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THE 'DISSONANT' HERITAGE OF NOWA HUTA'S SHELTERS: BETWEEN EDUCATION AND ENTERTAINMENT

Abstract: The following article attempts to show how the heritage space of Nowa Huta undergoes gradual transformation under the influence of tourism. An example, which is going to be examined, is a new tourist route presenting the heritage of shelters at Nowa Huta. The context for this discussion is the concept of edutainment, which is a form of education through entertainment. It will be discussed that the inclusion of entertainment elements in the process of dissonant heritage interpretation, is a solution that facilitates noticing ambivalences resulting from the complex nature of the past, and thus contributes to more profound understanding and opens a space for the acceptance of the heritage.

Keywords: Heritage, tourism, education, Nowa Huta, shalters.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowa Huta has, in recent years, gained the attention of the researchers of various disciplines focusing on the different aspects of life in the district (Gądecki, 2012; Golonka-Czajkowska, 2013; Poźniak, 2014). The thread that connects most studies on Nowa Huta is a reflection on its current situation but seen in the context of the past. These writers specifically highlight that it is difficult to study today's Nowa Huta without reference to history which penetrates the present and determines the fate of the people and places there. The following article attempts to show one situation where heritage space has undergone a process of gradual transformation under the influence of tourist demand. Owing to its specific history the district may be termed 'dissonant' heritage. However, this does not change the fact (or perhaps is the main reason) that more and more tourists come to Nowa Huta every year. As a result, the cultural and tourist offer, addressed to both tourists and the district's residents, has been modified and expanded. An example, which is examined, is a new tourist route presenting the heritage of shelters at Nowa Huta. The context for this discussion is the concept of 'edutainment', a form of education through entertainment. The argument presented here is that the inclusion of entertainment elements in the process of dissonant heritage interpretation, is a solution that facilitates the exhibition of ambivalences resulting from the complex nature of the past, and thus contributes to a more profound understanding while opening a space for the acceptance of that heritage. The method of gathering data for this project mixed desk research (local press, local authority documents, project documentation) with autoethnography and observations based on the involvement of one of the authors in the process of creating the new tourist route.

2. NOWA HUTA AS 'DISSONANT' HERITAGE SITE

Nowa Huta, being currently the easternmost and the most populous district of Kraków, appeared as a result of the establishment of the Lenin steelworks in the 1950s. Paradoxically, although the town was supposed to fulfill the idea of a socialist-realist perfect city, where all the inhabitants would live and work with the aim of constructing the 'bright future' of the socialist utopia, Nowa Huta became one of the most ideologically defiant parts of Kraków, struggling in the 1960s against the policy of atheization and in 1980's by joining on a mass scale the Solidarity trade union movement (Dzieszyński, Franczyk 2010; Jagło, Lempart 2013; Lebow 2013).

After the collapse of socialism, Nowa Huta had to confront a completely new situation, both from an economic and social perspective (Poźniak, 2014; Stenning, Smith, Rochovská, Świątek, 2010). Simultaneously, built as Poland's flagship socialist city embodying the utopian political project (Majewska, 2011), Nowa Huta was still considered to be a symbol of the former epoch. As such, in the new reality of democracy and a free economy, it was, for the most part, connected with the negative stereotype of a gloomy, dangerous and deadend site (Poźniak, 2014, pp. 100-123). This ambivalent attitude consists of a number of factors which have become specific myths over time and their origins should be sought in the very early days of the district. The first was the fact that Nowa Huta was designed as a separate city, which was perceived as an attempt to deprive Kraków of its due rank. It was also related to the demographic composition of the new residents, mainly peasants and workers, which resulted in the district's image as a dangerous place prone to out-breaks of violence. Another issue contributing to the negative perception was urban planning itself. Although its urban design is an excellent example of architecture from the period of socialist realism, it was considered to be in a Soviet style. Even though the building project was introduced by the very talented Cracovian architect Tadeusz Ptaszycki, who drew inspiration from such prominent architectural ideas as St. Peter's Square, Place Vendome and Hausmann's work in Paris (Klimek, 2013; Klaś, 2016), the project was treated as one enforced by a foreign ruler, therefore was aesthetically rejected by many citizens. Last, but not least, the steelworks were accused of pollution both nearby and more distantly, which was particularly highlighted in the transitional period.

All of these issues were rooted in reality, however the scale to which they were inflated, greatly exceeded the underlying problems of their origin. That is why, today's perception of Nowa Huta as heritage is strongly marked by the myths that shaped narrative about the district. The shaping of heritage is related to a process of negotiation, questioning and counter arguing by the participants in the debate. Even if the urban design of Nowa Huta has entered the city of Kraków as a representative example of cultural and social realism of urban planning in Poland, it does not mean that it is automatically regarded by the people (i.e. Kraków's citizens) as heritage (Klaś, 2016; Salwiński, Sibila, 2008).

Heritage can be perceived as a form of social/ cultural/collective memory that explicitly draws identification through the concept of ownership of the past (Smith, 2006). In a society of the contested past, the narrative about its heritage is far from being 'shared' (Tunbridge, Ashworth, 1996). Therefore, probably the most appropriate term which could be applied in the case of Nowa Huta is 'dissonant' heritage which, as Ashworth concludes, "generally means a lack of harmony in time and space between people and their heritage" (Ashworth, 2002, p. 363) This dissonance, according to Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996), reveals itself in two situations. First, when the dominant narrative does not match the interpretation(s) of different interest groups, when it omits aspects they consider important, or highlights those which should not be so prominent. As Smith & Hall indicate, much of Central and Eastern Europe's common recent heritage is "likely to be a contested battleground where political, economic, social and cultural priorities often become gridlocked" (Smith, Hall, 2006, p. 36).

The second situation causing dissonance occurs when heritage is subject to commercialization which transforms it into a product for sale. In this case, the main catalyst is the volume of tourism leading to heritage becoming a tourist attraction. Both tangible and intangible cultural assets are then faced with market realities, in which the ethics of sustainable development often give way to temporarily to the values of the market. On the other hand, noticing the value of its own cultural heritage when it starts to arouse interest among visiting tourists, is a characteristic phenomenon. Such a relationship has been observed at Nowa Huta in recent years where the local population (especially new residents) start to appreciate the uniqueness of the place regardless of the negative myths that prevailed previously (Poźniak, 2014). Undoubtedly, a very specific tourist product, the so-called communist tours, has become an important factor contributing to the rise in popularity of Nowa Huta among a growing number of mostly foreign visitors (Knudsen, 2010; Whigham, 2013). As Banaszkiewicz (2018) depicts at the beginning, the tours aroused very mixed feelings among district residents both by the commodification of the their district as well as the interpretation of its past: many felt disinherited by means of the specific narrative offered by guides (with a large amount of irony, based on anecdotes, and treating the past with a cool distance). However, what aroused the greatest doubts, was the

form of touring the district offered by 'crazy guides', which was very different from the standard guide service and drifting towards a 'mini-show'. At the time when the 'crazy guides' began operating, the element of entertainment, treated as part of the cognitive process, was a radical novelty in the local tourist space. Nowadays, a growing number of tourist products have elements of entertainment aimed at pleasing customers. The following part of the article will allow the current situation to be looked at in the broader context of global cultural changes in recent decades.

3. EDUCATION AND ENTERTAINMENT IN TOURISM

An attempt at a holistic explanation of the phenomenon of tourism can be reduced to two concepts. The first, recognizing tourism as a 'secular pilgrimage' implies that a tourist is motivated by a search for meaning, the discovery of authenticity and the transformation of a subject that offers different experiences, finding them in the search for pleasure and entertainment, thus allowing detachment from everyday worries and responsibilities (Boorstin, 1964; Pfaffenberger, 1983). The concept reaches into the roots of humanistic reflection on the condition of man, perceived as a working being. As Okoń wrote, referring to Aristotle: "Fun is a consequence of work understood as fatigue. Where is there has been work, there must now be fun, because tiredness requires rest […]" (Okoń, 1995, p. 60). Leisure time intended even for travel, stands in opposition to economic activity and, therefore, is to give pleasure impossible to get while work is identified with duty, seriousness and responsibility. According to Huizinga (1997), the author of a classic view of man as *homo ludens* (a playful creature) this 'unseriousness', which is a free action, is the quintessence of fun.

However, while according to Huizinga, fun can be a deadly serious matter and is simply a property of culture that cannot be assessed as good or bad, entertainment is a product of consumer culture and threatens adults with remaining infantile on a scale of alarming proportions. According to Combs (2000) and Postman (2000), we are entering a phase in human history permeated by fun to such an extent, it can be described as a 'world of fun'. Entertainment is a distinctive form of mass culture, which at the same time is a consumer culture. Therefore, there is no consumer culture without entertainment (Kantor, Paleczny, Banaszkiewicz, 2011; Paleczny, Kantor, Banaszkiewicz, 2012). Consequently, tourists are hedonistically oriented consumers, desirous for new experience to stimulate this emotion (Bauman, 2010; Salazar, 2010).

Tourism based on products that give pleasure and relaxation, referred to as 3S (sun, sea, sand), has become a designate of the most popular type of mass, i.e. holidays at resorts in warm countries. However, with the tremendous development of tourism over the last 25 years, part of global consumption trends, the needs of tourists and consequently a change in offers has occurred. Shifting significance from product (collecting possessions) to experience (collecting experiences) (Pine, Gilmore, 1999), which has become a pillar of consumerism in the 21st century, has found its reflection in travel (Urry, Larsen, 2011). In many cases, the 3S has been replaced by 3E (entertainment, education, excitement). Moving away from mass tourism based on the environmental values of a destination, and consequently turning to individual tourism based on active involvement from a tourist, as well as an increasing share of cultural tourism, is a characteristic trend globally observed in recent years. Entertainment has not been abandoned, but has been put in a triad along with education (i.e. cognitive element) and excitement (i.e. 'experience'), as a strong and positive emotional stimulus (Robinson, Picard, 2016).

Highlighting the correlation between the effectiveness of education and the presence of elements of entertainment in the cognitive process, is by no means new, however it has grown in importance in recent decades both at heritage sites as well as in museums that are tailored to tourists' needs for entertainment. The latter are specifically undergoing a major transformation by trying to adapt their offer to trends in culture (Caulton, 2006; Gaweł, Kostera, 2018; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007; Parry, 2013). More and more emphasis is put on an educational mission filled with the spirit of deeper involvement from a recipient who actively perceives an exhibition space. This objective is achieved by a whole range of multimedia solutions, stimulation of all the senses, as well as a diversification of the narrative offered by a museum allowing a more personalized message to the subjective needs of a visitor. The quality of an offer is, of course, very diverse, ranging from 'gadget' solutions, which are merely ornamental without contributing to a deeper understanding of presented content, to well thought-out concepts, significantly improving the level of customer perception.

It is noteworthy that not only scenarios of exhibitions or 'ludic' projects translate into an effective educational process. The spectrum of motivation is an indispensable element as it guides a recipient (visitor, spectator, tourist). According to research cited by Falk and Dierking (2000, p. 79), better cognitive results are achieved when a museum visitor has a high level of motivation:

> As would be expected, individuals voicing a strong educational motivation demonstrated significantly greater learning than did those expressing a low educational

motivation. However, less expected, was a similar relationship found among those individuals voicing strong entertainment motivations. These significant differences were independent of the individual's expressed educational motivations.

As it turns out, a pro-entertainment attitude results in better educational outcomes. Continuation of these considerations enters into the realm of psychological research which would go beyond the scope of this article, however it is worth noting that the pejorative valuation of entertainment as a 'worse form' of fun is an oversimplification based on dichotomous overgeneralization.

When presenting a dissonant heritage, it is particularly challenging to include ideas that allow fun. This is due to the fact that such a heritage is not subject to harmonious interpretation. Ambivalence related to perception requires those managing the heritage to be particularly sensitive and intuition driven, so as not to present a one-sided, subjective and over-simplified narrative of the past in the name of striving to make the heritage experience enjoyable. Based on the example of a designed tourist route dedicated to the shelters of Nowa Huta from the period of Cold War, we will try to illustrate how its creators strove to connect elements of education and fun.

3.1. SHELTERS IN NOWA HUTA

The emergence of shelters in the Polish People's Republic was connected with the continuous tension between the states centered around the Soviet Union and the United States, known to history as the Cold War. Events of the period, such as Berlin Crisis of 1948-49 or the Korean War of 1950–53, led to an increase in armament spending in countries that could be involved in potential conflicts, and in which Poland was one. Forced by events, the countries had to invest in protecting the civil population (Holzer, 2012).

The decision to build shelters in the Polish People's Republic was taken at a national level on October 10, 1952 by the virtue of a resolution of the Council of Ministers. The shelters were to be built in 72 areas selected as the most likely targets for a potential attack. Due to the high costs associated with the construction of protective structures, a resolution of February 15, 1958, reduced the number of areas to 30, and to completely abandon the construction of shelters in newly constructed buildings on September 28, 1960 (Mierzwa, Semik, 2015, pp. 24-25).

Nowa Huta, because of its strategic importance, was one of the selected areas. Between 1953 and 1960, there were about 250 shelters in the district, located
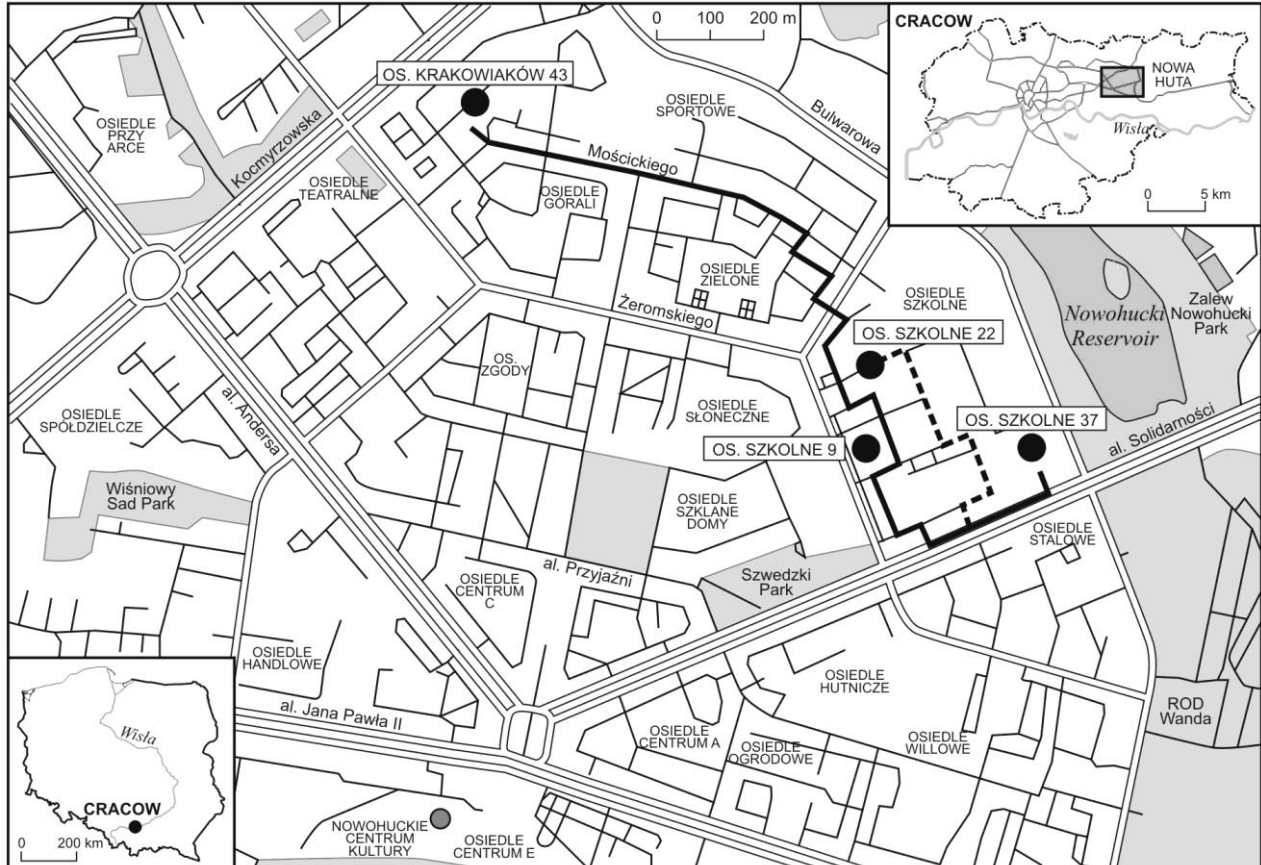

Fig. 1. Shelters located in Cracow
Source: autor's elaboration

both under residential buildings and under public facilities such as a cinema, a theatre and a hospital. One shelter was located in the basement of the Światowid cinema and another on the premises of the Museum of the Polish People's Republic (Mierzwa, 2015) (Fig. 1).

3.2. MYTHS ABOUT SHELTERS

Contrary to a popular Nowa Huta urban legend, often repeated, the shelters did not protect against nuclear attack but were designed to protect against conventional weapons. At the planning stage of the shelter infrastructure in the early 1950s, people were conscious of the threat of the nuclear bomb. The decision makers were aware that both the Soviet Union and the United States were in possession of such bombs. However, their number and means of transport were not advanced enough at the time to take a massive attack into account. The situation changed during the 1950s, which resulted in new guidelines being released in 1959 concerning the construction of shelters taking this threat into account. At that time, the modified protective shelters built in Nowa Huta, protected against some of the effects of a nuclear explosion, but were not capable of providing security in the event of a direct attack.

Another urban legend is the story of the network of corridors running underground and interconnecting the shelters. A probable origin is the fact that evacuation corridors that ran underground from basements had a common exit (so-called 'hatch') to the surface. The extreme version of the legend says that a secret underground shelter under the current Museum of the Polish People's Republic was connected to the Administrative Centre of the former Lenin Steelworks, a few kilometers away (Mierzwa, Semik, 2015, pp. 23-27).

The dissonances connected with an appreciation of the shelters as a tourist attraction rely predominantly on popular beliefs that have little in common with 'historical truth'. Although they stimulate a perception of the shelters, they are not the 'axes of tension' that appear in the context of creating the tourist route. The first controversy corresponds with the attitude towards industrial heritage *per se*. The acceptance of its symbolic value still causes many debates among local authorities or/and residents who do not necessarily perceive them as tangible properties that deserve preservation and development (see further: Gaweł, 2011; Xie, 2015). Secondly, this scepticism results from the very practical aspect of the management of such heritage: the shelters are situated under the buildings that are still in use for other purposes (in the case of Nowa Huta blocks of flats, a hospital or the offices of steelworks administration), which generates problems harmonizing the needs of the various stakeholders.

3.3. TOURIST ROUTE

In an attempt to challenge these myths, and in consequence the obstacles with a positive valuing of such heritage, the Museum of the Polish People's Republic (since the beginning of March 2019 known as the Museum of Nowa Huta; see Muzeum PRL-u, Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa) organized an exhibition "Nuclear threat: Shelters in Nowa Huta" in the basement of the Museum, the historic, socialist-realist building of the former Światowid Cinema, whose aim was to present the history of the shelters and their propagandist, cold war atmosphere (*Nuclear threat. Shelters in Nowa Huta*, 2015). The Museum has been operating since 2013 and until 2019 was co-run by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage and the Municipality of Kraków (currently only the second such). The museum produces an annual academic publication, *Światowid*, and catalogues accom-panying exhibitions, made educational by inviting visitors to participate in debates, lectures, discussions, book promotions, as well as exhibitions. Organizing and hosting exhibitions helps to understand various aspects of the functioning of the communist system, both in Poland and in the world. At present, the Museum does not have a permanent exhibition; this will be opened simultaneously with the full adaptation of the former cinema to the Museum's needs.

To fully use the potential of protected buildings in the area by the Municipality of Kraków, the Museum coordinates the creation of a tourist route which will show the shelters in a broader context. The planned route will make four locations available to tourists: three situated in the Szkolny housing estate and one in the Krakowiaków housing estate (reserve location). In the original idea, emphasis was put mainly on reconstructing interiors and presenting the functions once served by the shelters which are part of the route (a standard shelter for residents, an improvised hideout, a retrofitted shelter protecting against certain effects of a nuclear explosion and a medical point). In the scenario based on the route, it was decided to look at the topic of shelters from different perspectives using these locations.

When drawing up the scenario, Zarzycka and employees of the Museum of the Polish People's Republic, the creators of the concept, relied on Tilden's (1957) interpretation of heritage as a tool for experiencing, understanding and relating the history of the shelters to the present, as well as using the personal experiences of visitors. The creators intended to present the exhibition in modules (divided into individual segments and scenes) situated in four locations with an option of adding further sites 'under' Nowa Huta. On the one hand, they will constitute a whole, functioning under the title "The Shelters of Nowa Huta: Cold War legacy",

while on the other, the exhibition will be treated as elements of a puzzle, with the possibility of selecting a location according to tourists' expectations and interests (Zarzycka, 2013).

The most important goals mentioned, in the context of the emerging route, are popularizing shelters as part of Nowa Huta's cold war heritage, presenting their history, building an attractive offer for leisure time, provoking intellectual activity, encouraging visitors to compare the past with the present by seeking analogy, creating a message for different groups of visitors as well as intensifying tourism within Nowa Huta.

In the previously completed part of the route located at Szkolne 37 there is a module entitled the "State of threat". In the shelter space underneath the Nowa Huta Technical School No. 3 there is content concerning the need for a shelter, universal for both people and animals ("The need for shelter") presented by dioramas that illustrate various examples of what life was like there. Guides who lead tours on the basis of the visual material are invited to encourage visitors to participate in a discussion on the strategies of protection and reactions to danger. The reflection also draws attention to instincts as well as the role of culture in shaping behavior. The exhibition features a narrative entitled "Shelters in the World" about the history of shelter construction from the First World War until the present day, as well as a presentation of modern projects. This part is illustrated by means of pictures and a special 'cartoon' and in addition to these images there is also a model of a representative shelter from the 1980s which protects against some of the effects of a nuclear explosion (a 'Mock-up' scene). The exhibition is concluded with a room entitled "Fortunately Unfinished History" containing a selection of questions encouraging reflection which help visitors feel the claustrophobic situation of existing in the shelter.

In the planned center of the route, at Szkolne 22, there will be an exhibition module entitled "Shelters in Nowa Huta: the spirit of the place, the spirit of the times". It will be divided into three segments: "Nowa Huta: Spirit of the place"; "Cold War: Spirit of the time"; and "To the shelter!". The aim of the first scene of the first segment ("Nowa Huta intro") will be to introduce tourists to the *genius loci* of Nowa Huta. In the "City start" scene, the tourist will learn about the situation of Poland after World War II and the history of the "six-year plan" of which Nowa Huta was a key element. Following scenes will present the propaganda of the 1950s accompanying the construction, urban plans of the district and their creators, as well as the architecture of Nowa Huta with a special place reserved for the socialist realist style. This part of the exhibition will be complemented by a screening of the film "Direction: Nowa Huta" and mock-ups reflecting both implemented and planned projects. In the first scene ("Iron

Curtain − the symbol of the Cold War"); in the second segment, the cold war background with the title "Iron Curtain" and the implications of the division of the world into two blocs will be outlined. By becoming acquainted with stage two, visitors will get to know the most important events of the Cold War relative to its time. In the third scene ("Daily life in the shadow of the Cold War") there will be a chance to look at everyday life in Nowa Huta in the shadow of a potential conflict. In the third segment containing the positions "Shelters under Nowa Huta" and "Shelter construction" there will be information about the network of protective structures under the district and the technical details of these structures. "Fear" in turn is aimed at making visitors aware of the feeling of anxiety that accompanied people on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Module number three ("Around the atom") will be placed in the shelter at Szkolne 9. Scenes placed there ("Atom − enemy or friend" and the "Nuclear era in pop culture") will present two sides of the use of the atom: as an element of destructive nuclear weapons, and on the other hand its use, for example, in fighting cancer. Scenes will also show pop cultural themes related to nuclear weapons in music, film, books and many more. As a result, again, atomic energy is going to be presented and further discussed by visitors from different perspectives not limited to nuclear power within the frame of the Cold War shadow.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The new tourist attraction opened in Nowa Huta at the beginning of 2019 and will be further developed in subsequent years (the map illustrates the prospective route that unites the four heritage sites). Thanks to the usage of genuine shelters whose space is being transformed by the specific exhibition, it is possible to achieve a double dimension of authenticity: an 'objective/cold' one and a 'subjective/hot' one (Selwyn, 1996). The original interiors that are anchored in the real history of the district guarantee the objective value of the presented site, while the narrative exhibition is a complementary feature that opens the horizon for the emotional experience of 'hot' authenticity. Indeed, this approach fulfills the foundations of the experience economy (Pine, Gilmore, 1999; Urry, Larsen, 2011) that puts in the center of exchange not products or services but experiences. By means of multi-sensory learning that employs visual, auditory, kinesthetic, and tactile stimulation as well as well-trained guides whose role is to support the interpretative process, individuals not only undergo unique experiences but above all gain deeper knowledge and develop more/new skills in an entertaining mode. Educational projects that aim at multi-perspective interpre-

tation of heritage (especially dissonant heritage with its 'roughness' and difficulty of explanation) are a fundamental component of creating a space for dialogue based on understanding the complex nature of reality. As Freeman Tilden highlighted in his six principles of interpretation: "Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable. The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation" (Tilden, 1957, p. 9). Even if the consumption of experiences has become a difficult challenge that modern museums have to address, it is not a simple war between shallow entertainment and educational enlightenment. Essential to the debate is openness to the provocative nature of interpretation. Allowing people to experience heritage sites in their own, individual, subjective way means accepting the fact that they perform as co-creators, not only visitors or even participants. This results from two presumptions adopted by creators of the project. The first is a strategy of encouraging discussion rather than providing ready explanations, both visual material as well as exhibited artifacts or the narratives accompanying them are tailored to stimulate questions from the visitors. The second is the universalization of the problem of shelters, not only limiting it to the remnants of the Cold War but broadening the topic by references to history, various cultural expressions or even the natural environment. This broader frame for interpretation would encourage stepping further from a discussion of the past to a reflection of present and future threats such as avoiding the dangers of cyber wars or the negative consequences of climate change. Thanks to those perspectives, visitors are more aware of the intricacies of the past in order to better understand the present and avoid confusion in the future. An initiative such as the route devoted to the shelters of Nowa Huta, is not only a tourist attraction and a historical education project, but it can also play a major role in shaping responsible social attitudes, and responding to the threats (both real and imagined) of the contemporary world.

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DANCE IN TOURISM FROM AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH ISSUE

Abstract: Nowadays, dance plays an important role in the modern tourism industry. Today, the craze for dancing creates great opportunities for cultural tourism. However, it should be remembered that there is a great danger of losing the most important meaning of dance by commercializing and reducing its essence. Dance tourism as discussed in the article is understood as travel for the purpose of learning about dance and its culture in places where given dance styles were born, or where they play an important national role as well as enjoying great popularity among the local community. This article is an introduction to the issue of dance tourism in an anthropological context. It presents potential attractions related to dance in the perspectives of cultural and sports tourism, it has an illustrative and descriptive character while its method is a literature review and presentation of popular examples.

Keywords: dance in tourism, dance anthropology, cultural tourism, sports tourism.

1. INTRODUCTION

Dance-related journeys lie between cultural and sports tourism, with a special emphasis on event tourism (Buczkowska, 2009; Buczkowska, 2010; Gibson, 1998). Researchers agree that in academic terms dance should be perceived as an important cultural phenomenon, and thus a potential cultural and sports tourism attraction (Schwark, 2007; Topić, 2016). Tourists interested in dancing can, for example, learn Cuban salsa in Cuba (Kaczmarek, Kaczmarek, 2015), samba in Brazil or flamenco in Spain (Malchrowicz, 2009). Today, tango enthusiasts travel from all over the world to dance milonga in Argentina (Prylińska, Korczak, Nawrot, Strusio, Kaczmarek, 2018).

Dance tourism is understood as travel for the purpose of learning dance as a cultural phenomenon in places where those dance styles were born, or where they play an important national role as well as enjoying great popularity among the local community. Such journeys allow dance to be discovered in places with a deep historical and cultural context for a given style, or to train under the watchful eye of dance masters. Sometimes, the motivation for setting off on this type journey is also the desire to experience the life of a specific dance subculture at its fullest. There are three groups of participants in dance tourism: passive recipients – spectators, visitors to dance museums, festival participants, etc.; active dance tourists – amateur dancers, e.g. work-shop participants; professional dancers – participants in dance competitions and members of dance groups, etc.

More and more people use their free time to travel long distances and spend considerable sums of money on dancing outside their place of residence (McCleary, Weaver, Meng, 2006, p. 277). As dance is an important part of cultural communication (Drożdż, 2012, p. 23) and allows cultural codes to be discovered (Kringelbach, Skinner, 2012, p. 12), dance tourism has undoubtedly become an important element of dialogue in the postmodern era. According to some researchers, a dance performance even for tourists, unlike many other artistic expressions, still remains the most authentic and creative act (Daniel, 1996; Banio, 2014). Nowadays, dance plays an important role in the modern tourism industry. In many cases dance classes during trips to, for example, the Dominican Republic (bachata, merengue), Mexico (merengue variation) or Jamaica (reggae in the rhythm of the Brazilian samba) is an additional feature of the program offered by organizers. Furthermore, dance is often used in the promotion of tourism and marketing of a given place. For example, many airports use dance and other forms of intangible heritage to make a strong and positive first impression on visitors (see *Using Dance heritage…*).

The aim of the article is to present dance tourism (as a phenomenon on the border of cultural and sports tourism) in an anthropological context as well as giving examples of famous attractions and destinations related to dance. The work is of an illustrative and descriptive character using a literature review method.

2. DANCE AS A RESEARCH SUBJECT

The increase in interest in ways of acquiring academic knowledge, which overlaps with the increase in the precision of tools used for analysing dance and human movement, can be seen in cultural anthropology. In order to understand the cultural significance of movement in dance as an 'embodied' way of knowing the world, a detailed analysis which treats the body as an artefact should be carried out. For many years, dance has been the subject of ethnographic research, however, it remained outside established trends in anthropology (Kaeppler, 1967; Dunham, 1969; Boas, 1972). Although European folklorists described folk dances, historians elaborated on traditions in classical dance, and methodologists developed a system of notation (Drożdż, 2012), all of them were interested in dance as a phenomenon and not as an element of human behaviour integrated in a cultural context. The American researcher Gertrude Prokosch Kurath wrote:

> Two decades of my career as a stage dancer have convinced me that dance should be the subject of academic research in its own unique context as a form of art, which takes into account exceptional, unprecedented features. On the other hand, my education in history [master of art history] and cooperation with ethnologists have convinced me that this is not enough. The real goal, which is difficult to achieve, is to show how dance and the accompanying music are an expression of other aspects of culture (Kurath, 1960, p. 233).

The author believed that anthropologists were afraid of taking up this subject, as they considered it a mysterious phenomenon touching on the esoteric. They also underlined the difficulty in observing, gathering, analysing and storing information about dance.

The way of perceiving dance changes with the context in which it takes place. It is a part of intangible culture which has become modified along with industrialization and technological development. However, this does not mean that it becomes a less significant part of culture. People do not stop dancing, but make numerous changes to its forms and usually dance for different reasons. It is said that in illiterate cultures dance functions like a written language, whereas in the context of a ritual it constitutes the literature of oral cultures (Duncan, 1905; Banio, 2015). Unquestionably, it is impossible for movement to express content in such a manner as words, as dance carries meanings that cannot be translated into words. Isadora Duncan (American dancer and instructor, precursor of modern dance techniques) often used to say that dancing would not make sense if she could express the same meaning with words (Duncan, 1905). In anthropological studies, the presentation of communities as entities per se has replaced the analysis of the relationships between individuals and particular groups. Nowadays, this is of great importance, given that under the same influence, some groups maintain a coherent identity while others lose it. Dance is a form resistant to distortion and deviation, which is why it is possible to precisely study culture both in its actual personification and in the sphere of memory. From the anthropological perspective, dance is inextricably linked to individuals and culture remaining in a mutual relation. This proves the inseparability of dance and culture (except for analytical and technical purposes), as dance cannot be separated from its creator or tools of expression. They are embedded in the cultural context that shapes them and creates their movements. Dance cannot exist without the dancer, which is why analysis should include not only the form, but also the meaning dance has for creators, performers and spectators.

> The phenomenon of dance can be approached in many ways. For the dancer, it gives the opportunity to improve the body and mind, allows physical relaxation and achieving well-being, as well as enjoying friendship between performers, as well as performers and the audience. On the other hand, there is the per-

spective of the recipient who derives satisfaction from the possibilities offered by dance, which entertains, moves, relieves anxiety or strengthens the sense of community (Royce, 2002, p. 44).

Anthropology gains insight into the motivations of human actions and helps understand the fundamental issues of existence. In anthropology, dance has been investigated for over a hundred years, and in a very wide range. Five dominant research areas can be chronologically distinguished: 1) evolutionary approach, 2) study of cultural features, 3) study of culture and personality, 4) problem-oriented approach in relation to pluralist societies, 5) dance seen as a unique phenomenon (Royce, 2002).

The oldest and most popular research method in anthropology is participant observation. It involves personal participation in the life of the studied group and observing it from within (Frankfort-Nachmias, Nachmias, 2001). Therefore, learning a culturally foreign dance in its place of origin as well as performing it together with native people in their native culture, in a sense, makes everyone a researcher. It is not without reason that the phrase "in a sense" was used here, as the expressed opinion does not correspond literally to the actual state of affairs, but is very close to it. A researcher is aware of her/his role and refers to theory and research methods unlike a tourist. Undoubtedly, training a dance technique in the country of origin of a given dance is the best way to feel and understand the local aesthetic which constitutes a part of the dance tradition. The first contact with something unknown may initially cause discomfort, however after a while, understanding of diversity becomes fundamental in an absolutely 'embodied' manner. In the cognitive, emotional, but also physical sense, the distance between an ethnic dancer and a student of a different nationality is a natural thing. Although anthropologists have for a very long time underlined the importance of knowledge of the local language, which shortens this distance, recently they have also begun to appreciate 'embodied' language (Royce, 2002; Brocki, 2015). Naturally, due to this, implementation requires great vulnerability and sensitivity, as well as openness to possible awkwardness, which is more easily experienced than in the case of verbal communication alone. Wilson (1972) pointed out that the interaction between foreign people, speaking different languages and coming from other cultures, often leads to misunderstandings and errors in communication. Hence, stereotypes are also present in dance. Moreover, there is a risk that the performer's cultural manners may affect the interpretation of foreign traditions.

Nevertheless, traveling around the world in order to take dance lessons as well as participate in events, which can have considerable importance in a given culture or dance subculture, is becoming increasingly popular. Sometimes these trips may be limited only to visiting important places, museums, exhibitions, or watching a show, spectacle or performance. All this, however, leads to getting to know a foreign culture, arouses curiosity and ignites the senses. Dance research among tourism researchers, however, constitutes only a niche. In the following section, selected examples of tourist attractions related to dance are presented. These are places that are attractive for tourists who travel for cultural or sports purposes.

3. FAMOUS DESTINATIONS RELATED TO DANCE: SELECTED EXAMPLES OF DANCE CULTURE ON THE *UNESCO REPRESENTATIVE LIST OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF HUMANITY*

For the lovers of salsa, the most important destination is undoubtedly Cuba. This dance of Caribbean origin was created in the 1940s and has many followers to this day (McMains, 2015). Numerous travel agencies cooperate with Cuban dance schools and organize trips for tourists combined with sightseeing and a dance course. Another dance practiced in Cuba is rumba, a word which refers to Cuban folklore and is of Spanish origin. Like many Latin American dances, it was inspired by the rhythms, songs and physical activity of the first African slaves who were brought to the Caribbean Islands about 400 years ago. Currently, the intangible cultural heritage of Cuba is becoming a basic resource to generate local income (Ruxander, 2018).

