbou: Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov VI*. Bratislava: Literárne centrum, 2004. Document No. 35, pp. 87–88.

²¹ For more detail, see SKLADANÝ, Marián. Prvé turzovsko-fuggerovské zmluvy o spoločnom mediarskom podniku. In: *Historický časopis*, Bratislava: Historický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied, 43(2) 1995, pp. 215–229.

²² MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 241, p.78.

²³ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 264, p. 86.

²⁴ BELÁNSZKY, József. *Divina et apostolicae sedis gratia episcop. Neosol.* 1829, p. 71. The visitation manuscript is situated in the State Archive in Banská Bystrica. MVSR – Štátny archív v Banskej Bystrici (hereinafter referred to as the “ŠA BB”), fond Varia, V – 160.

²⁵ *Schematismus historicus Dioecesis Neosoliensis*, Neosolii Typis Philippi Machold, 1876, p. 109.

²⁶ This indulgence document was preserved only in copies, e.g. BELÁNSZKY, Divina..., p. 71, also Schematismus..., p. 109–110.

²⁷ BELÁNSZKY, Divina..., p. 71–72.

²⁸ Schematismus..., p. 110–111. A second chapel, founded by Michal Königsberger, was in his house in the square. In the seventeenth century, the Jesuits began to operate in this chapel. It subsequently became the basis of the later church of Francis Xavier.

²⁹ LUKAČKA, Pod osmanskou hrozbou..., document No. 54, p. 131.

Chapel of St Barbara, the Chapel of the Virgin Mary,³⁰ the Chapel of Mary Magdalene,³¹ the Chapel of St Alois,³² Plath Chapel, Wasserbroth Chapel,³³ and Guttiana (Guthiana).³⁴

It is assumed that where the chapel now stands, some other object or a part of the church from an earlier period once stood; however, this construction is not documented in any known written source. Based on monumental research, however, there are three hypotheses about the construction connection of an older building on that spot.

1. The chapel was built on the foundations of an older building.³⁵
2. It was originally an older part of the church, rebuilt to create a chapel.³⁶
3. The chapel was from an older construction, originally detached from the main church building, which was rebuilt in a way that connected it to the church.³⁷

The oldest documents concerning the Chapel of St Barbara are dated 1477,³⁸ 1478³⁹ and 1491.⁴⁰ These are indulgence charters that were issued at the request of the founders of the chapel.

According to these documents, we know that the chapel was “newly” rebuilt by the burgher Nicholas Plath (Platt, Platth or Plas).⁴¹ We know relatively little about his person and his origin. He was first mentioned as a town councillor in 1459.⁴² In 1470 he held the post of mayor in Banská Bystrica.⁴³ He did not live to see the completion of the chapel.⁴⁴ He died sometime before 1477, as evidenced in a document from 1477 (of which only a copy is known) in which his son-in-law Georg Kegel is designated as the patron of the chapel. The canonical visitations state that the Chapel of St Barbara was newly founded in honour of Saints Barbara and Hieronymus. It was set to the side of the Parish Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Banská Bystrica, in the Esztergom Diocese. However, it has not yet been consecrated. The

³⁰ BELÁNSZKY, Divina..., p. 320.

³¹ JURKOVIČ, Emil. *Dejiny kráľovského mesta Banská Bystrica*. Translated by Imrich Nagy. Banská Bystrica: Občianske združenie Pribicer, 2005, p. 76.

³² BELÁNSZKY, Divina..., p. 37.

³³ JURKOVIČ, Dejiny..., p. 73.

³⁴ JURKOVIČ, Dejiny..., pp. 320–325.

³⁵ KOSTKA, Jiří; DZÚRIK, Ondrej. *Banská Bystrica, fariský kostol, kaplnka sv. Barbory – prieskum*. Banská Bystrica, 1971. Manuscript. pp. 3–5. Archive KPÚ BB.

³⁶ SURA, Kostol nanebovzatia..., pp. 10–15.

³⁷ AVENÁRIUS, Alexander. *Banská Bystrica – hrad, historický výskum*. Banská Bystrica, 1975. Manuscript, pp. 20–21, Archive KPÚ BB

³⁸ This indulgence document was preserved only in copies, e.g. BELÁNSZKY, Divina..., 26, p. 71; Schematismus..., pp. 109–110.

³⁹ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár – Országos Levéltár Budapest (hereafter referred to as the MOL) fond Diplomatikai levéltár (hereafter referred to as the DL). 45711. The document was fully published in ENTZ, Géza. Neuere Beiträge zur spätgotischen Holzplastik im mittelalterlichen Ungarn. In: *Acta Historiae Artium*, Tomus 18, 1972, p. 255.

⁴⁰ MOL, DL 46160 The document was fully published in ENTZ, Neuere..., p. 255.

⁴¹ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., p. 526.

⁴² MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 237, p. 77.

⁴³ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 257, 258, pp. 83–84.

⁴⁴ “Cum itaque dilecta nobis in Christo honesta et circumspecta domina Dorothea relicta quondam Nicolai Plath de Noua Zolio Strigoniensis diocesis ad Capellam sancte Barbare virginis et martiris, quam ut dicitur. dictus quondam Nicolaus in vita sua ad latus ecclesie parochialis beate Marie Virginis de eadem Noua Zolio de novo fundare proposuerat et etiam incepérat. Tandemque ipso mortuo dicta domina Dorothea huiusmodi laudabile propositu cuiusdem quondam Nicolai adimplere et ad effectum perducere cupiens eandem Capellam erigi et construī et perfici effecti singularem gerat deuotionis affectum”. MOL, DL 45711

patron of the chapel, Georg Kegel, performed a special dedication, valid for one hundred days and forever. On 24 March 1477...⁴⁵

In a charter from 1478 (original document), only the widow Dorothea, who had the chapel completed, consecrated and furnished, is mentioned. The charter, which was issued in Esztergom by the vicar of the Esztergom Archdiocese on 14 March 1478, specifically states:

However, at the request of the same lady Dorothea, dated 10 February of the year mentioned below, we have consecrated the same chapel under the aforementioned name, and also the altars in the same chapel, one larger or higher under the same [name] and also of Saint Hieronymus and the other smaller [altars] under the names of Saints Peter and Paul the Apostles, Pope Urban and Mary Magdalene.⁴⁶

It is clear from the second charter that by this time the construction work was completed and the chapel was fully fit for purpose, as were the altars mentioned in the document. It is particularly important, in this case, to note the ecclesiastical acts mentioned in the charter, which clearly state that the chapel, together with the inventory, was consecrated.⁴⁷ The process of consecration involved inviting the vicar or the Archbishop of Esztergom to Banská Bystrica. The vicar was commissioned by the Archbishop of Esztergom to consecrate the altars and the chapel itself.⁴⁸

Another preserved document that directly discusses the chapel and its founders is the indulgence charter of 9 May 1491. This charter was issued at the request of the widow Dorothea. The indulgences mentioned in the charter, subject to certain conditions, were specifically linked to the main statues from the altar of St Barbara, statues from the smaller altar and silverware belonging to the chapel furnishings. The charter was again issued by the vicar of the Esztergom Archdiocese (although by this time a different person was serving in that role than at the time of the charter from 1478), but it is interesting that this charter was issued directly in Banská Bystrica.⁴⁹

It is well documented that in 1500⁵⁰ Banská Bystrica was hit by a devastating fire. The parish church, where the later phase of reconstruction work was underway, was one of the buildings affected. We do not know to what extent the chapel was damaged by fire. However, the year 1504 is inscribed on the western wall of the chapel. Whether this refers to the date of completion of the artistic decoration of the chapel or its repair after the fire in 1500 is not documented. However, the coat of arms situated on the vault of the chapel, which was ultimately

⁴⁵ "Pro Capella in honorem S. Barbarae et Hieronymi noviter fundata, sita in latere Parochialis Ecclesiae B. Mariae in Novizoio Strigon. Dioecesis quae nondum consecrata existit et ad quam Georgius Kegel Patronus dictae Capellae speciale gerit devotionem, 100 dierum, aequo pro perpetuo de 1477. 24a Martii, sex Cardinalium cum sigillis pendentibus. Quam Bullam se acceptare, pariter subscripsit idem Michael Episcopus Milkoviensis Strigoni 9 Maij 1477." BELANSZKY, Divina..., p.71.

⁴⁶ "Nos autem ad eiusdem domine Dorothee supplicationem de anno domini subscripto decima die mensis Februarij eandem Capellam sub vocabulo predicto ac Altaria in eadem Capella unum scilicet maius sive supremus sub eodem ac beati Ieronimi et aliud videlicet minus sub beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ac Urbani pape et Marie Magdalene vocabulis consecraverimus". MOL, DL 45711

⁴⁷ Lat. consecro, are, avi, atum – sanctify, consecrate, dedicate; Consecration – consecration is a necessity for the altar. Only an ordained bishop could perform such an act. OLEJNÍK, Vladimír. Kto mohol posvätiť hlavný oltár Majstra Pavla z Levočí? Náboženská situácia na Spiši na prelome 15. a 16. storočia. In: Majster Pavol z Leroče a jeho doba. Levoča: Spišské múzeum, 2018, p. 33.

⁴⁸ OLEJNÍK, Kto mohol..., p. 33.

⁴⁹ MOL, DL 46160; ENTZ, Neuere..., p. 255.

⁵⁰ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 324, p. 103.

identified by the Hungarian art historian G. Endrődi as the Glöcknitzer coat of arms,⁵¹ proves that the chapel was already under the patronage of the Glöcknitzer family at this time.

Benedict Glöcknitzer is mentioned as a burgher who was helping Johannes Thurzo, together with Michal Königsberger. As we know, Nicholas Plath had a son-in-law, which means he had at least one daughter. It is quite likely that these two families had a close family relationship, as suggested by the fact that the name Johannes Schwoger, also called Kegel, is frequently mentioned in connection with Glöcknitzer's children.⁵²

Another possible route to their gaining patronage over the chapel was that it was left to Benedict Glöcknitzer along with the other property of the Plath family at a time when, along with Königsberger, they were gradually acquiring the failing properties of the Banská Bystrica burghers in favour of Thurzo.

As mentioned earlier, late Gothic chapels used to have a separate entrance, and this was the case with the Chapel of St Barbara. Originally it was accessed through an entrance situated in the northern wall of the chapel. The second entrance, set in the western wall, probably led to a now non-existent extension which contained a spiral staircase extending into the space above the Chapel of St Barbara.⁵³ It is currently assumed that one of the former chapels whose precise location is unclear could have been situated above the Chapel of St Barbara, or else that this staircase led to the choir or the attic of the chapel.

The chapel's ceiling has been preserved to this day, and is in the form of a barrel vault with rich mesh and star warps. The vault rests on six consoles⁵⁴ in the form of busts, representing the saints Ladislaus, Adalbert, Martin, Emmerich⁵⁵ and, according to the latest knowledge, St Johannes the Almoner, until recently denoted as Hieronymus.⁵⁶ Only the sixth console, which shows St Stephen, is not original; it was added in the nineteenth century in place of the missing bust.⁵⁷

The chapel has maintained its original late Gothic style to the present day, indicating that in the following years any building activity manifested itself mainly in the form of partial adjustments, reconstruction and restoration work.

In 1643 the chapel was repaired at the expense of the Gutt (Guth) family,⁵⁸ as evidenced by documents deposited in the archives of Banská Bystrica.⁵⁹ The Gutt family took over patronage of the chapel through family ties to Wolfgang Glöcknitzer. Erasmus Gutt, a castellan of Ľupča Castle and estate,⁶⁰ is mentioned among the heirs of Wolfgang Glöcknitzer who were obliged to finance the Chapel of St Barbara after his death.⁶¹

⁵¹ ENDRÓDI, Gábor. Grosse Kunst "aus Hass und Neid" Überlegungen zu Bauarbeiten und zur Ausstattung der Neusohler Pfarrkirche um 1500. In: *Acta Historiae Artium Tomus 47*, 2006, pdf, pp. 16–18. Accessed 15 July 2019, https://www.academia.edu/299705/Gro%C3%9Fe_Kunst_aus_Hass_und_Neid_.%C3%9Cberlegungen_zu_Bauarbeiten_und_zur_Ausstattung_der_Neusohler_Pfarrkirche_um_1500

⁵² MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., p. 538.