Tango was born in the suburbs of Buenos Aires, and especially popular in harbour districts, bars and brothels. It is in these places that the real tango spirit emerged, manifesting itself in passion, infatuation, anger and sadness. It was mostly danced by poor people who dreamt of a better life, and who wanted to forget themselves in the rhythm of music. Today, tango is one of the most important tourist assets of Argentina and the symbol of Argentine tourist promotion. In 2009, together with its music, it was included on the *UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* (Davis, 2015).

One of the most popular Latin American dances is samba which can be performed solo or with a partner and is characterized by dynamic and sensual hip movements. Today, it is a Brazilian hallmark (Vianna, 1999) strongly associated with the carnival in Rio de Janeiro. It is in this city that the world's largest parade is held presenting the best samba schools who compete with each other on the famous sambadrome. It is difficult to determine where and when exactly it was created. However, it is assumed that samba comes from the state of Bahia (Vianna, 1999) and derives from the rhythms

and melodies danced by African slaves. Most often this dance was performed in order to seduce or attract a partner. It is often called the dance of lovers, as it contains a whole arsenal of intimate movements and gestures, expressing sometimes very bold feelings. It is also a dance of joy. Its rhythm is based on syncopation, while the tempo depends on the circumstances that accompany the dancers. Since the 1930s, samba has also been a symbol of the national identity of Brazilians (Chasteen, 1996).

Another dance from the *UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* is flamenco from a mix of diverse cultures such as Persian, Arabic, Jewish and Balkan. The tradition of flamenco comes from Andalusia and is strongly connected with gypsy folklore. It is danced solo, as a duet, as well as in a group, often during such popular Spanish fiestas as *Feria de Abril* (Malchrowicz, Buczkowska, 2010). The name of the dance is derived from the Latin word *flamma* meaning flame. The art of performing flamenco includes not only dance but also music, singing and costume. Each dance tells a story that certainly would not affect the imagination in the same way without its setting. Most often, the music is created only with the accompaniment of a guitar, and then enriched by details provided by both singers and dancers who tap out the rhythm, clap or use castanets. Furthermore, props such as big red flowers or lace fans are significant and used to stimulate the senses, tempt and delight. Together with the corrida, flamenco is an important symbol of Spanish tourist promotion. Especially in Andalusia, in the cities of Granada and Seville, there are many flamenco schools and restaurants where it is possible to watch live shows (Malchrowicz, 2009).

An important destination on the world dance map (Fig. 1) is Egypt where belly dancing was born (Drożdż, 2012). This type of dance is based on graceful and harmonious movements of the hips and chest as well as subtle movements of the hands, especially the wrists.

 A very characteristic element is the so-called shimmy, i.e. hip movements that make the dancer's body shake. Apart from the very art of performing the dance, the dancer's clothing is also very important. Women usually wear beautiful, richly decorated costumes consisting of a bra, a wide airy skirt and a shawl. The belly dance is very seductive, and for this reason it is officially banned in some Arab countries (e.g. Libya and Algeria) (Bliss, 2014).

One of the symbols of tourist promotion in Greece is the sirtaki dance (popularly known as zorba) which has its roots in Crete. It is a popular Greek pseudo-folk dance, similar to authentic Greek folk dances and its name is a diminutive form of *sirtós*, the most traditional Greek folk dance accompanied by bouzouki. Nowadays, sirtaki is a regional attraction in taverns or during so-called Greek nights in hotels organized for tourists.

Fig. 1. Major destinations of dance tourism
Source: author's elaboration

However, due to its extreme popularity, it is played in hotels all over the world to make the time spent by tourists more enjoyable (Papadimitriou, 2000).

In turn, ballet lovers travel to Russia where this is an important element of Russian culture. The history of Russian ballet dates back to the second half of the 17th century. A person who contributed to the development of Russian ballet was the French dancer and master Jean-Baptiste Landé who prepared the first true ballet spectacle with choreography. Two years after the performance, he received official permission to open the first ballet school in the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg (Lifar, 1969).

4. MUSEUMS OF DANCE

One of the most famous museums dedicated to dance is the Dance Museum located in Stockholm (Swedish: '*Dansmuseet*') – Fig. 2. It houses all exhibits associated with dance: costumes, masks, scenography designs, works of art, posters and books. Since 1953, the museum had been located in the basement of the Stockholm Opera, but in 1999, it was relocated to new headquarters at Gustav Adolf Square (see Dansmusset). Another important place dedicated to dance is found in the United States, where the National Museum of Dance (with a Hall of Fame) is located in Saratoga Spa State Park, Saratoga Springs, New York. The museum was founded in 1986 and houses photographs, videos, artefacts, costumes and biographies of famous dancers. The museum is located in a former Washington Bath House building and was founded by Marylou Whitney (see National Museum of Dance). Other dances with
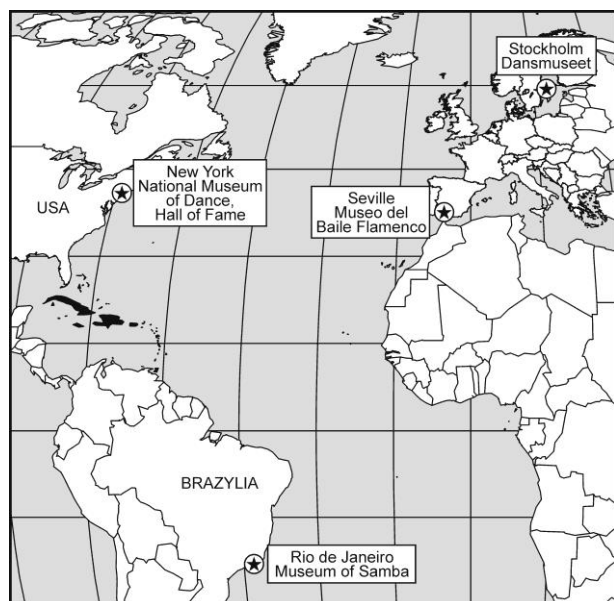
Fig. 2. Museums of dance in the world
Source: author's elaboration

dedicated museums can be found in Rio de Janeiro – samba museum, and Seville – flamenco where the *Museo del Baile Flamenco* is located in the Santa Cruz district and presents daily shows. The central patio of the museum has been specially designed for performances with just a small number of spectators.

5. FAMOUS DANCE EVENTS AND FESTIVALS

Dance festivals are living museums of culture and tradition. The most popular are carnivals which take place annually in many cities around the world. Of course, the most popular is the 4-day samba school event in Rio de Janeiro while, slightly shorter, a 2-day competition for dancers takes place in Port of Spain, the capital city of Trinidad and Tobago (see Fig. 3). The carnival tradition is so strong that the African-American immigrants, who came to Great Britain began to share their culture with the British in the late 1950s, and this continues to this day with people from around the world visiting London to see the Notting Hill Carnival. Many Europeans visit Tenerife Carnival, a 2-week fiesta which, according to many, can only be surpassed by the carnival in Brazil. The charming 20-day festival of dance and theatre, the *Carnevale di Venezia* in Italy, is based on old masquerades. Among Asian dance events, one of the most frequently mentioned is the *Intruz* festival in Panaji, India. It lasts 3-4 days and undoubtedly reflects the clash between the hedonistic energy of the carnival and the conservative customs of India. An interesting dance event is the Festival of Whirling Dervishes in the Turkish city of Konya whose characteristic feature is

meditation in motion. Rumi, a 13th century Sufi poet and theologian of Islam, believed that communication with God was possible through movement. In this way, the dance of the dervishes, whirling in white robes, black cloaks, and a conical headgear (Sawala, Krawczyk, Bednarski, 2005) was born. On the other hand, the most prestigious event for ballroom dancers is the Blackpool Dance Festival held in England, which hosts over 1500 couples from all over the world.
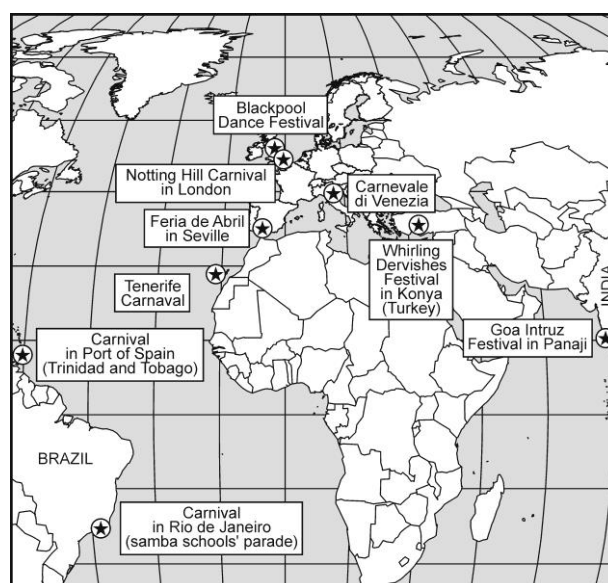
Fig. 3. Dance events and festivals in the world
Source: author's elaboration

Regardless of the type and style of dance, an important event for all lovers of this art is the International Dance Day established in 1982 by the Dance Committee of the International Theatre Institute operating under the auspices of UNESCO. The day of the celebration, April 29, was chosen to commemorate the birth of Jean-Georges Noverre, the great reformer of the art of dance, founder of the European ballet, and dancer and choreographer himself. On Dance Day every year, a different artist prepares a proclamation addressed to those who practice and love dancing. In recent years, one author has been the American dancer and specialist in dance anthropology, Katherine Dunham. Proclamations have also been written by Maurice Béjart, Mahmoud Reda, Kazuo Ohno and Robert Joffrey.

In Poland, dance related tourism events are the Tanga Festival in Łódź, the Łódź Ballet Meetings (*Łódzkie Spotkania Baletowe*) and the International Festival of Mountain Folklore (*Międzynarodowy Festiwal Folkloru Ziem Górskich*) in Zakopane are particularly worth noting.

Undeniably, these are just a few examples of numerous dance events organized around the world. The multitude of dance styles, as well as techniques and possibilities of combining or disrupting them, results

in an annual increase in such events. Today, the craze for dancing creates great opportunities for cultural tourism. However, it should be remembered that there is a great danger of losing the most important meaning of dance by commercializing and diminishing its original essence.

6. CONCLUSION

Dance tourism aims to enrich the free time of an individual with new cultural experiences, social competences, knowledge of a given dance subculture, as well as the culture of another region of the world. Trips of this type take a person out of their drab reality and to be transported into a different and magical dimension where they fulfil themselves and their dreams. Consciously or not, dance regenerates psychophysical health and enriches people spiritually.

> Dance also teaches divergent thinking, which is a part of creative thinking. People enter a kind of unreal world, which they feel a part of, and become a co-creator of art, which allows expression of their feelings, as well as themselves. It helps discover the possibilities of a person and their talents as well as shaping their personality, attitudes and actions. By experiencing the art of dance, a person develops sensitivity towards values and sustains cultural identity. Dance also ensures the continuity of cultural heritage in the consciousness of future generations as well as other nationalities. Through it, tolerance for what is new, different and unpredictable is taught (Banio, 2015, pp. 78-79).

Most often, people going on a trip are already experienced travellers and these trips are not accidental. Encouraged by the offer of a given event or place as well as fascinated by culture, they become dance tourists. This article constitutes an introduction to the issue of dance tourism. It presents potential attractions related to dance in the perspective of cultural and sports tourism. Dance as an important socio-cultural phenomenon requires further in-depth analysis on the part of tourism researchers.

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HERITAGE TRAM LINES IN WROCŁAW:
ANALYSIS OF THE TOURIST OFFER FROM AN URBAN TOURISM PERSPECTIVE

Abstract: The aim of the article is to assess the operation of Heritage Tram Lines in Wrocław in 2018 in terms of the attractiveness of the offer for tourists, uptake, the costs of its maintenance and profitability, to finally indicate some general conclusions on this urban tourism offer. The present moment is special as an increase in carriers (transport companies) operating the Lines from one to two has enabled various changes to be made. Based on data on the number of tickets being sold it is possible to assess that the Lines are most popular in July and August, however even then statistically less than half of the seating places are occupied. Trips with a guide are less frequented than rides without. As a consequence, in this article several suggestions are presented which may help the Lines become more popular: for example a longer period of operation (in a day and in a year), the introduction of new ticket types and additional attractions.

Keywords: technical heritage, heritage tram cars, transport, tourist tram lines, Wrocław.

1. INTRODUCTION

In most cities with a developed tourist function there is an offer of special public transport routes (Mehring, 2017) which are intended to bring tourists to the more important points of interest (tourist attractions) or show them the main sights in the shortest possible time. In some cases, these routes can become in themselves a tourist attraction, operating in the form of an independent tourist product (see Kaczmarek, Stasiak, Włodarczyk, 2010; Meyer, 2015). Such routes are most often served by modern, specially adapted vehicles (e.g. double-decker buses with an open top in Great Britain, but also in many other European cities, e.g. Berlin), but in some cities – with heritage public transport vehicles – historic tram cars run on these routes which make the offer more attractive. Due to its special character, the second is particularly appreciated by tourists which is best illustrated by the examples of Lisbon and Porto in Portugal or San Francisco in the USA.

In Poland in most of the cities where there is tram transport, the operators maintain tourist routes served by historic tram cars (see Kołodziejczyk, 2018). Such an offer is available in Bydgoszcz, Częstochowa, Elbląg,

Gdańsk, Kraków, Łódź, Poznań, Szczecin, Warsaw and Wrocław. These routes have a different period of operation (usually weekends, generally in the summer half of the year or only at holidays), length, frequency, and age of the tram cars used, so comparing them is quite difficult. This article presents a closer look at the Heritage Tram Lines that run in Wrocław. It is interesting that (unlike other cities) its operator is not an urban carrier serving other regular lines, but a voluntary society. Moreover, the operation is financed by the Municipal Office of Wrocław on the basis of a competition for non-governmental organizations. Such a situation raises some technical and administrative difficulties, but on the other hand, it gives more freedom in shaping the offer, and at the same time allows a wide involvement of enthusiasts of history, technology and, particularly, old trams (or buses). It is worth emphasizing that the capital of Lower Silesia can be proud of the largest collection of historic public transport vehicles in Poland (Kołodziejczyk, 2012, 2018; Sielicki, 2013). This reflects in a good way the changes that have occurred in public transport in Wrocław from the horse-drawn trams launched in

1877 (Sielicki, 2017), through electric trams in 1893, up to the transformations that took place from the mid-20th century whose purpose was to adapt public transport to ever more intensive vehicular traffic, and an increasing number of inhabitants and passengers (Bufe, 1992; Lewandowski, Molecki, 2006; Maciejewski, 2004; Sielicki, 2012a, 2012b; Wojcieszak, 1993). Unfortunately, the condition of individual vehicles in this collection is very diverse, from technically efficient to complete wrecks (Sielicki, 2013).

The offer of tourist routes served by historic rolling stock on the one hand is a part of urban tourism, and on the other, heritage tourism (however, both concepts overlap). In the simplest terms, urban tourism includes all forms of tourism taking place in cities (Matczak, 1989; Marak, Wyrzykowski, 2010), but at the same time these can be "forms of tourism related to the values and tourist infrastructure occurring in urban areas" and "tourism, which aims to visit and get familiar with a city treated as cultural heritage and considered an indivisible element of tourism space" (Kowalczyk, 2005, p. 157; see Ashworth, 1992; Mika, 2007a; Page, 1995; Sala, 2012). Trams or public transport are elements of the urban landscape in operation at least since the 19th century, hence the role of heritage associated with them can be one of the most important objects of interest for urban tourists (at the same time, such a tourist travels through the city using this means of transport). Historic means of public transport also show changes in ways of traveling and technological development, becoming part of the tourism of cultural heritage understood as exploring places, sites of material and spiritual culture and activities that show the historical and cultural values of the past and present in an authentic way (Lipińska, 2011). In the case of this type of tourism, the close contact of its participants with historic sites is extremely important (Mikos von Rohrscheidt, 2008), which in the case of a tourist route operated by historical tram cars is probably the greatest. The offer analysed can be associated with automotive tourism, however, unlike its usual form (Marak, Wyrzykowski, 2010; Mika, 2007b) the mode of transport is not the main reason but in fact the motivation is to visit sites related to its development (e.g. automotive museums, car factories, connected events). This type of tourism has had few academic studies so far (Cudny, 2018; Cudny, Horňák, 2016) but this concept is quite common in the transport enthusiasts' environment (which is manifested, among others, by the internet service Turystyka-motoryzacyjna.pl). So far, there is very little academic research focused on the operation of tourist routes served by historic tram cars (see Kołodziejczyk, 2011).

The aim of the article is to assess the operation of the tourist tram lines in Wrocław through its offer – its attractiveness to tourists and uptake, as well as the costs of maintenance and profitability. Firstly, a desk analysis of available promotional materials related to the Lines was carried out to define the way it operates. A valuable source of information was data on the sale of tickets over the whole season by type of ticket and individual routes, which was then subjected to a statistical analysis aimed at determining uptake at both overall and particular periods of operation. Financial data on total revenues and expenses was also obtained allowing the question of whether such a line could be maintained without subsidies could be answered. The results were used for a SWOT analysis (Tylińska, 2005), which is quite often used in the tourism research, not only in the context of reception areas (Goranczewski, Puciato, 2010) but also specific tourist attractions (Kruczek, 2011; Nowacki, 2000). In the final part of the work, recommendations were made regarding the improvement (development) of the existing offer.

2. OPERATION OF THE HERITAGE TRAM LINES IN 2018

Heritage Tram Lines have been running in Wrocław since 2009 and were commissioned by the Municipal Office of Wrocław (currently the City and Tourism Promotion Office), but so far it has been operated exclusively by the Wrocław Admirers Society (Polish: *Towarzystwo Miłośników Wrocławia*, TMW). In 2018, for the first time, a consortium of two associations became the operator, to which, apart from TMW, the Urban Transport Enthusiasts Club (Polish: *Klub Sympatyków Transportu Miejskiego*, KSTM) entered. This allowed a greater diversification because the consortium now provided four tram cars (Fig. 1): Linke-Hofmann Standard *Juliusz*[1] from 1929 (TMW), Konstal 4N1 *Enusia* from 1960 (KSTM), Konstal 102N *Strachotek* from 1969 (TMW) and a Konstal 102Na from 1972, comprehen-

Fig. 1. Trams operating on Routes A and B of Heritage Tram Lines: Konstal 4N1 from 1960 and the Konstal 102Na articulated tram car from 1972
Source: Kołodziejczyk, 2018

sively renovated in 2014-2018 (KSTM). Apart from the Linke-Hofmann Standard tram, all tram cars have a sound system. In relation to the previous year, some changes were introduced concerning routes, prices and organization, e.g. by planning several stops near the most important tourist attractions. Intermediate stops had also existed at the beginning (from 2009 to around 2012), but later TMW abandoned them.

Heritage Tram Lines in 2018 ran from June 16th to September 9th on Saturdays and Sundays from 12:00 to 21:00 over four routes (Fig. 2) which all shared the stylized stop on Theatre square (*pl. Teatralny*), adjacent to the Opera House and about 400 m from the Market Square. Route A led from the Opera to the Centennial Hall (inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List) and the Zoological Garden, and Route B in the opposite direction, but other streets, which allowed tourists to see various monuments and attractions along the way (including the District of Four Religions, Royal Palace, churches of St. Christopher and St. Adalbert, National Museum, *Ostrów Tumski*, Szczytnicki Park, Zwierzyniecki Bridge, church of the Virgin Mary on Piasek Island, Market Hall, Ossolineum, Main Building of the University of Wrocław, Arsenal). The whole round trip took just over 90 mins with a half-hour stop near the Centennial Hall allowing a quick view of the historic building and its surroundings (there was of course the

possibility of returning with another, later tram). Each of Routes C and D was circular and, in contrast, there were no stops on the way. The first led through the Old Town and the recently revitalized Nadodrze district, the ride took about 50 minutes, while the second, planned as an evening route, was supposed to show the most interesting illuminated monuments in just over half an hour (including the Renoma Department Store, Main Railway Station, *Ostrów Tumski* churches, Main Building of the University of Wrocław). In this case, only one run took place at 20:00, which, unfortunately, for most of the time when the line was in operation was simply too early to see the illumination of the buildings. Routes A and B were served by KSTM, while C and D were by TMW. On all routes on selected runs a licensed guide talked about the monuments and other attractions being passed. In the case of Routes A and B, during the stop at the Centennial Hall the guide also showed passengers around. It was purposely proposed to provide a guide service on selected runs only (6 out of 11 each day) to provide a choice. For some tourists or Wrocław inhabitants it is an attraction just to take a ride on a historic tram car and watch the city from its windows.

In the case of tourist routes the 'hop on-hop off' offer is often and successfully used in many Western cities, and more recently on Polish routes of this kind.
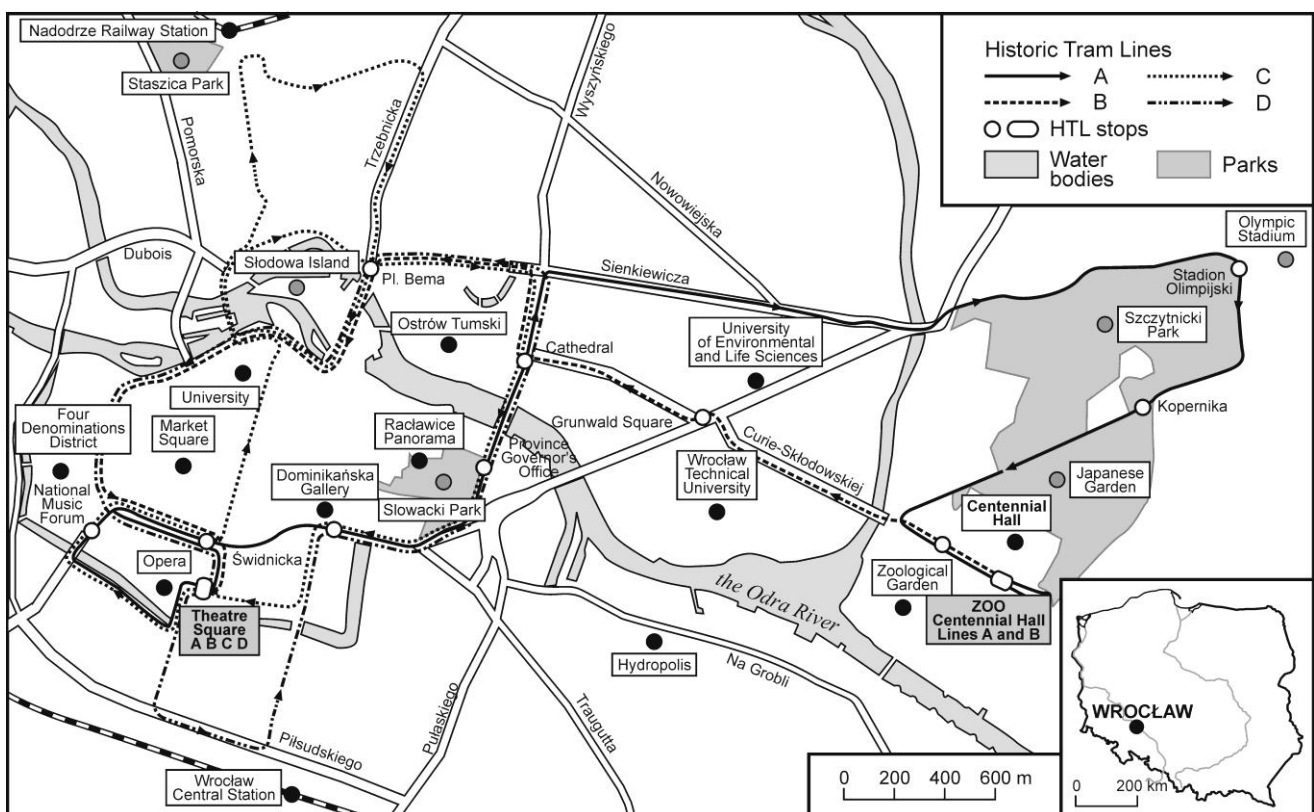

Fig. 2. Map of the four routes of Heritage Tram Lines in 2018
Source: elaboration: T. Szymczyszyn & K. Kołodziejczyk; base map: OpenStreetMap authors

In connection with its use on Heritage Tram Lines in Wrocław and the designation of several stops on Routes A and B, KSTM introduced a conductor whose main task was to sell tickets. In addition, conductors, recruited from public transport enthusiasts, if necessary informed passengers about the history and technical details of the tram which performed the run. They were equipped with historic hand-held punches. Tourists could thus ride the entire route they chose, which allowed them to quickly and easily get acquainted with the majority of the main tourist attractions of the city (Routes A, B, C and D), or they could get off and on at stops located near monuments for more detailed sightseeing (Routes A and B).

The disadvantage of the tariff was a lack of one-day tickets, which would allow free use of the entire offer on all four routes, a result of the potential difficulty of dividing revenues between the two carriers. There were only one-way tickets (for all routes) and return tickets (for routes A and B): full-price, concessionary and family (two adults and up to three children). Full-price and concessionary one-way ticket tariffs were imposed by the Municipal Office of Wrocław, while the others were chosen by the carriers. The organisation and, above all, the way of settling the revenues from tickets, made it impossible to establish wider cooperation with managers of other tourist attractions, even those owned by the city. However, it could be advisable to offer joint tickets with the Zoological Garden or Centennial Hall, to which some of the historic trams brought tourists.

Polish-English leaflets were published advertising Heritage Tram Lines with a route map, timetable and price list, available at all tourist information points in the city, as well as illustrated leaflets with an outline of tram communication history in Wrocław, given free of charge as a form of souvenir. Because the task was co-financed from public funds, Wrocław Municipal Office did not allow postcards depicting historic tram cars or other souvenirs to be sold, which would have made the offer more attractive. In addition to leaflets, promotion was carried out through the websites of the local government in Wrocław and of both carriers (in Polish and English, partly also in German), articles in the local press and on various websites (including Krzeszowski, 2018; *Ostatnie weekendy…*, 2018; *Wrocławska Zabytkowa Linia Tramwajowa…*, 2018; *Zabytkowa Linia Tramwajowa…*, 2018), as well as on social networks where information about vehicles running on a given day or changes of routes resulting from track repairs were published. The whole promotional campaign was conducted jointly by both carriers and a combined offer was advertised. The routes were also popularised by some guide groups.

It must be emphasised at the same time that the use of historic trams in Wrocław is not limited to seasonal, regular tram lines. All working tram cars can be rented for commercial trips, such as the transport of tourists with a guide's commentary (which is especially popular in the case of German groups), school groups, wedding guests or as part of events organised by companies (e.g. integration evenings). Trams also participate in photo sessions and run during various events taking place in the city, although in this case the activity of KSTM is greater than that of TMW. The most important event is Museums Night when historic trams and buses provide connections between facilities opened to the public, being at the same time an attraction in themselves (the largest such project is in Warsaw, but for three years special museum routes operated by historical tram cars have also been launched in Wrocław). Other events in which historical trams take part include the Feast of Wrocław and the European Week of Sustainable Transport, as well as various events organised by cultural institutions (e.g. the National Museum or the Institute of National Remembrance – Polish: *Instytut Pamięci Narodowej*). The former Popowice tram depot, where the historic public transport trams are based, is not regularly open to visitors because of its inadequacy for such a function and the lack of funds for renovation and maintenance. The facility is, however, occasionally made available, e.g. for several years at the beginning of September Popowice Depot Open Day is organised, each time attracting several thousand people.

3. SALE OF TICKETS ON HERITAGE TRAM LINES IN 2018

The basic information about the tourist use of Heritage Tram Lines is derived from ticket sales data, prepared by KSTM and divided into individual days and runs, but by TMW only for three financial periods,[2] which unfortunately hinders a more detailed analysis for the entire offer. Of the over 2,000 tickets sold, the largest share were concessionary and full-price one-way tickets (44.42% and 26.03% respectively, Table 1). This is because only one-way tickets are available on Routes C and D, although these types of tickets are also quite popular on Routes A and B (third and first place respectively). What draws attention – and is quite difficult to explain – is the reverse proportion between full-price and concessionary one-way tickets sold by the carriers. In the case of KSTM, the number of full-price tickets sold was almost twice as high as concessionary ones, while in the case of TMW the latter were almost four times more popular. Maybe this can be explained by the ignorance of new tariffs by TMW employees, because on circular routes around the city centre in previous years tickets for 4 PLN were valid, unlike the 8 PLN in 2018. Another reason could have been less encouragement to buy family tickets, whose share in the case of TMW is only

Table 1. Sale of tickets on the Heritage Tram Lines in 2018, divided into types of ticket

Specification	Full-price one-way	Concessionary one-way	Family one-way	Full-price return	Concessionary return	Family return	Total
	8 PLN	4 PLN	16 PLN	12 PLN	6 PLN	24 PLN	
The total number of tickets sold on all routes	525.00	896.00	137.00	229.00	145.00	85.00	2,017.00
The average number of tickets sold on all routes per day of operation	20.19	34.46	5.27	8.81	5.58	3.27	77.58
Number of tickets sold on Routes A and B	344.00	194.00	74.00	229.00	145.00	85.00	1,071.00
Number of tickets sold on Routes C and D	181.00	702.00	63.00	–	–	–	946.00
Total revenue from the sale of tickets on all routes (in PLN)	4,200.00	3,584.00	2,192.00	2,748.00	870.00	2,040.00	15,634.00
Average revenue from the sale of tickets on all routes per day of operation (in PLN)	161.54	137.85	84.31	105.69	33.46	78.46	601.31
Revenue from the sale of tickets on Routes A and B (in PLN)	2,752.00	776.00	1,184.00	2,748.00	870.00	2,040.00	10,370.00
Revenue from the sale of tickets on Routes C and D (in PLN)	1,448.00	2,808.00	1,008.00	–	–	–	5,264.00

Source: author.

6.66%, while for KSTM – 14.85% (one-way and return in total, only one-way – 6.90%). In the case of Routes A and B, the most popular were full-price one-way (32.12%), full-price return (21.38%), concessionary one-way (18.11%) and concessionary return tickets (13.54%). However, it should be remembered that between three and five people could use a family ticket, hence their share in terms of the number of transported passengers was much higher.

When it comes to revenues from ticket sales, the situation is a bit different due to varying prices (Table 1). In total for all routes the largest income was generated by full-price and concessionary one-way tickets – 26.86% and 22.92% respectively, followed by full-price return tickets (17.58%) and family one-way and return tickets (14.02% and 13.05%). In the case of routes serviced by KSTM, the revenues from the sale of full-price one-way and return tickets (26.54% and 26.50%) were almost identical. Shares of both types of family tickets (19.67% for return tickets and 11.42% for one-way) were also quite significant. Therefore, it should be acknowledged that the introduction of return and family tickets met the interest of tourists, many of whom travelled the whole length of Routes A and B. This applies in particular to families who almost twice as often purchased return tickets than those valid for only one journey. It should be emphasised that all the revenues from the tickets had to be spent on Heritage Tram Lines, particularly on the maintenance of trams.

On the basis of data on the number of tickets sold, it is possible to assess the extent of usage of the offer, i.e. the ratio of the actual number of transported passengers to the potential maximum number.[3] It is assumed that the most optimal form is, of course, a ride with a seat, although standing in trams is allowed. The trams usually running on Saturdays had 32 and 16 seats, respectively, and on Sundays, 32 seats each. Taking into account the number of runs each day, they could carry as many as 272 people seated each Saturday and 352 each Sunday. However, taking into account the number who could purchase a given type of ticket (Table 1), the offer was used on average by about 119 to 143 per day.[4] Statistically, therefore, less than half of the seating places were occupied. On the scale of the whole season, potentially Heritage Tram Lines could carry 8,112 seated passengers, but in reality there were from 3,090 to 3,704, so the usage was from 38.09% to 45.66%. It is worth checking these figures for both carriers separately. In the case of KSTM, assuming that the Konstal 102Na tram car with 32 seats was operating throughout the entire season (on a few occasions the smaller Konstal 4N1 car with 16 seats appeared), the total potential number of passengers was 4,992. Actually, it transported from 2,018 to 2,506, which gives a rate of 40.42-50.20%. In turn, TMW out of 3,121 potential passengers had in fact from 1,072 to 1,198, hence a slightly lower usage of 34.36-38.40%.

Detailed data on ticket sales for individual runs is available only for Routes A and B (Table 2). It is clearly visible that most people used the historic trams running from the city centre to the Centennial Hall, i.e. those starting at the Opera stop at 12:00, 14:00 and 16:00. On these three runs, during the entire period of operation, a total of 816 tickets were sold, 76.19% of all tickets distributed by KSTM. The most popular was the 14:00, and the least 17:15 (last return from Centennial Hall to the city centre). Taking into account the pairs (there

and back), the highest number of tickets was sold for the second pair and the lowest for the third, which is surprising as in the case of Routes A and B these were the only runs offered with a guide service. Taking into account the relatively high popularity of the run at noon, one may wonder whether Heritage Tram Lines should not start earlier, providing access to the Centennial Hall, Zoological Garden and Szczytnicki Park (traditional leisure places for the inhabitants of Wrocław) from the morning so that it would be possible to spend the whole day there.

The share of individual types of ticket sold on specific runs is quite diverse (Table 3). In the case of runs starting at the Opera House, during the first one (12:00) more one-way tickets were sold, in particular full-price, and during the second (14:00) return tickets, with a significantly higher proportion of concessionary. The share of return tickets for the last run from the Opera (16:00) is also quite high. Such a result can be equated with the offer of a guide available at that time, but, on the other hand, it is quite surprising as return tickets were valid for the whole day (there was no need to go back on the same tram), so planning for a longer stay in recreational areas in the eastern part of the city, it would be more logical to start the journey as early as noon. The slightly higher share of family return tickets during guided tours (16:00) is noteworthy. In the case of journeys in the opposite direction (from the Centennial Hall to the centre), runs at 13:15 showed a greater share of return tickets, which in turn were sold relatively little

at 15:15 (at 17:15 return tickets were not sold because the tram was not going back to the Centennial Hall). However, the data presented must be treated with some reserve, because with quite small numbers of tickets of each type sold, the results could have been influenced by organised groups that were also able to use the offer. For example, with the appearance of several large groups of children, the percentage of concessionary tickets could have been overstated. This could be an attempt to explain a clearly higher percentage of concessionary return tickets on runs at 14.00.

The problem in terms of the promotion of Heritage Tram Lines are the differing dates in individual years of the beginning and end of its operation. Initially (in 2009-2011) it ran throughout the year, later usually from the long weekend at the beginning of May to autumn, and most recently from June to September. This results from problems with financing the project. Varying the dates and the shorter period of operation means that the residents of Wrocław are not so used to this offer, while they constitute a significant (at certain periods of time) percentage of passengers. Each year, therefore, the offer must be promoted from scratch, which is reflected by relatively low (but gradually growing) revenues from tickets during the first weekends of activity (Fig. 3). Because on Routes A and B in 2018 some tram cars were not yet running on the Lines (in particular Konstal 102Na, which only had a premiere after renovation two months earlier), during the first weekend the 'novelty effect' acted and the revenues were quite high,

Table 2. Number of tickets sold on Routes A and B of Heritage Tram Lines in 2018, divided into types of ticket and individual runs

Tram run	One-way tickets			Return tickets			Total
	full-price	concessionary	family	full-price	concessionary	family	
	8 PLN	4 PLN	16 PLN	8 PLN	4 PLN	24 PLN	
12:00	97	34	18	68	35	25	277
13:15	21	23	10	15	8	5	82
14:00	71	44	14	80	72	20	301
15:15	46	35	11	2	1	8	103
16:00	66	38	14	64	29	27	238
17:15	43	20	7	0	0	0	70
Total	**344**	**194**	**74**	**229**	**145**	**85**	**1,071**

Source: author.

Table 3. Share (in %) of individual types of ticket sold on Routes A and B of Heritage Tram Lines in 2018, divided by run

Tram run	One-way tickets			Return tickets			Total
	full-price	concessionary	family	full-price	concessionary	family	
	8 PLN	4 PLN	16 PLN	8 PLN	4 PLN	24 PLN	
12:00	35.02	12.27	6.50	24.55	12.64	9.03	100.00
13:15	25.61	28.05	12.20	18.29	9.76	6.10	100.00
14:00	23,59	14.62	4.65	26.58	23.92	6.64	100.00
15:15	44.66	33.98	10.68	1.94	0.97	7.77	100.00
16:00	27.73	15.97	5.88	26.89	12.18	11.34	100.00
17:15	61.43	28.57	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00

Source: author.

but during the next they turned out to be the lowest in the whole season (Fig. 3; the weather was good so it is hard to see it as the reason for low attendance). Revenues in July and August on these routes remained at a fairly high, stable level (Fig. 3), usually reaching over 400 PLN a day (466.47 PLN on average). This took place despite the launch from June 30th, 2018 by MPK Wrocław (the municipal carrier) a competitive route served by a tram from the 1950s. At the beginning of September, a fall in revenues was recorded, which may suggest

a typical seasonal (holiday) character of demand for travel with historic trams. On the other hand, with a longer period of operation, it would be more clearly embedded in the minds of both Wrocław inhabitants and some tourists, and consequently, higher uptake and income can be expected (which, of course, will vary between the holiday period and the school year). This is evidenced by a comparison of ticket sales during the first and last weekends of the school holidays, and at the same time during the second and penultimate weekend of running the Lines (see attachments). The results are more beneficial in the second case, when the Lines were present in the city space for a longer time (the weather on both weekends was comparable – mostly sunny and warm). Taking into consideration the sale of particular types of tickets on specific days (Fig. 3), a considerably higher share of full-price one-way tickets can be seen on July 8th and 29th, and August 11th, family one-way tickets on August 25th, full-price return tickets on July 14th, 15th and 29th, and August 25th, and concessionary return tickets on July 21st (result of a visit of an organised group).

Fig. 3. Revenues (in PLN) from the sale of tickets on Routes A and B during individual weekends of running Heritage Tram Lines in 2018
Source: author

4. PROFITABILITY OF OPERATION AND A SWOT ANALYSIS

The costs of operation of Heritage Tram Lines differs slightly depending on the carrier (Table 4), which results from technical conditions (e.g. the differing power of trams causes different costs of energy consumption) and administrative reasons (e.g. part of the work is performed on the basis of volunteering by members

Table 4. Costs (in PLN) of the operation of Heritage Tram Lines in 2018

Specification	Urban Transport Enthusiasts Club (Klub Sympatyków Transportu Miejskiego)	Wrocław Admirers Society (Towarzystwo Miłośników Wrocławia)
Power consumption by trams	7,662.85	8,097.87
Readiness of the technical emergency service	6,251.59	5,498.10
Using the infrastructure of the local government in Wrocław (tracks and traction network)	1,762.63	1,448.11
Tram-drivers' work	5,070.00	4,680.00
Conductors' work	4,225.00 (volunteering)	–
Tourist-guides' work	3,750.00	5,441.00
Control of technical condition and current maintenance of trams	1,625.00 (volunteering)	8,032.76
Repairs and maintenance of trams and removing the effects of traffic accidents, including derailments	33,244.64	10,692.93
Printing of tickets, leaflets, timetables	2,216.95	522.20
Insurance	1,425.00	838.48
Administrative costs	2,550.00	9,547.44
Total	**69,783.66**	**54,798.89**

Source: author.

of societies). Taking into account only the direct costs of running trams (power consumption, readiness of the technical emergency service, use of infrastructure, work of tram-drivers), the running of tram cars on Routes A and B (KSTM) cost 20,747.07 PLN, while on Routes C and D (TMW), 19,724.08 PLN. Taking into account the revenue from tickets in 2018 (Table 1), Heritage Tram Lines have no chance of surviving without subsidies from the Municipal Office of Wrocław. This is how it has worked from the beginning, however we have to remember that the subsidy is variable from year to year and has ranged from 40,000 PLN to 120,000 PLN. In addition to these costs, the printing of tickets, the maintenance of trams and the work of guides, who have already become an important element of the offer, must be taken into account at least. In 2018, the subsidy for operation amounted to 100,000 PLN to be split in half between both carriers. This allowed a slightly more attractive offer to be created than in the previous year (e.g. a greater number of runs, including runs with a guide service, leaflets on the history of tram communication in Wrocław, generally more leaflets and timetables). It should also be remembered that the Lines support historic rolling stock, which needs to be maintained in a special way. Repairs in the event of a breakdown can be extremely expensive and at the same time must be carried out as soon as possible to ensure the continuity of operation. Neither association has extensive technical facilities that would allow complicated repairs, hence some works are out-sourced to companies with experience in work on technical monuments (all tram cars are entered in the register of monuments).

Based on these conditions for the operation of Heritage Tram Lines, and taking into account other elements of the Wrocław tourist offer, a SWOT analysis has been developed (Table 5). The tourist attraction presented certainly stands out due to its originality, in particular through the use of historic vehicles, i.e. an element of the cultural heritage of the city, for sightseeing. The high price of tickets and the limited scope of additional attractions, however, means that its competitiveness in relation to other ways of getting to know Wrocław (e.g. Melex trips) is not too high.

5. CONCLUSIONS

As noted by Meyer (2011, p. 15), "nowadays means of transport are increasingly becoming independent tourist attractions, being the destination of tourist trips" (see also Meyer, 2009). This is due to the fact that transport relatively quickly, apart from the performance of the connecting function, has become one of the attractions associated with a tourist trip (see e.g. Maćkowiak, 2015; Pawlusiński, 2007). Heritage Tram Lines, which have

Table 5. SWOT analysis for Heritage Tram Lines

Strengths	Weaknesses
– use of authentic heritage to move around the city – a convenient way to see the most important sights in a short time – location of stops at the most important monuments and attractions – variety of vehicles running on the Lines (they represent the period from the interwar to the 1970s) – the opportunity to travel either with a guide's commentary or without – no additional price for the guide service – free leaflets on the history of tram communication in Wrocław – people serving the Lines are lovers of public transport heritage	– fairly high price for a trip, especially for individual tourists – tourists must adapt to the departure times from individual stops – lack of access to some attractions or no opportunity to stop in their vicinity – lack of runs in the morning, when the residents of Wrocław go to Centennial Hall and Szczytnicki Park – quite varied capacity of cars running on the Lines – no opportunity to buy postcards or other souvenirs – guide service only in Polish
Opportunities	Threats
– establishing cooperation with managers of other attractions and offering joint tickets, as well as joint promotion – developing an additional offer, e.g. runs with live musicians or thematic trips, devoted to selected elements of Wrocław or its public transport history – developing cooperation with guide groups and travel agencies – offering guide services in English and German on selected days – use of audioguides	– competition from other means of moving around the city, mainly Melex cars, which transport tourists not only around the Old Town, but also to the Centennial Hall – renovation of tramway tracks hindering the optimal design of the routes – repeatability of the offer – a similar route in the following years (once used, no motivation to do it again)

Source: author.

been running in Wrocław for 10 years, can undoubtedly be considered a tourist attraction. Firstly, the historic tram cars recall how transport has changed over the last century (the oldest tram car appearing on the Lines represents the Linke-Hofmann Standard series, produced in 1925-1929; Jerczyński, 2001), secondly, they provide an attractive and efficient form of movement between attractions. In 2018, the offer was extended in relation to previous years, as a result of the introduction of a second carrier (Urban Transport Enthusiasts Club) alongside the previous one (Wrocław Admirers Society). In addition to changes in the operation important for passengers (including a larger number of stops as part of the 'hop on-hop off' offer, new types of tickets, a greater number of runs with a guide, and visually more attractive graphic materials), the result was the acquisition of quite detailed data regarding usage. Information on the sale of tickets showed that the Lines were most popular in July and August, but the average percentage of seating places taken up is around 40%, so the potential is not fully used. It is surprising that runs with a guide service were not necessarily the most popular. New types of tickets (family, return) were quite popular because they were more advantageous in terms of prices, important in view of the price increase in relation to the previous year (resulting from a decision of the city authorities). It is also clear that the carriers would not be able to maintain the Lines based only on the revenues from tickets (and possibly the sale of souvenirs), without subsidies.

An analysis of the operation of Heritage Tram Lines in 2018 allowed certain conclusions to be drawn aimed at improving the offer. Despite less interest in June and September, it seems advisable that it should start running as soon as the long weekend at the beginning of May, and finish at the turn of October (although at those times it may have a lower frequency). Thanks to this, it will be present not only in the city landscape but also in the awareness of both the inhabitants of Wrocław and tourists who, consequently, may contribute to an increase in average revenues. Runs to the Centennial Hall before noon could be considered to enable people willing to spend an entire day in this attractive part of the city to get there. One-day (or even weekend) tickets should be introduced making it possible to take full advantage of the 'hop on-hop off' offer. Combined tickets including Heritage Tram Lines and selected other tourist attractions owned by the city authorities, in particular the Zoological Garden and Centennial Hall, are also worth considering. Various types of souvenir (such as postcards, key rings, models of vintage trams) should be available, which would make the offer more comprehensive and would also have an impact on the financial result. It is also worth considering other forms of making the trip more attractive.

A guide's commentary is a standard form used on most tourist routes, although in the case of Wrocław it is surprising that runs with a guide are not more popular than those without. Rides with live musicians on board could be considered. The Urban Transport Enthusiasts Club has been doing such runs since September 2017 in cooperation with one of the jazz clubs. They are very popular, but until now they have been free of charge because they are promoting and popularizing or taking place as a part of various cultural events. The question is, would tourists and the inhabitants of Wrocław be eager for this type of ride for a fee?

Tourist tram lines operated by historic rolling stock attract tourists with the opportunity for direct contact with heritage, in this case the heritage of technology which has been gaining popularity in recent years. However, the group of lovers of historic means of transport is limited, and in order to attract a wider group of customers and ensure economic profitability, it is necessary to combine the core product (Kaczmarek, Stasiak, Włodarczyk, 2010), i.e. a historic tram ride, with additional attractions. The simplest option is the opportunity to explore the city from the windows of the vehicle together with the guide's commentary, but there can also be attempts to combine technical culture with popular culture, for example performances of bands in a tram car. It seems that historical trams so far are able to independently generate tourism in cities where they influence its *genius loci*, e.g. Lisbon or San Francisco. They have not fulfilled such a role so far in Wrocław.

ENDNOTES

[1] Wrocław's historic trams mostly have their own names.

[2] Settlement periods had different length, hence it is difficult to draw any conclusions based on these data regarding the variability in time of TMW's revenues from tickets for travel on the Heritage Tram Lines.

[3] In the literature on mass transport, the notion of filling is often used in this context (see i.a. Gill, Gramza, 2016; Starowicz, 2007; Stasiak, Kiciński, 2014).

[4] The range of values is based on the assumption that three to five people could travel on a family ticket. In the case of return tickets, the number of passengers is doubled the number of tickets sold, as each person travelled on two courses.

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ATTACHMENTS

Number of tickets sold on routes A and B of the Heritage Tram Lines during the second weekend (23-24.06.2018)
of the operation of the line divided into types of tickets and individual runs

Tram run	One-way tickets			Return tickets			Total
	full -price	concessionary	family	full -price	concessionary	family	
	8 PLN	4 PLN	16 PLN	8 PLN	4 PLN	24 PLN	
12:00	4	1	0	5	4	1	15
13:15	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
14:00	6	2	0	2	1	0	11
15:15	1	4	0	0	0	1	6
16:00	1	1	0	5	5	0	12
17:15	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**13**	**8**	**0**	**13**	**10**	**2**	**46**

Source: author.

Number of tickets sold on routes A and B of the Heritage Tram Lines during the penultimate weekend (01-02.09.2018)
of the operation of the line divided into types of tickets and individual runs

Tram run	One-way tickets			Return tickets			Total
	full -price	concessionary	family	full -price	concessionary	family	
	8 PLN	4 PLN	16 PLN	8 PLN	4 PLN	24 PLN	
12:00	7	1	2	3	4	1	18
13:15	2	3	2	0	0	0	7
14:00	4	4	0	0	0	0	8
15:15	8	6	1	0	0	1	16
16:00	3	1	1	4	0	2	11
17:15	2	0	1	0	0	0	3
Total	**26**	**15**	**7**	**7**	**4**	**4**	**63**

Source: author.

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THE GASTRONOMIC PRODUCT OF ŁÓDŹ HOTELS

Abstract: Restaurants and other facilities providing catering services are an important part of hotels, can be their flagship product or make them unique. The obligation to provide restaurant services was imposed by the Ordinance of the Minister of Economy and Labour of 19th August 2004, concerning hotel and other facilities where hotel services are provided. Despite the dynamic development of gastronomy in the 21st century, running catering facilities in hotels is often an obligation which does not bring additional income.

    The aim of the research is to present the gastronomic product in Lodz hotels, understood as all the services related to gastronomy that are provided. The analysis was conducted with respect to the brand of the facilities, references to local cuisine and the availability of hotel gastronomy to potential guests. The work also presents factors that may facilitate access to hotel gastronomy, breaking the stereotype of 'available only for hotel guests', as well as the advantages of using the hotel's gastronomic product in a proper way.

Keywords: gastronomic product of a hotel, hotel restaurant, Łódź, hotel gastronomy.

1. INTRODUCTION

The city of Łódź can boast some gastronomic events of long-standing reputation which have been held regularly for several years and are well known in Poland and other European countries. They include, *Festiwal Dobrego Smaku* (Festival of Good Taste) or *Międzynarodowe Targi Żywności Ekologicznej i Naturalnej:* Natura Food (International Organic and Natural Food Fair: *Natura Food*) (Kozłowska, 2015). At the same time, Łódź lacks culinary trails, while a regional cuisine and tourist products based on the culinary heritage of the city either do not exist or have not been sufficiently developed. In recent years, however, some positive changes have been observed. The number of restaurants and urban spaces clearly distinguishable on the culinary map of Poland has been gradually growing (Stasiak, 2015), particularly as regards facilities situated in historical interiors, such as the post-industrial buildings so characteristic of Łódź.

Hotel restaurants are usually associated with high standards and universality, their menus are prepared in such a way that they are suitable for different customers, regardless of where they come from or their cultural background.

All gastronomy-related services provided by hotels form the **gastronomic product**, which is a basic component of the hotel product, and the Tourism Services Act obliges hotel owners to provide at least basic gastronomic services (*Ustawa*, 1997). The gastronomic product consists of material components (manufactured goods) and non-material elements, including a wide range of hospitality functions, e.g. how services are provided, the times of service, knowledge of foreign languages and the hotel ambience (Milewska, Prączko, Stasiak, 2017). The gastronomic product includes all that satisfies the customers' appetites, as well as fulfilling other needs as well, e.g. the need to experience a different culture, admire interior designs, or visit a popular location (Stasiak, 2007).

The elements of the **gastronomic product** can be divided into three parts. The central, basic part is the **product core** (satisfying hunger), usually enriched with components increasing its value and attractiveness on the market. The next is the **actual product**, i.e. those elements which create the product and influence the way it is perceived by the customers (e.g. the price, the name of the dish, the way it is served, etc.). All the additional

features and benefits (e.g. product accessibility, booking systems and methods of payment) build the **augmented product** (Milewska, Włodarczyk, 2015; Sala, 2011). Competition on the gastronomy market forces establishments to expand their offer by adding new attractive augmented product elements such as presence on social media and internet portals, enabling customers to have the food delivered, and new booking methods (on-line, by phone, through mobile applications). The elements of the augmented product present gastronomic establishments, distinguish them on the market and persuade customers to choose a given restaurant. This may bring substantial additional revenue and be a perfect opportunity to promote the hotel as a whole. Owners tend to include the organization of various events (e.g. wedding or funeral receptions, conference coffee breaks) in their offer using the hotel's dining facilities.

Hotel restaurants are different from others because, in most cases, they have to meet the requirements arising from being a hotel (Gordin, Trabskaya, Zelenskaya, 2016). When describing the gastronomic product, it is necessary to consider the hotel brand and its effect on the restaurant.

The author has reviewed the existing literature and concluded that there were no publications on hotel gastronomy in Łódź. The aim of the article is to describe the gastronomic product offered in Łódź hotels with respect to their location, accessibility to customers and the brand they represent. The author studied the influence of these factors on the attractiveness of the hotel gastronomy product in Łódź.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Gastronomy is rising in popularity, becoming an independent tourism product and not merely a supplement to the tourist offer or an additional service. Consumer awareness is growing alongside expectations from the dishes they are served, the interiors in which they have their meals and the way they are served. Many publications can be found on culinary tourism e.g. on regional cuisines, gastronomic tourist products and forms of organizing culinary tourism (Jędrysiak, Orłowski, Woźniczko, 2015; Kwiatkowska, Levytska, 2009).

In Poland, gastronomic issues are mainly presented theoretically, on the situation in foreign markets or data obtained from the Central Statistical Office. In 2015, Łódź hosted a conference entitled 'Culture and tourism: around a shared table' on the topic of gastronomy in the hotel industry. The authors of the conference publication stressed that 'relatively few articles are based on rudimentary empirical studies' (Stasiak,

Krakowiak, 2015, pp. 5-6). Foreign literature presents empirical studies of hotel gastronomy or specific gastronomic products, the importance of local cuisine in gastronomic offers and its impact on the region's brand (Björk, Kauppinen-Räisänen, 2017; Gordin, Trabskaya, Zelenska, 2016; Kapera, 2015). Reliable data is available, concerning the potential of culinary tourism (Stasiak, 2015) and the location of hotels (Włodarczyk, 2015) in Łódź. However, there is a lack of publications regarding hotel gastronomy.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

The author conducted her research at 33 categorized hotels in Łódź, from January to May 2018. The primary source of information about the hotels was www.turystyka.gov.pl. (Centralna Ewidencja i Wykazy w Turystyce, Ministerstwo Turystyki), and the data provided by the website was compared to the actual situation; in 2018, two mentioned were no longer functioning as hotels.

The original questionnaire consisted of four parts: the condition of the gastronomic facilities in the hotel, gastronomic services provided in multi-functional rooms, the hotel's marketing strategy with respect to gastronomy, and the restaurant's formal and financial dependency on the hotel. The survey was conducted in person, online and during telephone interviews. Five hotel administrators refused to take part in the survey. The questionnaires included information from official hotel websites.

In order to analyse the collected material, the author referred to the following: *Ustawa z dnia 29 sierpnia 1997 r. o usługach hotelarskich oraz usługach pilotów wycieczek i przewodników turystycznych* (Hotel Services and Tourist Couriers' and Guides' Services Act of 29 August 1997) (*Ustawa*, 1997), *Rozporządzenie Ministra Gospodarki i Pracy z dnia 19 sierpnia 2004 r. w sprawie obiektów hotelarskich i innych obiektów, w których są świadczone usługi hotelarskie* (*Ordinance of the Minister of Economy and Labour of 19th August 2004, concerning hotel and other facilities where hotel services are provided*) (*Rozporządzenie*, 2004), literature on gastronomy and the hospitality industry, as well as TripAdvisor data (TripAdvisor). The map was prepared using ArcMapa 10.4.1., cartographic backgrounds were obtained from Łódź InterSIT website, WMS service (InterSIT).

4. GASTRONOMY IN ŁÓDŹ HOTELS

A hotel is defined as an accommodation facility with at least 10 rooms, mostly single or double, providing a number of services connected with a guest's stay

Table 1. The standards of gastronomic services and facilities required in hotels

Standards	Hotel category				
	*****	****	***	**	*
Providing guests with the possibility of buying hot drinks 24 hours a day	x	x	x[a]	x[a]	x[a]
Serving breakfasts	x	x	x	x	x
Aperitif-bar or coffee bar	x	x	x	x	-
Restaurant (the lack of a restaurant is allowed in 3-star hotels if there is one available within max. 200 metres from the hotel)	x	x	x	–	–
Serving meals to residential unit - room-service available for at least 18 hours per day	x	x	x	–	–

[a] Available from either vending machines or at the reception.

Key: 'x' – mandatory, '–' – not mandatory (optional).

Source: author, based on the *Ordinance of the Minister of Economy and Labour of 19th August 2004 concerning hotel and other facilities where hotel services are provided* (*Rozporządzenie*, 2004).

(*Ustawa*, 1997). One of the services available at hotels is the gastronomic service. *Rozporządzenie Ministra Gospodarki i Pracy z dnia 19 sierpnia 2004 r. w sprawie obiektów hotelarskich i innych obiektów, w których są świadczone usługi hotelarskie* (*Ordinance of the Minister of Economy and Labour of 19th August 2004, concerning hotel and other facilities where hotel services are provided*) defines the standards for individual hotel categories (Table 1), regarding facilities and the scope of services (*Rozporządzenie*, 2004). The document states that the owner does not have the right to use the term 'hotel' if they do not provide gastronomic services.

The regulation states that five- to three-star hotels must include a restaurant as well as serve breakfasts and sell hot drinks (Table 1). Contrary to the Minister's ordinance, the Tourism Services Act does not contain a definition of a restaurant as a mandatory hotel amenity (*Rozporządzenie*, 2004).

Milewska, Prączko & Stasiak (2017) define a restaurant as an establishment available to any consumer, offering full waiter service and a wide selection of dishes and drinks listed on its menu. 1- and 2-star hotels are not required to include a restaurant or other catering facility, but they must provide breakfasts. The administrators meet this requirement by serving breakfasts either prepared on the spot or delivered by an outside catering company. They also cooperate with such firms when organizing coffee breaks during conferences or events such as wedding or christening receptions. An example is the Eskulap Hotel, which does not have kitchen facilities but has signed a contract with a catering firm which delivers breakfasts and organizes events in the hotel.

The 33 categorized hotels in Łódź offer a total of about 5200 beds (September 2018). Łódź does not have a hotel of the highest standard (5-star). The majority are 3-star (16) and 2-star (10) while there are also two 1-star and five 4-star hotels.

At the time of the research, 6 (18%) out of 33 hotels did not feature a working catering facility (Fig. 1), including one 3-star hotel, which was being renovated at that time. The remaining 27 featured only two
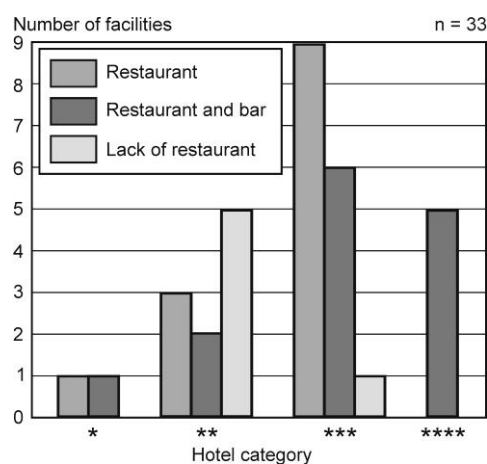
Fig. 1. Types of catering facility in Łódź hotels by hotel category
Source: author, based on own research

types: a restaurant or a bar. None of the inventoried hotels had a facility open during the night considered in the literature to be popular (Sala, 2011). The Alicja Hotel was the only one to have a restaurant open solely for hotel guests.

The presence of catering facilities depends on the strategy chosen by a given hotel, its category or ownership status – restaurants may be run by outside cooperating firms, on agreed terms. An example is the well-known '*Lawasz*' restaurant, at the Vigo Hotel in Łódź. Run as a separate business, it offers Caucasian-Polish cuisine to its customers. As a part of the agreement, the company's duties include preparing breakfasts, room service and catering during conferences.

5. THE GASTRONOMIC PRODUCT BRAND IN ŁÓDŹ HOTELS

The author studied restaurants and their brands in Łódź hotels, taking three factors into consideration: having its own name, being a part of a restaurant chain and being situated in a historical building.

A brand is a name, symbol, logo or a combination, created to identify the establishment and easily distinguish it from the competition (Kotler, 1994). A coherent, well-made brand creates character and atmosphere, influencing its perception by guests (Wrona, Armatys).

If a hotel is a part of a system, the brand is associated with existing gastronomic establishments. The moot point is whether connecting the latter with either an independent hotel or a hotel chain brings benefits or is a barrier to potential restaurant guests. Belonging to a network may guarantee high quality of service, increase the popularity of the establishment due to, for instance, positive opinions about the hotel network, but it may also deter the customers with high prices (e.g. when the hotel network has a reputation for being expensive), or be associated with only one type of cuisine (e.g. international and not local). On the other hand, being part of an independent hotel may discourage consumers as they are not familiar with the brand and think the restaurant is available solely to hotel guests. Out of 33 hotels in Łódź, 18 (55%) are affiliated – they belong to local networks (e.g. Ambasador hotels), Polish hotel systems (e.g. Qubus Hotels) and international chains (e.g. Accor Hotels).

In recent years, it has been a common practice to check the opinions and information about catering facilities or hotels on the social media. In this case, it is significant whether the restaurant belongs to a hotel network, or is under its own brand etc., because this builds a completely different online community and, depending on the situation, the hotel and the restaurant may work for the customers' trust either separately or together (Kachniewska, 2013). It remains controversial whether having a separate name (other than that of the hotel) brings more benefits, or does not matter for the guests. The lack of a name may be a barrier to potential customers, because social media will only provide information about the restaurant under the hotel's name. Joint activity of the restaurant and hotel may result in the lack of information about the former or difficulties in finding it (Grzegorczyk, 2005).

In Łódź, 11 out of the 27 restaurants presented in this article are under their own names (Fig. 2). No clear relationship between having such a name and belonging to a network is found: 5 out of 13 restaurants use their own name in independent hotels (e.g. the '*Stołówka*' restaurant in the Mazowiecki Hotel), and, similarly, 6 out of 14 restaurants in affiliated hotels carry their own names (e.g. '*Restauracja Łódzka*' in Holiday Inn). The Qubus Hotel (Qubus Hotel network) used to have a restaurant named '*Ogień*' ('Fire'), but due to the standardization of the network's brand, the idea of separate names for the restaurant and the hotel was abandoned in 2018.
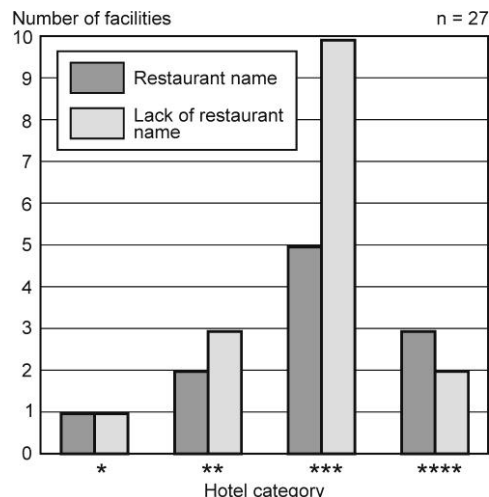
Fig. 2. Hotel restaurants by name
Source: author

The basis for creating a restaurant brand may be its history or location in a historical building. According to the historical monuments register, in Łódź, there are seven hotels situated in 19th and 20th century buildings (Table 2).

At the moment, three out of seven hotels situated in historical buildings are not offering gastronomic services. An interesting case is the Grand Hotel, which is the only one functioning in a historical building that has not changed its function or name ever since it was established, i.e. for over 130 years. An additional attraction for customers using the restaurant could be to see the interiors of this legendary hotel, not available to outside visitors. Guests dining in historical interiors have an opportunity to see interesting architectonic details, admire the decor, learn about the history of the hotel and the city, and in this way feel the atmosphere of Łódź from former times (Grand Hotel Łódź).

6. LOCAL CUISINE AS AN ELEMENT OF THE GASTRONOMIC PRODUCT

Before World War II, Łódź had been a city of four cultures: Jewish, German, Russian and Polish. Their mixture was reflected in the local gastronomy, and the remnants of ethnic cuisines can still be found today (Stasiak, 2015; Wojciechowska, 2014).

Since 2004, the Polish Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development has been running a program of promoting, supporting and protecting traditionally produced foodstuffs. In January 2019, the list comprised 1864 traditional and regional products, including 141 from Łódź Province łódzkiego (Ministerstwo Rolnictwa i Rozwoju Wsi). Unfortunately, products from

Table 2. Hotels in historical buildings in Łódź

No.	Hotel's name	Restaurant	Established	Previous function of the building	Date of entry on the historical monument register	Address
1.	Polonia	**No working catering facility**	1910-1912, 1953	'*Palast*' Hotel	1994-03-31	52 Kilińskiego St.
2.	Reymont	**No working catering facility**	1927	military building	1971-01-20	81/83 Legionów St.
3.	Focus	Hotel restaurant	1897	Juliusz Kinderman's cotton factory	1982-12-27	23/25 Łąkowa St.
4.	Grand Hotel	'Grand' Restaurant	1872, reconstruction 1887-1888	not applicable	No data	72 Piotrkowska St.
5.	Savoy	**No working catering facility**	1910-1911	not applicable	2010-12-28	6 Traugutta St.
6.	Vienna House Andel's Łódź	'Delight' Restaurant	1870s and 1890s	Poznański's factory buildings complex	1993-09-14	17 Ogrodowa St.
7.	Hotel Tobaco	'*U Kretschmera*' Restaurant	1990s	Tobacco factory building	1971-01-20	60/64 Kopernika St.

Source: author, based on register of historical monuments (Wojewódzki Urząd Ochrony Zabytków w Łodzi, 2018).

the list are not recognizable enough to be commonly associated with traditional Łódź cuisine.

Menus in many Łódź restaurants refer to the history of the city and its cultural heritage while dishes inspired by the city's past can also be found in hotel restaurants. The '*U Kretschmera*' restaurant in the Tobaco Hotel, refers to the history of Łódź not only through its name, but also through its cuisine. The dishes from the menu are inspired by traditional recipes, taking advantage of the culinary richness of various cuisines. '*Restauracja Łódzka*' at Holiday Inn Łódź offers the guests a menu supplement, based on the book entitled '*Fifka and Żulik*' (Dziennik Łódzki). Anna Wojciechowska, the author, collected recipes for traditional Łódź dishes, calling them the cuisine of the former factory workers in Łódź. The recipes presented in the book were used in the author's home for generations, but some of them were also found by her from other publications (Wojciechowska, 2014).

Based on the culinary heritage of the city, hotel administrators can create a gastronomic product which is unique for a given area. As a result of growing food awareness, customers pay significantly more attention to the ingredients and origins of products. Using local products from a given region has an influence on the perception of the hotel's brand, as well as building the image of the restaurant as one that supports small entrepreneurs and a hotel which cares about the quality of the food it serves.

7. GASTRONOMIC PRODUCT ACCESSIBILITY IN ŁÓDŹ HOTELS

The author chose two features from the research which she interpreted as the accessibility of gastronomic products in hotels: opening times and the distance of the restaurants from the ten most popular historical monuments of Łódź listed on the *TripAdvisor* website (TripAdvisor).

In Poland, restaurants (except those situated in accommodation facilities) are usually open for the whole day, with no breaks, contrary to 'Mediterranean culture' where restaurants are closed for the 'siesta' time, between 13.00 and 17.00 depending on the country. It is common practice that dinner/lunch in Europe is usually eaten between 14.00 and 16.00; in Western Europe it is earlier between 12 and 14.00; while in Central and Eastern Europe it is later. In many countries, however, it is the meal eaten after 18.00 that is the most varied and sophisticated (Sala, 2011).

The hotel restaurants in Łódź include some which are open for the whole day, some that are open with a break at lunch/dinner time, and those which are open twice – at breakfast time and in the afternoon. It depends on the additional activities run by the hotel. At hotels which organize conferences, restaurants are often reserved for conference groups at lunch time while large hotels close their restaurants after breakfast. During the break, some changes are often made, e.g. changing the waiting service, the cooks or decor,

and the restaurant is opened again from the afternoon. In Łódź, there are 16 facilities where the restaurant is open without any break (Fig. 3). Breaks may make using the restaurant difficult for potential customers who cannot freely use it according to their needs or habits resulting from their cultural background.
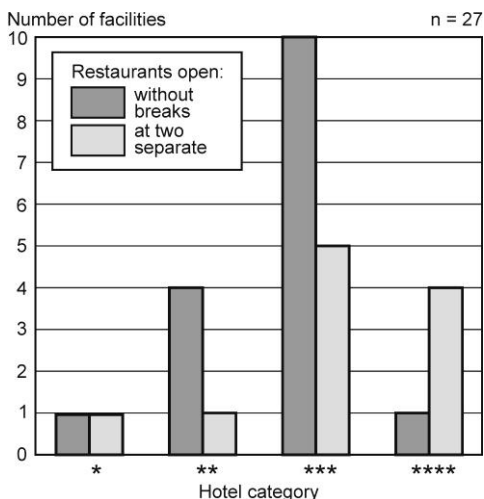

Fig. 3. Opening hours of hotel restaurants
by hotel category
Source: author, based on own research

Fig. 4. The distribution of hotels in relation
to selected sites in Łódź
Source: author, based on TripAdvisor

The next important argument stressed by the author is the location of the restaurant in relation to the ten most popular sites in Łódź mentioned on the *TripAdvisor* portal. The website presents a ranking of the most popular places, based on users' opinions and posts. In Łódź, eight individual sites were distinguished (*Manufaktura* Centre, Museum of Independence Traditions in Łódź – Radegast Station, the Jewish Cemetery, *Księży Młyn* district, Herbst Palace, *Pasaż Róży*, EC1 Planetarium, Jakub Mowszowicz Botanical Garden), Piotrkowska Street (the whole street, not individual places) and the area of the Łagiewnicki Forest. Eleven out of 27 hotels are located near at least one of those sites. The Grand Hotel and Holiday Inn are situated on Piotrkowska Street (Fig. 4).

The closeness of hotels to these sites influences hotel gastronomy in two ways – as a factor which makes tourists choose the hotel (they want to stay near the historical or tourist site of their choice), but after visiting the site the tourist may also want to use the hotel restaurant (not necessarily staying at the hotel for the night).

8. SUMMARY

Table 3 presents Łódź hotels which include restaurants. The author evaluates the hotel gastronomic product with respect to the features discussed earlier. The rating scale ranges from '0' for failing to meet the requirement to '1' for accomplishing it. 0 or 1 was allocated for a location close to historical monuments, regardless of the number of nearby hotels. Six facilities obtained the maximum number of points, one obtained 4 points (Tobaco Hotel – '*U Kretschmera*' restaurant), five – 3 points and four – 0 points.

The restaurants selected for the study deserve particular attention, especially the '*U Kretschmera*' Restaurant at the Tobaco Hotel and the Delight Restaurant at Vienna House Andel's Łódź (Vienna House; Hotel Tobaco). Both these hotel restaurants have already been appreciated several times in various culinary competitions and highly rated in the Gault, Millau Yellow Guide, which is a prestigious publishing series (next to the Michelin guides) reviewing the gastronomic market (Horecanet.pl). Out of 640 restaurants in Poland which were distinguished for 2019, 18 can be found in Łódź, including two located in hotels. '*U Kretschmera*' Restaurant has been awarded four times (in five Polish editions of the competition) (Koper, 2018).