⁵³ BELANSZKY, Divina..., p. 37.

⁵⁴ For more on consoles and their creators, see ENDRÓDI, Grosse Kunst..., pp. 10–12.

⁵⁵ KAHOUN, Karol: Gotická architektúra na Slovensku. In: *ARS 4*, 1970, p. 45.

⁵⁶ ENDRÓDI, Grosse Kunst..., p. 10.

⁵⁷ FILIP, O banskobystrických..., p. 170.

⁵⁸ AVENÁRIUS, Banská Bystrica..., p. 21.

⁵⁹ ŠA BB, fond Mesto Banská Bystrica (hereinafter as the "MBB"), fasc. 11 no. 14.

⁶⁰ He was mentioned as the castellan of this castle in 1531, 1543, 1547, 1548, 1554 and 1555. In 1576, 1578 and 1580, he or his direct descendant Christof Gutth was probably the castellan of the castle. HOMOLA, Vladimír; TOMEČEK, Oto (eds). *Hrad Ľupča klenot Pobronia vo svetle vekov*. Podbrezová: Železiarne Podbrezová, 2017, p. 335.

⁶¹ BELANSZKY, Divina..., p. 326, JURKOVIČ, Dejiny..., p. 73. ŠA BB, MBB fasc. 17 no.1

In 1761, Banská Bystrica was hit again by a fire that destroyed a large part of the town. The parish church was severely damaged and had to be almost completely rebuilt, but fortunately, the chapel remained largely intact. Only its roof collapsed, and this was repaired in 1784.⁶² The baroque reconstruction of the main church, however, also touched the chapel. A great entrance was cut from the sacristy⁶³ and the original portal in the north wall was walled up.⁶⁴ The masonry of the arch in the southern wall, which serves as the passage between the chapel and the nave of the church, was also reformulated.⁶⁵

Further modifications to the chapel took place in 1876, initiated by the Bishop of Banská Bystrica, Arnold Ipoly-Stummer, one of the pioneers of monument care in Hungary. In cooperation with the architect, painter and restorer Francz Storno, they had a significant influence on the painting of the chapel and the appearance of the late Gothic windows. The whole intervention was in the spirit of the neo-Gothic style. Neo-Gothic stained glass windows were installed, which damaged the middle bars and tracery.⁶⁶ A missing console, removed in the eighteenth century to make way for the baroque altar of St Alois,⁶⁷ was added back in by F. Storno,⁶⁸ and the entire vault and walls were replastered and painted according to his neo-Gothic-style design.

In 1971, the last modifications were made to the chapel, restoring it to the form in which we can still admire it today. The restoration was preceded by detailed research by the conservators, who aimed to return the chapel, as close as was possible, to its appearance at the turn of the sixteenth century. The vaults and walls were carefully restored, after removing the neo-Gothic painting and plaster applied during the nineteenth-century restoration of the chapel. Inscriptions that had been covered up at that time were also restored, and the windows renovated in accordance with their original monochrome design.⁶⁹ The restoration also affected the portals and a commemorative epitaph located in the chapel.

As mentioned in the introduction, chapels also served as a last resting place for their patrons. The Chapel of St Barbara had its own crypt built for this purpose. The entrance was situated in the interior of the chapel. The town's senator, Joseph Huszar, was the last person to be buried there; he was interred in 1779. In the same year, a new crypt was built under the church; this one was entered from the exterior of the church.⁷⁰ There is now a vaulted coffin chamber under the chapel, which is empty. At the bottom of the northern wall there is a grid that ends the canal and also drains the crypt of St Barbara.⁷¹

⁶² FILIP, O banskobystrických..., p. 113.

⁶³ KOSTKA; DZÚRIK, Banská Bystrica..., pp. 5–6.

⁶⁴ FILIP, O banskobystrických..., p. 169.

⁶⁵ DZÚRIK, Ondrej. O priebehu reštaurátorských práce v kaplnke sv. Barbory v Banskej Bystrici. Záverečný protokol. Banská Bystrica, 1974. Manuscript. p. 4, Archive KPU BB.

⁶⁶ DZÚRIK, O priebehu..., pp. 1–5.

⁶⁷ ENTZ, Neuere..., p. 252.

⁶⁸ Francz Storno also artistically collaborated with Arnold Ipolyi on his publication dedicated to the monuments of Banská Bystrica IPOLYI, Arnold. *A besztercebányai egyházi műemlékek története és helyreállítása*. Budapest: A Magyar Tud. Akadémia Könyvkiadóhivatala Bizományában, MDCCCLXXVIII.

⁶⁹ DZÚRIK, O priebehu..., pp. 1–5.

⁷⁰ BELANSZKY, Divina..., pp. 30–31.

⁷¹ MÁCELOVÁ, Pochovávanie..., p. 35.

The original furnishings of the Chapel of St Barbara

The original chapel furnishings are attested to in the abovementioned indulgence charters from 1478 and 1491, deposited in the Hungarian National Archive. Excerpts from these charters were copied into canonical visitations⁷² and a schematism,⁷³ and in 1972 they were published in full by the Hungarian art historian G. Entz.⁷⁴ According to these documents, the original furnishings of the chapel included two altars, silver gilded statuettes⁷⁵ of Hieronymus and Barbara, and a silver reliquary cross.

One of the smaller altars, dedicated to St Peter and St Paul, Pope Urban and Mary Magdalene, has been lost. This altar probably stood at the northern wall of the chapel and was replaced by the altar of St Alois, which is also not currently situated in the chapel.⁷⁶

A silver statuette, listed among the items of silverware mentioned in the indulgence charters, has also not been preserved. A letter discussing the treasures of the Chapel of St Barbara is dated 1530. Whether or not there were silver statuettes among them we do not know, but we consider it very probable. The letter was written by Frederick Schilling, a burgher of Krakow and Banská Bystrica, who was related to the Glöcknitzer family. In the letter, he responds to the Banská Bystrica Town Council's complaint that, without their consent or the knowledge of the church's guards, he had at some point removed some silverware from the chapel of St Barbara. In his defence, he claims that he did so at the command of the patrons of the chapel, the Glöcknitzers.⁷⁷ There were certainly several possible reasons for this. Before 1530, the situation in Banská Bystrica was difficult in several respects. One reason for removing the treasures from Banská Bystrica before 1526 could have been to cover war expenses. In the archives of the city of Banská Bystrica is a document from 1526 in which Johannes and Francis Doczy confirm that, at the command of Louis II and with the approval of the papal nuncio, they accepted 48.5 hryvnia for silver and jewels from the parish church in Banská Bystrica for military purposes. However, the King undertook to return these items after the end of the military expedition.⁷⁸

Another reason could be linked to an insurrection by local miners and the subsequent departure of the Thurzo family from the Banská Bystrica business community. The burghers tied to the Thurzos, including Wolfgang Glöcknitzer and Frederick Schilling, subsequently relocated outside Banská Bystrica. It is possible that at this time they also attempted an unsuccessful relocation of the chapel's treasures, but this was clearly not allowed by the town council. The missing items were returned to Banská Bystrica this time, through Těšín and Orava.⁷⁹ We assume that the spread of Protestantism among the burghers and mining workers did not play a major role in this case.

The last known time the treasures and statuettes are mentioned is in a record from the Town Protocol, dated 1546 and cited in canonical visitations of 1829. In this document, the town

⁷² BELANSZKY, Divina..., pp. 100–101, 320.

⁷³ Schematismus..., pp. 109–110, 121.

⁷⁴ ENTZ, Neuere..., p. 252.

⁷⁵ In the original Latin text, the word ‘imagines’ is used, which is from the Latin *imago* (image, portrait) but can also be translated as a statue. Therefore, we cannot determine with certainty what kind of artistic object it was. G. Entz describes these objects as hermas and M. Novotná as busts. ENTZ, Neuere..., p. 251–252; NOVOTNÁ, Mária Majster Pavol z Levoče. In: *Majster Pavol z Levoče. Ruky a zlato v službách ducha. Katalóg výstavy*. Bratislava: SNM – Historické múzeum, 2017, p. 51.

⁷⁶ ENTZ, Neuere..., p. 252; BELANSZKY, Divina..., p. 104.

⁷⁷ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 888, p. 292.

⁷⁸ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 689, p. 230.

⁷⁹ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 888, p. 292.

council criticize Wolfgang Glöcknitzer for taking the statuettes without informing the council or the mayor. Glöcknitzer was required to declare that the statuettes were the property of the town, and were only in his custody.⁸⁰

The larger altar in the Chapel of St Barbara was dedicated to Virgin Mary, St Barbara and St Hieronymus. Together with the chapel and the smaller altar, it was consecrated as early as 1478. From the indirect description of the altar in the document, we know that statues of the Virgin Mary, St Hieronymus and St Barbara were in the “wooden board”⁸¹ of this altar.⁸² The statues from the altar are also mentioned in an indulgence charter of 1491. The charter was issued at the request of Dorothea, for “certain statues, three wooden, which are placed in the altar of St Barbara, one in the middle in honour of the Virgin Mary, the other on the right in honour of St Barbara and the third on the left in honour of St Hieronymus”.⁸³

As we know, there is still a rare late Gothic altar in this chapel corresponding to this description. Authorship of this altar and the main wooden statues is unambiguously attributed to Master Paul of Levoča, although this fact is not documented by known sources. However, the surviving indulgence charters suggesting these items were made by Master Paul of Levoča bring complications that historians and art historians have been struggling with for decades. If we assume the altar present today is the same one mentioned in the charters, then there is a discrepancy in dating. The currently accepted biographical data on Master Paul of Levoča disagrees with the aforementioned dating of the altar by several years. In 1478, the year when the altar and the three main statues were consecrated, Paul could not have been older than 18 years of age, according to the earliest supposed year of his birth in 1460.⁸⁴

To complicate things further, it should be added that the year 1509⁸⁵ is inscribed on the back of the altar wing on the dividing bar of the altar, suggesting that the entirety of the present altar was not carved by a single master.

In connection with the attempt to date the present altar’s origins and the authorship of Master Paul of Levoča, two main strands of opinion have emerged which more-or-less take into account the individual historical contexts associated with this still unresolved problem.

According to the first strand, the altar’s statues are the same ones described in the charters, while the years 1478, 1491 and 1509 indicate the gradual completion of the altar. G. Entz is one

⁸⁰ BELANSKY, Divina..., pp. 321–322.

⁸¹ Lat. retabulum “deinde vicesimatria mensis Februarij prescripti Imagines beate Marie Virginis ac sanctorum Ieronimi et Barbare in Tabula lignea dicti maioris altaris habitas et Alias Imagines corundem sanctorum Ieronimi et Barbare de argento factas et deauratas necnon crucem Argenteam reliquijs conditam omnino per dictam dominam Dorotheam dicte Capelle donatas benedixerimus” MOL, DL 45711

⁸² ENTZ, Neuere..., p. 255.

⁸³ “Cum igitur nobis suplicatum sit ex parte honeste Dorothee quondam relicte Nicolai Platt ex parte indulgentiarum certarum Imaginum quarum tres lignee in altari sancte Barbare situate Media in honore virginis Marie dignissime dextra ad laudem sancte Barbare et tercia sancti Ieronimi...” ENTZ, Neuere..., p. 255; MOL, DL 46160. It was G. Entz who, by “rediscovering” the indulgence charters of 1478 and 1491, opened up two fundamental problems concerning the dating and authorship of the altar of St Barbara. Although the existence of the charters was known from copies of them, G. Entz first pointed out their misinterpretation, noting that the original document from 1491 describes the statues in the altar of St Barbara as wooden “lignee” and not copper “cuprae” as described in canonical visitations and, subsequently, in the schematism. BELANSKY, Divina..., pp. 72, 101; Schematismus..., p. 121.