When analysing the many aspects of Łódź gastronomy and deliberating over the chances to promote the culinary tourist attractions of the city, Stasiak (2015) did not discuss the topic of gastronomy in hotels. In the author's opinion, proper promotion of hotel gastronomy may, however, break the negative and untrue

Table 3. The gastronomic product in Łódź hotels with restaurants

Hotel			Features of a hotel's gastronomic product							
name[a]	category	restaurant name	Name of establishment	Local cuisine related to the city's traditions	Opening hours	Distance from selected historical monuments			Location in a historical building	Total
						Accessibility	0.5 km	1 km		
Nu Hotel (2)	*	HR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Alicja (4)	**	HR	0	0	na	0	0	0	0	0
Ambasador Chojny (14)	***	HR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Qubus (22)	***	HR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mazowiecki (9)	**	100łówka	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mhotel (13)	***	HR	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Iness Hotel (20)	***	HR	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Rubin (24)	***	HR	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Yuca (28)	***	HR	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
Doubletree By Hilton Łódź (31)	****	Four Colors	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Flora (17)	***	HR	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Ambasador Centrum (29)	****	HR	0	0	1	1	Piotrkowska St.	Planetarium EC1	0	2
Agat (3)	**	HR	0	0	1	1	Łagiewnicki Forest area	0	0	2
Ibis (8)	**	HR	0	0	1	1	Piotrkowska St.	0	0	2
Borowiecki (15)	***	Tkalnia Smaków	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Focus Hotel (18)	***	HR	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Nobo Hotel (21)	***	Kolory Wina	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Światowit (25)	***	HR	0	0	1	1	Piotrkowska St.	0	0	2
Vigo (27)	***	Lawasz	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Novotel Łódź Centrum (33)	****	HR	0	0	1	1	0	Piotrkowska St.	0	2
Campanile (16)	***	HR	0	0	1	1	0	Piotrkowska St., Księży Młyn, Planetarium EC1	0	2
Skarpa (12)	******	**Skarabeusz**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**Jewish Cemetery**	**0**	**3**
Holiday Inn Łódź (32)	********	**Łódzka**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**Piotrkowska St.**	**0**	**0**	**3**
Boss (1)	*****	**Polskie Smaki**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**Księży Młyn, Herbst Palace**	**0**	**3**
Grand Hotel (19)	*******	**Grand**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**Piotrkowska St.**	**Pasaż Róży, Planetarium EC 1**	**1**	**3**
Andel`S Hotel Łódź (30)		**Delight**	1	0	0	1	**Piotrkowska St.**	**Pasaż Róży, Planetarium EC 1**	1	3
Tobaco (26)		**U Kret-schmera**	1	1	1	0	**0**	**0**	1	**4**

[a] Marked on the map.
Key: '1' – yes, '0' – no, HR – hotel restaurant, na – not applicable.
Source: author.

stereotype of 'catering facilities available only to the hotel guests', as well as reach out for a new group of customers interested in culinary tourism. A separate name for a restaurant, different from the hotel's name, can make advertising more effective, particularly in the social media. Establishing fixed opening hours will help to increase the accessibility of restaurants, as well as encourage those who are not hotel guests to have a meal there. The proximity of the most important historical monuments of Łódź should encourage restaurant managers to cooperate with city guides.

By using hotel catering facilities, especially those situated in historical buildings, where the dishes refer to the history of the city, the inhabitants and tourists gain an opportunity to see Łódź from a completely different perspective. They may discover and admire the original interiors of Łódź palaces and factories while trying new dishes, and their visit to the restaurant may be a pretext to tell stories about city inhabitants from the past. On the other hand, the hoteliers may gain a chance to promote themselves and increase their profits, as well as have an additional source of inspiration to create the brand of their hotel, fitting it perfectly into the history of the city.

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A TOWN OVERSHADOWED BY A MUSEUM:
PROBLEMS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN OŚWIĘCIM

Abstract: The article presents issues of tourism development in Oświęcim – a town that remains in the shadow of the former genocide site of Auschwitz-Birkenau Concentration Camp. The authors' aim is to present the results of research on the image of the town, as well as activities leading to a change of the unfavourable image of Oświęcim: "a town overshadowed by a museum". They are included in "The Strategy for Tourism Development in Oświęcim, 2018-2030", developed with the support of the authors of this article. The paper also presents an analysis of tourism development and tourist assets with respect to using them to create a supplementary offer for tourists visiting the *Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum*.

Keywords: Oświęcim, *Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum*, image, strategy.

1. INTRODUCTION

Oświęcim is the most important settlement in Western Małopolska, with an 800-year-old history and a thriving chemical industry. It performs the function of an economic centre, but is mainly associated with the former Nazi concentration camp, currently open to the public as the *Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum* (Folga, 2011, pp. 195-201). The town has significant historical and cultural tourism resources including renovated historical monuments and recreation areas on the Soła River. An important advantage is its location on the border of Silesia (the largest Polish agglomeration) and Kraków, while also being near the airports in Balice and Pyrzowice as well the A4 motorway. Within a close distance from Oświęcim are the largest amusement parks in Poland at Zator and Inwałd.

The town of Oświęcim does not take full advantage of these assets; tourists limit their activity to visiting the *Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum*, without using local accommodation or gastronomic facilities (Ziernicka-Wojtaszek, Bednarczyk, 2013). Incoming tourism is of little economic importance to a town overshadowed by a museum. It is not a rare situation, however, as can be observed in Wieliczka, outshone by its salt mine, or in Malbork, dominated by its castle. Oświęcim, nevertheless, is one of the most recognizable places in the world. However, the fact that an enormous number of tourists visit the Museum does not mean that other products offered by the town are not visited, just that they are not well integrated or properly combined.

The predominant form of tourism in Oświęcim is 'thanatotourism' or 'dark' tourism (Seaton, 1966; Tanaś, 2013) and the behaviour of people visiting the *Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum* has been presented in a work entitled *Turystyka martyrologiczna w Polsce* (Berbeca, 2012). We should also mention publications discussing the problems of delimiting the zones of tourist activity in Oświęcim (Ziernicka-Wojtaszek, Bednarczyk,

2013), as well as the images of places particularly affected by history (Folga, 2011).

The authors' aim is to present the results of research on the image of Oświęcim, as well as those activities leading to a change in its unfavourable image: "a town overshadowed by a museum". They are included in "The Strategy for Tourism Development in Oświęcim: 2018-2030", developed with the support of the authors of this article. The paper also presents an analysis of tourism development and tourist assets with respect to using them to create a supplementary offer for those visiting the museum. The authors point to a significant dilemma: Is the museum a flagship tourist attraction or just a commemoration site?

The work is based on desk research including a review of available literature, the inventorying of tourist resources and analysing the results of surveys conducted by the authors as a part of their work on the strategy of tourism development in Oświęcim for 2018-2030.[1]

2. TOURIST ASSETS AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AT OŚWIĘCIM

Oświęcim lies in the middle of the Oświęcim basin between the Carpathian Foothills and the Silesian Uplands. It is cut by the River Soła, a tributary of the Vistula. The town covers an area of 30 km² and is populated by 40,000 inhabitants.

The town is over 800 years old and its history is connected with the history of Silesia, Małopolska and the Bohemian Crown. It was the capital of the Duchy of Oświęcim, and after being annexed to the Polish Crown, a seat of the royal *starosta*. In 1939, Oświęcim was incorporated into the Third Reich and the largest Nazi concentration camp (KL) was established there. It has been placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List under the official name of *Auschwitz-Birkenau: German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (1940-1945)* (see UNESCO).

KL Auschwitz Birkenau has become a symbol of terror and genocide. It was set up by the Nazis in 1940 on the outskirts of Oświęcim which had then been incorporated into the Third Reich. Originally intended for the large numbers of arrested Poles, with time it also became a centre for the Nazi plan to exterminate the Jews inhabiting those areas occupied by Germany. All the camps and sub-camps were isolated from the outside world and surrounded with barbed wire fencing. The area, administered by a camp commander and controlled by SS members from the KL Auschwitz group, covered 40 km². The local population – Poles and Jews living in the neighbourhood – were resettled. The camps and sub-camps were where about 1.5 million people, mostly Jews, Poles, Gypsies and Soviet war prisoners lost their lives (Piper, 2010, pp. 184-188).

The words 'Oświęcim' and 'Auschwitz' are for many present (and future) generations symbols of the most atrocious genocide and crime in the history of mankind. Foreign tourists visiting the museum often do not realize that there is a town called Oświęcim nearby (Berbeka, 2012, p. 21).

Contemporary Oświęcim is a town with an interesting history documented by historical monuments, such as the Piast dynasty castle on the Soła River, currently accommodating the Castle Museum. It was opened on 1st January 2010, but is not popular with foreigners – 90% of the visitors are Polish tourists. Interesting historical monuments incorporated within the 14th and 15th century urban layout include a Salesian church and chapel complex. Other interesting sites include the Roman Catholic cemetery, situated near the Serafite sisters' nunnery, a 'Wedding Palace' from the early 20th century, as well as *Dom Śleberski* situated on the central marketplace. We should also mention the Jewish Museum, commemorating the history of the Jewish community, as well as the *Chewra Lomdei Misznajot* Synagogue which is open for tourists. Before the outbreak of World War II, Jews constituted the majority of Oświęcim's population building a rich and varied culture. Therefore, in September 2000, a Jewish Centre was established whose aim is to cultivate the memory of Jews as inhabitants of the town, as well as to educate future generations about the danger of a lack of understanding and intolerance (see Auschwitz Jewish Center). According to Oświęcim Town Hall, the Jewish Centre is visited by about 35,000 people every year.

Today, Oświęcim wants to be a place for breaking barriers, and for reflection and dialogue, so congress tourism is developing, organized by the Kraków Centre for Information, Meeting, Dialogue, Education and Prayer, and the International Youth Meeting Centre set up in 1994.

A tool used for the purpose of creating a positive image are organized events as they are very important for a town which evokes negative associations (Folga, 2011). The most significant include the International Festival of Amateur Films and Photography Biennale: *Kochać człowieka* (For the love of humanity), the International Folklore Festival: *Darujmy światu pokój* (Let's give peace to the world), as well as the *Children's Peace Initiatives*. We must also mention *Life Festival Oświęcim* – an annual event featuring concerts, exhibitions and open-air cinema shows (see Tauron Life Festival Oświęcim). Oświęcim does not have any natural assets which might generate tourism (Ziernicka-Wojtaszek, Bednarczyk, 2013), but the Soła boulevards are a perfect place for recreation. In nearby places, we can find fish ponds and rare plant habitats (which might have an influence

on the development of tourism in the town), the landscape reserves of *Żaki* and *Lipowiec*, and the Tenczynek Landscape Park.

In order for tourism to develop, it is necessary to create an appropriate tourism infrastructure. According to data provided by the Tourism Information Centre for 2018, the tourism infrastructure in Oświęcim consists of 29 accommodation facilities, one 4-star hotel (*Hampton by Hilton*), three 3-star hotels as well as other facilities offering the total of 1272 beds. Two facilities – the *Olecki* Hotel and the Dialogue and Prayer Centre (together with a camp site) – are located close to the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial. The *Hampton by Hilton* and the guest rooms at the *Bosko* Salesian Mission are located in the centre of Oświęcim, and the *Olimpijski* and *Galicja* Hotels in its eastern part.

Gastronomic services are also crucial to fulfil the needs of visitors to the town. The Oświęcim Tourism Information Centre enumerates 24 restaurants, 7 fast food facilities, 3 canteens and 5 cafés/patisseries. The gastronomic facilities are distributed all over the town but most of them can be found in the centre close to the Memorial, the railway station and bus terminal (Ziernicka-Wojtaszek, Bednarczyk, 2013). Gastronomic services are also offered by the International Youth Meeting Centre and the Dialogue and Prayer Centre.

In conclusion, it should be said that cultural assets predominate but they have not been used for the purpose of creating an attractive tourist product that might 'compete' with the *Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum*. The accommodation and catering facilities provide only a partial service for museum visitors who arrive for half-day visits and do not stay overnight. Moreover, the public transport in the town, which could be used by individual tourists, is inadequate.

3. THE *AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU MEMORIAL AND MUSEUM*: A FLAGSHIP TOURIST ATTRACTION FOR MAŁOPOLSKA OR A COMMEMORATION SITE?

Oświęcim is a unique tourist reception destination, dominated by the disturbing background (Banaszkiewicz, 2018, p. 53) created by the former German concentration camp: KL Auschwitz-Birkenau. It is currently a 'dark' tourism site (Berbeka, 2012), representing the *Dark Camps of Genocide*, commonly regarded as symbols of evil and telling a terrifying story about human suffering (Komsta, 2013, p. 54; Niemela, 2010, pp. 13-14; Stone, 2006).

As early as 1947, at the place of the former KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, a museum was created which has been functioning until today as the *Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum* (the official name since 1999). It is not only a vast area with historical camp buildings as its resources include tens of thousands of camp prisoners' belongings, which represent the exceptional character, expression and symbolism of the site. The entrance gate, with the words *Arbeit Macht Frei* over it, is the first and at the same time probably the most recognizable museum exhibit.

The main exhibition has not been changed since 1995, but an idea for a new exhibition has appeared, called "Memory – Awareness – Responsibility", which will enlarge the capacity of the museum. One person who has made a substantial contribution to the changes started 12 years ago by the present museum director, is Professor Władysław Bartoszewski – an authority on the Polish-Jewish relations, but also a former prisoner of KL Auschwitz-Birkenau. In the new exhibition, the museum exhibits will be presented on the ground floor of the former camp's blockhouses. Modern technological media and the latest research findings will be used, and the individual experiences of both victims and the torturers will be presented (Bartosz, Sawicki, 2016). A new visitor centre will be erected including a parking lot, hotel and an underground passage. There are plans to adapt the Old Theatre to the needs of the International Centre for Education on Auschwitz and the Holocaust. The transport infrastructure and the appearance of the Museum's surroundings will also be improved. The new exhibition will be gradually included into the visitor's trail starting from 2021, and the whole venture will have been completed by 2025.

The *Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum* has the highest visitor rate among museums in Poland. This success is owed to two key elements: the preservation of its cognitive, academic and historical value while maintaining maximum authenticity, as well as the ability to attract the maximum number of visitors. In the case of this particular museum, it is quite a challenge. Due to the origins and unique character, marketing activities aimed at increasing the number of visitors are not conducted. Advertising in the media is also not appropriate for a place representing such a difficult theme. Despite that, since 2007, the number of visitors has exceeded one million every year, and in 2017 it reached 2.1 million (Fig. 1). To compare, the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków was visited by 1,199,000 people during the record year of 2017, and this was achieved due to the large number and diversity of the museum's departments, as well as the establishment of a special unit to deal with marketing and promotion.

The highest turnout at the museum is in August when the museum is visited by nearly 250,000 people, while the lowest is in January, with only 76,000 visitors (Fig. 2).
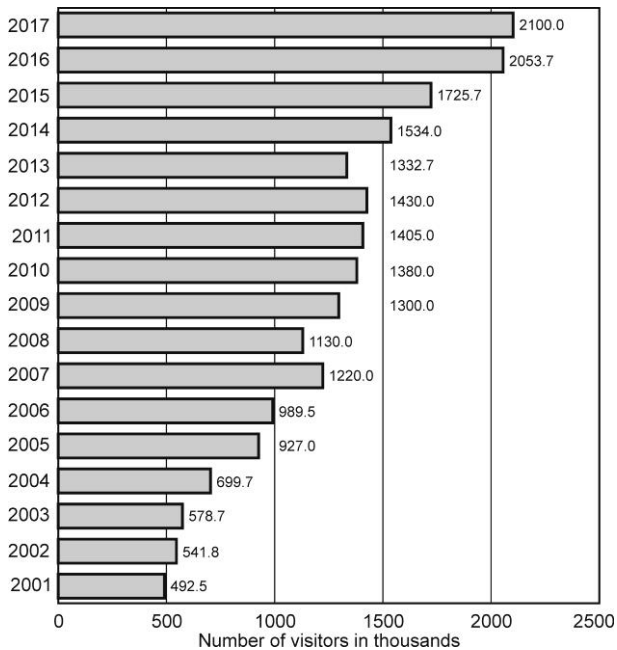
Fig. 1. Comparison of visitor numbers at the *Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum*: 2001-2017
Source: *Memorial Auschwitz Birkenau. Miejsce Pamięci* (2017, p. 25)
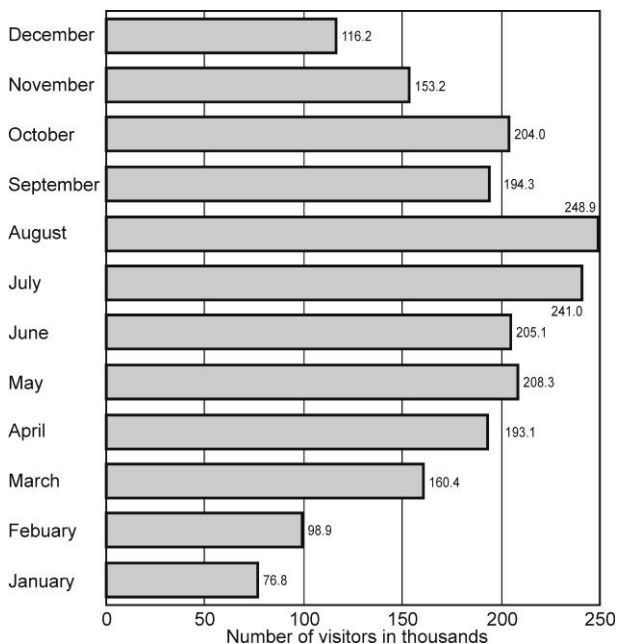

Fig. 2. Visitors to the *Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum* in 2017: by month
Source: *Memorial Auschwitz Birkenau. Miejsce Pamięci* (2017, p. 25)

The Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum attracts an international audience but for the obvious reason of proximity, the largest group consists of Poles (23% of all visitors) (Table 1). The museum is visited primarily by tourists from Great Britain (16.1%), the USA (8.7%), Italy, Germany, Israel, Spain, as well as France and the Czech Republic. The top ten also includes Sweden.

The majority (two thirds) of the visitors are young people, which is very often made possible due to special grants established by governments, regions or non-profit organizations which see the value of such education on the way to adulthood. Half of the visitors (from 111 countries) arrive at the museum in organized groups. They are taken around the former Auschwitz 1 and Auschwitz II-Birkenau by 320 guides and nearly all visitors have an opportunity to see both parts of the former camp. Auschwitz I includes exhibitions presenting all the camp's functions and periods of activity. Birkenau, on the other hand, strikes with its vastness and the authenticity of the preserved spaces.

Table 1. Visitors to the *Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum* in 2017: by country

	Country	No. of visitors	%
1	Poland	483 300	23.0
2	Great Britain	339 400	16.1
3	United States	183 300	8.7
4	Italy	115 400	5.5
5	Spain	101 200	4.8
6	Germany	85 300	4.1
7	Israel	83 100	4.0
8	France	74 700	3.6
9	Czech Republic	53 100	2.5
10	Sweden	44 700	2.1
11	Slovakia	41 600	1.9
12	Ireland	40 400	1.8
13	The Netherlands	39 200	1.8
14	Norway	32 100	1.5
15	Australia	29 300	1.4
16	Hungary	28 900	1.4
17	Japan	28 000	1.4
18	Canada	21 800	1.0
19	Belgium	21 700	1.0
20	South Korea	16 300	0.8

Source: author, based on *Memorial Auschwitz Birkenau. Miejsce Pamięci* (2017, p. 25).

After considering the opinions of experts, the visitor trail at Birkenau now starts from the place where the trains brought Jews from all over Europe. Next, visitors are led along the railway line to the remains of the gas chambers and crematoria and to the International Memorial to the Camp Victims. The visit to Birkenau ends with a presentation of the history of this part of the concentration camp and a visit to the prisoners' blockhouses.

The results of a study on tourism in Kraków indicate a relationship between the tourists arriving in there and

those visiting Oświęcim. The Pearson coefficient of linear correlation between the number of tourists in Kraków and the number of visitors to the *Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum* equals 0.85. This signifies a strong correlation between tourist numbers in Kraków and the museum. The growth of in-coming tourism in Kraków has a positive influence not only on the city itself, but also on visitor rates at the museum (Seweryn, 2012).

Research conducted among visitors to the *Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum* shows a lowering of standards and nearly 39% of the visitors pointed out that the 'psychological carrying capacity' was exceeded. It is a sign for the museum management to possibly limit the number of visitors by means of administrative or economic tools.

The KL Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp established by the Nazis during World War II has given Oświęcim a recognizable image and the town usually brings these specific associations to mind (Folga, 2011). The camp occupies one of the top positions among the most visited Polish tourist attractions, despite the controversy of naming it a tourist attraction. The museum meets the criteria of being a tourist attraction however (Kruczek, 2011), as it is a very wide term. According to Davidson (1996), "every natural asset (object), human creation, a device or an event, which attracts visitors to a given place, can be a tourist attraction".

The planning and development of tourism destinations largely depends on the diversity of the status and significance of tourist attractions. The literature identifies flagship attractions and icons with the former being understood as 'the best and the most important' (Leask, Fyall, 2006). Their characteristic features include uniqueness, international significance, large size and substantial economic effects. 'Icons', on the other hand, are sites considered to be representative symbols of culture; authentic sites, commonly accepted symbols, and perceived as such both by tourists and the local community (Jenkins, 2003).

In the light of the definitions quoted above, the *Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum* should be regarded primarily as an 'icon', although the visitor rate and the international significance are attributes of a flagship attraction (Kruczek, 2017, p. 53).

4. "A TOWN OVERSHADOWED BY A MUSEUM": THE IMAGE OF OŚWIĘCIM FROM A SURVEY

An image is most often defined as a simplified picture, a total of imagined concepts, experiences, impressions and thoughts, functioning in the awareness and minds of people who have direct and indirect contact with a given site (Nawrocka, 2013; Niezgoda, 2017). Szromnik (2007) points to the positive role of information and defines the town image as "the total of the subjective ideas of the reality, which was formed in the minds of people, as an effect of perception, the impact of the media and informally conveyed information". Studying the image is a necessary element in the evaluation of the destination, especially for the implementation of a marketing strategy which will not be adequate without knowing the market, the consumers, or the attitudes of local communities and institutions (Kruczek, Walas, 2010, p. 157).

The image is examined mainly in the context of tourist reception area attributes which include both natural and cultural elements, tourism material resources, aesthetics, entertainment, the inhabitants' attitudes and the local atmosphere, infrastructural amenities and tourist services (Nawrocka, 2013; Niezgoda, 2017). These attributes have an influence on the quality and standard of services, but shaping the image is more complicated because the most significant are emotional elements, impressions and experiences (Niezgoda, 2017).

The image of Oświęcim was studied by means of a diagnostic survey using the CATI technique[2] in May 2017, on a sample of 400 respondents. The questions referred to tourist behaviour and preferences, as well as their associations forming an image of the town. It was a representative study, conducted on a sample of domestic tourists from all over Poland, some of them visiting Oświęcim and some others declaring their willingness to visit it. The majority were aged over 65 (20.0%), followed by respondents aged 45-54 (18.3%), 25-34 (18%), 55-64 (17.5%), 35-44 (14.8%) and 18-24 (11.5%).

41% of the respondents had completed higher education, 38% – secondary, 30% – elementary; 10% – basic vocational and 7% – post-graduate education. 13.8% of them came from Masovia Province, 13% Podkarpackie, 12.3% Silesia, 10.8% Małopolska, and 6.3% came from each of Silesia, Wielkopolska and West-Pomerania Provinces.

The respondents associate Oświęcim mostly with the former KL Auschwitz-Birkenau (99.5% of the 400 survey participants), followed by the Jewish Centre in Oświęcim (17.8%), the historical marketplace (11.5%) and Oświęcim Castle (5.8%). The answers to this question do not sum to 100% as respondents could choose more than one answer (Fig. 3).

30% of the 400 respondents (120) had visited Oświęcim before (2.35 times, on average). The profile of a tourist who had been to Oświęcim earlier shows the dominance of three provinces: Silesia (19%), Masovia (16%) and Małopolskie (12%). Most of the visitors were inhabitants of urban centres of 20-50 000 people (25%), aged 65+ (25.8%) and 55-64 (22.5%); with the

What do you associate with Oświęcim?

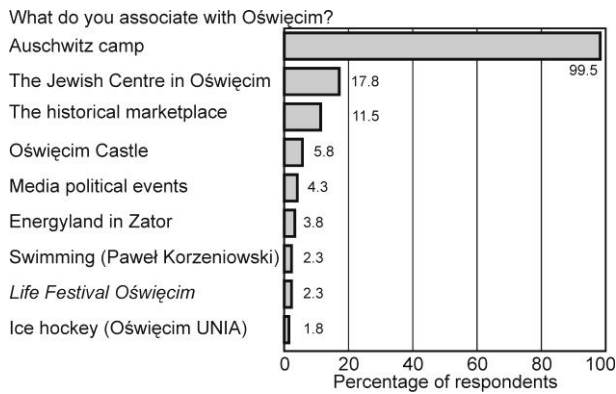|	
Auschwitz camp	99.5
The Jewish Centre in Oświęcim	17.8
The historical marketplace	11.5
Oświęcim Castle	5.8
Media political events	4.3
Energyland in Zator	3.8
Swimming (Paweł Korzeniowski)	2.3
Life Festival Oświęcim	2.3
Ice hockey (Oświęcim UNIA)	1.8

Percentage of respondents

Fig. 3. Respondents' associations with Oświęcim: N=400
Source: author

lowest being young people, aged 18-24 (10%). They were well educated (40% declared university education) and 'in a lasting relationship' (53.3%).

As many as 89.2% of the sample indicated visiting the *Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum* as their main purpose, 12.5% were in transit, and 11% were visiting friends or family. For 6.7%, the aim involved work or business, and the same number of respondents indicated visiting this part of Poland as their aim (Fig. 4).

Visiting Auschwitz	89.2
Transit	12.5
Visiting family	11.7
Business trip	6.7
Visiting the area	6.7
Participation in an event	4.2
Visiting Oświęcim	1.7
Shopping	0.8

Wieliczka (N = 3), Bochnia, Szczyrk, Kraków, Oświęcim Castle

'I went for an excursion', 'we went sightseeing in the town'
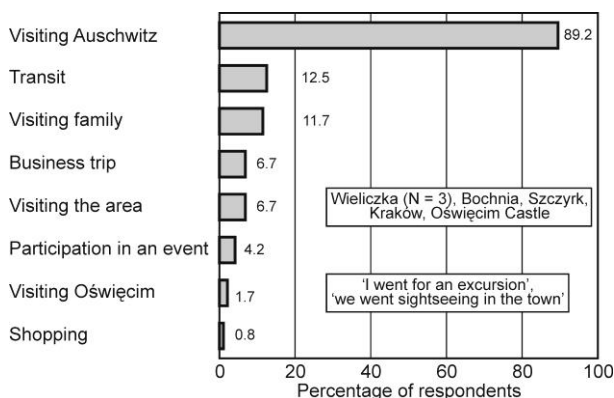
Percentage of respondents

Fig. 4. Motivations for visiting Oświęcim
reported by respondents, n=120
Source: author

A statistical respondent usually stayed in Oświęcim for a few hours (30%). Only one in five (25) stayed there for longer than one day. In this group, 60% stayed at their family's or friends' house, and 24% at a hotel or guesthouse.

The tourist assets of Oświęcim listed by the respondents included the following: the former KL Auschwitz-Birkenau (97%), the proximity of the Beskidy Mountains (39%), the historical character of the town (22.4%) and the location at the border between Silesia and Małopolska Provinces (11.3%) (Fig. 5).

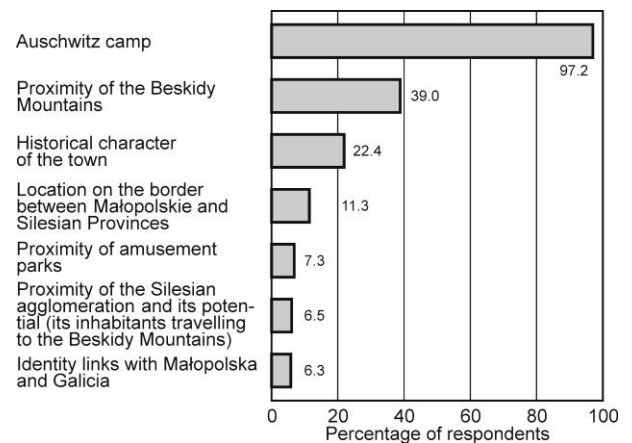|	
Auschwitz camp	97.2
Proximity of the Beskidy Mountains	39.0
Historical character of the town	22.4
Location on the border between Małopolskie and Silesian Provinces	11.3
Proximity of amusement parks	7.3
Proximity of the Silesian agglomeration and its potential (its inhabitants travelling to the Beskidy Mountains)	6.5
Identity links with Małopolska and Galicia	6.3

Percentage of respondents

Fig. 5. The tourism assets of the town of Oświęcim
indicated by the respondents, n=400
Source: author

A total of 72% of the respondents would have decided to combine a visit to Oświęcim with other places (41% – rather yes and 31% – definitely yes), 19% had not decided (14% – rather not, 5% – definitely not), and 9% did not have an opinion. The respondents giving a positive answer (290) would have combined a visit to the museum with urban and cultural tourism involving sightseeing in Oświęcim and the surrounding area (84.5%), participating in a cultural event (34.1%), active tourism (25.9%), as well as sports tourism and recreation.

The research indicates that the thesis put forward in the title ("A town overshadowed by a museum") has been confirmed. The first association with the name of the town is in almost 100% of cases connected with KL Auschwitz-Birkenau. The main motivation to visit Oświęcim, quoted by 90% of the respondents, is to visit the *Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum*; the respondents stress that the main tourist asset of the town is the former KL Auschwitz-Birkenau.

5. THE MAIN ASSUMPTIONS OF THE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FOR OŚWIĘCIM

The Tourism Development Strategy in Oświęcim for 2018-2030, developed in cooperation with the authors of this article (*Strategia rozwoju…*, 2018), includes strengthening the position of tourism and creating a new image for the town. A mission has been established, which assumes that:

> Oświęcim is an important town on the international arena, which is a significant centre for implementing ideas of peace. It has modern infrastructure and tour-

ism industry, as well as a potential to organize exceptional events, taking into account the needs of the inhabitants.

The tourist mission of Oświęcim is:

> to develop cultural and educational tourism, based on the peace message sent out by the town due to its historical heritage, as well as to ensure exchange of experiences, inspiring reflection and imparting knowledge about human rights, tolerance and respect.

The tourism strategy recommended for Oświęcim is a strategy of expansion, based on the advantages of strengths in 'inner potential' and of opportunities in the external environment. With this type of strategy, the town should maximally focus on using its assets and favourable conditions for development. In the case of Oświęcim, the key strategic advantages include the idea of a 'Town of Peace', the Polish-Jewish tradition and the history of Holocaust, peace and human rights initiatives, active cultural and educational institutions, supporting the town in the domain of peace education, the international character of the town, as well as the constantly growing number of tourists visiting the museum.

The development of the museum and the tourist offer related to it, are key elements of the long-term development goals (Fig. 6). They concern tourism infrastructure, tourist products, promotion, as well as cooperation for the benefit of tourism development. There are a number of important investments including the construction of a new Visitor Centre, adjusting the Old Theatre to the needs of the *International Auschwitz and Holocaust Education Centre*, as well as developing and modernizing the transport infrastructure.

Integrating tourism infrastructure with the character of the town and the museum will be the priority. The infrastructure serving the purpose of peace education

will be developed, enlarged, modernized and supported with additional elements of tourism infrastructure. It will also be important to raise the standard of the para-tourist infrastructure facilities (streets, car parks, site infrastructure) used by both tourists and inhabitants.

The main tourist product proposed in the Tourism Development Strategy is "Oświęcim – the Town of Peace". It will be supplemented, however, with a set of complementary products which will not only support the offer based on the *Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum*, but will also become separate offers for different segments of the tourism market. These products will be primarily based on those parts of the town's tourist potential which have not been fully used so far. New tourist products will also make the tourists visiting the memorial and museum more interested in the town itself. New tourists will be attracted to Oświęcim and the inhabitants of Silesia travelling to the Beskidy or Tatra Mountains will be willing to stop off there more frequently and for longer.

Implementing the strategy requires the cooperation of all the stakeholders, above all the management of the *Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum* and the town authorities, as well as a stronger involvement in the implementation of the strategy on the part of the tourism sector and cultural institutions.

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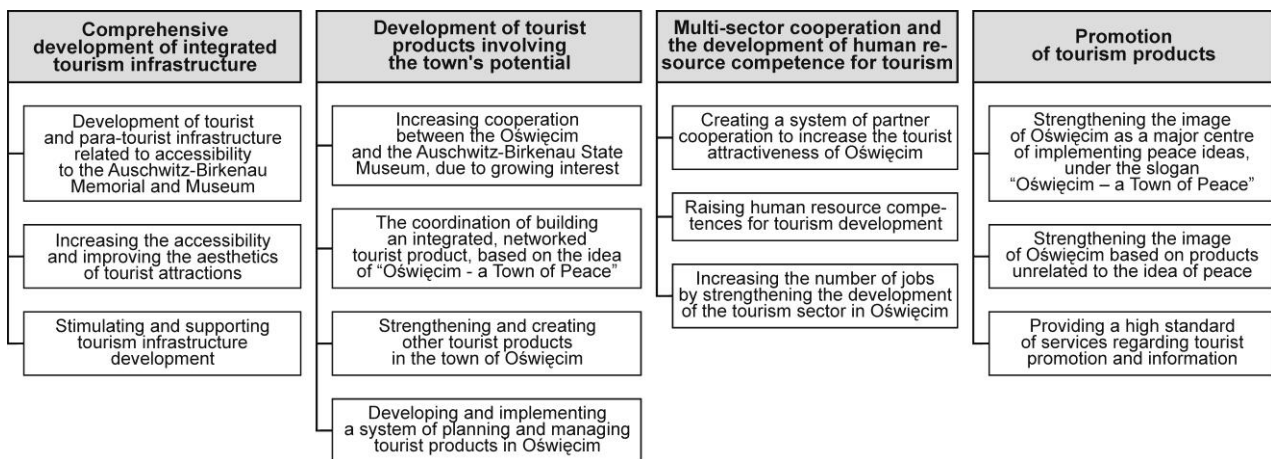

Fig. 6. The strategic aims of tourism development in Oświęcim
Source: author

and the inhabitants of Silesia travelling to the Beskidy or Tatra Mountains will be willing to stop off there more frequently and for longer.

Implementing the strategy requires the cooperation of all the stakeholders, above all the management of the *Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum* and the town authorities, as well as a stronger involvement in the implementation of the strategy on the part of the tourism sector and cultural institutions.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Tourism in Oświęcim is above all related to the *Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum*, which is the main zone of tourist penetration. As demonstrated by the study, tourists very rarely visit the Old Town and its historical monuments. The town has tourist assets to offer, but due to the fact that it is dominated by the former Nazi concentration camp, other human assets are underrated.

Both in Poland and globally, Oświęcim is perceived from the perspective of the museum, the tragic site related to mass extermination. It is not a favourable image for a developing town. We can even risk saying that Oświęcim is "a town overshadowed by a museum". It can be assumed that a town so strongly connected with the Holocaust will always be stigmatized by the past. The authorities of Oświęcim are responsible for creating a place of human understanding, tolerance among nations, cultural dialogue, respect for other cultures, races, attitudes and nationalities. Through education, dialogue, understanding of the site of the gravest genocide but thanks to other human and natural assets, Oświęcim can be remembered as the 'Town of Peace'. This is one of the goals set in the tourism development strategy for 2018-2030.

The vision proposed in this document for local authorities assumes sustainable development, a major issue in contemporary times. The town and its surroundings are to serve tourists by offering them a wide range of tourist products other than the museum by creating appropriate conditions for recreation. The main theme will still be the memorial and museum, but other forms of cultural tourism, related to the rich heritage of the town and its vicinity should also develop, including entertainment tourism (the largest amusements parks in Poland are at Inwald and Zator) (*Strategia*, 2018).

The particular character of the tourism structure highlights the problem of the short-term tourist stay in Oświęcim. The development potential lies in the scale of tourism, but also in the certainty that tourists will continue to visit the site in such great numbers. The town should be seen as one related not only to thanatotourism, but also to other forms such as culture, sport or congress. In order to achieve this goal, the town authorities must do their best to encourage tourists to prolong their stay and take advantage of the interesting and varied offer. The rich cultural offer of Oświęcim, including a wide range of cultural events based on the town's medieval history and modern times, invites tourists to discover it from a different perspective and not only as a place where the Nazis committed the crime of genocide during World War II. All the actions should result in changing the town's image and pull it out from the 'shadow' of the *Auschwitz-Birkenau State Memorial and Museum*.

ENDNOTES

[1] A report by 2BA – Strategic Counsulting from Nysa and IPC Research Institute in Wrocław, prepared by a team of authors: Agnieszka Nowak, Leszek Nowak, Zygmunt Kruczek and Artur Kotliński, UM Oświęcim 2018.

[2] Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing.

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CHANGES IN THE TOURIST FUNCTION OF KUJAWY HEALTH RESORTS (BASED ON THE CAPACITY AND TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION)

Abstract: The article is an attempt to verify the hypothesis that the tourist function in Polish health resorts is becoming increasingly diversified. It presents data concerning the capacity and type of accommodation in three Kujawy health resorts, as well as their amenities. The data was provided by the Local Data Bank at the Central Statistical Office (GUS), and refers to the period between 1995 and 2018. The study findings point to the increasingly diversification of the tourist function in Kujawy health resorts. The greatest changes have been identified at Ciechocinek which can currently be defined as a tourism and health resort. Less advanced changes have been found in Inowrocław, while Wieniec-Zdrój still remains a typical spa with a marginal share of other functions. Based on official statistics, the author has identified general trends taking place in health resort infrastructure. Only a limited quantitative analysis of the relationship between the health and tourist functions of Kujawy health resorts has been made, mostly due to the incompleteness of the statistical data.

Keywords: changes, accommodation structure, Kujawy health resorts, Poland.

1. INTRODUCTION

In European countries (e.g. Germany or France) spas are an important element of the settlement network and many have obtained the status of towns. They developed from a specialist health function but when going to spas, patients were usually accompanied by family members or friends who went there not for treatment but for recreation. Thus, from the very beginning, the curative function of spas co-occurred with the recreational function. In Europe, the first spas appeared in antiquity, so many are historical destinations and nowadays, they delight with their urban design, architecture, history, etc., as tourism centres. Spas have always hosted a variety of events, such as concerts or meetings with writers and artists, attracting those who often did not stay overnight, while with their well-developed infrastructure as health resorts organize conferences, meetings, etc. All this indicates that apart from their health function, spas have always had others related to recreation, tourism and entertainment. The popularity of spas among patients and tourists required the development of accommodation and services which provided jobs and good living conditions, attracting newcomers and causing a continuous increase in population. As a result, many health resorts have become tourist centres, although their

curative function still determines their spatial organization and socio-economic life.

Before World War II, health resorts in Poland developed in the same way as in the rest of Europe, but that changed after 1945 when spas were nationalized. From then on they provided health services for the 'working people' financed by the state. They were also visited for recreational, tourist or entertainment purposes, but such stays only supplemented the health function. Moreover, spas provided services almost solely for Polish patients. State resources were allocated through large industrial enterprises, workers' unions, ministries and public and economic institutions and building new as well as renovating old facilities resulted in spas having a relatively good infrastructure. This often helped overcome the hardships of the transition period after the reintroduction of a market economy in 1989. Nowadays, spa treatment is still supported by the state (NFZ – National Health Fund, ZUS – Social Insurance Institution, KRUS – Farmers' Social Insurance, PFRON – Disability Rehabilitation Fund), but opening to the market has increased the number of private stays.[1] Moreover, Polish health resorts have become attractive to foreign patients due to the high standard of service offered

at relatively low prices compared to similar centres e.g. in Germany (Mika, Ptaszycka-Jackowska, 2007, p. 292; Szczepanowska, 2016; pp. 49-51, and others). All this creates favourable conditions for health resorts in Poland to turn themselves into tourist centres, as is the case in other European countries.

Considering this, it seemed reasonable to test the hypothesis concerning the advancing diversification of the tourist function in Polish health resorts. This was based on a Kujawy spa case study. To achieve this purpose, the author used data and information about the capacity and type of accommodation in Kujawy health resorts, as well as the amenities defining the relationship between health and tourist functions. The author also attempted to evaluate the usefulness of the existing sources of information about accommodation.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The hypothesis that the development of health resorts leads to their transformation into multifunctional tourism centres is generally positively verified in the literature on the subject (Durydiwka, 2005; Groch, 1991; Jagusiewicz, 1998, 2006; Kowalczyk, 2001, 2005; Krasiński, 2004; Łęcka, 2005; Mika, 2005; Mika, Pta-szycka-Jackowska, 2007; Mościbroda, 2005; Ptaszycka-Jackowska, 1999; Rzeńca, 1997; Rydz, 2005, 2012; Szromek, 2010, 2012, and others). These were based on observation and descriptive historical analyses but the difficulty in conducting quantitative verification lies in a lack of full and reliable statistics. Kowalczyk (2001, pp. 76-77) presents Bad Homburg (Hesse, Germany) and Mariánské Lázně (Czech Republic) transforming themselves into multifunctional tourism centres with the transformation of Mariánské Lázně into a new accommodation, gastronomic and accompanying in-frastructure. Łęcka (2005, p. 42) points to the growing number of cases where the health function of Polish health resorts is supplemented by a recreational tourism function turning them into tourism centres. According to Duridiwka (2005, p. 52), this process depends on the length of the spa treatment tradition at a given destination as well as its popularity, fame and tourist attractiveness. In his analysis of the spa towns in the Low Beskidy and Bieszczady Mountains, Mika (2005, p. 311) indicates that next to sanatorium facilities, a general tourist infrastructure (hotels, guesthouses, private lodgings, etc.) is developing as well, trans-forming them into tourism centres. The extent of this process is illustrated by the relation between the health and the general tourism infrastructure capacity. Mika, Ptaszycka-Jackowska (2007, pp. 285-286) empha-size that the contemporary socio-economic and cultural

changes cause the transformation of traditional spas into multifunctional centres.

Modern health resorts are multifunctional tourism centres (Szromek, 2012, p. 54). Mościbroda (2005, p. 26) claims that the coexistence of a health function and various forms of tourism in spas is a natural phenom-enon. In their studies on the process of health resorts transforming into multifunctional tourism centres, many authors refer to Butler's conception (Kowalczyk, 2005, p. 11; Szromek, 2010, pp. 17-40 and others). Academic and popular academic literature on Kujawy spas is relatively large and usually concerns Ciecho-cinek, Inowrocław and Wieniec-Zdrój.

The bulk of this literature is formed of tourist guides to individual spa towns and their surroundings providing the reader with information about the tourist assets of Kujawy spas and their neighbourhoods which can be used to reconstruct their development (e.g. Umiński, 1978; Winiarski, 2016 and many others).

A presentation of a wider range of issues than those offered in tourist guides can be found in mono-graphs on Inowrocław (e.g. Biskup, 1978; Sikorski, 1988, and others), Ciechocinek (e.g. Iwanowska-Jeske, 1983; Nowakowska, 1953; and others), and Wieniec-Zdrój (Nowakowski, 2015). These publications present the history, location, geographical environment and socio-economic life of the spas (the towns and their immediate surroundings). The description of the socio-economic aspects of spas makes it possible to define the overall changes which are taking place in their spatial-functional structure.

On the other hand, academic articles written from the perspective of physical and socio-economic geo-graphy, as well as sociology, economics, tourism etc., address issues of the assets, infrastructure and tourist-health visits in spa towns. Such works present and explain the origins and development of Kujawy health resorts while scientific-based publications present the unique properties of mineral waters, bio-climate (including graduation towers) – (Kozłowska-Szczęsna, 1965; Kucharski, 1973; Ponikowska, Mar-ciniak, 1988; *Lecznictwo uzdrowiskowe…*, 2011, etc.). Publications presenting socio-economic and spatial issues focus on the recreational assets and curative properties along with prospects for development (Brudnicki, 2005; Głębocki, 2014; Kwiatkowska, 1973), patients' opinions and their perception of spas (Grzeszczak, 2014; Szymańska, Grzelak-Kostulska, Ho-łowiecka, Michniewicz 2005). They also reconstruct the development process in Ciechocinek and establish its phases (Maik, Przybecka-Maik, 2005), as well as its transformation into a tourism centre (Matczak, 2013). Other authors focus on the place and significance of the spa in the spatial-functional structure of Inowrocław (Maik, Przybecka-Maik, 2014; Matczak, 2013), and on the accommodation in spa towns (Środa-Murawska,

2012). This body of literature also includes the results of research conducted for MA theses at the university geography departments in Łódź, Bydgoszcz and Toruń (Kuzak, 1996; Brzezicka, 2001; Caban, 2017; Cisowski, 2002; Glaza, 2008; Gutsche, 2001; Jędrzejewska, 2002; Kunicki, 2008; Skonieczna, 2011; Świder, 2005; etc.). These publications provide a lot of information based on field research on tourism infrastructure, in particular the scale and structure of the tourist accommodation in Kujawy health resorts. A survey on tourism sponsored by the Kujawy-Pomerania Tourism Organization provides a lot of market information (Anszperger, Radkiewicz, 2011; Brudnicki, Barczak, Nowicki, Markiewicz, 2016) including data about specific accommodation facilities and tourists' reasons for coming to Ciechocinek and Inowrocław.

3. DATA COLLECTION AND STUDY METHOD

The author used official statistical data (GUS), supplemented with the results of surveys commissioned by state institutions, conducted on the websites of the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Sport and Recreation, Kujawy-Pomerania Province, and individual health resorts. Published and unpublished academic works (especially MA theses) were an additional source of information.

The Central Statistical Office measures the capacity of tourist accommodation according to their type and number of beds. This measurement is far from perfect due to the imprecise definitions that are used and the incompleteness of information. A spa facility is defined as a one providing health services, located in a health resort and using the natural health resources of the area for treatment. All accommodation at spas is at the tourists' (and patients') disposal. Holiday accommodation facilities (holiday resorts, summer holiday facilities for children and adolescents, training and recreational facilities, creative work centres) also accept guests who have arrived to use the health services of the spa (patients). The same concerns those accommodated at B&Bs/private lodgings and other unclassified facilities. Those guests often take advantage of outpatient treatment.

It must be remembered however that the data collected, stored and made available by the Central Statistical Office (Local Data Basis and official publications by GUS and the Statistical Office in Bydgoszcz) concern only registered facilities. A significant number of accommodation facilities (especially small ones) remain unregistered which leads to the incompleteness of the data available. This is illustrated by the data for Ciechocinek, presented in Table 1. There are significant discrepancies between the GUS data and the information collected during field research, themselves also incomplete.

Table 1. Accommodation in Ciechocinek in 2010 according to GUS and field research

Type of accommodation	According to GUS		According to field research[a]	
	number			
	facilities	beds	facilities	beds
Hotel facilities (hotels, guesthouses and other hotel-like facilities)	17	922	38	1 266
Holiday facilities (holiday resorts, summer holiday facilities for children and adolescents, training and recreation centres)	2	66	12	394
Spa facilities (spas, sanatoria and spa hospitals)	14	2 524[b]	22	3 909[c]
Other unclassified facilities (private lodgings, guest rooms, agritourist farms, other accommodation facilities)	1	14	101	1 010
Total	34	3 526	173	6 579

Key: [a] according to Skonieczna (2011); [b] GUS publication, entitled: *Lecznictwo uzdrowiskowe w Polsce w latach 2000–2010.* [*Spa treatment in Poland in 2000-2010*] (2011), quotes 3627 beds available; [c] according to Glaza (2008).
Source: according to GUS and field research.

The incompleteness of the data raises the question whether (and if so for what) analyses based on current statistical data can be made. In the author's opinion, they enable researchers to conduct a fairly precise analysis of current trends concerning capacity, the number of beds, registered facilities (usually large ones such as hotels, spa facilities, holiday and training and recreational centres), followed by smaller-sized facilities like guest rooms, private lodgings, villas, etc. (usually unregistered). Information obtained from sources other than the current GUS reports and used in this article nevertheless play a supplementary and corrective role. The author analysed the collected data, using statistical indices.

4. TOURIST AND HEALTH (SPA) ASSETS

Spas in Kujawy are relatively new. In all of them, the curative element has resulted in socio-economic, cultural and spatial development. In Ciechocinek, it led to the establishment of a town (1916), in Inowrocław it significantly boosted an existing town's growth, while in Wieniec-Zdrój it initiated the building and development of a housing estate (1923).

The health resources of Kujawy spas include saline mineral waters, mild climates, forests, walking areas and therapeutic mud. The waters are used for baths, drinking (after dilution), producing aerosols for natural inhaling, health liquors and mud compresses for the treatment of many chronic diseases (Table 2).

Table 2. Therapeutic types in Kujawy spas: 2010

Therapeutic types	Ciechocinek	Inowrocław	Wieniec-Zdrój
Orthopaedic trauma	x	x	x
Neurological diseases	x		x
Rheumatological diseases	x	x	x
Heart diseases and hypertension	x	x	x
Peripheral vascular diseases	x	x	
Upper respiratory tract diseases	x		
Lower respiratory tract diseases			x
Digestive system diseases		x	
Diabetes	x		
Obesity	x		
Osteoporosis	x		x
Gynaecological diseases	x		

Source: *Lecznictwo uzdrowiskowe…* (2011, p. 44).

Nearly two centuries of spa tradition in Ciechocinek, one and a half in Inowrocław and almost 100 years in Wieniec-Zdrój have resulted in the appearance of tourist assets such as urban layouts similar to those observed in parks and decorated with small architectural forms (monuments, statues, fountains, etc.). Spa districts and neighbouring urbanized areas feature historical residential buildings and service facilities (manor houses, villas, etc.), religious buildings and others which make the spa and its urban space more varied. In Ciechocinek, it is worth visiting the local museum which exhibits old devices used for processing salt and rehabilitation. By visiting Inowrocław and Włocławek (as well as the neighbouring Wieniec-Zdrój), you can learn about their cultural heritage going back to the Middle Ages and including historical urban layout and architectural assets. Modern service infrastructure in these towns satisfies (without the additional investments in the spas themselves) the various needs of tourists and patients arriving mainly from large Polish cities. These towns, as well as their spa districts, organize a wide range of events, especially cultural ones, most of which are held between the end of March and the end of September (about three quarters of all annual events).

5. RESEARCH RESULTS (ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGES IN THE ACCOMMODATION STRUCTURE)

Genetically, the settlements performing a health function in Kujawy represent three functional types (cf. Maik, Przybecka-Maik, 2014, p. 15):[2]
1) a health function was the primary impulse for creating the settlement (Wieniec-Zdrój – 1923),
2) a health function dominated the original productive function (Ciechocinek – 1836),
3) a health function supplemented already well-developed productive and service functions (Inowrocław – 1875).

5.1. KUJAWY HEALTH RESORTS BEFORE THE END OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

At an early stage of health resort development in Kujawy, their tourist infrastructure demonstrated the absolute domination of the health function. This was mainly expressed by opening natural treatment facilities, establishing spa parks, building accommodation and gastronomic facilities, as well as places for the patients to spend free time after treatments.

The historical publications familiar to the author do not provide any information about the number of beds at Kujawy spa facilities in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The development rate of the accommodation facilities was indirectly expressed by the fast-growing number of patients, who initially made up over three-quarters of their guests, but later dropped to about two-thirds in Ciechocinek and Inowrocław. In Wieniec-Zdrój, which started its spa 'career' in the 20th century, the number of places for patients reached nearly 90% of the overall accommodation capacity. Similarly, it is difficult to estimate the size of the accommodation infrastructure even after World War II. The figures quoted in GUS statistical records, and in various academic publications and guidebooks, vary. It can be assumed that in the first years after World War II, both the size and structure of the accommodation infrastructure did not differ much from that in the interwar period. The already existing infrastructure, primarily serving the patients, was gradually being rebuilt and restarted.

5.2. KUJAWY HEALTH RESORTS IN THE PERIOD OF THE CENTRALLY PLANNED ECONOMY

Basic investments in the accommodation infrastructure of Kujawy health resorts, especially sanatoria, were made during the period of social tourism (Table 3). The first spa facilities appeared in the 1950s in

Ciechocinek followed by a boom in the 1960s and 1970s, when several large sanatoria and spas were built there and in Inowrocław and Wieniec-Zdrój. Such investments stopped in the 1980s and in the first years following the political and economic transformation after 1989. Money was allocated to the modernization of existing accommodation, spa facilities and the accompanying infrastructure (e.g. modernizing the graduation tower in Ciechocinek, building a new one in Inowrocław, modernizing Wieniec-Zdrój in 2003-06), as well as renovating parks, promenades, etc. The general aesthetics of spa districts were also improved. In the private sector, investments included renovating and modernizing the spa facilities which had been taken over (e.g. general modernization of the workers' holiday facilities in Ciechocinek), building new hotels, guesthouses, villas, guest rooms and private lodgings. After 1989, the process of privatizing accommodation, former state facilities in particular, or even the whole of Wieniec-Zdrój, was administered by limited liability companies, trade union federations and private owners. It was only after 2000 that a gradual increase in accommodation capacity and changes in its structure could be found. Financial outlays on renovation, modernization and building new facilities were focused, first of all, on year-round facilities, whose proportion was systematically growing almost completely eliminating seasonal facilities.

Table 3. The capacity of new spa treatment facilities in Ciechocinek: 1950-1989

Years	No of facilities	No of beds
1951-1960	3	470
1961-1970	7	835
1971-1980	6	998
1981-1989	1	70
Total	17	2 373

Source: Kuzak (1996).

In the 1970s, apart from the growing number and capacity of spa facilities, an increasing number of accommodation facilities used for the purposes of different forms of tourism, especially recreationa were found. According to GUS records from 1979,[3] the tourist accommodation facilities in Ciechocinek offered 2081 beds, 1,561 of which could be found in guest rooms and 2059 in holiday-recreational facilities, including 398 in private lodgings. Thus, the share of guestrooms and private lodgings was substantial. Later GUS records do not include any information about these accommodation facilities, however the earlier records do not contain any data regarding the capacity of spa facilities. Comparing this data with Wysocka's estimates (1989), it can be assumed that spa facilities offered about 3714 beds. In Ciechocinek, the spa

function covered 47.3% of the accommodation capacity, while according to Wysocka the health-spa facilities included 41% of accommodation and recreational-tourist ones, 59%. A larger proportion of accommodation facilities for tourists were also found in Inowrocław, but it was definitely less than for spa facilities. In Wieniec-Zdrój these clearly dominated accommodation with respect to number and capacity. The development of accommodation for tourists in Kujawy health resorts seems to be related to the duration of their activity as health destinations.

5.3. KUJAWY HEALTH RESORTS AFTER THE RETURN TO A MARKET ECONOMY

After a short period of temporary difficulties, returning to a market economy after 1989 resulted in a dynamic increase in the scale of tourist accommodation in Kujawy health resorts. Ciechocinek, Inowrocław and Wieniec-Zdrój have always been important health centres and by the mid-1990s, they offered nearly 2000 beds at spa facilities, which made up about 5.6% of all such places in Poland. Towards the end of the second decade of the 21st century, the number of beds at spa hospitals, sanatoria, spa clinics and natural medicine facilities had increased to 7,200, which was 16.1% of national resources.

The three spa towns in Kujawy have been systematically increasing tourist accommodation in Kujawy-Pomerania Province (Table 4). In 1995, they offered 2,600 beds at registered tourist facilities, which was 9.3% of the number for the whole province, while in 2018 they offered 9,200 beds, which made up 28.4% of accommodation in Kujawy-Pomerania Province and over one third of its year-round overnight accommodation.

The rate of increase as regards places at registered accommodation in Kujawy health resorts in 1995-2018, was three times higher than in the whole province. The capacity of spa facilities was growing slightly faster (over 3.5 times) than that of the remaining accommodation (3 times).

Based on official statistical data, two main trends can be identified in the development of tourist accommodation in Kujawy health resorts. The first concerns its type. Many hotel-like facilities which were popular at the time of centrally planned economy, such as excursion centres, etc, were closed down in the 1990s. The official statistics included a group referred to as 'other hotel facilities' whose share of recreational facilities (resort hotels, summer holiday centres for children, training and recreation facilities, artists' retreats) clearly decreased (marginally in Ciechocinek). The predominant position was still held by spa facilities which offered a steadily increasing number of beds.

Table 4. The number of registered accommodation facilities and places/beds in Kujawy-Pomerania Province
and its three spas: 1995-2018

Year	Kujawy-Pomerania Province		Kujawy health resorts, jointly		Ciechocinek		Inowrocław		Wieniec-Zdrój	
	facilities	places	facilities	places	facilities	places	facilities	places	facilities	places
Tourist accommodation facilities – total										
1995	388	28 027	21	2 601	9	758	10	1 637	2	206
2000	431	29 980	31	3 910	18	1 741	11	1 766	2	403
2005	338	26 325	32	4 442	22	2 271	8	1 861	2	310
2010	316	24 843	45	5 791	34	3 526	8	1 875	3	390
2015	367	28 515	67	7 569	48	5 372	14	1 897	5	300
2018	414	32 259	75	9 175	57	5 866	15	2 113	3	1 196
Spa facilities										
1995[a]	8	1 942	8	1 942	3	433	4	1 336	1	173
2000	15	3 334	15	3 334	9	1 472	5	1 480	1	382
2005	14	3 492	14	3 492	8	1 488	5	1 702	1	302
2010	20	4 576	20	4 576	14	2 524	5	1 707	1	345
2015	33	6 053	33	6 053	22	4 100	8	1 688	3	265
2018	30	7 157	30	7 157	21	4 203	8	1 810	1	1 144
Tourist and holiday facilities										
1995	380	26 085	13	659	6	325	6	301	1	33
2000	416	26 646	16	576	9	269	6	286	1	21
2005	324	22 833	18	950	14	783	3	159	1	8
2010	296	20 267	25	1 215	20	1 002	3	168	2	45
2015	331	22 462	34	1 516	26	1 272	6	209	2	35
2018	384	25 102	45	2 018	36	1 663	7	303	2	52

[a] Data for 1998.
Source: based on the Local Data Bank, Central Statistical Office (GUS).

In the period of 2000-18, the mean annual increase in the number of beds in Ciechocinek was 11.3%, in Wieniec-Zdrój – 9.4%, and in Inowrocław – 1.1%, and was several times higher than the increase in the remaining accommodation facilities (including categorized hotels). It seems that in the near future, higher outlays on hotels in Kujawy health resorts can be expected with large investors are becoming increasingly interested in building hotels not only in large cities, but also in smaller towns and in areas of high tourist value, such as the Kujawy spas.

In 2000, Ciechocinek and Inowrocław had similar capacities of registered accommodation (44.5% and 45.2%, respectively) both as regards tourist-recreational and spa facilities, while Wieniec-Zdrój had only one tenth of what the other two spa towns had to offer. In 2015, Ciechocinek's share had increased to 71%, Inowrocław decreased to 25%, and Wieniec-Zdrój to 4%. By 2018, new investments had led to the following changes: in Wieniec-Zdrój – an increase to 13.1%, in Ciechocinek – a decrease to 63.9%, and in Inowrocław – to 23%. One result of the varying growth rates has been Ciechocinek's stable leading position.

In the period of 2000-2018, the share of spa facilities in the total capacity of registered accommodation was steadily falling from 85.3% in 2000 to 78% in 2018, but the decrease was only found in Ciechocinek where the share dropped from 84.5% to 71.6%. In Inowrocław and Wieniec-Zdrój, there was a slight increase (from 83.8% to 85.7% and from 94.8% to 95.6%, respectively).

The growing diversification of the tourist function structure in Kujawy health resorts is also illustrated by sports and recreational amenities intended for disabled people, as well as conference halls and restaurants (Table 5). The common use and variety of these amenities point to the Kujawy resorts being prepared to provide services in forms of tourism other than health. In this respect, the most wide-ranging services are offered by Ciechocinek.

The gastronomic infrastructure consisted of food establishments situated in the sanatoria, spa parks and nearby, as well as in other parts. The establishments that were most important for patients were those situated in sanatoria, such as dining rooms. All large sanatoria had their own kitchens. It is estimated that in the summer season, the gastronomic facilities in Ciechocinek offered over 7100 places, in the spa zone of Inowrocław – about 1000 places, but fewer in Wieniec-Zdrój. The gastronomic facilities varied and were prepared to satisfy the different culinary needs of the guests. Gastronomic establishments, such as restaurants, cafes and some dining rooms, were also prepared to organize dance evenings, ice-breaking parties and other similar events.

Table 5. Sports and recreational amenities, conference and gastronomic facilities, as well as amenities
for the disabled at Kujawy spa accommodation: 2017-2018

Facilities with amenities	Ciechocinek	Inowrocław	Wieniec-Zdrój	Total
1) sports-recreational:				
– volleyball or basketball court	3	1	–	4
– tennis court	3	–	–	3
– indoor swimming pool	14	2	1	17
– outdoor swimming pool	1	–	–	1
– gym	18	5	1	24
– sauna	17	4	1	22
– solarium	2	–	–	2
– SPA treatments	14	3	1	18
– rehabilitation treatments (massages, physiotherapy, etc.)	27	8	1	36
– classes conducted by an instructor (e.g. fitness, yoga, aerobics, exercise)	20	6	1	27
– billiards	6	2	1	9
– table tennis equipment	11	1	1	13
– tourist equipment rental (e.g. bicycles, Nordic walking sticks, roller-skates, etc.)	24	3	1	28
– bowling	–	–	1	1
– playrooms for children	6	1	1	8
2) for people with motor disability:				
– ramps	26	7	1	34
– automatic doors	17	3	1	21
– lifts	26	9	1	36
– car park with places reserved	20	8	1	29
3) conference:				
– with a conference hall	19	8	1	28
– number of conference halls	43	10	5	58
– number of seats in the conference hall	3 223	646	700	4 569
– with a sound system	15	10	1	26
– with a cordless microphone	12	9	1	22
– with a multimedia projector	20	7	1	28
– with a videoconference set	5	–	1	6
– with technical service	14	4	1	19
– with a screen	20	8	1	29
– with a flipchart (whiteboard)	19	8	1	28
– with a computer or laptop	17	2	1	20
– with WiFi at the facility	35	10	2	47
4) gastronomic establishments:				
– restaurants	16	5	1	22
– bars and cafes	11	–	3	14
– dining rooms	18	7	1	26
– food outlets/points	2	–	–	2

Source: based on the Local Data Bank (GUS).

Kujawy health resorts have a well-developed supplementary infrastructure available at spa and tourist facilities which consists of various amenities supporting treatment and recreation: graduation towers, indoor saline baths, tennis courts, mini-golf, bowling alleys, common room games, billiards, table tennis, library classes, etc. In Ciechocinek and Inowrocław, the inhabitants as well as the patients and tourists may use the stadium, sports hall, a sports and recreation centre, bike rental, tourist trips to Licheń, Toruń, Kruszwica, Biskupin, Żnin and other destinations; a cinema, an open-air theatre, an open-air stage and a very wide range of services. Motorized tourists have several car parks at their disposal. Based on the supplementary infrastructure, it is possible to enjoy a number of events, such as parties, dance evenings, festivals and concert evenings, Kujawy and Dobrzyń folklore events etc. Some sanatoria offer additional SPA treatments in the solarium, beauty parlour, sauna and the common room; a Tibetan massage with hot stones, inhalations in a salt grotto, etc. They also organize lectures promoting a healthy lifestyle, conducted by qualified psychologists and doctors, sharing their knowledge about the causes of civilization dis-

eases. Spa facilities featured 58 conference halls with 4500 seats equipped with modern audio-visual equipment (sound system, microphones, image projectors, screens, computers, etc.). The largest conference halls can be found at spa facilities in Ciechocinek, followed by Inowrocław and Wieniec-Zdrój.

6. DISCUSSION

So far, official statistics have not provided information about the actual number of beds available in guest rooms/private lodgings, villas, small hotels, etc. It is this particular type of accommodation that is significant as regards tourists and out-patients. Official statistical data from the late 1970s reported the accommodation capacity in Ciechocinek at nearly 2000 beds. In the years to follow, many owners in Ciechocinek stopped declaring services (staying outside statistical registration), but this kind of accommodation did not disappear. Currently, Ciechocinek is inhabited by about 10,000 people, living in 20,900 rooms. There are, on average, two rooms (30 m²) per resident with the surplus rooms, at least partly, being let to tourists and patients. This has been confirmed by the Spokesperson of the Kujawy-Pomerania Province Marshal, quoting a figure of 12,000 beds in Ciechocinek. The size of unregistered accommodation in Inowrocław seems to be smaller. However, on the town's websites, it is possible to identify several (over 20) villas, pensions, apartments, residences, whose names include words like hotel, guest rooms, inn, or even recreational centre. Yet, they are not included in official GUS statistics. At present, Inowrocław is inhabited by 73,600 people living in 104,200 rooms. On average, there are 1.4 rooms (13.2 m²) per inhabitant, which also points to the existence of surplus rooms for rent. Since 2000, housing resources in Ciechocinek have increased by 27.2% (5700 rooms), and in Inowrocław by about 15.8% (16,400 rooms) while, at the same time, the number of inhabitants has decreased: in Ciechocinek by 6.7% (ca. 1000) and in Inowrocław by 7.3% (ca. 6200). This points to a considerable interest of the inhabitants of both towns in increasing housing resources to improve their living conditions, but also in providing them with significant income from renting rooms to tourists and patients. In Wieniec-Zdrój, this type of unregistered accommodation infrastructure is far less important. Newly built housing can be found outside the spa, in Wieniec *solectwo* where the investors are also inhabitants of Włocławek.

The direction of change taking place in accommodation capacity in Kujawy heath resorts is confirmed by the figures for the tourist function coefficient (according to Baretje & Defert[4]) presented in Table 6. They show that in the period 2000-18, in Kujawy

health resorts, the figures for the spa and the tourist-recreational function coefficients increased. Wieniec-Zdrój had and still has a well-developed spa function, with a relatively weak tourist-recreational function. This was determined by the large capacity of the registered accommodation infrastructure and, at the same time, a small number of residents (128). The weakest spa as well as tourist and recreational functions was in Inowrocław, due to its relatively small accommodation capacity and a large number of residents. It is a characteristic feature of larger cities, where despite the great economic significance of tourism, the function is weak in terms of the coefficient used (W_{BD}). In 2000, according to this coefficient calculated on the basis of registered accommodation capacity, Ciechocinek had poorly developed tourist and recreational functions, but in 2018, it could be named as a Polish tourist town ($W_{BD} > 50$) due to the capacity of spa facilities. On the other hand, taking the capacity of unregistered accommodation facilities into account, Ciechocinek was a town with a fully developed tourist function ($W_{BD} > 100$) with a larger capacity of tourist-recreational than spa facilities ($W_{BD} = 78$ and $W_{BD} = 42{,}1$, respectively).

Table 6. Figures for the tourist function coefficient (according to Baretje & Defer) (W_{BD})

Specification	Ciechocinek		Inowrocław		Wieniec-Zdrój	
	2000	2018	2000	2018	2000	2018
Total of tourist accommodation facilities	15.8	58.7	2.2	2.9	314.8	934.4
Spa facilities, exclusively	13.4	42.1	1.8	2.5	298.4	893.7
Tourist-recreational facilities, exclusively	2.4	16.6	0.4	0.4	16.4	40.7

Source: author's calculations based on official statistics on accommodation.

The data from official statistics allow us to identify general trends in the tourist function in Kujawy health resorts. However, providing more detail requires field inventory research (which also has its limitations) as well as searching for or testing alternative indices identifying ongoing changes, regarding both supply (e.g. available housing resources) and demand (e.g. the types and motivations of spa visitors).

6. CONCLUSIONS

Kujawy health resorts offer a wide variety of accommodation, catering, entertainment and treatment for patients and tourists. However, estimating the actual capacity and structure of accommodation still remains

a difficult task. The usefulness of official statistics in identifying the functions of spas other than health is limited. Attempts to supplement them with other sources of information, such as on-line questionnaires regarding a variety of institutions and tourist facilities, as well as some field research (the author's own inventory), do not provide full knowledge of the scale and type of tourist accommodation in the health resorts included in the study.

Nevertheless, the tourist infrastructure in Kujawy health resorts confirms a regularity observed in resorts all over the world: health functions are supplemented with other forms of tourism involving active recreation (using amenities such as graduation towers, swimming pools, tennis courts, sports fields, etc.), during long and short (weekend) stays. Other activities include sightseeing, entertainment and attending conferences. Nowadays, the infrastructure at Ciechocinek tourist facilities is at least as large as at spa facilities, which points to a considerable diversification of the tourism sector there. These changes are less visible in Inowrocław, and in Wieniec-Zdrój they are still to come.

ENDNOTES

[1] In 2017, the share of private patients in Polish health resorts was 34.7% (health activity at spa treatment facilities and rehabilitation centres in 2017. The Statistical Office in Kraków, Health and Health Protection Statistics Centre).

[2] Maik & Przybecka-Maik (2014) report that with regard to the causative role of urban functions, spa towns can be divided into three groups: 1) those where health functions were the primary impulse triggering town development (e.g. Krynica); 2) those where the original manufacturing or service function was being gradually dominated by the health function (e.g. Ciechocinek); 3) those where developed urban functions were at some stage supplemented with health functions (e.g. Inowrocław, Sopot).

[3] *Turystyka i wypoczynek w 1979 r.* [Tourism and recreation in 1979], (1980).

[4] It was calculated using the $W_{BD} = \dfrac{L_{MN}}{L_M} \cdot 100$ formula,

where W_{BD} – tourist function index, L_{MN} – number of beds at accommodation facilities, L_M – number of inhabitants.

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UNIQUE ELEMENTS OF POLISH CITY BRANDS IN ONLINE REVIEWS

Abstract: The aim of the paper is to identify unique elements of the brands of Polish cities and to identify similarities and differences between them. The work attempts to answer the following research questions: Which elements significantly differentiate the brands of studied cities in online reviews? and Which of the studied cities are the most similar in terms of brand elements and which differ in this regard. The data for analysis was obtained from *TripAdvisor*. Reviews about areas of tourist concentration – old markets or old towns – from five Polish cities: Poznań, Wrocław, Kraków, Gdańsk and Warsaw were analysed (N = 5125). The research shows that Gdańsk and Warsaw as well as Poznań and Wrocław have the most similar brand elements. The Kraków brand is the more unique in relation to other cities.

Keywords: brand equity, destinations, cities, *TripAdvisor*, *Text Mining*.

1. INTRODUCTION

Brand according to Kotler, Bowen, Makens & Baloglu (2017) is a name, sign, symbol, design, or a combination of these elements that is intended to identify goods or services and differentiate them from competitors. The possibilities of using the brand concept in relation to tourist destinations have been confirmed by many authors (Buhalis, 2000; Konecnik, Gartner, 2007; Woodside, Cruickshank, Dehuang, 2007). Branding is a process of endowing products and services with the power of the brand and its main purpose is to create differences between products (Kotler *et al.*, 2017). Branding is currently considered an extremely important aspect of the destination management practice, as the growing opportunities for tourist trips and the number of available destinations result in increased substitution and lack of differentiation between destinations (Pike, 2005). According to Aaker (2009), brand equity is a set of assets and liabilities to a brand, its name and symbol, that add to or subtract from the value provided by a product or service to a firm and/or to that firm's customers. Hence, in the context of destination management, an important research task is to study the perception of brands, their equity and impact on consumer behavior in tourism.

Brand equity can be identified in two ways. First, as an indicator of the financial result that the organization owes to the brand, and secondly, brand equity can be assessed from the consumers' perspective (Boo, Busser, Baloglu, 2009). This is the so-called customer-based brand equity (CBBE). Keller (1993, p. 8) defines it as "the differential effect of brand knowledge on consumer response to the marketing of the brand". This means that it is based on the associations and attitudes of the brand users. Aaker (2009, pp. 15-16) lists the following dimensions of brand equity: brand loyalty, brand awareness, perceived quality, brand associations and other assets such as patents, trademarks, channel relationships, etc. The first four of these dimensions are related to customer-based brand equity. Florek (2014) lists two dimensions of brand equity sources: perceived (measured by brand awareness, associations, image, perceived quality) and behavioural (measured by brand loyalty, willingness to pay or recommendation).