⁸⁴ CHALUPECKÝ, Ivan. Príspevok k biografi majstra Pavla z Levoče. In: Spiš, Vlastivedný zborník 1. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1967, p. 182.

⁸⁵ 1.5.0.9. AN DEM. TAG. SANCT. YPOLITY.IST.GEEND.WORDEN.DISSE.TAPHEL. (13 August 1509). This date is mainly associated with the creation of paintings on the altar wings. ENDRÖDI, Gábor. Oltárne celky, skulptúry a tabuľové maliarstvo. In: Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia. Bratislava: Slovart, 2003, p. 747.

of those who support this opinion. According to him, 1509 is the correct date for the paintings on the wings of the altar, but not the main statues.⁸⁶

K. Vaculík suggests that “the figures of saints in the altar cabinet could have originated in the last quarter of the fifteenth century”. He expresses no doubt about the authorship of Master Paul.⁸⁷

The same is true of J. Homolka. In 1988, he expressed the view that “if all the reports on the altar of St Barbara are all correct, we should have here the record of the beginning of the construction of the altar (1478) and the end of its construction (1509)”. As he goes on to say, “the procedure would actually be the same that we encounter when building the main altar in Levoča”.⁸⁸

The second strand of thought draws upon one of the disasters mentioned above. In 1500, Banská Bystrica was hit by a fire, which also damaged the parish church. Some historians suggest that at that time the altar mentioned in the charters was damaged or destroyed and it was replaced by the altar we can see today. The year 1509, recorded on the back of the retable, would, in this case, refer to the completion of the second altar of St Barbara.⁸⁹ I. Chalúpecký, an expert on biography of Master Paul of Levoča, is among those who support this hypothesis. He suggests that although Master Paul was devoting his energies to the Levoča altar in 1509, this does not exclude the possibility that the altar for Banská Bystrica may have originated in Levoča, and that it was transported in its complete form to its destination.⁹⁰ The overall structure of the altar, which is designed as if for a larger space, also supports this hypothesis. P. Kresánek also supports this theory.⁹¹

However, as we have already stated above, in the event of any damage to the altar, it must be consecrated again, as evidenced by indulgence charters from that time. In this case, however, none of the known sources document or even indirectly mention such an activity.

The complexity of the conflicting evidence from the charters, the artisan's biography and the altar itself is evidenced by the fact that the 2003 book *Gothic* deliberately omits the issue, due to confusion over the facts.⁹²

The historical significance of this monument is evidenced by the fact that in 2017, the altar of St Barbara was included in a list of national cultural monuments that are a priority for protection and restoration. This list was drawn up in cooperation with the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic, the Ministry of the Slovak Republic and self-governing regions.⁹³

⁸⁶ ENTZ, Neuere..., pp. 251–256.

⁸⁷ VACULÍK, Karol. *Goticke umenie na Slovensku. Katalóg výstavy Zvolenský zámok, máj – október 1975*. Bratislava: SNG, 1975, p. 79.

⁸⁸ HOMOLKA, Jaromír. Audio recording of a lecture on the altar of St Barbara in Banská Bystrica, delivered as part of a seminar held on 29–30 June 1988 in Levoča dedicated to Master Paul of Levoča. I would like to thank Dr M. Skladaný, CSc. for the mediation of the recording.

⁸⁹ CHLADNÁ, Zuzana. Kaplnka sv. Barbory vo farskom kostole Nanebovzatia Panny Márie v Banskej Bystrici, z aspektov archívno-historického výskumu. In: *Minulosť a prítomnosť Banskej Bystrice I*. Banská Bystrica: Katedra Histórie FHV UMB, Štátna vedecká knižnica, 2005, pp. 133–135.

⁹⁰ CHALUPECKÝ, Ivan. Rezbár Pavol z Levoče, jeho prostredie a rodina. In: *Biografické štúdie 7*, Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1978, p. 117.

⁹¹ KRESÁNEK, Peter. *Ilustrovaná encyklopédia pamiatok*. Bratislava: Simplicissimus, 2009, p. 540.

⁹² ENDRÖDI, Oltárne celky..., pp. 746–747.

⁹³ *Zoznam národných kultúrnych pamiatok s prioritou ochrany a obnovy k 31.07.2017*, p. 35. Accessed 18 July 2019, https://www.pamiatky.sk/Content/Data/File/pamiatkovy_urad/evidencia_pamiatok/Zoznam_NKP_s_prioritou_ochrany_a_obnovy_31_7_2017.pdf

Funding of the Chapel of St Barbara

As mentioned in the introduction, the founder and patron of the chapel had to finance not only the actual construction of the sacral building, but also its later maintenance, as well as pay a regular salary for the clergy who gave sermons for the founders or later patrons.

The Chapel of St Barbara had two relatively large sums earmarked for this purpose. The first amount mentioned in connection with the chapel was 500 florins and the second 1000 florins: not negligible sums at the time. For example, in 1501 the heirs of the burgher of Banská Bystrica sold his manor house, 11 villages and half of the mill he owned in Kostiviarska to the town of Banská Bystrica for 533 florins.⁹⁴

As a third party, the town council supervised the implementation of contracts related to the funding. The first endowment of 500 florins came already from Georg Kegel, son-in-law of the founder of the chapel, who provided it as a principal to the town of Kremnica. We know about the original contract between Banská Bystrica and Georg Kegel only from copies of the relevant documents made in a later period.⁹⁵ As for the money involved, we learn that in 1479, Georg Kegel, son-in-law of Nicholas Plath and wife Dorothea, gave 500 florins to the town of Kremnica on the Three Kings Day, with the provision that the town of Kremnica would send to the Chapel of St Barbara an interest on that sum, quarterly and at its own expense and risk. The interest was to be 25 florins per year,⁹⁶ that is, 5% of the total.

Kremnica appears to have respected these conditions for at least 47 years. For example, a document from 1526 states that Wolfgang Franck, chaplain at the altar of Mary Magdalene⁹⁷ in the Chapel of St Barbara in Banská Bystrica, confirms that he received from Kremnica town council a fee for a quarter of 1526, worth almost 7 florins.⁹⁸ However, it can be assumed that this was one of the last payments made. The reason is that during this period, the overall climate in Banská Bystrica and also in other Central Slovak mining towns, radically changed under the influence of domestic and foreign political events. In these confusing times, Reformation ideas spread very quickly, finding a positive response from both miners and burghers. Although the town of Kremnica states that it was in a difficult financial situation, it probably tried to take advantage of this radical change in religious circumstances in mining towns to finally rid itself of the regular payment of interest.⁹⁹ The town of Banská Bystrica did not accept the reasons proffered by the Kremnica town council and insisted on further payment of contributions. This began a long period of disputes over both the principal and the interest payable. From

⁹⁴ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 330, p. 105.

⁹⁵ MVSR – Štátne archív v Banskej Bystrici – pracovisko archív Kremnica (hereinafter referred to as the ŠA BB PAK) fond Magistrát mesta Kremnica (hereinafter referred to as the MMK) I 19, 1,19 I would like to thank doc. M. Skladaný, CSc. for the mediation of the document.

⁹⁶ BELANSKY, Divina..., p. 322. MVSR – ŠA BB PAK, MMK I 19, 1,19.

⁹⁷ „Wir richter und rathmanne der stadt Cremnitz bekennen vnd thuen khundt öffentlich jn krafft dieses briefes allen vnd ietzlichen den er fukhumbt, das wir mit wissen vnd verantwortung der gantzen gemein vngesundert vnd eintrechig zu mercklicher notdurff nuetz vnd gedein entpfangen erhebet vnd in vnser gewalt genommen haben von dem erbarn Georg Kegel, aidem etwan des ersamen Niclass Platten säligen vnd der tugentsamen frauwen Dorothea seiner gelassenen wittib burgerin im Newensoll vngerische rothe gutte gerecht an wags vnd strich funffhundert gulden in khauffweise, dawon wir jährlich zu der Capelln Sanct Barbara, gebaut jn dem Newensoll, zu der seitten der Pfarrkirchen vnser lieben Frauwen, dienen vnd zinsen sollen, pflichtig sein vnd wollen rothgulden funffhundzwanzig zu viertljares viertail dientt vnsaumlich in dem Newensoll auff vnser eigene rehung muhe vnd abentewer ausrichten vnd erlegen.“

⁹⁸ Smaller altar, originally situated in the Chapel of St Barbara.

⁹⁹ RATKOŠ, Dokumenty..., document no. 90, pp. 166–167. Also available and accessed 13 July 2019, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/307061/?list=eyJxdWVyeSI6ICJrXHUwMGUxcG9sbmEgYmFyYmFyYSJ9>

⁹⁹ In the case of a regular payment to the Chapel, approximately 1,175 florins were paid out over 47 years by Kremnica, which far exceeded the value of the original principal.

1527, the archive documents of the town of Banská Bystrica contain regular requests from the town of Kremnica for termination of the regular payments to the Chapel of St Barbara.¹⁰⁰

The dispute was not only at intercity level. Representatives of the Esztergom Archdiocese also became involved in the ongoing dispute. This increased interest on the part of the Catholic Church can be associated with the beginning of recatholization. One of its goals was to regain an overview of the state of the original property of the church, including any endowments that were in Protestant use at that time.¹⁰¹ In 1560, the dispute over the financing of the chapel was brought before the Trnava Church Court.¹⁰² Two documents written in Trnava, from May and August of that year, recurrently state the false claim that Kremnica did not pay interest for about 78 years.¹⁰³ According to the description of Kremnica's reactions to the dispute, it can be concluded that the people of Kremnica considered the whole process annoying.

The first document from 1560 is dated 22 May 1560, and was issued in Trnava. Through a public notary who had the power of attorney from the Archdiocese of Esztergom, the genesis of the entire case (with inaccuracies) was presented to the representatives of the Church Court of the Esztergom Archdiocese. The reason for bringing the dispute to the Church Court of the Esztergom Archdiocese can be deciphered in a sentence stating that "the care of churches and altars and other religious places also affects the Reverend Archbishop of Esztergom".¹⁰⁴

The hearing of arguments from both parties was set for 16 July of the same year. On the basis of the aforementioned dispute, the people of Kremnica were then called upon to pay the interest for the entire period in question and, in addition, to return the principal and pay the court costs. The representatives of Kremnica did not appear at the hearing, but instead sent a document under the seal of the town through a prosecutor, challenging the legal validity of the accusation and the validity of the plaintiff's decree. The date was again postponed to the first day of August. However, no decision was taken on that date either, as the Kremnica representative had submitted in writing a list of their objections and observations on the pleadings filed. The prosecutor, a representative of the Esztergom Archdiocese, took until 14 August to respond to the objections presented to him. The lawyer for Kremnica was not satisfied with the counter-argumentation of the prosecutor, and with the comments already described, he expressed the town's intention to bring the matter to the attention of the Supreme Royal Judge, based on the fact that the dispute was considered mundane by the Kremnica people.¹⁰⁵ This was actually the reason for the creation of a second document dated 14 August 1560, addressed even to the Supreme Royal Judge Andreas de Bathor.¹⁰⁶ The reaction of the Royal Judge, or even the judgment, is not currently known. It is likely, however, that the situation was resolved either in the church or in the Royal Court.

¹⁰⁰ JURKOVIČ, *Dejiny...*, p. 73. Such documents are, for example, dated 12 August 1545 and 1557. ŠA BB, MBB facs. 895 no. 62 (10–24 September 1557)

¹⁰¹ See in more detail MIČKOVÁ, Zuzana. Cirkevné dejiny baníckej osady Špania Dolina s dôrazom na konfessionálne pomery v 16. a 17. storočí In: *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vol. VII(2) 2016 pp. 14–28.

¹⁰² As is well known, the Archbishopric of Esztergom was forced to move to Trnava in 1543.

¹⁰³ MVSR – ŠA BB PAK, MMK I 19, 1, 19.

¹⁰⁴ MVSR – ŠA BB PAK, MMK I 19, 1, 19. Four years later, in 1564 the Archbishop of Esztergom Nicolaus Olahus published a resolution of the Council of Trent at the Synod in Trnava. According to one of the conclusions, the ancient duty of bishops to visit their dioceses should be restored, thus controlling and recording their condition.

¹⁰⁵ MVSR – ŠA BB PAK, MMK I 19, 1, 19

¹⁰⁶ MVSR – ŠA BB PAK, MMK I 19, 1, 19

Other documents dated 1572,¹⁰⁷ 1584¹⁰⁸ and 1586 from the Banská Bystrica City Archive show that Kremnica was still asking for the remission of the current debt of the Chapel of St Barbara in subsequent decades. In a review and testimony document dated 6 May 1586, the city of Kremnica itself acknowledges that this amount has not been paid for many years and, due to the depletion of the municipal treasury, asks to be forgiven this amount of capital so that the town of Banská Bystrica would remit not only the remaining interest of many years but also the most of the capital withheld. The town of Banská Bystrica renewed the debt obligation, forgiving the town of Kremnica half the disputed amount. Interest was to be paid at a rate of 20 florins per year. Kremnica promised that if the town council of Banská Bystrica was ever attacked by the church for a financial remittance, Kremnica would defend it at its own expense.¹⁰⁹

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the whole case was again dredged up by the Jesuits. For example, Wolfgang Ebenhöch, Rector of the Jesuit College and parish priest in Banská Bystrica from 1752 to 1756, prepared a document containing basic information about the state of the parish, in preparation for a visitation from Bishop Bathany. This document mentioned the former patronage rights and benefits relating to church institutions in Banská Bystrica, with an emphasis on financial resources. Immediately, in the second paragraph of the document, the endowments of the Chapel of St Barbara are described. At the end of the document, the author emphasises that he had already highlighted the facts of this case in the previous year with complaints and accounts.¹¹⁰ In 1758, another Jesuit, Adam Reinwald,¹¹¹ who had taken over the office of Rector, followed Ebenhöch in also claiming interest on the entire sum of 500 florins. Once again, the dispute was brought before the Church Court in Bratislava, which asked the Rector for all available documents for consideration. These were submitted on 16 February 1758. After examination of the available documents, a decision was issued on 9 June 1760. The ruling recognised the validity of the contract of 1586 in which Kremnica was forgiven 250 florins, but also acknowledged Kremnica's obligation to continue contributing to the chapel. The new debenture bond entered into force.¹¹² The fulfilment of this bond is not mentioned again in the documents. Kremnica did not pay the money this time either, but at least it issued a bond, which eventually was replaced in February 1769.¹¹³ After the dissolution of the Jesuit Order, the whole agenda was transferred to the newly established Bishopric of Banská Bystrica. The last time the case came to life was during a visitation from the Bishop of Banská Bystrica, Joseph Belanszky, in 1829. The bishop mentions that he vainly searched in archival documents for a definitive payment of the last fixed amount of 250 florins.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ MVSR – ŠA BB, MBB fasc. 895 no. 61

¹⁰⁸ JURKOVIČ, *Dejiny...*, pp. 73–74.

¹⁰⁹ BELANSZKY, *Divina...*, pp. 323–324.

¹¹⁰ MVSR – ŠA BB, MBB fasc. 360 no. 5

¹¹¹ Reinwald worked in the office of the Rector and pastor in the years 1756–1759.

¹¹² BELANSZKY, *Divina...*, pp. 323–324.

¹¹³ JURKOVIČ, *Dejiny...*, p. 74; BELANSZKY, *Divina...*, pp. 323–324.

¹¹⁴ BELANSZKY, *Divina...*, p. 325.

Another endowment, of 1,000 florins, was donated to the Chapel of St Barbara by Barbara Glöcknitzer, daughter of Benedict Glöcknitzer.¹¹⁵ The testamentary legacy of Barbara Glöcknitzer can be found in later documents, from the visitations and subsequently the schematism, which drew from visitations. Barbara is also associated with the oldest preserved epitaph located in the Chapel of St Barbara. A member of the Glöcknitzer family, pictured in the relief of the epitaph, she died, according to date on the epitaph, in 1513.¹¹⁶ In that same year, we encounter Barbara twice in the town archives. On 4 July, she is mentioned in connection with the handing over to her brothers Nicholas and Wolfgang of an inheritance share from her parents' property, which she administered together with her late husband Peterman. Their parents' real estate was divided into three parts, with Barbara retaining the right to use the house for the remainder of her life.¹¹⁷ The second mention is from 11 July the same year, when the Glöcknitzer family handed over to Barbara's sister-in-law – Peterman's sister – her deceased brother's legacy. After examining the original text of this record, Hungarian art historian G. Endrődi concludes that Barbara is referred to in the document as deceased.¹¹⁸

Despite being married twice, Barbara Glöcknitzer left no heirs from either husband. There seems to have been considerable interest in the disposal of the property of her first husband, Peterman (who died somewhere between May 1508 and August 1512). Records from the period document interest not only from the heirs of the Glöcknitzer, but also from the town and even the monarch, who sought this property as escheat.¹¹⁹ As a widow, Barbara was entitled to receive at least a morning gift from her husband's inheritance, and also the 1,000 florin endowment for the chapel testifies to her financial security. If a burgher without an heir died, there was a possibility that all living relatives would inherit equally. Thus, if Barbara was indeed the woman depicted in the epitaph in the Chapel of St Barbara who died in 1513, there is a high probability that, based on the aforementioned example, her second marriage to Francis Roth (a burgher of Krakow) was undertaken in order to keep Peterman's property within the

¹¹⁵ In the Glöcknitzer family, we come across two Barbaras who lived about the same time. One was the daughter of Benedict Glöcknitzer, whose brothers were Nicholas Glöcknitzer and Wolfgang Glöcknitzer. Barbara was married twice. Her first husband, Peterman, was a burgher of Banská Bystrica and her second husband, Francis Roth, was a burgher of Krakow and at some time also a factor in the service of the Thurzos and the Fuggers. The second Barbara in the family was the widow of Gregor Mühlstein, who married Nicholas, son of Benedict Glöcknitzer and brother of Barbara and Wolfgang Glöcknitzer. Since Nicholas died relatively early, she married the third time to Henrich Kindlinger.

¹¹⁶ The broken text lining the epitaph is as follows:

....ARA.QUE. IACET,HIC,INO
....SSIA.MATER. CLARA. FVIT. VITA. RELIGIONE.FIDE.CVI.FVIT.IN
PR....DNO.SERVIRE.SVPERNO
HOC.IACEO.DVRO.PVLVIS.ET.VMBRA.LOCO.AN.1.5.1.3....

In the literature we also encounter the name Claire. This misunderstanding arises because the word CLARA is retained in the epitaph text. However, this is a Latin adjective of the feminine gender, which relates to the word VITA or MATER. Clarus, -a, -um – famous, excellent. In the 1829 visitation, it is even mentioned as a clue that the verse on the epitaph edging is written in hexameter and that the name Barbara fits into the scheme of this metric verse. BELANSZKY, Divina..., pp. 105–106.

¹¹⁷ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 386, 387, 388, 389, p. 124.

¹¹⁸ ENDRÓDI, Grosse Kunst..., p.16 and p. 42.

¹¹⁹ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 380, p. 122.

the Glöcknitzer family and their other relatives after Barbara's death.¹²⁰

After she died, the 1,000 florin endowment for the chapel was for some time managed by Barbara's brother, Wolfgang Glocknitzer, together with Francis Roth.¹²¹ After 1526, they both spent more time living in Krakow than in Banská Bystrica.

Until 1568, the money left by Barbara was still under the management of Wolfgang Glöcknitzer. A record dated 13 July 1568 sets out a testamentary legacy in which Wolfgang Glöcknitzer commits his heirs to pay one florin a week for the chaplain of the chapel. For this purpose, he leaves his heirs gardens, fields and meadows in Karlovo¹²² and part of his copper ore mine in Piesky (Sandberg).¹²³ However, the payment of interest was problematic for the heirs. In 1588, specifically on 16 November, Glöcknitzer's heirs concluded a contract with the town as an owner, that they would hand over the inherited part of the mine at Piesky to cover the capital and the remaining 800 florins, which would amply cover this and other debts.¹²⁴ In return, they asked for a permanent place for themselves and their heirs in the crypt of the Chapel of St Barbara. The town thus officially became the owner of a part of the copper mine and took on the obligation to provide regular funds for the Chapel of St Barbara. How long the town fulfilled this obligation for is unknown to us. In 1755, as was the case with the first endowment, this long-unused source of finance was brought to attention by the Rector of the Jesuit College, Wolfgang Ebenhöch. In the document, he even calls for damages from the town dating back to the time the Jesuit fathers replaced the chaplain of the chapel.¹²⁵ We learn about the existence of the endowment from subsequent visitations, but no information about payment has been recorded.

It is obvious that the town tried to shuck off this commitment at opportune moments, and had little interest in being associated with it at all. On this issue, it is necessary to add that since its foundation the chapel has also been financed in parallel from smaller financial donations and resources, such as contributions from believers and church tithes.

Conclusion

The Chapel of St Barbara and the altar of St Barbara, thought to be the work of Master Paul of Levoča, is a part of the cultural heritage of the Slovak Republic. The architectural and historical development of the chapel or the artistic-historical aspects of the chapel and its furnishings are still topical issues. In a broader context, however, our investigations of the archives have revealed other, no less interesting information. Through the lens of documents pertaining to the chapel, we have discovered much about the interconnection between the various burgher families, both in terms of business and family ties. From the chapel's history, it is also possible to observe the religious life of the town, in correlation with phenomena such as the Reformation and the subsequent counter-Reformation and recatholization periods. It is also interesting to observe the financial affairs of the chapel, which throw up questions about

¹²⁰ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 773, p. 261. In the catalogue of administrative and court documents from Ctibor Matulay, there is a record of a document dated 3 January 1528, which states that Francis Roth will donate the inheritance third he received after the death of his wife Barbara, formerly the widow of Petermann. This is not related to the 1,000 florins.

¹²¹ BELANSZKY, Divina..., p. 327.

¹²² Part of Banská Bystrica.

¹²³ BELANSZKY, Divina..., p. 326, MVSR – ŠA BB, MBB fasc. 286 no. 93

¹²⁴ BELANSZKY, Divina..., p. 326, JURKOVIČ, Dejiny..., p. 73., ŠA BB, MBB fasc. 17 no. 1

¹²⁵ MVSR – ŠA BB, MBB fasc. 360 no. 5

the motivations of the donors of large funds. The ultimate fate of the endowments proves that they were significant funds even several centuries later, as they repeatedly attracted the attention of church leaders.

We believe that this type of research is a valuable way to study the monuments of our ancestors. Indeed, by exploring the broader context and relationships, we can gain an understanding of the spirit of time and place, which clearly enriches our cultural heritage, whether tangible or intangible.

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The population of Imereti, Mingrelia, and Guria in the first half of the nineteenth century: lifestyles and morals

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The population of Imereti, Mingrelia, and Guria in the first half of the nineteenth century: lifestyles and morals

This paper examines the lifestyles and morals of certain Georgian tribes in the Northwestern Caucasus. The focus is on tribes such as the Imeretians, Mingrelians, and Gurians. The authors draw upon a 13-volume work entitled *Acta of the Caucasian Archeographic Commission*, as well as a pool of materials from Russian ethnographic expeditions compiled into a work entitled *The Peoples of Russia*. The authors conclude by stating that adjoining areas in the western part of the former Georgian kingdom were home to three Georgian tribes, which were very much alike: the Imeretians, Mingrelians, and Gurians. These tribes formed a sort of enclave, as many of their national traditions echoed those of their neighbours. Yet each of their traditions also contained features that were exclusive to one ethnicity alone, making the population of these tribes unique in their lifestyles and customs. Having said that, the

tribes' neighbours, such as the Abkhaz, Circassians, and Khevsurs, had lifestyles and customs that were similarly typical of their specific particular ethnicities alone.