The concept of brand equity in reference to place was first formulated by Papadopoulos (2004, p. 43): these are "the real and/or perceived assets and liabilities that are associated with a place (country) and distinguish it from others".

Konecnik & Gartner (2007), in one of the first empirical works about destination brand equity, proposed a customer-based brand equity model using the perception of tourists. As a result of surveys conducted among Croatian and German tourists, they found the existence of four dimensions to Slovenia's brand equity: awareness, image, quality and loyalty. They identified a number of relationships between these dimensions and stated that the image is a central concept in destination branding. It turned out, however, that when the destination brand becomes known to consumers, the image is transferred to the other dimensions of the brand and is obscured by it. Konecnik & Gartner (2007) noticed also that the other dimensions of brand equity affect the dimensions of the image (Fig. 1). For example, brand awareness has an impact on the cognitive dimension of the image, without which there is no brand equity. The dimensions of the image and quality of the brand have the strongest impact on the affective dimension of the image. In turn, loyalty to the brand influences the conative dimension of the image. Thus, both the interrelationships between the dimensions of the image, and the cumulative equity of the brand components, create the brand equity of the destination, in total.
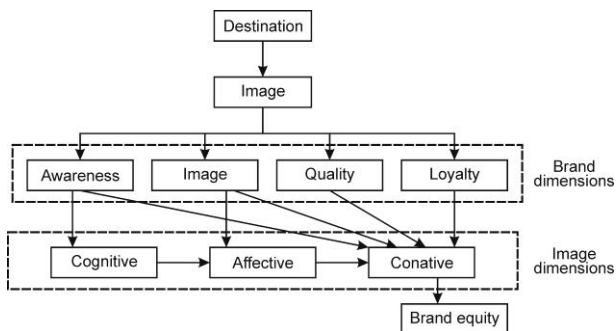

Fig. 1. Destinationbrand equity development
Source: Konecnik & Gartner (2007, p. 403); author's elaboration

Another very interesting study was conducted by Boo *et al.* (2009) among American tourists. They have done online research among Las Vegas and Atlantic City guests. Researchers constructed and tested specific scales to measure four dimensions of the gambling destination brand. They stated that it is possible to study the destination brand equity using the CBBE model, but these brands should be evaluated by comparison with other competing destinations in the same category. Brands tested in this way should be popular and well known to the participants. Researchers found that when a destination brand is researched, a specific scale has to be constructed that takes into account the nature of the areas being compared.

In another article, Lucarelli (2012) reviewed 217 English-language articles published between 1990 and 2009. He proposed a three-dimensional, interdisciplinary model of analysis and assessment of a city's brand equity including elements of the city brand, measurement of the impact of city brands and the impact of branding on cities.

Interesting research on consumer-based city brand equity was made by Florek (2014). As a result of surveys conducted among the residents of Poznań and Wrocław, the author has distinguished four dimensions of city brand equity: attachment, perception, recommendation and satisfaction.

Based on a literature review, Leicht (2016) formulated criteria to select areas for brand comparison to guarantee external validity. These are:
– comparable area, e.g. city vs city, region vs region,
– spatial and cultural context that offers at least certain degree of differentiation, e.g. location in different places and/ or cultural spheres,
– comparable types of place, product or service offered.

2. REVIEWS AVAILABLE ONLINE, BIG DATA AND *TEXT MINING*

The information passed from 'mouth to mouth' (word of mouth – WOM) is an important factor in the process of shaping a destination image (Brown, Getz, 2005; Jalilvand, Shekarchizadeh, Samiei, 2011). However, with the emergence of social media, Internet 2.0[1] and user generated content (UGC), this phenomenon began to take on a whole new character. Numerous online travel forums and opinion aggregators, such as *Trip-Advisor*, *Lonely Planet* or *Ciao*, provide countless pieces of information that significantly affect the consumer decisions of their users. This form of information transfer is referred as electronic word of mouth (eWOM) and is considered to be the most influential source of information nowadays (Jalilvand, 2016).

Cantallops & Salvi (2014) as well as Casalo, Flavian, Guinaliu & Ekinci (2015) stated that eWOM has the greatest impact among all sources of information on consumers of tourist services and this is mainly due to their intangible nature. Millions of reviews available online[2] consistently create a huge and diverse set of data known as *Big Data*, whose processing, using computer algorithms (*Data Mining* and *Text Mining*), enables new, previously unavailable knowledge to be found (Kuhzady, Ghasemi, 2019; Liu, Huangb, Bao, Chenc, 2019; Nowacki, 2019).

Text Mining refers to the process of acquiring high-quality information from text data and covers a wide range of topics and algorithms for text analysis, covering various communities and including information retrieval, natural language processing, data mining and machine learning (Allahyari *et al.*, 2017). With the

advent of e-commerce and online shopping, a huge number of product reviews and user reviews have been emerging, and are still growing. By analysing such data, one can get important information and opinions on topics that are essential in online advertising and marketing (Allahyari *et al.*, 2017).

3. AIM OF THE WORK AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Searching for characteristic elements of destination brands can be carried out by analysing online reviews in two ways: qualitatively and quantitatively. Qualitative research has been conducted, among others by Niezgoda (2017) and she identified three dimensions of the images of the palaces at Versailles and Caserta in the reviews available on *TripAdvisor*. The Greek researchers Kladou & Mavragani (2015) identified the dimensions of Istanbul's image, while Nowacki (2017) identified the features of global city images. Quantitative research was also carried out, such as the identification of cultural experiences among people visiting the cultural attractions of Naples (Simeon, Buonincontri, Cinquegrani, Martone, 2017), unique words associated with the Balkans (Smith *et al.* 2018) or the characteristic words of the Barcelona brand (Tamajón, Valiente, 2015). Interesting research was also performed by Nakaima, Marchiori & Cantoni (2019) who identified tourists' experiences from visiting ten islands which were popular holiday destinations. Data analysed were opinions obtained from *TripAdvisor*.

In the light of the above findings, it can be concluded that there is a gap in identification of characteristic brand elements of destinations (see Lucarelli, 2012, p. 236), especially using the comparative method, *Big Data*, *Text Mining* and advanced statistical methods.

Therefore, the aim of this research is to identify the characteristic elements of Polish city brands and to indicate the similarities and differences between them. The following research questions were formulated:

RQ 1: What brand elements significantly differentiate the examined cities in online reviews?

RQ 2: Which cities are the most similar to each other in terms of identified brand elements and which are different?

4. METHOD

Reviews available on the English-language portal *TripAdvisor* were used as research material (TripAdvisor, 2019). The categories of review were selected from available tourist attractions in the examined cities ('Things

to do in …'): in the centre, in the old town or old market, i.e. in the main tourist concentration zones in the city (see also Kladou, Mavragani, 2015). There are many different tourist attractions in these districts, such as churches, town halls, monuments, fountains, museums, restaurants, hotels, souvenir shops, tourist information points and more.

The five most popular tourist cities in Poland were selected for research, i.e. Poznań, Wrocław, Warsaw, Gdańsk and Kraków. For Poznań and Wrocław, reviews of the Old Market Square were analysed, while in the other cities – Old Town districts (there is no Old Town category in *TripAdvisor* for Poznań, and there are only 425 reviews for Wrocław in this category) [16.02.2019]. As the lowest number of reviews in the compared categories (Old Market Square / Old Town) was in Poznań (1026), to maintain proportion, exactly 1025 reviews were collected for each city (Table 1). The reviews were downloaded on 15th February 2019 using the *Web Scraper* application (Web Scraper, 2019) and 5125 reviews for all cities were obtained in total (Table 1).

Table 1. Collected data according to city and category of tourist concentration site (N = 5125)

City	Category	N	%
Poznań	Old Market Square	1025	20
Wrocław	Old Market Square	1025	20
Warsaw	Old Town	1025	20
Gdańsk	Old Town	1025	20
Kraków	Old Town	1025	20
Total	x	5125	100

Source: author.

The data obtained were analysed using the *Text Mining* procedure available in the statistical package *Statistica 11.0*. As a first step, the frequency of words in all reviews were counted and next, the one-way analysis of variance *ANOVA* was carried out. As result the list of words which substantially differentiate the examined cities was found. In the last step a correspondence analysis was carried out by means of which the relationships between variables (cities) and cases (words) were examined. This allowed to illustrate obtained dependencies on a two-dimensional graph of 'city-words'.

5. RESULTS

At the beginning, the most common words in all reviews were counted. The set of words contained in the *EnglishStopList.txt* file in the package *Statistica*, i.e. words such as 'a', 'the', etc., were excluded from counting. Next, the lemmatization procedure (the stemming) was carried out, to reduce inflections to the dictionary

form. Thus, the different grammatical forms of the same words were combined into one category, e.g. 'traveling', 'traveled', 'travel' etc. As a result of this procedure, a list of 105 unique words was obtained (Table 2). Next, an analysis of variance ANOVA was carried out whose aim was to find differences between the average numbers of occurrences of a given word in the reviews concerning individual cities. It turned out that 74 out of 105 words differentiate between the surveyed reviews in a significant way (Table 2).

The F test carried out in ANOVA indicates the significance of differences between any of the five sets of reviews for each city. To determine whether two sets of reviews for two specific cities are significantly dif-ferent from each other, for each case (word) selected in the *ANOVA* analysis, an additional *post hoc* Scheffe test was carried out (Kenneth, Bordens, Abbott, 2008, p. 432). This analysis yielded 75 unique words for the studied cities (Table 3): the most for Kraków (35), following Poznań (25), Wrocław and Warsaw (14 each) and Gdańsk (8).[3] As a result of analysis, only those words were selected which significantly distinguished one or two cities (this was done in just a few cases, e.g. the figures for 'restaur' for Poznań and Wrocław were 486 and 433 respectively, and these were significantly larger than for Warsaw (273), Gdańsk (352) and Kraków (348).

As can be seen in Table 3, many of the identified words were not very characteristic and did not say

Table 2. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) of the occurrence of words in the sets
of reviews concerning individual cities (N = 105)

Word	F	p	Słowo	F	p	Word	F	p
Also	7.088	**0.000**	Full	5.126	**0.000**	Pretty	2.480	**0.042**
Amaze	4.485	**0.001**	Get	6.770	**0.000**	Price	0.275	0.894
Architecture	11.286	**0.000**	Go	1.342	0.252	Pub	16.524	**0.000**
Area	15.086	**0.000**	Good	5.577	**0.000**	Really	2.545	**0.038**
Around	3.364	**0.009**	Great	6.105	**0.000**	Rebuilt	58.471	**0.000**
Atmosphere	4.610	**0.001**	Hall	68.695	**0.000**	Recommend	3.487	**0.008**
Aack	3.732	**0.005**	Historic	22.986	**0.000**	Restaur	29.616	**0.000**
Bar	24.999	**0.000**	History	31.318	**0.000**	See	7.343	**0.000**
Beauty	6.976	**0.000**	Hour	5.924	**0.000**	Shop	29.811	**0.000**
Best	3.597	**0.006**	Hous	22.064	**0.000**	Sit	5.905	**0.000**
Build	2.648	**0.032**	Interest	1.431	0.221	Small	8.097	**0.000**
Busy	1.127	0.342	Just	4.325	**0.002**	Spend	1.921	0.104
Cafe	2.140	0.073	Like	0.931	0.444	Squar	342.014	**0.000**
Can	2.058	0.084	Little	1.230	0.445	Stay	2.792	**0.025**
Charm	1.961	0.098	Local	0.876	0.296	Still	5.774	**0.000**
Christmas	24.863	**0.000**	Look	2.438	0.477	Street	43.598	**0.000**
Church	28.323	**0.000**	Lot	4.847	**0.045**	Stroll	2.548	**0.037**
City	5.533	**0.000**	Love	2.938	**0.001**	Surround	9.438	**0.000**
Clean	7.796	**0.000**	Main	14.745	**0.019**	Take	6.572	**0.000**
Coffee	0.441	0.779	Make	0.360	**0.000**	Time	1.070	0.370
Color	18.147	**0.000**	Many	3.772	0.837	Tour	20.345	**0.000**
Colour	21.513	**0.000**	Market	118.381	**0.005**	Tourist	0.538	0.708
Come	3.480	**0.008**	Much	6.826	**0.000**	Town	121.924	**0.000**
Day	2.794	**0.025**	Museum	10.610	**0.000**	Visit	4.310	**0.002**
Definite	0.296	0.881	Must	3.959	**0.000**	Walk	34.767	**0.000**
Differ	1.147	0.332	Nice	10.382	**0.003**	War	58.569	**0.000**
Drink	5.785	**0.000**	Night	6.928	**0.000**	Watch	14.786	**0.000**
Eat	1.823	0.122	Old	115.270	**0.000**	Well	0.487	0.746
Enjoy	2.054	0.084	One	8.581	**0.000**	Will	2.526	**0.039**
Even	1.885	0.110	Part	15.873	**0.000**	Wonder	1.599	0.172
Every	2.990	**0.018**	People	1.461	**0.000**	World	7.502	**0.000**
Feel	4.145	**0.002**	Place	6.490	0.211	Worth	0.998	0.407
Find	2.767	**0.026**	Plenty	2.365	**0.000**	Would	2.149	**0.072**
Food	1.533	0.190	Poland	6.141	0.051			
Friend	2.208	0.066	Polish	4.229	**0.000**			

Note: words that significantly differentiate the examined cities are marked in bold.
Key: 'F' – value of the f-Fisher test, 'p' – significance of the f-Fisher test.
Source: author.

Table 3. Unique words characteristic for each city (N = 74)

Poznań		Wrocław		Warsaw		Gdańsk		Kraków	
word	number	word	number	word	number	word	number	word	number
Also	99	Atmosphere	105	Area	152	Amaze	98	Amaze	90
Bar	244	Beauty	376	Back	45	Architecture	165	Area	146
Build	273	Best	59	Feel	53	Build	272	Around	272
Color	76	Christmas	133	Hour	55	Museum	63	Back	47
Colour	74	Drink	98	Nice	231	Small	74	Best	53
Come	48	Find	60	Old	597	Stay	52	Church	152
Day	128	Full	89	Part	79	Street	257	City	298
Drink	93	Great	282	Polish	63	Visit	305	Clean	70
Good	169	Market	299	Rebuilt	117			Come	40
Hall	142	Night	75	Small	73			Day	126
Hous	106	One	147	Still	57			Every	78
Market	327	People	131	Town	647			Full	93
Museum	67	Pretty	44	War	129			Get	91
Must	93	Restaur	433	World	72			Historic	155
Nice	281							History	170
Night	89							Interest	87
People	130							Just	150
Polish	66							Lot	326
Pretty	43							Love	249
Pub	63							Main	132
Restaur	486							Stay	52
Sit	54							Much	105
Squar	741							Plenty	107
Surround	56							Recommend	71
Watch	89							See	222
								Shop	338
								Stay	56
								Street	212
								Stroll	51
								Take	117
								Tour	138
								Visit	257
								Walk	356
								Will	75
								Would	60

Source: author.

much about the brand elements of the city (such words as 'also', 'feel' or 'find'). In order to not obscure the image of the cities examined during further analysis, it was decided to remove them. After this procedure, 42 words remained.

Afterwards, a correspondence analysis was made for such a data set (Hill, 1974). This is a descriptive and exploratory technique, providing information about the structure of connections between columns (variables) and rows (cases) on a hierarchical table (Stanisz, 2007, p. 307). It provides similar results to factor analysis but for qualitative data.

Before the correspondence analysis was started, a Pearson's χ^2 test (for 95% confidence level) for the data table was performed (42 cases – number of words x 5 variables – number of words on individual cities).

The result is shown below:

$\chi^2 = 4528.71$, df = 164, p < 0.0001

The test showed that there is a statistical relationship between the studied cases and variables at the significance level of p <0.0001. In the next step a correspondence analysis was carried out, as a result of which four dimensions were obtained, of which the first two were statistically significant. The first dimension explained as much as 78.3% of the variance of variables and together with the second dimension, explained almost 90% of the variances of the studied variables, which was considered a very good result (Table 4) (see Stanisz, 2007).

The obtained results were presented in the form of a two-dimensional graph (Fig. 2), where squares represent individual cities, and circles represent individual

Table 4. The results of correspondence analysis

Dimension	Singular values	Eigen-values	% of inertia	Cumulative %	χ^2 values
1	0.337	0.114	78.28	78.28	3545.063[a]
2	0.120	0.014	9.95	88.24	450.915[a]
3	0.101	0.010	6.96	95.20	315.429
4	0.084	0.007	4.79	100.00	217.308

Note: [a] – statistically significant values at $p <0.05$.
Source: author.
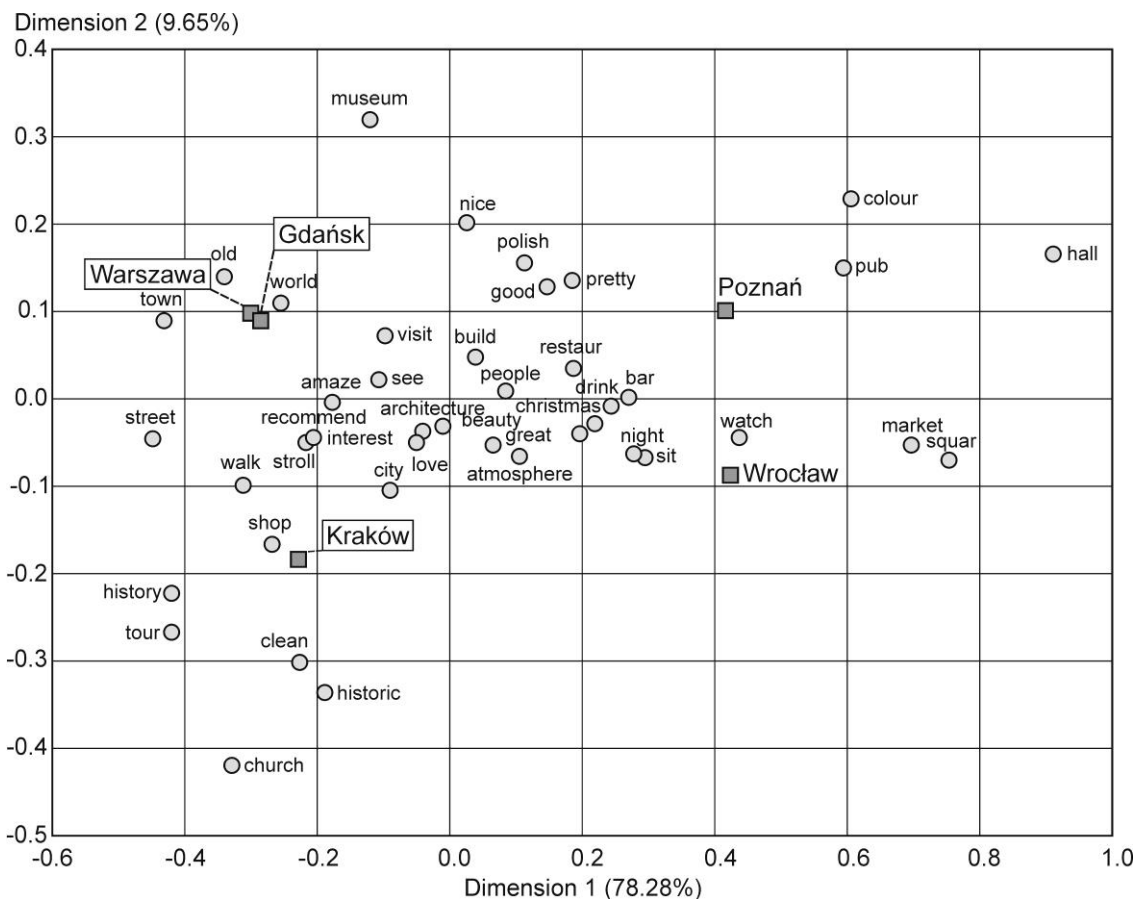
Fig. 2. Two-dimensional graph of row and column dimensions for 43 words and five cities
Source: author

words. The graph shows that Kraków is located at a considerable distance from other cities. The words that most distinguish Kraków from the others are shop, walk, clean, history tour, and church. The next two cities, which are almost at the same point on the graph, are Warsaw and Gdańsk and are characterized by words such as old town, world or museum in the comments. The final two cities, also relatively close to each other, are Poznań and Wrocław and their words include drink bar, Christmas atmosphere, market square, market hall, restaurant, pretty, good, Polish, night, sit.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of the above research was to identify the characteristic elements of the Polish city brands and to indicate the similarities and differences between them. This goal was accomplished by performing *Text Mining*, *ANOVA* and correspondence analysis, on a large quantity of data – 5125 reviews available on *TripAdvisor*.

The performed research allowed to identify specific words – elements of the brand, which differ the examined cities (specifically the areas of old markets/ old

towns). These elements can be used in creating marketing messages, website content, creating tourist products and even in attempts to build or modify existing territorial brands and images of tourist destinations.

The most specific words – brand elements – have been identified for Kraków and Poznań. In the light of the analyses, Kraków can be associated with historical tours, walks through the streets of a clean city, but also as a city with interesting shopping opportunities. Associations with Poznań are a colourful city full of pubs, a beautiful town hall, great bars, pubs and restaurants as well as an interesting nightlife. It was found that there are similar elements for Gdańsk and Warsaw, as well as for Poznań and Wrocław. The Kraków brand is characterized by the greatest uniqueness in relation to the others.

The above studies show that Poznań and Wrocław, as well as Warsaw and Gdańsk, may become the target of further comparative researches using CBBE, as they meet the conditions indicated by Leicht (2016) previously mentioned. In these studies, the unique elements of the city brands identified above could be used.

A limitation of the above research is the use of a single category (old market or old town) in the analysis. In further research it would be worth expanding the analysis to other attractions located in the city (in TripAdvisor's category 'Things to do…'), as well as restaurants and hotels, thanks to which the analysed elements of the city brand, and thus the city brand equity model, would become fuller. It is also worth identifying the forms of activities and tourists experiences which are characteristic of the studied cities, which together with the above-mentioned characteristic elements could be used in shaping tourism products, marketing strategies and in creating equity of city brands.

ENDNOTES

[1] Internet (Web 2.0) – definition of internet websites in which the content generated by the users of a given website plays a fundamental role.

[2] For example, TripAdvisor – the world's largest travel site – contains 702 million reviews of 8 million hotel beds, airlines, tourist attractions and restaurants in 49 countries. Every month, 490 million unique users use the information contained therein (TripAdvisor. Media Centre).

[3] The sum of words is greater than 74 because a few words were considered characteristic for several cities.

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ESCAPE ROOMS IN POLAND: A DEMAND-LED APPROACH USING 'NETNOGRAPHIC' RESEARCH

Abstract: During five years of extremely rapid and spontaneous development, escape rooms have become a permanent component of Polish urban space. At the same time, this form of recreation has gained a whole community of enthusiasts. The aim of the article is to present a comprehensive description of the people who visit escape rooms in Poland through an online survey including 718 users of lockme.pl, the largest promotional and booking portal in the country. The results have enabled the author to identify the socio-demographic features of the players, sources of information about escape rooms, user motivations, the frequency, character and course of visits, the emotions accompanying the game, as well as general opinions and evaluations of Polish escape rooms.

Keywords: free time, forms of recreation, escape rooms, experience economy.

1. INTRODUCTION

The dynamic and profound changes occurring in the contemporary world leave a trace in all areas of human life, including rest and recreation. One of the major causes of these revolutionary transformations is the unprecedented development of new technologies which have enabled people to create parallel, alternative worlds, in which they function outside reality. Never before has the borderline between real and virtual worlds been so indistinct. Blurring it has become the basis of creating many new, post-modernist attractions for those visiting theme parks, tourist and shopping centres, 4th and 5th generation stadiums, etc. (cf. Stasiak, 2019). Creating hyper-reality[1] serves the purpose of satisfying the very particular needs of today's consumers: the continuous pursuit of novelty, originality and uniqueness, experiencing exciting situations and strong emotions, feeding a hedonistic imperative, engaging in continuous 'play', and getting away from everyday problems, however illusory and temporary it may be.

Post-modernist attractions of this kind include escape rooms.[2] Their history is relatively short. The first were created in 2007 in Japan (Nicholson, 2015), after a few years they appeared in the USA and Europe, then spreading all over the world. Their number increased dramatically in the second decade of the 21st century. In many countries with completely different cultures and traditions, escape rooms unexpectedly became serious competition for traditional ways of spending free time such as bowling, billiards or cinema. The wave of escape room popularity is an example of the global diffusion of innovation (Stasiak, 2016). The general business concept, as well as detailed organizational and technological ideas tested in one part of the world, were immediately implemented in others, although possibly adapted to local character and individual customer needs. The success of escape rooms resulted from an attractive market offer responding to customer tastes and the need for unique experiences, strongly saturated with emotions. On the other hand, escape rooms turned out to be highly profitable business undertakings, due to high demand keeping prices at a high level, as well as the relatively low cost of organizing the rooms and their functioning. Their popularity mostly depended on the originality of the games and not on the amount of money invested in them.

The fashion for escape rooms arrived in Poland at the beginning of 2014 and over two years, nearly 600 were opened (Stasiak, 2016); Poland, after Hungary and Switzerland, has become one of the leaders on the European escape room (ER) market, setting standards as well as new development trends for the whole industry. A major cause of the rapid development of escape rooms in Central and Eastern Europe is the large number of abandoned, vacant premises in city centres. The historical centres of West-European cities do not offer such opportunities (Kubal, Pawlusiński, 2016).

The phenomenon of escape rooms can be analysed from two main points of view:
- on the supply side: development (growth rate, diffusion of innovation), description of the offer (room themes, game scenarios), location factors (spatial concentration), economic aspects (cost, revenues, benefits, etc.);
- on the demand side: customer segmentation, player needs and motivations, experience, opinions and evaluation.

The analysis of the origins and development of escape rooms in Poland was presented in the author's first article published in 'Tourism', in 2016 (Stasiak, 2016). The aim of this article is to present a comprehensive description of the people who visit escape rooms. Since they first appeared in Poland five years ago, escape rooms have produced a numerous community of players. Starting research in 2018, the author posed the following questions:
- Who are the escape room enthusiasts?
- What motivates them to visit the rooms?
- What emotions accompany them during the game?
- How do they rate this particular form of entertainment?

This article is a preliminary summary of the findings.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Despite the dynamic development of the ER market and its huge popularity all over the world, the issue has not been sufficiently discussed in academic articles with only several empirical works being published. The most extensive were carried out by Nicholson (2015) who provided a general description based on questionnaires filled in by representatives of 175 escape rooms in Europe, Asia, Australia and both Americas (regarding the variety of themes, room features, design models, game organization, price level, players' socio-demographic features, etc.). Based on an analysis of the survey results, Nicholson identified the most important differences between escape rooms in the USA and

in Japan. However, conducted on a global scale and using small, random samples, the study was not fully representative.

Kotlar (2017) conceptualized the experiences of the customers of the two most popular ER sector companies: in New York (5 rooms) and Budapest (4 rooms). Using netnographic studies and automated content analysis (Leximancer software), on the basis of 1243 *TripAdvisor* opinions, he created a concept map. This demonstrated that an escape room provides visitors with new, peak, unique and fun experiences, mostly due to the difficult tasks and the social component of the game.

Similar results were achieved by Dilek & Dilek (2018), who analysed the experiences of visitors to 33 escape rooms in Turkey, on the basis of 1079 opinions posted on *TripAdvisor*. The results prove that players gain original, lively experiences by solving difficult riddles, as well as working in a team (social element). The visitors were looking for novelty (authenticity), powerful sensations and emotions, hedonistic pleasure and the sense of being outside place and time.

Researchers are particularly interested in the 'flow' phenomenon,[3] described by Csikszentmihály (1990) and an analysis of customer group 'flow' experiences in escape rooms was conducted in the latest work by Kotlar & Čater (2018). The results indicate that the key determinants of the experiences related to 'flow' include group challenge, matching the skill to the difficulty level of the game, the room theme and the form of storytelling. The appearance of 'flow' has a considerable influence on willingness to participate in the next game, a tendency towards word-of-mouth communication, tightening the bond within a group of players, and even a subjective evaluation of the quality of life.

Polish publications that are noteworthy include an article by Kubal & Pawlusiński (2016) dedicated to the escape rooms in Kraków as a component of the cultural offer of the city, used not only by residents, but also tourists, students and corporate clients. Stasiak (2016) conducted a comprehensive analysis of the ER sector in Poland. He presented the origins and development of escape rooms in 2014-2016, as well as a detailed location and description of escape rooms in 10 Polish cities.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ER SECTOR IN POLAND: 2016-2018

The first escape rooms in Poland appeared in spring 2014 in Wrocław: two rooms opened by *Let Me Out*. The next two years brought a dramatic increase in the number all over the country and by 2016, there were already about 600 (Stasiak, 2016). Over the next two years, the increase was equally dynamic, though the trend

slowed down slightly. According to *Lockme* records, at the end of 2018, there were about 1000 escape rooms in Poland (*Rynek EscapeRoom…*, 2018). At that time, the market had become stable for over half a year. Newly opened rooms were replacing older ones which were unprofitable or simply already used up. In the long term, experts forecast a reduction in the number of escape rooms in Poland to 800, due to the new customer segment running out (*Rynek EscapeRoom…*, 2018).

The reduction had already become visible in the largest Polish cities in 2018 (Table 1). Over a year, in six out of ten Polish cities, the number of escape rooms visibly decreased, and in four the number of firms as well (in two cities, it did not change). In other centres, a small increase was observed, which points to a saturation of the market. Compared to the ranking compiled two years earlier (Stasiak, 2016), there were small changes in the positions of cities: Łódź dropped from 3rd to 5th, Bydgoszcz went up from 9th to 6th, and Lublin replaced Białystok in 10th place. Escape rooms should be regarded as urban entertainment with the majority functioning in the largest cities of the country. They are also strongly diversified regionally reflecting local character and trends. According to the authors of the *Rynek EscapeRoom…* (2018) report, Poznań is famous for rooms organized around horror and thriller themes, Bydgoszcz rooms specialize in mathematical riddles and those in Szczecin are literature-oriented. Most escape rooms of a high level of difficulty can be found in Wrocław, contrary to Kraków where easy and pleasant adventure is preferred, and focusing on experiences with tourists in mind. In Warsaw, it is important to pleasantly surprise the customer (the 'Wow!' effect) and provide them with very strong stimuli during the game.

The situation on the ER market changed drastically on 4th January 2019, when five teenagers died in a fire in an escape room in Koszalin. The inspection conducted nationwide revealed numerous inadequacies regarding fire prevention and evacuation routes in as many as 90% of the escape rooms and as a result 69 were closed down. What is more, a new regulation was introduced, strictly defining the requirements that have to be met to run this type of activity (*Są wyniki kontroli w escape roomach…*, 2019). Tightened safety regulations (and, consequently, higher costs) will certainly be a significant barrier in the near future, limiting rapid uncontrolled growth in the ER sector in Poland.

Apart from the quantitative increase, we should also mention the qualitative development of escape rooms in Poland. The early rooms were often built by amateurs, in only slightly adapted private flats, with a minimal outlay (5-10,000 PLN). Nowadays, modern rooms, so-called '3rd generation', with multi-level sets, visual and sound effects, original props and live actors can be found. As a result, escape rooms give a full and very realistic sense of being a part of a story and travelling in 'time and space' (*Rynek EscapeRoom…*, 2018).

Strong competition on the ER market imposes professionalisation, which is reflected in the growing expenses of the organization of individual rooms. The cost of furnishing is significantly higher due to the use of special electronic gadgets, more and more sophisticated special effects or additional safety measures (e.g. 24-hour monitoring) indispensable in a modern escape room. This has been noticed by other firms offering special products and services required by the ER sector, not only in Poland, but also abroad.

Despite the growing costs, it is still a very profitable economic undertaking, due to the high demand for this type of entertainment. In 2017, about 2,133,000 visits were recorded in Poland, and the income of the whole ER sector was estimated at about 200 million PLN

Table 1. Escape rooms in the largest Polish cities, 2016-2018

	City	Number of rooms						Number of companies					
		30.04.2016	30.04.2017	20.11.2017	30.04.2018	20.11.2018	Change 2017-2018	30.04.2016	30.04.2017	20.11.2017	30.04.2018	20.11.2018	Change 2017-2018
1	Warszawa	97	122	132	129	119	–12	38	45	44	44	38	–6
2	Poznań	49	80	104	73	85	–19	24	32	37	35	38	+1
3	Kraków	39	54	66	63	67	+1	18	21	25	24	25	0
4	Wrocław	33	63	62	61	65	+3	14	21	23	25	25	+2
5	Łódź	42	50	50	47	53	+3	16	16	16	16	19	0
6	Bydgoszcz	18	32	41	33	37	–4	10	17	21	19	18	–3
7	Katowice	37	35	41	34	35	–6	16	14	16	13	10	–6
8	Gdańsk	27	38	39	33	30	–9	9	13	14	13	11	–3
9	Szczecin	21	37	40	34	27	–3	11	14	15	12	9	–6
10	Toruń	8	20	24	20	25	+1	4	7	7	6	8	+1

Source: author's elaboration, based on https://;lockme.pl.

(*Rynek EscapeRoom…*, 2018). A shortcoming of this industry is the fact that a product can in fact be used only once. The customers do not come back to the same room thus, it is necessary to look for new customers or other uses and flexible modifications of the offer. Escape rooms are willingly visited by school groups for educational purposes (mathematics, physics, literature, history) and such educational rooms are often created by museums, and even the Institute of National Remembrance in Warsaw (to familiarize the students with the complicated history of Poland after World War II). Escape rooms are being increasingly used by corporations during integration events, as part of team building activities, or even in the process of recruitment (ING Bank Śląski). Escape rooms may also be an additional tourist attraction, which enriches the offer of the city or region (cf. Kubal, Pawlusiński, 2016), enabling the visitors to discover the *genius loci* of a given site, or simply have some fun after a whole day of sightseeing.

Apart from ordinary tourists, there is also a growing group of escape room enthusiasts who form teams, practice regularly and travel all over Poland in search of new adventures and challenges. In March 2017, in Budapest, the first open competition for escape room enthusiasts was held, and in October 2017, Wrocław hosted the first world championship in this 'discipline' (*Rynek EscapeRoom…*, 2018). Local preliminaries, held in five Polish cities, included 1767 participants, forming 537 teams. The 2nd *Poland Escape* in 2018 included 2750 players and 892 teams (see *O poprzednich edycjach PolandEscape*). The championship organizer is lockme.pl, a unique internet platform, embracing about 95% of escape rooms in Poland which enables users to review, book and assess them.[4] Based on a special algorithm, taking into account customers' opinions, a ranking of the best rooms in a city, region or country is created. Towards the end of 2017, the portal started overseas expansion: in Germany (lockme.de), Austria (lockme.at) and Switzerland (lockme.ch), and in 2018 in the USA (lock.me). In those five countries, it presents nearly 8000 escape rooms with 74,000 users, who have already posted 88,000 evaluations (lockme.pl). One of the portal's tasks is to build a community of escape room enthusiasts through the website, a Facebook profile[5] and a regularly sent newsletter.

4. RESEARCH METHOD

The study was carried out from 12th April to 11th May 2018, by means of an online questionnaire. An invitation to take part in the study was placed on the lockme.pl website, the company's Facebook profile as well as twice in the newsletters sent to subscribers. Thus, the information reached escape room enthusiasts in Poland[6] but,

based on the results, it is impossible to draw conclusions concerning all the users of escape rooms, but only the most active ones involved in the life of the players' community. Even though the study was not fully representative, the relatively large number of respondents allowed the researcher to describe the most common attitudes and opinions of Polish escape rooms enthusiasts.

The questionnaire included 15 questions regarding the beginnings of their involvement with escape rooms, sources of information about them, motivations to visit them, the frequency and character of the visits, as well as the emotions experienced during the game, evaluations of the rooms and prices, and any inclination to recommend this form of entertainment to others. The questionnaire also contained questions about the respondent's sex, age, education, professional status and place of residence.