Keywords: Imeretia, Mingrelia, Guria, population, first half of the nineteenth century, traditions

Introduction

Following the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774, based on the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji, signed in 1774 between Russia and Turkey, the latter renounced its claim to Georgia and recognised the independence of the Georgian kingdom, as well as that of Imereti, Mingrelia, and Guria. In the early nineteenth century, Imereti was a kingdom, while Mingrelia and Guria were principalities. These territories were inhabited by Mingrelians, Imeretians, and Gurians, who were part of the Kartvelian language group.

Materials and methods

The research presented here draws upon a 13-volume work entitled *Acta of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission* (AKAK, 1866–1904) and a pool of materials from Russian ethnographic expeditions compiled into a work entitled *The Peoples of Russia*¹, as well as some archive documents from the period in question².

The study's methodological basis is grounded in the principles of historicism, research objectivity, and systemicity, which are traditional in historiography. The authors employed comparative methods to gain insight into the customs and traditions of the three tribes under consideration—the Imereti, the Mingrelia, and the Guria—by comparing them with those of neighbouring tribes in the Caucasus, such as the Abkhaz, Circassians, and Khevsurs. This method made it possible to identify common and distinctive features in the tribes' traditions.

Discussion and results

1. Habitat and way of life

The Imereti

In 1804, King Solomon II of Imereti entered into an allegiance with Russia. However, in 1810 he rebelled and attacked the Russian troops. He was eventually defeated and forced to flee to Turkey, and from March 1810, Imereti was regarded as a Russian province³.

Imereti is situated partly in the mountains and partly in a valley formed by the River Rioni. The rivers that flow from the mountains into the valley are fast and not navigable, and although they are rich in fish, formerly the residents did not trade in it to any great degree. The landscape is diverse: mostly rocky hills composed of clay and chernozem, a rich and fertile black soil. The valleys along the rivers are of mixed bedrock.

In the nineteenth century, houses in Imereti were heated only by a fireplace; the windows had no glass or even paper to cover them.

The area's residents were made a sufficient living from agriculture, with surplus output (which included wheat, barley, millet, and green bristlegrass) taken to Poti, where they would

¹ Народы России [The peoples of Russia]. V 8 t. T. 4. Sankt-Peterburg, 1879.

² Статистическое описание Закавказского края [Statistical description of the Transcaucasian region]. Сост. О. Евстахий. V 2 ч. Ч. 1. SPb., 1835.

³ Статистическое описание Закавказского края [Statistical description of the Transcaucasian region]. Сост. О. Евстахий. V 2 ч. Ч. 1. SPb., 1835, p. 155.

obtain salt, iron, and other products in exchange. Trade was mainly conducted by Armenians and Jews (most of whom who had relocated into the area from Akhaltsikhe)⁴.

Most Imeretians lived on extremely scant income, including under the last king, Solomon II. This was mainly due to poor administration, and a system where almost all squires and members of the clergy possessed imperial charters exempting them from paying tribute⁵.

According to the data on 1782, during the early reign of Solomon I, Imereti had a population of 113,000 across 18,980 households. Under Solomon II, the area's population began to decline. The region suffered a plague epidemic and famine in this period, which significantly decreased its population^{6,7}. Based on documents preserved from that period, by 1 March 1812, Imereti had lost a total of 32,750 people to famine and disease, with 7,450 people migrating to neighbouring areas, taking the epidemic with them to Mingrelia, Guria, and Abkhazia⁸. As a consequence, by 1817 the number of households in the region had declined to 12,730, and its population stood at just under 76,000. By 1835, the population had started to recover, with 100,400 residents across 15,260 households⁹.

King Solomon I was aware that the sale of captives to the Turks as slaves was exhausting his dominions. Backed by the Russian government, the king did all in his power to put an end to the harmful and shameful trade in people. Meanwhile, in Mingrelia, in the dominion of Prince Dadiani, traders continued to move captives out through Poti and Abkhazia¹⁰.

Profiting this way, which became a custom, was regarded as a good thing. The logic behind this was simple: he who kidnapped and sold more people could keep more armed subjects and thus enrich himself further^{11,12}. Requests to obtain the right to trade in women had been made by many Black Sea tribes in the Caucasus, with the Jigets, who neighboured the Abkhaz, being no exception¹³. Of all the Black Sea Circassian tribes, the Jigets were the only ones who had peaceful relations with Russia, for which they were allowed the right to travel to Mecca on foreign passports.

⁴ Akty Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii [Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission]. V 12 t. T. 2. Tiflis, 1868, p. 407.

⁵ Akty Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii [Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission]. V 12 t. T. 5. Tiflis, 1873, p. 474.

⁶ ERMACHKOV, I.A.; KOROLEVA, L.A.; SVECHNIKOVA, N.V.; GUT, J. The plague in the Caucasus in 1801-1815 years: Part I. In: *Bylye Gody*. 2018. 47(1), pp. 120-129.

⁷ ERMACHKOV, I.A.; KOROLEVA, L.A.; SVECHNIKOVA, N.V.; GUT, J. The plague in the Caucasus in 1801-1815 years: Part II. In: *Bylye Gody*. 2018. 48(2), pp. 558-569.

⁸ Akty Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii [Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission]. V 12 t. T. 5. Tiflis, 1873, p. 98.

⁹ Statisticheskoe opisanie Zakavkazskogo kraya [Statistical description of the Transcaucasian region]. Sost. O. Evetskii. V 2 ch. Ch. 1. SPb., 1835, p. 156.

¹⁰ Akty Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii [Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission]. V 12 t. T. 2. Tiflis, 1868, p. 409.

¹¹ CHERKASOV, A.A.; Ivantsov, V.G.; Šmigel', M.; Bratanovskii, S.N. Evolution of the Institution of the Slave Trade in the Caucasus in the IV-XIX centuries. In: *Bylye Gody*. 2018. Vol. 50. Is. 4: 1334-1346.

¹² ŠMIGEL', M.; CHERKASOV, A.A. The Slavery in Circassia and the United States (1850-1860-ies years): General and Special. In: *Bylye Gody*, 2016, Vol. 42, Is. 4, pp. 1182-1197.

¹³ CHERKASOV, A.A.; SHMIGEL, M.; BRATANOVSKII, S.N.; MOLCHANOV, V.S. Jikis and Jiketi in Conditions of War and Peace (1840-1860 years). In: *Bylye Gody*, 2015, 38(4), pp. 888-893.

Guria

In the period between the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Guria constituted a separate principality. Prior to 1810, when the ruler of Guria entered into an allegiance with Russia, the Gurians were allies with the Ottoman Empire and served not only as the Turks' guides but as their associates in frequent incursions into the dominions of Mingrelia and Imereti, and as a result of this became intimately linked with them in morals and beliefs¹⁴.

When Guria entered into allegiance with Russia, the Russian government introduced strict regulations; the population met these rules with resentment, regarding them as encroaching upon their freedom and as the primary cause of their impoverishment. The problem was that, in essence, engaging in the capture and sale of people, which was now strictly forbidden and prosecuted by the Russians, was their only source of income¹⁵.

Based on the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), Russia received only a part of Guria—an area extending up to the River Natanebi—with a male population of 17,000 (the total population of Guria in the mid-1830s was 36,700)¹⁶, while the rest of the region (Kobuleti) was left to Turkey¹⁷.

In the period 1802–1806, the Gurians, like most of the other mountain tribes, hardly ever missed an opportunity to capture peasants and their children to sell as slaves to Turkey. The princes were engaged in the same type of trade, kidnapping each other's subjects with a view to selling them into slavery¹⁸. An old tradition, capturing and selling people into slavery was a key source of income at the time.

Mingrelia

In 1801, the ruler of Mingrelia, Prince Grigol Dadiani, offered the region up to Russia for protectorship. As a result, the ruler was received into Russian allegiance, and in December of 1803 he was sworn in along with his people¹⁹.

The situation that followed in Mingrelia, while different from that in neighbouring Imereti and Guria, which became part of Russia in the period 1803–1804, would predetermine the long process of the principality's induction into Russia's political-legal space. As a consequence, Mingrelia would remain autonomous up until the 1850s²⁰.

Mingrelia was composed of two major districts. One of them, Odishi, was separated from the other, Lechkhumi, by the River Tskhenistsqali. Odishi was situated in a valley irrigated by multiple streams. In spring, most of Odishi would be covered with water from rain and

¹⁴ CHERKASOV, A.A.; IVANTSOV, V.G.; ŠMIGEL, M.; BRATANOVSKII, S.N. Evolution of the Institution of the Slave Trade in the Caucasus in the IV–XIX centuries. In: *Bylye Gody*. 2018. Vol. 50. Is. 4, p. 1339.

¹⁵ Akty Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii [Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission]. V 12 t. T. 10. Tiflis, 1885, pp. 263–264.

¹⁶ Statisticheskoe opisanie Zakavkazskogo kraya [Statistical description of the Transcaucasian region]. Sost. O. Evetskii. V 2 ch. Ch. 1. SPb., 1835, p. 25.

¹⁷ Akty Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii [Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission]. V 12 t. T. 10. Tiflis, 1885, p. 263.

¹⁸ Akty Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii [Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission]. V 12 t. T. 2. Tiflis, 1868, p. 408.

¹⁹ CHERKASOV, A.A.; KOROLEVA, L.A.; BRATANOVSKII, S.N.; VALLEAU, A. The Abkhazian and Mingrelian principalities: Historical and demographic research. In: *Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo Universiteta, Istorija*. 2018. 63(4), pp. 1006.

²⁰ IVANTSOV, V.G.; MAKAROV, Y.N.; ZIMOVETS, L.G.; SHEVCHENKO, N.A. The Policy of the Tsarist Authorities to Involve Mingrelia in the Political and Legal Space of the Russian Empire (1774–1857). In: *Bylye Gody*. 2018. Vol. 49. Is. 3, pp. 1019–1027.

snowmelt, and the villages would have to communicate by boat. In some places, there was so much mud that even horsemen were often unable to pass through. Near the coast of the Black Sea, the ground never dried completely, and was covered with tangled thorns.

The region's arable farming mainly incorporated crops such as corn, millet, and green bristlegrass. Harvests were quite profuse (at times yields were 40–60 times the amount planted). Grapes were grown throughout the area.

Despite this, most of the residents lived in poverty, suffering not so much from famine but from oppression by their rulers, as well as military action between the King of Imereti and Mingrelia's sovereign Prince Dadiani²¹.

The other region of Mingrelia, Lechkhumi, was situated higher up in the mountains, intersected by several valleys. The shortage of arable land curbed population growth. It was very hard to get into Lechkhumi through the mountains even on horseback²².

The Mingrelians practiced hardly any horticulture, except for grape farming. The residents contented themselves with whatever they could obtain from nature, like sweet cherry, tart cherry, pears, peaches, apricots, chestnuts, walnuts, pomegranates, and so on, all of which grew without any human input.

The forests of Lechkhumi, most of which were situated in hard-to-reach areas, were quite generous, containing oak, ash, maple, various nuts, and amply tall, thick plane trees²³.

Lechkhumi had 11 fortified castles built upon impregnable ridges. Of these, five were owned by the king of Imereti, three by Dadiani, and the rest by the other princes. The princes of Lechkhumi, in pursuit of their own gain, would alternately take sides with the king and with Dadiani, altering their oath²⁴.

Lifestyles in both Imereti and Mingrelia were quite down-to-earth. There was little difference in food variety between the nobles, the ruling princes, and the sovereign princes. However, there were differences in clothing. The princes wore silver chains from which hung a horn for gunpowder, various pouches for weapons, and a sabre²⁵.

Internally, Mingrelia was being torn apart by brigandage and plunder, which even Dadiani's relatives took part in. This weakened Dadiani's power to the point where the sovereign did not dare to punish criminals for fear that the ruling princes would turn their backs on him in wartime.

It cost the sovereigns in both Imereti and Mingrelia little to maintain their troops. In peacetime, each prince would maintain a group of armed individuals who were always prepared for war, and during campaigns they would always share their loot with the princes²⁶.

It is hard to determine the exact size of revenue in Imereti and Mingrelia. Presumably, the state's revenue was not very high. The people mainly paid tribute in the form of livestock, bread,

²¹ Akty Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii [Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission]. V 12 t. T. 2. Tiflis, 1868, p. 408.

²² Akty Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii [Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission]. V 12 t. T. 2. Tiflis, 1868, p. 408.

²³ Akty Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii [Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission]. V 12 t. T. 2. Tiflis, 1868, p. 408.

²⁴ Akty Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii [Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission]. V 12 t. T. 2. Tiflis, 1868, p. 409.

²⁵ Akty Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii [Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission]. V 12 t. T. 2. Tiflis, 1868, p. 409.

²⁶ Akty Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii [Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission]. V 12 t. T. 2. Tiflis, 1868, p. 409.

and wine to provide for the needs of the sovereigns and members of their court. Records show that the sovereigns would normally live off this kind of tribute in particular villages which they visited and stayed at, and that this had become a tradition²⁷.

For instance, Prince Dadiani²⁸ of Mingrelia would reside in villages next to the River Rioni during the fishing period; then would move to Odish to hunt pheasants, deer, wild goats, and boars; and every time the heat set in he would relocate higher up the mountains, to Lechkhumi²⁹.

As regards the nobles, by and large they remained relatively poor, unable to completely satisfy their need for luxury. To increase their income, they would oppress their own peasants or oppress and rob their weaker neighbours³⁰.

This state of affairs lasted up until the 1830s, when the Russian leadership introduced measures whereby arbitrary exactions from peasants were replaced with fixed tribute. In 1835, nobles in Georgia, Imereti, Guria, and other regions of Transcaucasia were declared independent from the princes³¹.

2. Customs, holidays, and superstitions

Customs

Since the earliest times, the populations of Imereti, Mingrelia, Guria, and Georgia as a whole have been committed to hospitality and looking after their guests. Before a wayfarer even pulled in, the householder would be already on his way to greet them. And if it was night-time, they would approach the guest with a torch in their hand, hurrying to take their *bashlyk* (felt caps) and *burka* (sheepskin capes). Traditions related to hospitality were also widespread both in Abkhazia and in Circassia³².

As soon as the guest alighted from the horse, servants would show them to the *saklia*, a little house for them to stay in. A few minutes later, the householder's son or other close relative would offer to wash the guest's feet. Most guests would probably decline this. Next, a table would be brought in for a repast (a *supra*), with the guest joined by the householder, who would greet and salute them³³.

The locals were hearty eaters. A *supra* (literally “tablecloth”) would involve setting up a long light table, with several breads and various dishes laid out on it. Primary among these was *gomia*, a type of millet porridge. Gomia was cooked without salt, served hot, and was a light and pleasant addition to salted items like cheese and fish.

Abundant and diverse meals made with capons and chicken, which Mingrelia was especially famed for throughout the South Caucasus, were among the most prominent on the table. Curd pies, cheese, various fragrant herbs, *lobia* (large lentils with peppers), and corn *chureks*

²⁷ Akty Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii [Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission]. V 12 t. T. 2. Tiflis, 1868, p. 407.

²⁸ Levan Dadiani was a lieutenant general in the Russian service.

²⁹ Akty Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi komissii [Acts of the Caucasian Archaeographic Commission]. V 12 t. T. 2. Tiflis, 1868, p. 409.

³⁰ Statisticheskoe opisanie Zakavkazskogo kraya [Statistical description of the Transcaucasian region]. Sost. O. Evetskii. V 2 ch. Ch. 1. SPb., 1835, p. 36.

³¹ Statisticheskoe opisanie Zakavkazskogo kraya [Statistical description of the Transcaucasian region]. Sost. O. Evetskii. V 2 ch. Ch. 1. SPb., 1835, p. 243.

³² CHERKASOV, A.A.; IVANTSOV, V.G.; SMIGEL, M.; MOLCHANNOVA, V.S. The Daily Life and Morals of Circassian Society: A Historical-Comparative Investigation based on sources from the period between the Mid-16th and the First Half of the 19th centuries. In: *Brukenthal. Acta Musei*, 2015, X. 1: 73-88.

³³ Narody Rossii [The peoples of Russia]. V 8 t. T. 4. Sankt-Peterburg, 1879, p. 404.

(unleavened bread) would all be served at the table. And there was plenty of good wine – in Imereti, Mingrelia, and Guria, it was in abundance. Made from various varieties of grapes, grown in many people's gardens, it would be consumed lavishly from glasses, tumblers, azarpeshas, and mountain-goat horns, which would be drained dry in no time. In Guria, a dinner would normally be concluded with everyone's favourite – a milk porridge with cinnamon and sugar. Various fruits, such as freshly-picked grapes, quince, and pomegranates, along with nuts such as walnuts and chestnuts, would be served for dessert.

Holidays

While most of the holidays in Imeretia, Mingrelia, and Guria were organized and celebrated in a similar way to those of the Georgians, the inhabitants of those regions brought to them a distinctive nature, while some of the festivals were purely local. For instance, on New Year's Eve, a time of unbridled revelry in Guria, the locals would often arrange a tag sale and use the proceeds to have a good time during the festival. Those who were unfit to celebrate the New Year in a proper fashion were regarded as most unfortunate persons.

On New Year's Eve, households which only had a pig would slaughter it and cook it. In the evening, village residents (not including wives and children) would take to the square, staying there all night long, playing games, singing, and shooting rifles, waiting impatiently for the morning, when a special ceremony related to the exchange of felicitations would take place.

On the first day of Lent, women in Guria would make several dough balls, the size of an eye, place them on a plate surrounded by lit wax candles, and then pray to God asking him to keep those who caught smallpox unharmed. They would then throw the balls into the water. On that day, anyone who had not yet had smallpox would not comb their hair, read books, or sew, because, according to folklore, one would have as many pockmarks and spots on the body as there were teeth in a comb, letters in a book, or stiches made while sewing.

During the St Thomas Week holiday³⁴, the Imeretians would play a special ballgame, using a laced ball the size of a watermelon. It was not just an everyday, harmless sport but the subject of public respect and even superstition. On the second day of the holiday, the people would split into two groups. At the sound of a *buki* (a trumpet), a vested priest would appear with a ball on a silver tray. The ball would be thrown into the middle of the field by one of the community's honoured elders. The two sides would then rush in to try to take possession of it and get it to a designated spot. The winning side would receive honour and glory from the community and were believed to expect bounty and luck throughout the year. Of course, since everyone aspired to achieve that kind of happiness, these games tended to be tightly contested. The players would throw the ball to each other, now vanishing into the melee, now reappearing to the crowd's deafening clamour. The custom was that the ball would afterwards be cut into several pieces, which would then be given to the householders. Anyone who received a piece of the ball would expect bounty, generous harvests, and so on in the coming year. It has been suggested that Imeretian kings had created this game to encourage the people to exercise and keep fit in case they were called up for military service³⁵.

³⁴ St Thomas Week (Antipascha) is the week that follows Easter (named after St Thomas the Apostle).

³⁵ Narody Rossii [The peoples of Russia]. V 8 t. T. 4. Sankt-Peterburg, 1879, p. 405.

Etiquette

Respect for older people has been a fundamental value in Imereti, Mingrelia, and Guria. Traditionally an adult son would not sit down without permission in front of his father, or while in the company of a respected elder. Although children normally had dinner together with their parents, they would, as if the repast was attended by special guests, never talk loudly or say immodest things in front of their parents or other adults.

The elder brother in a family, especially if the father had died, would become the head of the household and enjoy the respect of not just his siblings but his mother as well, who, while yielding to his will and complying with his directives, would also be treated with respect by him and be empowered to ask him for favours. In Guria, this characteristic was so subtle that a family's younger members regarded it as their obligation to not just obey their father or brother but tend to them alongside the servants.

The family principle, founded on respect for older people, extended into society, and was reflected in the sovereign's treatment of his subjects and the peasants' treatment of their master.

In Mingrelia, there was a special custom for greeting each other. Whenever a prince or a nobleman met a peasant, the peasant would not bow to them until the former said "Hello"³⁶. There was also a special etiquette for when two equal individuals—or individuals wishing to show each other signs of courtesy and civility—met, with each trying to let the other have the honour of bowing first. When such individuals met, they would insistently ask, or even implore, each other to bow first, but civility and decorum required that each refuse that kind of honour in no less a stubborn manner. After a heated debate, which would normally last for a few minutes, the individuals would bow to each other all at once and part amicably. It was often the case that individuals who met up would argue for a while and then would just part without bowing to each other, indicating thereby that they had a decent upbringing and were equally courteous.

Superstitions

All of the three peoples had many superstitious elements mixed into their Christian beliefs. For instance, the Imeretians did not regard it as a sin if someone took a false oath, as long as it was not done in front of an icon (as per their ancient custom) but rather in front of a cross or a bible; they called this type of oath a "Russian oath".³⁷

By resorting the kinds of ruse described above to take a false oath, an indigene would maintain a peace of mind up until they fell sick for the first time, particularly if it happened soon after a false oath. Then, having attributed their illness to the punishment bestowed by the icon on which they had taken a false oath, they would confess to a priest about everything they had done, and afterwards return the thing they had stolen under a false oath to its owner.

The lack of clear understanding of religious principles among the locals had given rise to all kinds of superstitions, some of which were quite preposterous.

Everyone in the tribe was certain of the existence of sorcerers and witches and the latter's ability to curse people, bring about the loss of cattle, and cause other misfortunes.

The locals were most of all scared of curses, for which reason they would wear an amulet, and would not show a newborn baby to anyone for a long time³⁸.

³⁶ Ibid., 1879, p. 406.

³⁷ Ibid., 1879, p. 406.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 407.

Birth, childrearing, and death

Some of these deep-seated superstitions eventually transformed into customs. For example, when a Gurian woman was giving birth, she would be taken to a room with a bare floor on which a bed made of hay was made. Over the bed they would attach a rope where the woman could get hold of it at the very moment of delivery. They would place an icon of the Mother of God at the head of the bed. A priest would recite the gospels all the way until the baby was born, with the husband sitting in the next room. When a boy was born, everyone would rejoice and celebrate by shooting in the air, whilst if it was a girl nothing would happen. The first person to tell the father that it was a son would receive a gift. With some of the other Georgian tribes, such as the Khevsurs and Pshavs, the husband might shoot a firearm next to his pregnant wife's hut so as to induce labour through fright³⁹. Once the shooting was over, the mother would be taken to a different room (which was furnished) and covered with a net to protect her from evil spirits, and a brocade curtain hung in the room. They would place seashells under the pillows.

Prior to a successful delivery, the relatives would all be weeping. On the first night after labour began, the family would stay up all night. Once word of the baby's birth got out, everyone who knew the family would hurry to congratulate them, dressed as an animal or wearing a suit and would drink and have fun together.

In Mingrelia and Guria, they also had a custom of adopting an adult. A person who had a special respect for a certain woman could ask her to adopt them. In Guria, prior to performing the ritual, both the adopter and adoptee would fast for a few days and the adoptee would suck the breast of his adopted mother in the presence of their relatives and close friends. In Mingrelia, observing a preliminary fast was not necessary. In this region, the adopter and adoptee would invite a priest and a few witnesses. The adoptee would kneel down, the adopter would bare her breasts, and the priest would recite a special prayer over them. Then, to affirm their kinship, the adoptee would put one of her nipples in his mouth, and she would place one of her legs on his back. This type of kinship used to be held in high regard amongst the Mingrelians and Gurians, and no carnal relationships were to occur either between the participants in the ritual or between their children. Subsequent to the ritual, they would hold a feast celebrating their newly formed kinship ties⁴⁰.