At the core of the research were questions about the emotions felt during a game in an escape room. The respondents defined their emotional states, choosing among 24 answers, referring directly to Plutchik's theory of emotions (1980). The concept, developed from 1960 to 1980, assumes the existence of eight primary emotions developed naturally through evolution (the author put them into four pairs of contradictory emotions). A combination of basic emotions creates more complex emotional states.

The relationships between individual emotions are presented in a three-dimensional diagram, called Plutchik's Wheel of Emotions (Fig. 1). The horizontal
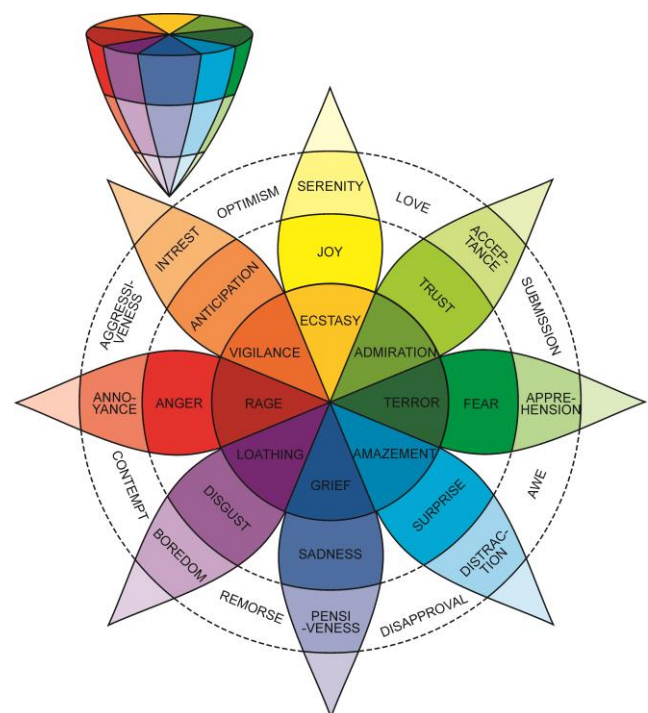

Fig. 1. Plutchik's Wheel of Emotions
Source: Plutchik (1980)

plane contains primary emotions, and the vertical one defines their intensity. After unfolding the diagram (a two-dimensional projection), free spaces are filled with dyads – combinations of basic emotions.

All in all, the survey included 725 respondents. After formal verification, seven questionnaires were excluded due to incomplete answers so ultimately, the analysis encompassed 718 respondents.

5. STUDY RESULTS

5.1. RESPONDENTS' PROFILE

The group of 718 respondents included 513 women (71.5%) and 197 men (24.4%). Eight respondents (1.1%) did not provide any answers. According to ER experts, the disproportion in terms of sex is actually not so great – the proportions of male and female escape room users are more or less equal – though it naturally depends on the room theme. Thus, the larger number of women among the respondents resulted from other factors (perhaps their greater inclination to this type of research).

As regards age, the largest group consisted of young people in their twenties and thirties (Fig. 2). Over 50% of the respondents were below 30 (20-24 – 23.8%; 25-29 – 33.2%), and every fourth respondent in their 30s (30-34 – 15.7%; 35-39 – 8.8%). Every tenth respondent (10.5%) was below 20. The older age ranges (above 45) had only a small number of respondents (0-1.7%). The online character of the survey certainly had an influence on such an age distribution.

Polish escape rooms enthusiasts are well educated, definitely above the national mean. Nearly two thirds of the respondents had completed higher education,
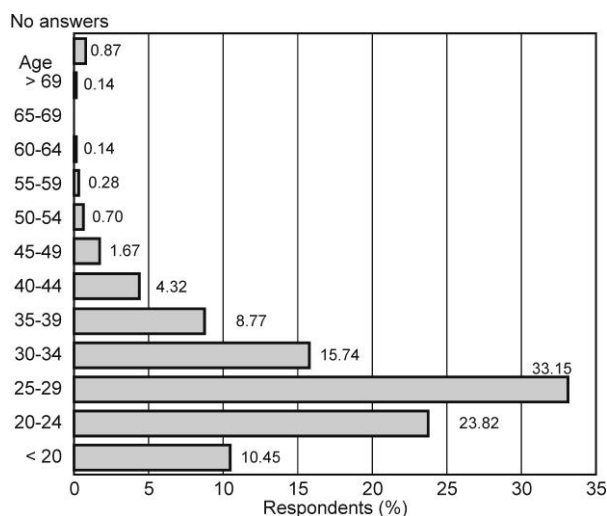
including 46.2% completing masters and 18.9% bachelor. Every fourth respondent had completed secondary education (23.1% had graduated from a secondary school and 4.3% from a further education institution), every twentieth respondent (4.9%) had finished only a lower secondary school (*gimnazjum*).

The level of education corresponded to the respondents' professional status. Over 60% were white-collar workers, nearly 19% were university students, and over 8% secondary school students; only 9.3% were manual workers. Individual respondents defined themselves as unemployed, retired or pensioners.

Visitors to escape rooms in Poland are above all inhabitants of large cities and towns (Fig. 3). Over half of them (53.2%) came from the largest urban centres in the country (populated by over 200,000 inhabitants). Every fourth respondent (25.8%) lived in a medium-sized town (20,000-200,000 inhabitants) while small towns of up to 20,000 inhabitants and villages were represented almost equally (7% and 7.7%, respectively).
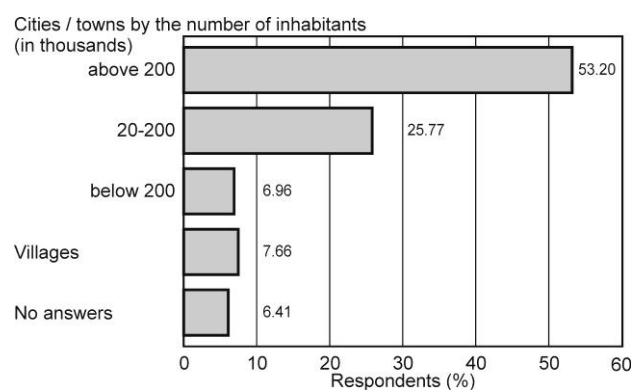

Fig. 3. Respondents' place of residence
Source: author, based on survey

Despite guaranteed anonymity, the respondents were unwilling to reveal their place of residence. Only 230 people (32%) quoted the name of the locality (Fig. 4). Therefore, a full analysis of this factor turned out to be impossible. It can be assumed, however, that they represented all regions of the country, although they mostly came from the biggest Polish agglomerations, with the largest number of escape rooms. The cities they quoted included Wrocław (34 people), Warsaw (30), Kraków (22), Poznań (17), Szczecin and Bydgoszcz (10 each).

Actually, this is not surprising. It could have been expected that escape rooms with their particular offer of mental riddles would attract these types of customer (perhaps apart from the hardly explainable disproportion between the sexes). In the light of the study, a typical user of escape rooms in Poland is a young, 20-year-old (57%) woman (71.5%) with higher education (65.1%), who is a white-collar worker (60.6%) or student (18.9%), and an inhabitant of a large city (53.2%).
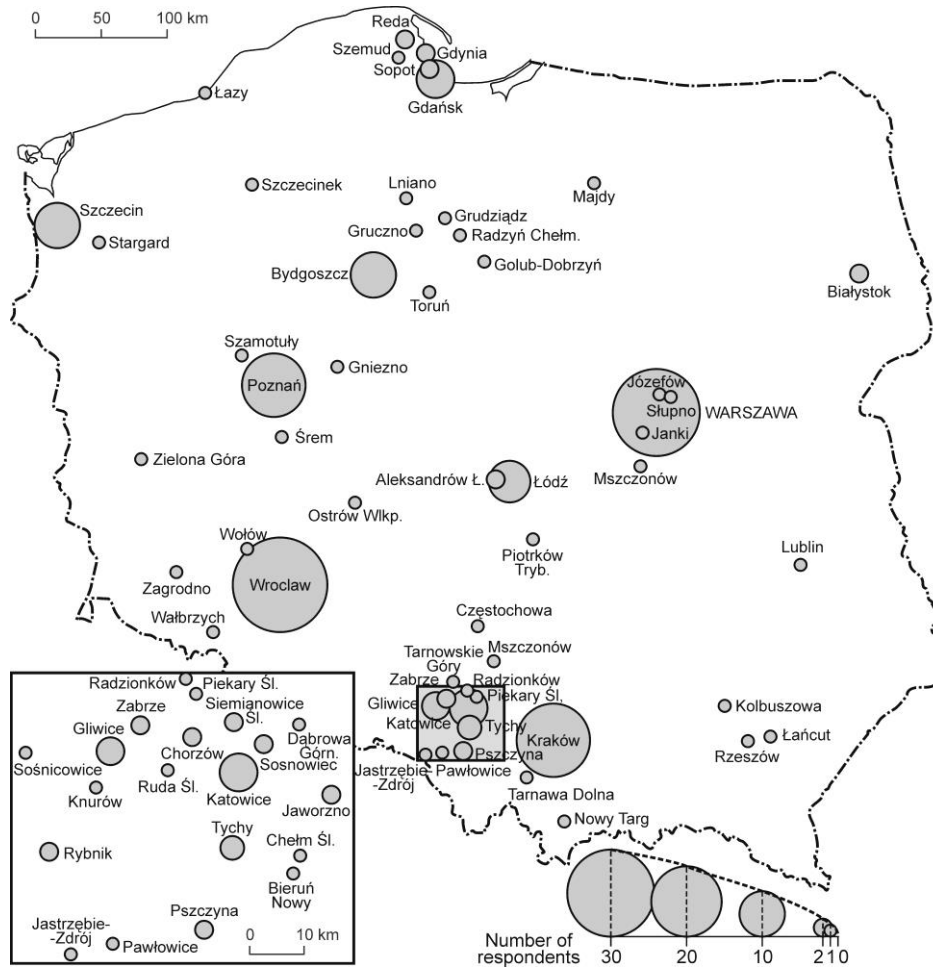

Fig. 2. Respondents' age
Source: author, based on survey

Fig. 4. Respondents' place of residence, n = 229
Source: author, based on survey

5.2. GAMING EXPERIENCE IN ESCAPE ROOMS

At the time of the study, the majority of respondents already had some experience of escape rooms. Their 'adventure' usually started in 2016 (nearly 40%), 2017 (28.1%), or 2015 (20.2%). Only one in 20 could be regarded as a novice who had not discovered this type of entertainment until 2018. The players who had been playing the longest and remembered the first facilities of this kind in Poland from 2014, made up under 7% of the sample. The same percentages occurred regardless of sex, age group, education or profession.

The players' considerable experience was reflected in the number of rooms visited and the frequency of visits. Only one in ten had been to an escape room 1 to 3 times, but as many as 90% at least 4 times. The most frequent answer was 'several visits' (10-19 times – 26.1%). Nearly 30% admitted having visited escape rooms more than 25 times. That group included record-breakers, who declared 100 and 150 visits (2.1% and 1.3%, respectively).

The large number of escape rooms that appeared in Poland over a relatively short period of time resulted in a high attendance rate. The respondents turned out to be very active players who regularly visited (Fig. 5) with
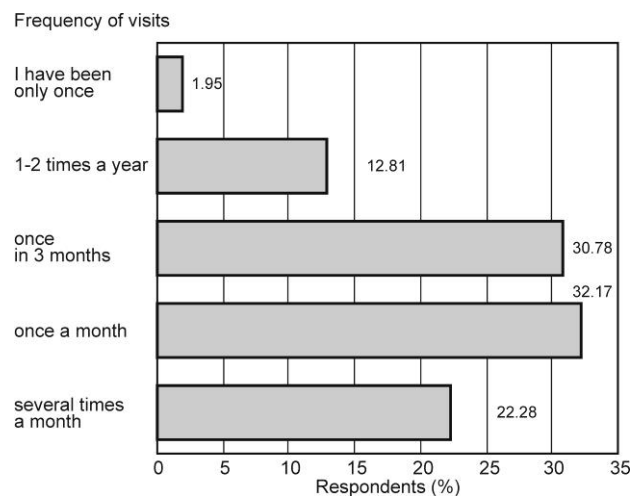

Fig. 5. Frequency of visits to escape rooms
Source: author, based on survey

nearly every third player visiting them once a month (39.1% of men and 29.8% of women), while 30.8% at least once in three months (mostly women – 31.8%). Visiting escape rooms once a month was stated mainly by young people (up to 34 years of age), while older respondents usually visited them once in three months. However, 22.3% chose that form of entertainment as much as several times a month. It can be suspected that this particular group included the real enthusiasts of escape rooms, seasoned players and members of established teams. Such a distribution of answers is very likely to be the result of having distributed the questionnaires among escape room enthusiasts gathered around lockme.pl. It would explain the 'overrepresentation' of the 'professionals' in relation to the less experienced players, those rare, individuals whose visits to escape rooms were stated by only about 15% of respondents.

5.3. CHARACTER OF VISITS

An interesting aspect are the circumstances in which the respondents visited escape rooms (Fig. 6). They took place primarily at the players' place of residence, both at weekends (73.7%) and on weekdays (61.3%).[7] Similar proportions were observed in all groups, regardless of sex, age group, education, profession or place of residence. Visits of this type can certainly be regarded as a popular form of recreation, an attractive way of spending free time locally.
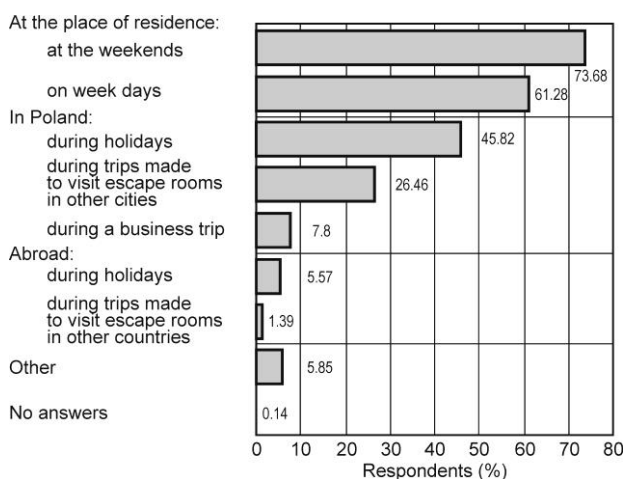

Fig. 6. Circumstances (when and where) of visits to escape rooms
Source: author, based on survey

Many respondents also look on escape rooms as interesting tourist attractions which they visit during their journeys around the country. Nearly 46% stated that they visited escape rooms during their holidays in Poland. It is interesting that over one quarter of respondents (26.5%) travelled to other Polish cities in order to visit new escape rooms and face new challenges (33% of men and 24% of women). They were mostly young people under 30 (17.7%). Escape rooms are definitely less frequently visited during business trips (7.8%), but the proportion of men to women is clearly visible (10.7% compared to 6.6%). The same applies to all kinds of overseas travel (maximum 5.6% visited escape rooms during their holidays abroad). In this last case, the language barrier was the discouraging factor.

Escape rooms are by definition social entertainment – the riddles are solved in a group; sometimes the task can be completed only when several people are cooperating. In Poland, a team usually consists of 2-5 players who have arranged earlier to meet and play together (Stasiak, 2016).[8] Thus, the game is played by a group of people who know one another, which has a positive influence on the atmosphere and effectiveness of competition (e.g. due to the possibility of choosing partners who have specific skills, useful during the game). As many as 87.7% of the respondents pointed to their friends and acquaintances as playing companions (Fig. 7), dominating in all groups, regardless of sex, age, education, profession or place of residence.
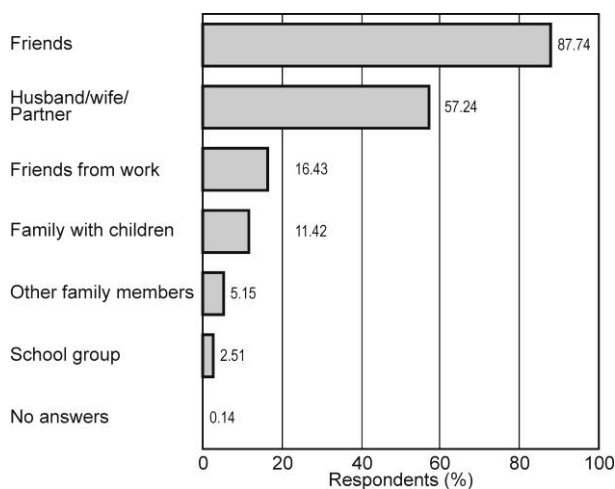

Fig. 7. Those accompanying visitors to escape rooms
Source: author, based on survey

The closest family (husband/wife, partner) were mentioned much more rarely (57.2%). It is interesting that women indicated their husbands/partners more often (59.5%) than men did their wives/partners (52.3%). To over 16% of the respondents, an escape room was a place where you can go with your friends from work' 11.4% stated that they visited escape rooms with their whole family, including children, while members of more distant family or school groups were mentioned very rarely.

5.4. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The main source of information about escape rooms is definitely the internet. The respondents learned about escape rooms primarily from the lockme.pl portal (91.6%), as well as from the websites of individual rooms (55.4%) and Facebook (36.9%). Another major source of information was word-of-mouth. Friends' and colleagues' recommendations were followed by 51.5% of the respondents. It is interesting that they considered the opinions of their friends to be much more credible than the opinions of members of their own families (5.4%). Friends' suggestions were followed more often by women (54%) than men (46.2%). Verbal recommendation was of higher value especially among 20-year-olds, people with higher education and city dwellers. For players aged 25-29, with a bachelor degree, and inhabitants of cities populated by over 200,000 people (i.e. potentially having the largest circle of friends), it was the second most popular source of information. The remaining sources (leaflets, posters, other ER portals) were of marginal importance. The escape room administrators, who have relatively modest resources for advertising, limit their promotional activity to the internet. Therefore, they usually do not use other, costlier forms of advertising, counting on the players to spread the news directly and through the social media. This seems reasonable as escape room enthusiasts often talk about their passion, share experiences and recommend the best rooms. Nearly 99% of respondents behave in this way, with 57.4% doing it very often, 33.3% – often, and only 7.9% – sporadically. 60.8% of women and 50.3% of men stated expressing their opinions about escape rooms very frequently.

5.5. MOTIVATIONS TO VISIT ESCAPE ROOMS

The respondents were asked to give the most important motivations for visiting escape rooms (they could choose a number of answers from the list or give their own – Fig. 8). The most frequently indicated reason was the wish to spend free time in an attractive way (79%) and the love of puzzles and riddles (74.5%). Over two-thirds of respondents wanted to experience something new, original, exciting (67.3%), every sixth or seventh indicated being bored with traditional forms of spending free time, while 14.4% treated escape rooms as an alternative to just another visit to a bar. Over 50% visited escape rooms out of curiosity (57.8%) and because they wanted to get away from everyday problems and stress (52.5%), and 44.4% did it for social reasons (to spend time with friends). Nearly 40% pointed to a general need for rest and recreation. The respondents relatively seldom chose 'love of computer games' and 'fashion for this form of recreation' (12.3%

and 4.2%, respectively). This is a little surprising because the origins of escape rooms are often sought in point-and-click and RPG computer games[9] (e.g. Nicholson, 2015). One might expect a more intensive transfer of players from the virtual to the real world. After a deeper analysis, it turned out that the desire to delve into the world of computer games was strongly related to the respondents' sex. It was a motivation indicated by nearly every fourth man (23.9%) but only by one in twelve women (8%). The fact that the majority of respondents were women narrowed this difference in total results.
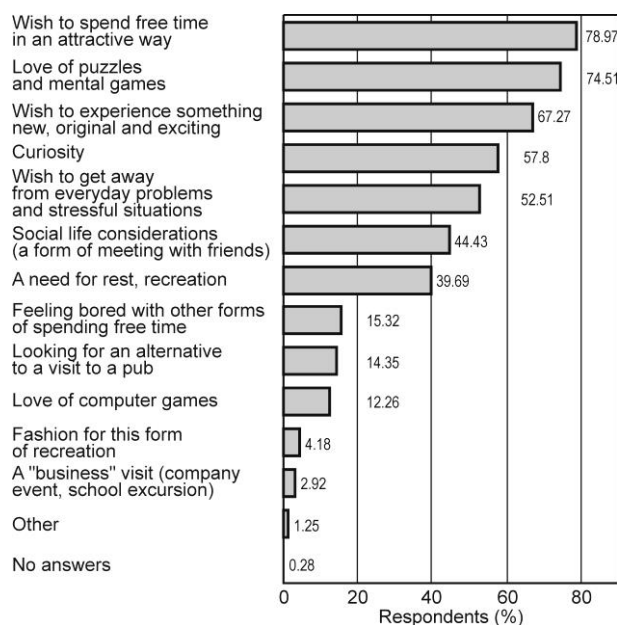

Fig. 8. Motivations for visiting escape rooms
Source: author, based on survey

As regards this particular question, the respondents' preferences also depended on gender. Men more often than women pointed to the opportunity to meet with friends (49.2% vs. 42.3%), the need to rest (44.2% and 37.8%, respectively) and 'business' visits (5.58% and 1.75%). Women more often than men pointed to the wish to get away from everyday problems (54.8% compared to 46.7%).

Among the youngest respondents (under 25), the second most important motivation was the 'wish to experience something new, original, exciting'; the love of puzzles and riddles came third. In older age groups, the order of these motivations was reversed.

5.6. EMOTIONS DURING THE GAME

The respondents were asked to indicate the main emotions they felt while playing in an escape room. They could choose from the 24 emotional states included on Plutchik's Wheel of Emotions (Fig. 9). The predominant
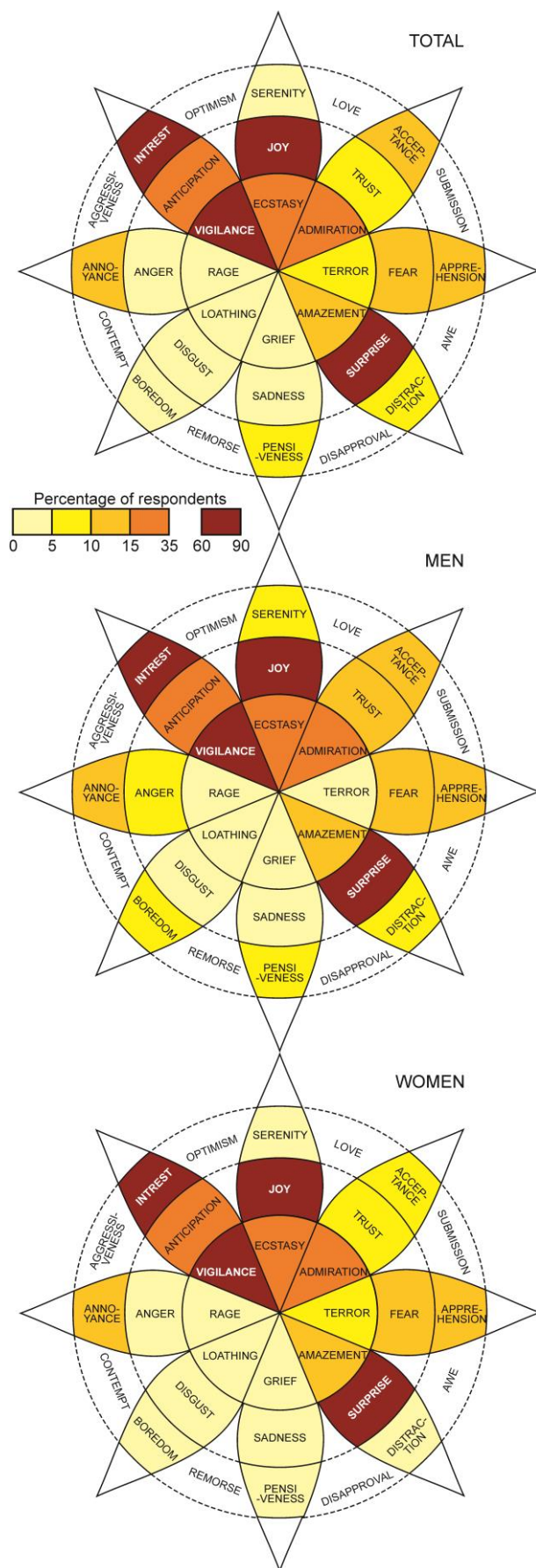
Fig. 9. Emotions felt during the game
Source: author, based on survey

answer was 'interest' (87.7%). Over three quarters of the respondents felt 'joy', and two-thirds 'surprise', although equally frequently mentioned was 'vigilance'. Approximately every third respondent admitted that they felt 'admiration' or even a kind of 'ecstasy' (33.4% and 30.8%, respectively). Generally, the majority of emotions were positive, of medium or high intensity. Negative emotions occurred distinctly less often (though it was certainly more difficult to admit this openly in a survey). Some respondents mentioned: 'apprehension', 'fear' and 'annoyance' while a few mentioned 'distraction', 'terror', 'anger' and 'boredom'. Occasionally, the respondents mentioned 'rage', 'disgust' or 'loathing'. It is easily noticeable that a smaller incidence of negative emotional states co-occurred with their lower intensity.

The emotions felt while playing a game are certainly highly individualized, depending, above all, on personal features. Regardless of place of residence, professional status, education or age, the four most frequently reported emotions were 'interest', 'joy', 'surprise' and 'vigilance' (mentioned in this particular order in nearly all groups). Generally speaking, this also concerns the division of respondents according to gender, though in this particular category the differences were more visible, especially as regards emotions which were mentioned less frequently. The percentage of men indicating 'anticipation' was twice as high as women (33% and 16.2%, respectively) while women more often than men mentioned 'surprise' (68.6% compared to 61.4%). They also turned out to be more emotional ('joy' – 79.3%, 'ecstasy' – 3.8%) but men were more inclined to feel 'admiration' (38.1%) and 'pensiveness' (9.1%). In these last cases, the differences between sexes were not significant, ranging from 5% to 6%.

As the respondents were asked only about their general feelings, it is impossible to indicate the causes of those emotions (both positive and negative). They may result from the room's theme (e.g. horror), its design, game scenario, sudden situations (e.g. technical problems) or the final result of the game (success or failure). It is certain, however, that an escape room game evokes extremely strong emotions whose intensity was described on a scale from 1 (weak) to 10 (extreme). The arithmetical mean for the whole sample was 7.7. The most frequently selected ratings were '8' (32%) and '7' (28.1%) while nearly every fourth respondent gave the highest scores ('9' and '10'), signifying the highest level of emotion. For 12% of the respondents, their emotions were fairly cautious, but they still fitted into the upper half of the scale (6 points). Only some individuals placed their emotions in the lower half of the scale, rating them as average or weak (3-5). None indicated the minimum level of emotion (1-2). It can be assumed, thus, that escape rooms do not leave anybody who enters them indifferent.

5.7. EVALUATION OF ESCAPE ROOMS

The sources of players' emotions and satisfaction are indirectly suggested by the answers to the next questions in the survey, on what they liked best about escape rooms. Nearly all respondents (93.2%) pointed to the tasks and riddles which had to be done or solved in order to escape from the room (Fig. 10), especially if they were original (unique), varied (within one game), surprising, required creativity, etc. Equally important were elements strictly connected with the puzzles: the room theme (81.3% – this feature was most often indicated by the youngest players, under 20 secondary school students), the interior design (75.8%) and the storyline of the game (57.4%). Over 45% of the respondents mentioned special effects, and every third stressed the important role of the escape room staff (so called 'game masters', introducing the players to the story, explaining the rules of the game and helping to solve the puzzles).
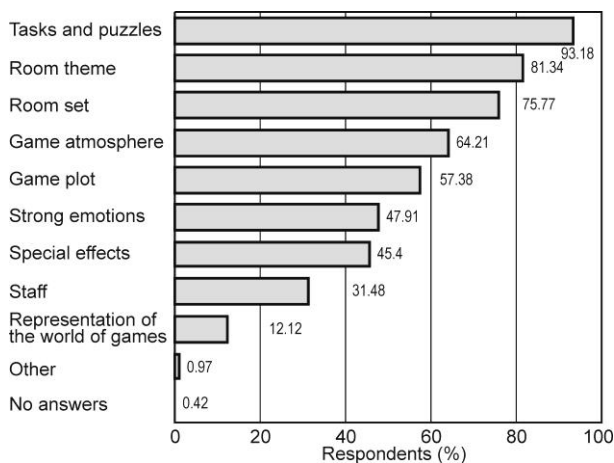

Fig. 10. Answers to the question: 'What did you like best about the escape rooms?'
Source: author, based on survey

All the elements build the atmosphere of the game, appreciated by two-thirds of the escape room users (70.1% of men and 62.2% of women). Nearly half of the respondents (47.9%) valued the strong emotions experienced during the escape from the room (here, we can observe the biggest advantage of women over men: 49.7% compared to 42.6%). The boost of adrenalin results from a full involvement in the game, immersion in an imaginary reality, competition, and the growing pressure of passing time. It is interesting that relatively few respondents (12.1%) liked the modelling of escape rooms on computer games or on films. This answer was definitely given more often by men (15.7%) than women (10.5%). Although it corresponds to answers concerning motivations for visits, it can also be the effect of technical problems, making it difficult to put such 'mystification' into real life.

5.8. PRICES OF ESCAPE ROOM GAMES IN POLAND

Before starting an analysis of prices at escape rooms, it is necessary to present several terms. Polish standards provide that:
– the price refers to one game, not to one player;
– the game is usually played by 2-5 players (increasing the size of the team, if it is possible, involves a higher price);
– a typical game usually lasts 45-60 minutes – shortening or prolonging the game increases the price;
– it is assumed that the cost of a game played by one person should be comparable to the price of a cinema ticket (one game = 4-5 tickets).

The analysis conducted by Stasiak (2016) shows that the prices of escape room games in Poland are several times lower than in West European countries or the USA. In 2016, the average price of a game in 10 Polish cities was under 94 PLN. It was most expensive in Warsaw (120.61 PLN), Łódź (over 110.60 PLN) and Wrocław (105.64 PLN).

However, based on the *Rynek EscapeRoom…* (2018), it can be concluded that in the last two years, the prices of escape rooms have significantly increased. In 2018 in Warsaw, it was, on average, 147.33, followed by Wrocław with 130.13 PLN, and Kraków with 119.42 PLN. All together, there were 32 cities where the average price for an escape room game was 100 PLN and over. The most expensive locations included the largest cities and tourism centres in Poland. Considering the low inflation rate, the increase in prices should be related, above all, to the high and constantly growing demand for this type of entertainment.

New light has been shed on the problem of prices by the results of the survey. The respondents were asked for an evaluation of the level of prices at Polish escape rooms. Over half (51.5%) responded that it was appropriate (including 54.8% of men). Nearly the same number of respondents (but including more women) claimed that the prices were too high (42% – rather too high, 5.3% – definitely too high). Only a few people considered the prices to be 'rather low'; nobody described them as 'definitely low'. Those opinions are not surprising – customers usually think that they pay enough or even too much.

The next question concerned spending a larger amount of money for an even more exciting game. Nearly every fourth respondent was not willing to pay more (2.2% – definitely not, 20.8% – rather not). A similar percentage (23%) had not formed an opinion yet. However, more than a half were willing to pay extra: 40.4% – rather yes, 14.6% – definitely yes. In nearly all groups of respondents divided according to age, education, professional status or place of residence, the predominant answer was 'rather yes'. Thus, the demand for this kind of entertainment has substantial prospects

for development. There is a numerous group of customers, for whom cost is not the most important element. They are ready to accept an increase in the price of escape rooms, provided they are offered a more attractive game, full of exciting experiences. Naturally, those were only declarative statements – it is hard to predict whether and to what extent they will be reflected in actual purchase decisions.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The emergence and development of escape rooms reflects general cultural processes and the transformations occurring in contemporary societies all over the world. They mostly concern young people who willingly escape from the professional stress and the problems of everyday life to an artificially created, alternative reality. The trend is becoming increasingly strong, as it involves pleasant, multisensory experiences, extremely intense emotions and a feeling of experiencing something special. In this sense, escape rooms should be viewed as a model product of the experience economy: a well thought-out and meticulously planned (interior design, game scenarios, riddles, etc.) product, which engages all senses, absorbs the customers, takes them to a different reality, enables them to participate interactively and co-create their own and other players' experiences (Stasiak, 2016, 2019).

As a relatively new phenomenon on the leisure market, escape rooms have not been thoroughly investigated yet. The studies conducted by the author certainly do not fill the whole cognitive gap, but they provide a lot of information useful in the evaluation of the current condition of the ER industry in Poland, as well as help to make a general description of the players' community.

It seems that after several years of extremely dynamic and uncontrollable growth, the escape room market in Poland has already matured. This mainly applies to the largest cities, where the number of escape rooms has reached a high level, and in some cases has even started to fall again. It will be definitely more difficult for new firms to start the ER business there. Medium-sized cities (e.g. Elbląg, Płock, Radom, Sosnowiec, Wałbrzych) as well as some larger tourism centres (e.g. Gniezno, Kołobrzeg, Krynica, Łeba, Sandomierz) still have some capacity for new rooms. Heavy competition should result in further increase in the attractiveness of the escape rooms and the quality of service. The generally positive prospects for the whole ER industry were drastically changed by the tragic fire in Koszalin. Further development of this market is in question. In response to the crisis, the largest companies started to work on establishing proper safety standards for escape rooms. They will certainly involve higher running costs, but the real challenge will be to overcome the negative image implanted by the media in the general public awareness.

The study results confirm earlier assumptions concerning enthusiasts of Polish escape rooms. It is a community of young people (20- and 30-year-olds) who have completed higher education, white-collar workers and students, all living in large cities. The population under study turned out to be deeply involved in their passion: the respondents visited escape rooms often and regularly, frequently travelling to other cities in order to visit new facilities. No relationship between the respondents' personal features and their behaviours, emotions or opinions was observed, probably due to the significant homogeneity of the study sample. Nevertheless, as regards some questions in the survey, clear differences could be observed for example between the answers provided by women and those given by men.

A particularly interesting aspect are the motivations of people visiting escape rooms, as well as the benefits they gain from participating in a game. The motivations they mention can be divided into several basic groups. The largest (and possibly the most important) one includes boredom with traditional forms of recreation, a wish to spend free time in an attractive way, as well as search for a new, original exciting offer. The next group of motivations includes the love of riddles and mental games, but not solely computer games. Escape room users are not computer geeks, devoid of social and socializing competences (Corkill, 2016, after: Kubal, Pawlusiński, 2016). Other significant motivations include interest, escapism and social considerations.

The incredible success of escape rooms lies in the presence of strong, mostly positive emotions in the games. The feelings quoted by the respondents most often included interest, joy, surprise, vigilance, admiration, or even ecstasy. Negative emotions appeared definitely less often and were less intense, but generally the emotions evoked by escape rooms were extremely intense. The majority of respondents placed them in the upper half of the scale.

However, emotional involvement is not the most important element guaranteeing players' satisfaction. In the general evaluation of the escape rooms, a key role is played by the tasks to do and the riddles to solve. They should be original, varied and surprising. Equally important were the room theme, interior design and the game storyline, as well as special effects. All these elements build the overall atmosphere of the game, which eventually decides the final satisfaction of the customers. It is worth mentioning that over 50% of the respondents would be willing to pay a higher price for a more interesting and more emotional game.

The findings lead to interesting conclusions, but because the sample is not representative, they have to be approached with a certain caution as they do not represent the whole population of ER visitors in Poland. Drawing far-reaching conclusions is also difficult due to the lack of similar research in Poland and abroad. Thus, for the time being, it is not possible to conduct a comparative analysis and establish to what extent Polish escape room enthusiasts resemble players in other countries and how they differ. Let us hope that the situation will change in the near future.

ENDNOTES

[1] In this case, hyper-reality means imitating real, or even "more real than real" experiences (Williams, 2002, p. 190).

[2] Some researchers view them as typical simulacra (Dilek, Dilek, 2018).