However, subsequently the above custom would gradually come to be associated with what is known today as foster kinship. The locals still have a custom of having others bring up their newborn children, regardless of the estate, with the child sometimes staying with the other family for up to ten years. At the end of that period, the foster family would bring the foster child back to its biological parents and present them with a gift, while the latter would ply them with gifts several times greater in quantity. Foster kinship used to be regarded as sacred, with the foster family often preferring the foster child over their own children. In no other place would a foster brother or sister enjoy such broad rights as they did in Guria.

Conclusion

Adjoining areas in the western part of the former Georgian kingdom were home to three Georgian tribes, which were very much alike: the Imeretians, Mingrelians, and Gurians. These

³⁹ ERMACHKOV, I. A. et al. Everyday Life and Traditions of the East Georgian Tribes in the Nineteenth Century (Tushins, Pshavy, Khevsurs). In: *Bylye Gody*. 2019. Vol. 51. Is. 1, p. 162.

⁴⁰ Narody Rossii, V 8 t. T. 4., p. 407.

tribes formed a sort of enclave, as many of their national traditions echoed those of their neighbours. Yet each of their traditions also contained features that were exclusive to one ethnicity alone, making the population of these tribes unique in their lifestyles and customs. Having said that, the tribes' neighbours, such as the Abkhaz, Circassians, and Khevsurs, had lifestyles and customs that were similarly typical of their specific particular ethnicities alone.

This is testimony to the Caucasus's genuinely unique make-up, which is something that is worth exploring further.

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The restoration/conservation in Georgia: past, present, future¹

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The restoration/conservation in Georgia: past, present, future

From the end of the 1990s, an issue relating to methodological problems of protection and conservation of specimens of cultural heritage became especially acute in Georgia. At the same time, various kinds of mistakes were observed in restoration and repair works conducted on movable and immovable monuments. Due to recognition of this urgent problem, at the end of 2004, the Rector of Tbilisi Academy of Art initiated the establishment of a Faculty of Restoration, Art History and Theory in the State Academy of Arts of Tbilisi, the aim of which was to establish a scientific basis on which to conduct the conservation-restoration of specimens of cultural heritage, and many steps were taken in this direction.

Keywords: cultural heritage, conservation, development, teaching, Georgia

The cultural heritage of Georgia covers a wide range of material. This includes many movable and immovable monuments which have attracted the interest of researchers since the

¹ This work was supported by the Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation of Georgia [grant number №DP2016_9]

nineteenth century. By the beginning of the twentieth century, these academics had recognized that the issue of the protection of such historical monuments must be prioritized as part of their research. It is widely acknowledged that antiquity requires care-patronage, maintenance and protection. As such, in the 1920s, established societies emerged which were involved in the protection of monuments of cultural heritage. In that period, a comprehensive documentation of monuments was begun, and several monuments were urgently strengthened. After the Second World War, the state took active steps towards protecting cultural heritage, and in 1949–50 a scientific-restoration workshop was founded in Tbilisi, comprising departments for religious and urban architecture and wall paintings. Intensive restoration works were immediately started throughout the country². However, it soon became clear that the field required trained specialists, and in the 1960s restoration programs were initiated at the Faculties of Fine Arts and Architecture in the Academy of Arts of Tbilisi³.

The protection of museum specimens faced similar issues. The first workshop for restoration and conservation of museum specimens existed in Tbilisi at the beginning of the twentieth century. In the 1930s, a restoration and *moulage* workshop was established, which was turned into a chemical restoration workshop a decade later. Specialists working in related fields found they also needed to develop pre-conservation research and diagnostics. This was necessary to attract chemists in the restoration field in the middle of the 1940s. Work was then begun on the chemical composition of specimens, technological schemes of preparation, and diagnostics. These were important steps in developing restoration-conservation science as an independent field, despite the restoration methods of this early period being relatively crude and often irreversible⁴.

It should be noted that while work and teaching in the Georgian restoration school was conducted according to the recognized methodology of monument protection of the period, it was difficult, considering the conditions of the Soviet regime, to keep up with methodological changes in the West, and to face modern challenges facing the field. At the end of the twentieth century, after gaining independence, Georgia was hit by difficult socioeconomic conditions throughout the country. These affected the restoration school which, as a result, dropped significantly behind the international level of modern innovations. Unfortunately, Georgian restoration—and teaching about restoration—remained stuck in the twentieth century with regards to its approaches and methodologies⁵. From the end of the 1990s, methodological problems relating to the protection and conservation of specimens of cultural heritage became particularly acute in Georgia. Meanwhile, it was observed that various types of mistake were being made in restoration and repair works conducted on movable and immovable monuments⁶.

² ELIZBARASHVILI I., SURAMELASHVILI M., CHACHKHUNASHVILI Ts., CHURGHULIA Kh. *Architecture Restoration in Georgia: Historiography, Tradition, Experience Analysis*, Tbilisi: Georgia, 2012, pp. 34–41.

³ It should be noted that Academy of Arts of Tbilisi was, and still remains, the only higher educational institution where restoration is taught.

⁴ KEBULADZE N. *Scientific Grounds of Restoration-Conservation of Archaeological Metal*: Candidate of History Sciences, 07.00.06 / Academy of Sciences of Georgia, The Center of Archaeological Research, Tbilisi, 2004, pp. 43–45.

⁵ KUPRASHVILI N. “Art, Science or Craft? Problems of Heritage Conservation in Post-Soviet Georgia.” In: *Proceedings*, Peter Skinner, Dimitri Tumanishvili and Ana Shanshiashvili (eds.), 2011, pp. 229–231. 2nd International Symposium of Georgian Culture, “The Caucasus: Georgia on the Crossroads; Cultural Exchange across the Europe and beyond,” [sic] November 2–9, 2009, Florence, Italy. Tbilisi: Georgian Arts and Culture Center.

⁶ Though it should be noted here that interventions carried out in the twentieth century prolonged the life of many monuments, and have frequently allowed us to subsequently protect our heritage by renewed methods and approaches.

In general, preliminary research into monuments was not conducted before restoration: none of the usual assessment of the size and nature of any damage, diagnostics, study of materials by different methods, assessment of compatibility to the restoration-conservation materials, nor documentation were performed. Works were conducted without any theoretical basis exploring the specific aspects of the specimen's cultural heritage, research into conservation materials, or appropriate documentation, resulting in deplorable results. For the majority of monuments, the process of damage became significantly accelerated and set in stone. By the end of the 1990s, the general problems of restored monuments in Georgia became widely evident: violated temperature regimes, moisture, salt deposits and heavy biological damage.

Since the second half of the twentieth century, and even in recent years, cleaning of museum specimens has been performed by methods which result in rough and irrevocable results. The structure is often changed, and pre-existing information contained on the surface of the restored object lost. The unfavourable environment in most museums, from the viewpoint of protection of specimens, has led to poor outcomes⁷. Disregard for the conditions necessary for preservation, along with improperly selected materials used in conservation, are among the factors that have significantly accelerated processes of biological damage, corrosion or iridescence among some of the most important immovable monuments and museum pieces, affecting paintings on canvas, metals, and glass, amongst other types of material.

The aforementioned stage of restoration-repair operations in Georgia on a vast scale coincided with essential methodological changes taking place in the Western world, as a result of extensive scientific research conducted by experts in multiple fields and institutions. In this period, the importance of fundamental research and preventive measures, as well as the need for an interdisciplinary approach to cultural heritage, was recognised. But due to the political situation in Georgia at the time, the state was completely detached from the Western world, and the management of the field was carried out as a result of directives received from Moscow. After the breaking up of the Soviet Union, this process became extremely disorganized.

By the end of the 1990s, as a result of this alarming situation, the issue of cooperation with leading European scientific centres and experts in the field of the protection of monuments was raised. Problems in the conservation-restoration field in Georgia were recognised, as a result of individual initiatives, and it became apparent that these problems would not be solved by foreign help alone—there was a fundamental lack of interdisciplinary knowledge, and an acute deficit of qualified people in Georgia at that time. At the Academy of Arts in Tbilisi—the only existing higher education institute specialising in the field of restoration—restoration was simply a branch of oil painting and architecture. It was an add-on to these faculties. The teaching program did not envisage how the specifics of this field was connected with science, and for students it provided only the teaching of handicraft.

In the 1990s, following the Bologna Declaration, and in cooperation with leading European teaching institutions, a network was established to promote the development of education and research in the conservation of cultural heritage. Conservation-restoration was at this point defined as an academic discipline within the humanities which related to all the fields of cultural heritage taught at leading universities. Conservation-restoration was recognized as an empirical scientific discipline aimed at the prevention of damage to, and “treatment” of cultural heritage objects, comprising theoretical as well as practical knowledge, and requiring the ability to

⁷ MIKABERIDZE L. *Conservation and Research of Artefacts of Archaeological Origin*. Ap. Kutateladze State Academy of Arts of Tbilisi, Tbilisi, 2016, pp 102–115.

analyse ethical and aesthetic issues. It is a multidisciplinary subject with foundations in art and the humanities, as well as technical and natural sciences, and it also requires mastery of various practical artistic and craft techniques. Practical knowledge of conservation-restoration is based on cognitive and systemic analyses, diagnostics, and problem-setting capabilities. A conservator-restorer is thus distinguished from professionals working in adjacent fields, such as painters and craftsmen, by their solid practical basis, in-depth study of the cultural heritage object, scientific diagnosis of damage, and well-grounded knowledge about interactions between the original and conservation materials and climatic conditions.

At the end 2004, due to the recognition of the urgent problems facing the field, A Faculty of Restoration, Art History and Theory was established at the State Academy of Arts of Tbilisi, by the Rector of Tbilisi Academy of Art. The aim was to establish a scientific basis for the conservation and restoration of specimens of cultural heritage, and many steps were taken towards this. The principles underpinning education into the conservation and restoration of architecture and painting were significantly altered. New processes were established for the conservation-restoration of metal, glass, ceramic and stone that had never previously been used in Georgia. New curricula were devised to be compatible with those of leading European universities and to incorporate the principles set out by international organizations for the protection of monuments.

The implementation of a new and complex approach towards cultural heritage objects in Georgia results from the co-existence of conservation-restoration, art history, and theory. In the curriculum of the Faculty a special place is given to researching the art history research of a specimen, alongside technology, diagnostic research, the study of the original materials, preservation, conservation theory, philosophy, law, and professional ethics. A material-technical base is being created step-by-step, with the creation of a new library and the arrangement of new information systems for a basic laboratory of diagnostic research. Experts from leading international conservation centres are involved in designing curricula and giving lectures and seminars.

The steps which have been taken in the field in the last decade have been extremely important, but are not sufficient for its development. To achieve the aforementioned objectives, it will be necessary to combine the accumulated knowledge and the newly gained knowledge in a systemized fashion. This will involve analysing international norms, expanding the scientific understanding of the existing situation in Georgia, and understanding the specifics of cultural heritage specimens. All of this requires interdisciplinary research on cultural heritage objects (both movable and immovable monuments), and its implementation in teaching. The purposes of these activities are:

1. To solve existing problems in the teaching of protection of cultural heritage at the Faculty of Restoration, Art History and Theory.
2. To create an interdisciplinary research standard in restoration-conservation, and to implement the most up-to-date scientific methodology.
3. To collect and analyse the newest Western material used in the field, and to process this material alongside existing Georgian technology.
4. To establish a standard of documentation of practical works.
5. To establish basic norms of preservation.
6. To establish basic norms of monitoring.

Consequently, a comprehensive model of documentation based on interdisciplinary research

on each specimen will be created, based on theoretical work and practical testing. The standards established as a result of accomplishing these goals will become the basis for teaching in the field of conservation-restoration. This will ensure that future generations of conservation-restoration students in Georgia are grounded in scientific methodology in accordance with international standards. The new teaching curricula in the near future will stipulate to a greater extent that all practical work connected with movable and immovable monuments should be carried out according to international norms and newly established national standards.

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Konferencia „Múzeá v prírode – koncepcie, realita a vízie“, 15.- 16. mája 2019 vo Vychylovke

Múzeum ako dynamicky sa vyvíjajúca inštitúcia dokumentuje zmeny a vývoj spoločnosti. *Aj výzvy dnešnej doby a požiadavky súčasnej spoločnosti očakávajú od nás postoj k fenoménu múzea ako dynamickeho, sociálne podmieneného javu v súčasných procesoch globalizácie a environmentálnej krízy, rovnako aj k uchovaniu kultúrneho dedičstva v kontexte národnej a kultúrnej identity*.¹

Múzeá v prírode bývali spočiatku často prezentované len ako dokumentácia ľudových stavieb. Objekty ľudového starostlivosťa v múzeu v prírode však dokumentujú nielen stavebnú kultúru a estetické cítenie, ale predovšetkým výrobné a sociálne vzťahy vyjadrené urbanistickým riešením, interiérovou expozíciou inventárov obydlia a pracovného náradia.² Úplnosť problematiky v tomto type múzeí znásobuje možnosť dokumentovania nielen obytných, ale i hospodárskych, či technických, prípadne sakrálnych objektov, čo sa hádam najkomplexnejšie približuje k prezentácii kultúry v jej vzájomných väzbách a súvislostiach, teda k pochopeniu a vyjadreniu samotnej identity. Významnú úlohu nielen z hľadiska objektivity sprostredkovanej skutočnosti, ale i osobného zážitku návštěvníka zohráva v prípade múzea v prírode aj okolie, ráz prírody a hospodárskeho života oproti tradičným „kamenným múzeám“. Samozrejmou súčasťou komunikácie s návštěvníkom je už dnes organizovanie doplnkových aktivít s akcentom na sociokultúrne procesy v spoločenstvách. Ich realizáciu opäť zjednodušuje samotné prírodné prostredie múzea.³

Práve téma múzeí v prírode bola predmetom rokovania konferencie „Múzeá v prírode – koncepcie, realita a vízie“, konanej 15.- 16. mája 2019 vo Vychylovke, skanzene Kysuckého múzea v Čadci. Účastníci, prevažne zástupcovia múzeí v prírode spoločne rokovali o tejto téme, vymenili si informácie i skúsenosti pri riešení problematických otázok, spoločných temer pre všetky múzejné inštitúcie. Prezentované vystúpenia referujúcich boli orientované najmä na charakteristiku a genézu jednotlivých múzeí, či expozícií v prírode s akcentom na nutnosť, spôsoby, ale najmä možnosti uchovania, ochrany a predovšetkým využitia tradičnej ľudovej architektúry ako neodmysliteľnej súčasti nášho kultúrneho dedičstva.

Vzhľadom na prevahu pôsobenia účastníkov v múzejnej praxi sú aj príspevky publikáčného výstupu prevažne charakteru faktografických materiálov. Sumárne je ich obsah prevažne monotematický, spočíva v charakteristike jednotlivých múzeí v prírode, ich histórii a súčasných aktivitách smerom k verejnosti. Pozitívom je celkový komplexný pohľad na situáciu v oblasti tejto špecifickej zložky múzejníctva.

Vzhľadom na usporiadateľskú inštitúciu samostatnú skupinu tvorili príspevky zamerané na Múzeum kysuckej dediny vo Vychylovke, ktoré sa v niektorých témach prelínaли.

K tejto skupine patril príspevok *Aloža Kontriča*, v ktorom vyčerpávajúco predstavil história skanzenu, v poslednej časti aj súčasné využívanie objektov i areálu národopisnej expozície na prezentačnú a expozičnú činnosť. Príspevok uvádza legislatívne, ale i technické a odborné

¹MLYNKA, Ladislav. Slovensko a svetové kultúrne dedičstvo. In: *Studia Academica Slovaca* 36, Bratislava 2007, s. 379-393.

² DARULOVÁ, Jolana. Múzeá v prírode a múzejno-pamiatková ochrana mestských urbanizmov a stavebných objektov v pôvodnom prostredí (in situ). In: MRUŠKOVÍČ, Štefan a kol.: *Múzejníctvo, muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*. Banská Bystrica: Univerzita Mateja Bela v Banskej Bystrici, Fakulta humanitných vied. 2005, s. 189-190.

³ KRIŠKOVÁ, Z. Potenciál múzeí v prírode v procese vytvárania a uchovávania identity spoločenstiev. In: *Múzeum a identita*. Rožnov pod Radhoštěm: Valašské muzeum v prírode, 2016, s. 98-105.

procesy, ktoré predchádzali zriadeniu skanzenu,

Príspevok *Zuzany Markechovej* je orientovaný na počiatočné zámery a kroky pri vzniku národopisnej expozície v prírode, pričom v tomto prípade sa autorka sústredila na podrobny popis jednotlivých usadlostí skanzenu, v závere sa venuje aj aktívnomu využitiu v súčasnom múzejnom sprostredkovani verejnosti.

Pavol Markech sleduje v MKD vo Vychylovke aj samotnú štruktúru sídelných objektov v rámci regionálnej typológie. Jeho prioritou je koncepcnosť, v ktorej kontexte sa zaobrá konkrétnym sakrálnym objektom. V príspevku by možno bolo vhodné konkretizovať interdisciplinaritu, keďže je aj súčasťou názvu.

Helena Kotrasová sa zas sústredí na obdobie MKD relatívne od prelomu 20. – 21. storočia, popisuje zásahy v oblasti ochrany objektov, i skvalitnenia služieb a aktivít múzea voči návštevníkom.

Peter Maráky aj z pohľadu jedného z bývalých riaditeľov múzea analyzuje jeho regionálnu entitu a sociokultúrne kontexty vzniku, ale i súčasný marketigový pohľad na perspektívy tejto expozície ako prvku kultúrneho dedičstva Kysúc.

Samostatný tematický celok tvoria príspevky venované jednotlivým múzeám v prírode

Príspevok *Marianny Janoštínovej* vzhľadom na rozpracovanie prierezu a všeobecnej genézy, i jednotlivých koncepcíí múzeí v prírode, odporúčam na zaradenie v úvodných častiach zborníka. Na základe diachrónnej syntézy je pokusom aj o perspektívny pohľad v personálnych aj inštitucionálnych väzbách problematiky.

Jozef Fundák predstavuje Expozíciu Ľudovej architektúry a bývania Vihorlatského múzea v Humennom. Popisuje postupy a použité materiály pri budovaní múzejných objektov s vymedzením pozitív i rizík uchovania. Sleduje tiež stav doplnkového vybavenia areálu vo vzťahu k návštevníkom a zvyšovaniu ich komfortu, pričom vníma skansen ako aktívny, živý priestor situovaním sociálnych

Príspevok *Moniky Pavelčíkovej* je podrobnným exkurzom do histórie a okolností vzniku múzea v prírode pod Ľubovnianskym hradom v Starej Ľubovni s dôsledným koncepcným prehľadom. Uvádza konkrétnne problémy a ich riešenia počas výstavby, až k súčasnemu stavu s bohatým doplnkovým programom živých aktivít pre verejnosť.

František Gutek orientuje príspevok na históriu a súčasný stav objektov Múzea Ľudovej architektúry v Bardejovských Kúpeľoch. V kontexte jeho špecifického situovania v kúpeľoch by boli iste zaujímavé podrobnejšie sociokultúrne kontexty.

Oživením v konkretizovaní na odbornú špecifikáciu je štúdia *Stanislavy Gogorej*, zameraná na problematiku špecificky orientovaných archeologických múzeí v prírode, ktoré sa autorka pokúsila hypoteticky klasifikovať do niekoľkých kategórií. Tento príkaz možno považovať vzhľadom na nejednotnosť muzeologickej terminológie za progresívne vedecké východisko, aj keď v kontexte využitia niektorých pojmov by sa žiadalo ich bližšie vysvetlenie (skansen). Príspevok ponúka prehľad a charakteristiku archeologických múzeí u nás, nie vždy však začlenenie rezonuje s úvodnou klasifikáciou. Pozitívom štúdie je teoretický prístup autorky so zámerom posunu v riešení teoreticko-metodologických problémov prieniku muzeologickej a archeologickej vedy.

Zaujímavý pohľad aj v cezhraničných väzbách priniesol príspevok *Radka Bryola* (Metodické centrum pro muzea v přírodě, Národní muzeum v přírodě, Rožnov pod Radhoštěm), ktorého autor sa temer esejisticou formou zamýšľa nad problematikou stavebných postupov a technológií, či sumárne kultúrnej krajiny v kontexte súčasnosti, čo tvorí významnú súčasť múzeí

tohto typu v širšom európskom kontexte.

Problematike financovania boli venované dva príspevky konferencie. *Radovan Sýkora* sa sústredil na konkrétny príklad financovania opráv expozičných objektov Múzea slovenskej dediny SNM EM v období poslednej dekády.

Lukáš Jonov ponúkol zaujímavý prehľad možností využitia finančných dotácií pre múzeá v prírode pohľadom na dotačné schémy Fondu na podporu umenia. Odporúčam v názve rozpísat' celý názov fondu, nepoužiť skratku.

Vzhľadom na informatívny charakter a dĺžku príspevku odporúčam jeho umiestnenie do samostatnej rubriky (napríklad správ). Rovnako do tejto rubriky najmä svojím rozsahom a charakterom odporúčam zaradenie príspevku *Richarda Janošína*, ktorý predstavuje informáciu o práci s návštevníkmi prostredníctvom pravidelných výchovnovzdelávacích programov v Múzeu oravskej dediny v Zuberči.

Nesporne záslužným tematickým oživením obsahu konferencie je príspevok *Marianny Janošínovej a Kataríny Očkovej*, venovaný Jiřímu Langerovi a jeho podielu na budovaní Múzea slovenskej dediny v prírode SNM v Martine. Vzhľadom na charakter personálneho portrétu, či medailónu rovnako navrhujem jeho samostatné začlenenie v zborníku konferenčných príspevkov.

V sumárnom zameraní príspevkov možno považovať za významné pozitívum, že autori sa venujú aj niektorým konkrétnym súčasným oblastiam problémov, napr. možnostiam financovania a využitia dotácií, špecifický odborový prístup (v tomto prípade archeologický), nesporným obohatením sú i zahraničné skúsenosti, ako aj pozornosť venovaná osobnosti a prínosu Juraja Langera v problematike múzeí v prírode.

Pozornosť by si zaslúžilo aj zastúpenie ďalších aktuálnych tém súčasnosti týchto múzeí, napríklad z pohľadu konzervátorov a reštaurátorov, perspektívy turizmu v procese udržateľného rozvoja, legislatíva a jej úskalia, problémy práce s návštevníkmi... Tieto témy by nesporne prispeli ku komplexnej syntéze problematiky a hľadaniu riešení.

Múzeá v prírode okrem hmotných i nehmotných originálnych dokladov a javov majú ako jediné možnosť sprostredkovovať ich priamu väzbu s prírodou. Napíňajú tak aktuálny súčasný trend kontextuálnosti a zároveň osobného zážitku, čo len umocňuje súvislosti a väzby sprostredkovaných dokladov a uľahčuje ich pochopenie vo vzťahu k samotnej identite. Sú preto dôležité kontakty a stretnutia odborníkov pre spoločný posun vývoja a riešenia aktuálnych problémov, ako aj spoločné publikáčné výstupy, za čo patrí organizátorom konferencie podčakovanie.

Zdena Krišková