[3] The name highlights the special state of mind between satisfaction and euphoria, caused by total immersion in an activity (in this case – playing a game in an escape room). Focusing on the task for the pure pleasure of doing it leads to a feeling of excitement, elation, or even ecstasy. Characteristic features of 'flow' include: lack of self-awareness, loss of sense of time and total freedom from fear or apprehension.

[4] Using a basic account version, the portal posts business cards free of charge. A 15% fee is charged for enabling more advanced functionalities, including being a part of the lockme.pl booking system.

[5] In March 2019, the company's profile was visited on Facebook by over 8,400 people, and groups administered by the website – "Właściciele *Escape Room* Polska" and "Fani *Escape Room*" – had 367 and 2289 members, respectively.

[6] As the survey questionnaire was prepared only in Polish, the study did not include foreigners.

[7] With this question it was possible to choose more than one answer which is why they do not total 100%.

[8] This way of forming a team, however, is not popular all over the world, e.g. in Asia as well as North and South America, the teams consist of more players and are formed on the spot from people who do not know one another (Nicholson, 2015).

[9] A computer role-playing game – a feature game in which the player controls a character moving around a fictional world.

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GUIDEBOOKS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT ART IN THE POLISH LANDS OF THE 19TH CENTURY[1]

Abstract: Former guidebooks are an important category of historical source that allows for the reconstruction of many aspects of the history of tourism. The dynamic development of guidebook literature began in the 19th century when a modern type with descriptions according to routes and containing much practical information was developed. The guidebooks also presented a lot of other information of a general nature, such as geography, ethnology, natural science, as well as descriptions of monuments and works of art. The importance of Polish guidebooks for writing about art is very high yet underestimated. The aim of this paper is to define the role that these publications played in the field of artistic historiography, and to indicate the relationships between the guidebooks and the development of academic research on art. These problems are undoubtedly an interesting area of interdisciplinary relation between the historical development of tourism and academia, with a particular focus on art history in this case.

Keywords: travel guidebooks, history of tourism, history of art, 19th century.

1. INTRODUCTION

Tourist guidebooks represent a separate literary genre dating back to ancient times, with the oldest surviving example being the Pausanias' famous *Tēs Hellados periē-gēsis* from the 2nd century AD. In the Middle Ages, the role of guidebooks was played by instructions for pilgrims and descriptions of marvels (*mirabilia*), while in the early modern era, guidebooks were used mainly by aristocrats undertaking educational expeditions within a Grand Tour (Cuddon, 1993, pp. 395-396). The modern form of guidebook, containing not only a description of a given country or city, but also proposals for sightseeing tours and a great deal of practical information, appeared in the 19th century as a result of the publishing activity of J. Murray II (1778-1843) and K. Baedeker (1801-1859), followed by others (Palmowski, 2002, p. 109; Zuelow, 2016, p. 78).

Polish guidebooks began to be produced from the beginning of the 17th century. The oldest concerned the churches of Kraków, such as *Przewodnik abo kościołów krakowskich krótkie opisanie* [A Guide, or a short description of Kraków's churches] from 1603, which is the oldest Polish work with the word 'guide' in the title

(Duda, 1996, p. 55). An extended version of this work was published in 1647 as *Stołecznego miasta Krakowa kościoły i klejnoty* [Churches and jewels of the capital city of Kraków]. It was reprinted as the *Klejnoty stołecznego miasta Krakowa* [Jewels of the capital city of Kraków] in 1650, 1745 and 1861 (Bieniarzówna, 1974, pp. 12-13; Rożek, 1986, pp. 51-52). Furthermore, a guidebook to Warsaw written in verse by A. Jarzębski was published in 1643 (Jarzębski, 1643; see also the edition with an academic commentary by W. Tomkiewicz: Jarzębski, 1974). Similar to other European countries, a more lively development of Polish guidebook writing took place in the 19th century.

Historians, cultural and tourism researchers are much more likely to study old travel guides than art historians. This seems strange, given that these publications usually contain a lot of information about monuments, museums and works of art, allowing them to be considered in the context of artistic historiography. Consequently, in this approach, art was described in a general way, but only in the appropriate entry published in the *Dictionary of Art* (Freitag, 1996). In works on the

history of art, guidebooks tend to appear occasionally. With a global view of the history of this discipline, references are made only to Pausanias (Kultermann, 1993, p. 3) and J. Burckhardt (1818-1897) whose extensive work *Der Cicerone* (1855) can be treated as a guide to Italian art (Kasperowicz, 2007, p. 305, 2011, p. VII; Kultermann, 1993, pp. 96-97). In Polish writing on art, the only cited guidebooks are those written by A. Grabowski (1782-1868) on Kraków and its surroundings (Bochnak, 1948, pp. 6-7; Górzyński, 1912, p. 47; Małkiewicz, 2005, p. 28). The fact that the authors of the guidebooks were often art researchers tends to be almost unnoticed: first 'antiquity researchers', such as the aforementioned Grabowski in Kraków, F.M. Sobieszczański (1813-1878) in Warsaw, A.H. Kirkor (1818-1886) in Vilnius, or A. Schneider (1828-1880) in Lviv, followed by art historians such as W. Łuszczkiewicz (1828-1900), the author of the best 19th century guide to Kraków and its surroundings (Łuszczkiewicz, 1875).

The aim of this paper is to attempt to determine the significance of Polish 19th century guides for the artistic historiography of the time, and to indicate the relationship between guidebooks and the development of academic research on art. The basic thesis assumes that Polish guidebooks were not produced in isolation from contemporary art research, but on the contrary they were closely related, thus co-creating the mainstream of writing on art. The focus of the research is on selected guidebooks produced until the end of the 19th century in the Polish lands, i.e. in the area within the pre-partition boundaries. The research covered mainly publications containing a large quantity of historical and artistic information, i.e. those concerning cities, particular monuments and museums (a list of the guidebooks analysed, covering about 60 items, is included in the list of references at the end of this paper).

The basic method used in such research on 19th century guides was an analysis of their texts, both in quantitative terms (how often and how much was written on monuments and works of art) and qualitative terms (relating in particular to the method of description, the concepts used, stylistic terminology, etc.). Furthermore, comparative methods were employed, useful in referring various guidebooks to each other, and to a determination of the impact of academic publications (first historical and those concerning antiquity research, then also historical and art publications) on the contents of the guidebooks.

Apart from the research on sources, numerous contemporary academic works on guidebooks (both Polish and foreign) were also used. Although they rarely refer to the importance of guidebooks on the development of writing about art, the information contained in these publications allows a broader context of the problems examined to be outlined. The use of the findings of researchers dealing with the history of artistic histori-ography is expected to achieve such aims. The general picture of the development of the knowledge they provided about art in the Polish lands in the 19th century was set against the conclusions drawn from an analysis of the historical and artistic contents included in the guidebooks.

2. SOURCE DESCRIPTION

More than 150 Polish guidebooks were produced in the 19th century, very diverse in their form, content, volume and spatial range. As the survey showed, the vast majority (about 140 publications) concerned the Polish lands. The largest group were travel guides to large cities such as Kraków, Warsaw, Lviv, Vilnius and Poznan (Opaliński, 2013, p. 73). Furthermore, guides to smaller towns (especially health resorts), specific regions (mostly mountainous) and specific sites, especially monuments, had also begun to be produced. Guidebooks in Polish devoted to selected European countries or more often only to cities such as Paris, Vienna, Rome and Prague were also published, although they were not very numerous (Ziarkowski, 2018, p. 30).

Obviously, from the point of view of artistic historiography, the most important were guidebooks to cities, monuments and museums. Chronologically, the earliest Polish 19th century guidebook was by J.W. Krasiński (1783-1845), published in 1820 in French, and a year later also in Polish (Fig. 1). It was the only guidebook covering the most important cities of Galicia and the Kingdom of Poland, and also describing the road links between them. The breakthrough of Krasiński's study was that it had a very modern character in terms of its structure and content. The author attempted to ensure the usefulness of his work by publishing much practical information (e.g. about guest houses, theatres, fairs, useful addresses and local newspapers). The study also included characteristics of the most important monuments located in the cities described (Merski, Piotrowski, 2010, pp. 33-34).

Noteworthy among guidebooks to cities are the *baedekers* on Kraków, and this concerns not only their number, but also the early date of the oldest publication. Their production was initiated by the above-mentioned A. Grabowski, who published, in 1822, *Historyczny opis miasta Krakowa i jego okolic* [Historical description of the city of Kraków and its surroundings]. This book was very popular among both the inhabitants of Kraków and visitors, and therefore it was later reprinted several times under the changed title *Kraków i jego okolice* [Kraków and its surroundings].[2] Subsequent editions of Grabowski's publications represented a model for future guidebooks, with authors not only presenting specific information, but also using a common writing struc-
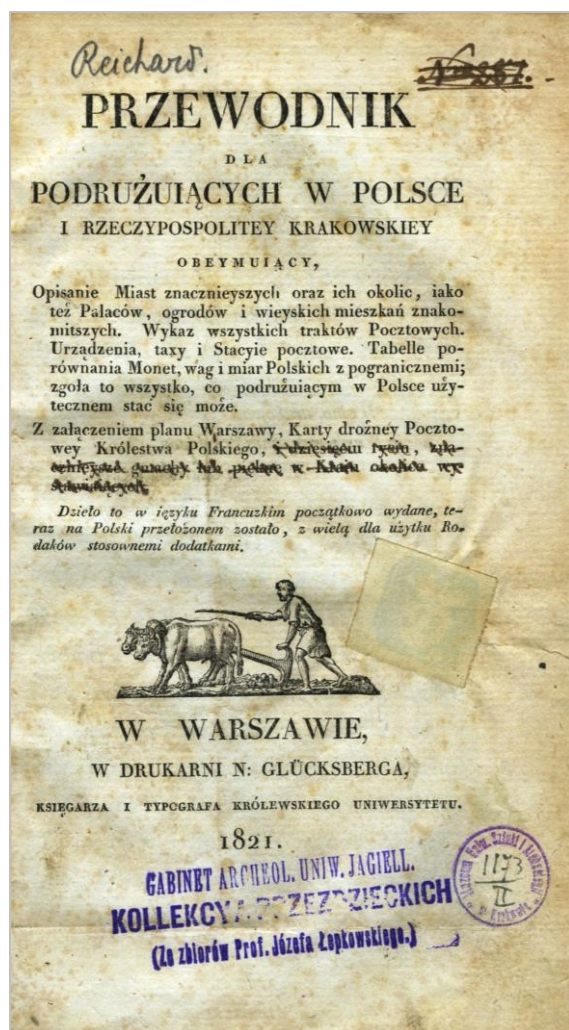
Fig. 1. Title page of *Przewodnik dla podrużuiących w Polsce i Rzeczypospolitey Krakowskiey* [Guide for travellers in Poland and the Republic of Kraków] by J. W. Krasiński from 1821
Source: A copy from the collection of Józef Łepkowski, currently in the Library of the Institute of Art History at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków

description of the capital city of Warsaw] by Ł. Gołębiewski (1773-1849), containing all the most important elements of a guide. It is worth noting that a year later, an extended version was published in the form of a separate book in a small format consisting of 252 pages (Gołębiowski, 1827). Further guidebooks to the most important city of Congress Poland were published in the second half of the 19th century (Sołtan, 1998, p. 16). The most significant works included those by Sobieszczański (1857), Fryze & Chodorowicz (1873), Gomulicki & Szmideberg (1880), and Czajewski (1892, 1893, 1896). Furthermore, Warsaw guidebooks include *Przewodnik ilustrowany po Warszawie, Łodzi i okolicach fabrycznych* [An illustrated guide to Warsaw, Łódź and its industrial district] from 1897, as it mainly concerned the first of the cities mentioned in the title (fewer than forty out of 401 pages of the text were devoted to Łódź).

Other historical Polish cities became the subject of guides much less frequently. The oldest guidebooks concerning cities other than Kraków and Warsaw were published significantly later. Chronologically, the first to be mentioned is *Obraz miasta Lublina* [Portrait of the City of Lublin] by Sierpiński (1839, second edition: 1843), as well as guidebooks to Vilnius, produced by A.H. Kirkor: the original under the pseudonym Jan ze Śliwina (1856, 1859), and the second under his own name (Kirkor, 1862, 1880, 1889). In Lviv, early guides were produced by Błotnicki & Schneider (1871), Schneider alone (1875) and Kunasiewicz (1874, 1876, 1878). Other guidebooks were published at the end of the century in connection with the Polish General Exhibition in Lviv (Hollender, 1894; *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Lwowie…* [The illustrated guide to Lviv…], 1894). Until the end of the century, only a few guides to the historical cities of the region of Greater Poland such as Gniezno and Poz-nań were written (Antoniewicz, 1882; Gdeczyk, 1877, 1891; Kozłowski, 1893, 1898). Individual guidebooks were also devoted to Częstochowa (Skimboro-wicz, 1847; Romanowski, 1893), Pelplin (Frydrychowicz, 1895) and Sopot (Radzyński, 1892).

City guidebooks are closely linked to works with a narrower thematic scope, focused on selected monuments (or historical complexes) and museums. This group is much less numerous since it includes only a dozen or so items published by the end of the 19th century. Most of them were devoted to Wawel Castle (Miłkowski, 1881; Polkowski, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1887; *Przewodnik po katedrze…* [Guide to the Cathedral…], 1863, 1870), and individual works were about Jasna Góra Monastery (Lompa, 1860), Poznań Cathedral (Dorszewski, 1886), Powązki Cemetery in Warsaw (Zieliński, 1889), Wilanów Palace (Czajewski, 1893), as well as the museum collections of the Czartoryski family in Puławy (Czartoryska, 1828) and the Dzieduszycki family in Lviv (Dzieduszycki, 1895).

ture about the city, first reconstructing its history, then describing the most important monuments, and finally the city's surroundings. Other important 19th century guidebooks to Kraków include those written by Mączyński (1854), Miltner (1861), Łuszczkiewicz (1875), Bartoszewicz (1882, 1890) and Kleczkowski (1883a, 1883b).

The oldest 19th century guidebooks devoted to Warsaw date back to its third decade. *Przewodnik po Warszawie* [Guide to Warsaw] by J. Glücksberg from 1826 is sometimes regarded as the oldest guidebook published, but in this case the title is misleading. A comprehensive work, produced as part of a calendar, gives information for visitors and cannot be considered a guide (Ciepłowski, 2001, p. 206). In the same year, *Nowy Kalendarzyk Polityczny* [New Political Calendar], published a comprehensive *Opis historyczno-statystyczny miasta stołecznego Warszawy* [Historical and statistical

An important place among the 19th century Polish guidebooks was occupied by quite numerous regional and health resort publications. The former concentrated mainly on mountainous areas, especially on the Tatras and Podhale. Szczawnica and Krynica were the most frequently described health resorts, but other Carpathian spas (Iwonicz, Rabka, Żegiestów) and villages located in Congress Poland (Busko, Nałęczów, Ojców) were also the subject of single works. Due to the much smaller amount of information on art, these guides will not be discussed in detail.[3]

Fig. 2. Wawel Royal Castle, east view, woodcut
Source: Grabowski (1866)

3. HISTORICAL AND ARTISTIC CONTENT IN GUIDEBOOKS

Information about works of architecture and art represents an inherent part of 19th century travel guides, often having a dominant role in their content. Specific schemes for describing cities and monuments were gradually extended by a richer and richer historical and artistic terminology (especially stylistic phrases), and attempts were made to overcome the initially dominant perception of monuments almost only in the context of historical evidence. The guides also imposed specific artistic tastes, containing evaluations of individual works and entire artistic periods, whereas their wide social impact made them an important factor in the process of shaping the canons of national monuments.

In the case of the dominating city guidebooks, there is a noticeable evolution in the method of presenting their monuments. The thematic structure of the oldest publications first presenting the history, then describing monuments thematically (for example, churches, Orthodox churches, palaces, etc.), and finally describing the city's surroundings. Sometimes particularly important areas, monuments or institutions were discussed in separate chapters. A. Grabowski, among others, adopted such a structure in his guides to Kraków. In the following chapters, the author produced an overall description of the history of the city, followed by a general topographical description and one for Kraków Academy, Wawel Royal Castle (Fig. 2), a huge number of churches and the bishop's palace. In the final part there was information about the surroundings of Kraków. This structure, already adopted in the oldest publication (Grabowski, 1822), was then repeated in other, increasingly extensive, editions. The oldest guides to other cities were produced based on a similar approach concerning, among others, Ł. Gołębiowski's works on Warsaw and S.Z. Sierpiński's on Lublin.

An alternative solution was to create descriptions according to proposed tour routes which undoubtedly made it easier for the user to explore a given city or area. This type of narration was initiated partly by Krasiński (1821) who described the routes between particular towns and villages included in his guide. However, the descriptions of the cities themselves were of a thematic nature. In the case of more important locations, such as Kraków and Warsaw, they included a list of important monuments (secular and sacred), practical information (concerning options for accommodation and other services), and eventually a description of the surroundings. In the case of smaller towns, the descriptions were much more perfunctory and limited to what was worth seeing according to the author.

Guides to Polish cities, in which a description of monuments according to sightseeing routes was made, started to appear from the beginning of the second half of the century. The earliest example is Mączyński's *Kraków dawny i teraźniejszy* [Kraków of yesterday and today] (1854), in which the author, after providing a handful of preliminary pieces of information, suggested visiting the square, then the surrounding streets, and then a walk towards Wawel Hill, finally describing the remaining districts of the city and its surroundings. Similar guidance for the reader using proposed routes was used by Kirkor in his oldest guidebooks concerning Vilnius (Jan ze Śliwin, 1856, 1859). Interestingly, in his later works, the author withdrew from this arrangement, opting for a more traditional thematic structure. In Kraków, numerous guidebooks were published according to this more modern layout, initiated by Mączyński. Miltner's (1861), and especially Łuszczkiewicz's (1875), works became important models in this respect. Occasionally, however, the thematic layout was continued for a long time, perhaps sanctified by the authority of Grabowski. This is evidenced by the guidebook written by Dąbrowski (1899), in which the monuments listed in a separate chapter were described in alphabetical order.

In addition to Kraków, Lviv was undoubtedly one of the pioneers in the introduction of a more guidebook-like system for the description of monuments. In this context, *Przechadzki archeologiczne po Lwowie* [Archaeological walks around Lviv] by Kunasiewicz (1874, 1876), was arranged, as suggested by the title, according to proposed routes, and some later works, such as *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Lwowie* [An illustrated guide to Lviv] (1894), are worth mentioning.

In cities outside Galicia, changes in this field were slower. Consequently, the conventional thematic structure was maintained for almost the entire 19th century. This was the case, among others, in Warsaw. Considered to be the first modern guide to the city, Sobieszczański's work from 1857 had such a structure, whereas its 'modernity' was marked mainly by the multitude of practical information that the author presented at the very beginning. The creators of other guidebooks to the capital followed this course. A certain breakthrough was marked only by a guidebook produced by the publishing house of 'Wędrowiec' (*Ilustrowany przewodnik po Warszawie…* [An illustrated guide to Warsaw…], 1893). Although the description of the city was divided according to districts, the text in each guidebook 'guided' the reader along a specific route and not according to thematic concept.[4] Fewer guides were published in Poznań and therefore it is unsurprising that they did not adapt new solutions to the narration but consistently followed a thematic layout.[5]

From the standpoint of artistic historiography, however, the order of the description of monuments and works of art is not the most important issue to be addressed. The important point is that the 19th century guides contained a great deal of historical and artistic content. What is also important is the way in which buildings and artistic works were described and what was paid special attention to when describing their characteristics. This shows very clearly how architecture and art were perceived at the time and what was considered particularly attractive for tourists. The analysis of descriptions of monuments and works of art can also be a source of information about the issues the authors of guidebooks had related to writing about art, evaluation of individual works of art, and choice of appropriate terms, especially stylistic. Focusing on these issues also makes it possible, as in the case of the layout of the description, to see a certain evolution, expressed in the gradual reduction of historical information in favour of improving descriptions and introducing more professional terms. In this process, specific items of guidebooks with breakthrough significance can be indicated. Importantly, their authors were most often the art researchers of those days.

The oldest 19th century guidebooks provided readers with historical information about the monuments, often enriched with admiration for the past and the importance of national heritage. The publication of J.W. Krasiński contains, for example, the following sentence on Kraków's cathedral on Wawel Hill:

> Like the Capitoline Hill for the Romans or the Pantheon for the French, this sacred sanctuary was important to the hearts of Poles, with a composition of the most expensive and glorious relics of the happiness, greatness and glory of the Nation (Krasiński, 1821, p. 3).

What is striking in these oldest guidebooks is the almost complete lack of description of the appearance of the buildings and the furnishings. The description of a given monument was usually limited to information on its historical value, or mentioning its 'antique' features, and finally to the addition of positive epithets. A lot of such perfunctory information about the monuments of Kraków can be found in the guidebooks of Ambroży Grabowski, who wrote about the *Sukiennice* [Cloth Hall]: "This antique and noteworthy building, with a Gothic structure" (Grabowski, 1822, p. 53). The researcher focused almost entirely on the presentation of the history of the described monuments. Similar tendencies can be found in other early guidebooks, such as the description of Warsaw by Gołębiowski[6], or the oldest guide to Lublin by Sierpiński. In the latter, some descriptive parts did appear, especially concerning the cathedral. The author wrote:

> This building would decorate the best capitals of Europe, six huge columns of the Doric order carrying a large gallery, and above them, two high towers looming majestically. The inner walls with semi-columns in the Ionic order, decorated with masterpieces by Józef Majer in 1757 in the taste of the Italian alfresco (Sierpiński, 1839, p. 38).

In general, the quotations mentioned above exhaust the unimpressive collection of stylistic terms appearing in guidebooks of the first half of the 19th century. 'Gothic structure' (Grabowski)[7] or 'Gothic taste', and less often 'Italian taste' were the terms used occasionally at that time (Krasiński, 1821, p. 23). The names of the Greek orders were also known, which, apart from the quoted part from Sierpinski's guidebook, had already appeared in Gołębiowski's work (1827, p. 99, 108 and p. 130). However, the old buildings and other monuments were mostly referred to by the universal term 'antique'. Another characteristic feature of these guidebooks was the desire to enumerate as many elements of the furnishings of churches and palaces as possible, often with an indication of the artist or founder but, as in the case of architecture, without a detailed description. The attention of some authors (including Grabowski and Gołębiowski, and a little later Mączyński and Kirkor) was also drawn to inscriptions on tombstones

(often presented in guides), and coats of arms, with identification attempted.

The characteristics indicated so far remained in many 19th century guidebooks until the end of the century. For example, Gdeczyk (1877, 1891) in his guidebook devoted mainly to the cathedral (Fig. 3) continued to focus on historical information, while enumerating the 'monuments' that adorned churches, and quoting inscriptions. The author of the guide to Poznań which was published at the end of the century, uses the term 'antique' occasionally, mentioning for example a "noteworthy antique holy water basin in the Romanesque style" in the former-Dominican church (Kozłowski, 1893, p. 16).
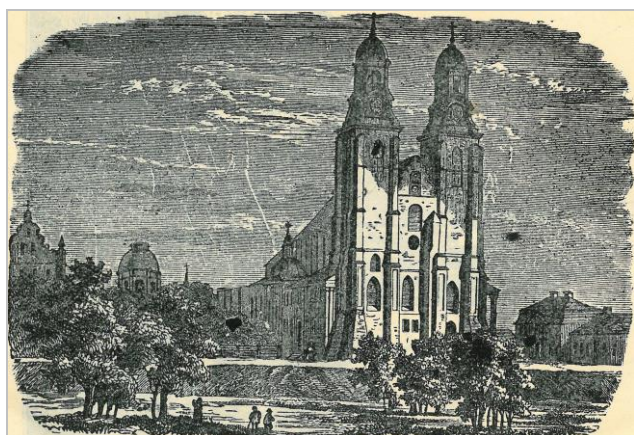

Fig. 3. Gniezno Cathedral, woodcut
Source: Gdeczyk (1877)

Gradually, however, new elements appeared in the methods used to describe monuments and their styles. As far as the first of these aspects is concerned, it is worth noting the early attempts made by Kirkor in his *Przechadzki po Wilnie* [Walks around Vilnius] to describe the most important monuments in an accurate and relatively comprehensive manner. Particularly noteworthy is the description of the cathedral (Fig. 4), which was very clearly structured, first encompassing the general layout of the building, then its dimensions given in ells, a detailed description of the façade (called by the author "facyata"), and its divisions into interiors, vaults, and finally, furnishings (Jan ze Śliwina, 1856, pp. 16-19). It is also important to note that Kirkor used many specialist terms, such as 'pillars, or square poles', pilasters, columns, cornices and mouldings. In turn, altars, tombstones, sculptures and paintings were not described by Kirkor in more detail, but only enumerated. The author used hardly any stylistic terms at all (he gradually introduced them in his later guides), which distinguishes his publications from contemporary ones for Kraków and Warsaw.
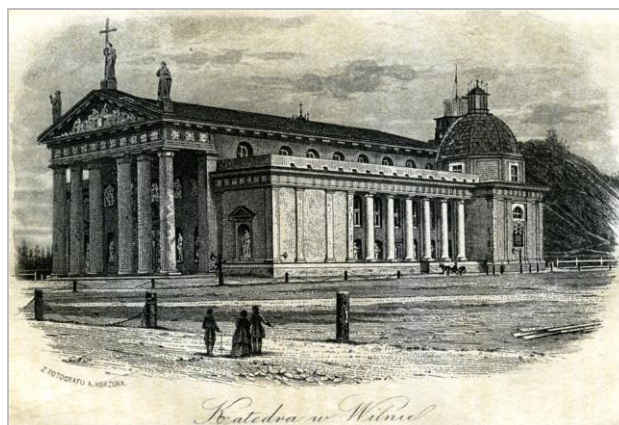

Fig. 4. Vilnius Cathedral, lithograph
Source: Kirkor (1862)

The earliest guidebooks to use stylistic terms on a larger scale include the works of Mączyński and Sobieszczański. They introduced a number of new terms in addition to the previously used 'Gothic'. Mączyński's guide to Kraków contained, among others, an early example of using the Romanesque style (identified with the Byzantine), which appeared during the description of the church of St. Andrew with a rather insightful enumeration of its characteristics. The author found that this monument

> […] preserved the characteristic of its distant antiquity, because we can see the signs of the pre-Gothic style called Byzantine or Romanesque in the towers or in the windows, supported by thin pillars through the vault, or in such a finishing of the church that there are small semi-circular arcades under the hemispherical cornice (Mączyński, 1854, p. 44).

Renaissance works were described as made to Italian taste, in Renaissance style or, most often, in 'Sigismund style'. The latter, as the author explained, was to be the Polish equivalent of the Renaissance, and owes its name to the architecture and decoration of Sigismund Chapel (Mączyński, 1854, p. 155). 'Sigismund style' was also used by Mączyński to define later works such as the tombstone of King Stephen Báthory, made by the sculptor S. Gucci, a Kraków burgher (Mączyński, 1854, p. 146). Works dating back to the 17th and 18th centuries were most often perceived as having been produced during the period of the collapse of art. This is illustrated, among others, by a fragment of the description of the chapel of Bishop Konarski, in which "Konarski has a tombstone in the beautiful Sigismund style, while Szaniawski's tombstone is in a spoiled 18th century style" (Mączyński, 1854, p. 153).

Many stylistic terms appeared in Sobieszczański's guide to Warsaw from 1857, and especially in his chapter on the monuments of the city, published in Fryze & Cho-

dorowicz's guide. Sobieszczański used such terms as *ostrołukowy* (pointed-arch) style, which he identified with Gothic, and the style or taste of the Renaissance (Fryze, Chodorowicz, 1873, p. 4). Interestingly, the latter term was also used to refer to neo-classical Baroque buildings, such as the church of the Benedictine Nuns of the Blessed Sacrament, which was supposed to represent the Tuscan style similar to the Church of the Transfiguration of Christ (Fryze, Chodorowicz, 1873, p. 7). In addition, Sobieszczański used the term 'classical style', which included some buildings from the end of the 17th century (Holy Cross Church) and much later, e.g. a palace in Łazienki Park (Fig. 5). The names of the great historical styles were also used to describe 19th century buildings such as the Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity in the Renaissance style (Sobieszczański, 1857, p. 10), in the classic style (Fryze, Chodorowicz, 1873, p. 15), or the Church of St. Stanislaus the Martyr in the Romanesque style (Fryze, Chodorowicz, 1873, p. 14). Interestingly, Sobieszczański avoided the terms Baroque and Rococo, although he undoubtedly knew them, as evidenced by individual examples of their use. About the Church of St. Joseph Protection (Visitandines), this author wrote that "it belongs to the Rococo" (Fryze, Chodorowicz, 1873, p. 12), while the parish church in Wilanów was described as "Italian Renaissance", but "falling somewhat into Baroque" (Fryze, Chodorowicz, 1873, p. 97).
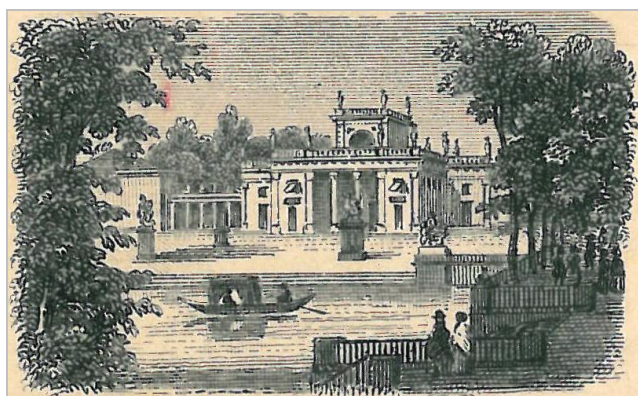

Fig. 5. Palace in Łazienki Park, steel engraving
Source: Sobieszczański (1857)

A publication by Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, concerning Kraków and its surroundings, was of great importance to Polish guidebook literature. This well-known painter and art researcher made many supplements and corrections to the information provided by previous authors. Although his descriptions of the most important monuments are overall, they are also comprehensive and very professional. They abound in numerous stylistic terms, including 'barocco', which is synonymous with the degradation of art, an example of which can be found, among others, in the description of the interior of Wawel's Vasa Dynasty Chapel, a glaring "bad taste of ornaments in the taste of barocco" (Łuszczkiewicz, 1875, p. 52). It should be emphasized that Łuszczkiewicz's guide became a model for later publications of this type, similar to Sobieszczański's texts that inspired authors of guides to Warsaw.

This ensured a relatively high level of quality for the guides to these cities, especially because some of their writers were professionally or, more often than not, only amateurishly interested in arts. The best example in this respect is *Przewodnik po Krakowie i okolicy* [Guide to Kraków and its surroundings] (1891), a co-authored work edited by J. Rostafiński, in which descriptions of monuments and a chapter entitled "On the styles of Kraków's monuments" were prepared by an art historian W. Demetrykiewicz (1859-1937).[8] In Warsaw, the conceptual apparatus developed by Sobieszczański was taken over and enriched by W. Czajewski (1857-1922), who additionally undertook to classify the paintings in the Wilanów gallery. Each of them was accompanied by a letter marking its school: Bologna, French, Flemish, Florence, Dutch, Spanish, German, Old German, Neapolitan, Roman, Italian or Venetian (Czajewski, 1893, p. 108 and further).

In guides to other cities, the development of the description of monuments and works of art was somewhat slower, but a gradual evolution can also be seen, especially in the use of stylistic terms. In the guide to Lviv by Schneider from the mid-1870s, such terms were quite often found. The term Byzantine was particularly frequently used because the author used it both to characterize orthodox church architecture, for example, a Wallachian orthodox church or an Armenian cathedral (in the latter case, as a mixed Armenian-Byzantine style; Schneider, 1875, p. 66), and as a synonym for the Romanesque. In a short description of the church of Our Lady of the Snows, it is stated that it is "the oldest monument of the buildings in Lviv, erected around 1342 in a half Byzantine, half Gothic style" (Schneider, 1875, p. 68). The works of modern architecture, regardless of the time of their creation, were usually described as produced in the Italian style, although, for example, the Jesuit church from the beginning of the 17th century was considered to have been erected in the Renaissance style (Schneider, 1875, p. 65).

Guidebooks published at the end of the century were usually characterized by an extensive conceptual apparatus, which, it can be assumed, was adopted not only from previous guidebooks, but from academic works such as monographs on individual cities or monuments. These issues will be discussed in more detail later in this paper.

4. GUIDEBOOKS IN LIGHT
OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART RESEARCH

The findings made so far lead to an overall reconstruction, based on the literature on the subject, of the development of art research in Poland in the 19th century. Using this background, it will be possible to demonstrate the extent to which travel guides kept pace with the development of historical and art research and to attempt to determine the relationships between such research and the content of guidebooks.

In Poland, the development of research on old art was severely hampered by the political situation and the partitions that divided the country. Nevertheless, in the first half of the 19th century already, the 'antiquity research' movement began to develop, with its origins stemming from the historicism of the Stanisław II Augustus period and the collecting passions of the time (Kowalczyk, 1981, p. 157). In the 19th century, 'antiquity research' was also referred to as archaeology or national archaeology, whereas the researchers were characterized by a wide range of interests including, apart from the arts, other manifestations of culture (Polanowska, 1995, p. 22 and p. 37). A particularly characteristic feature of 'antiquity research' was the approach to monuments primarily in terms of historical documents. This was in line with the postulate of the eminent scholar J. Lelewel (1786-1861) who divided historical sources into three categories: oral accounts, written accounts and 'memorials' (*pomniki*), which he sometimes alternately called 'monuments' (*zabytki*) (Polanowska, 1995, p. 48). Ż. Pauli (1814-1895) wrote about the subordinating of 'antiquity research' to history in 1840:

> Antiquity, as the first attitude in the history of every nation, is undeniably one of the most interesting and important academic subjects. It familiarizes the researcher with many interesting details of the past and provides the writer or the artist with faithful image of the home and public life of his ancestors (Pauli, 1840, foreword).

The most important 'antiquity works' are maintained in this spirit, with the dominant contribution being historical information about monuments. These include comprehensive monographs, such as the two-volume *Opis starożytnej Polski* [Description of ancient Poland] by Święcki (1816, second edition: 1828), *Starożytna Polska* [Ancient Poland] by Baliński & Lipiński (three volumes published in 1843-1846) or the work by Wiślicki (vols 1-2: 1850; vol. 3: 1853).

Obviously, more detailed works were also written produced by historians, philologists, aestheticians and geographers interested in art. In Kraków, Grabowski, a self-taught historian, already mentioned many times, made the greatest contribution in this field. Other particularly active historians included J.S. Bandkie (1768-1833) and J. Muczkowski (1795-1858). The theory of art and the issues of preparing a record of monuments were explored by K. Kremer (1812-1860), an architect and brother of the well-known scholar, J. Kremer (1806-1875), who taught aesthetics and history of art at the School of Fine Arts. Also worth mentioning is the geographer and traveller W. Pol (1807-1872) (Ślewiński, 1956, pp. 267-270).

Warsaw 'antiquity researchers' around the middle of the 19th century were also strong including A. Przezdziecki (1814-1871), E. Rastawiecki (1804-1874), J. Bartoszewicz (1821-1870), B. Podczaszyński (1822-1876), K. Stronczyński (1809-1896) and F.M. Sobieszczański (Kowalczyk, 1981, p. 166). It is worth mentioning that Stronczyński became famous as the head of the delegation responsible for recording the monuments of the Kingdom of Poland conducted in 1844-1855.[9] Sobieszczański, a key figure also in the context of Warsaw travel guides, prepared the first overall view of Polish art, published in two volumes in the 1840s (Sobieszczański, 1847, 1849).

'Antiquity research' developed in the region of Greater Poland as well, and an important body of texts on monuments was in the magazine "*Przyjaciel Ludu*" [Friend of the People] published from 1839 to 1849. Authors whose articles were published in this journal included historian J. Moraczewski (1802-1855), founder of the Society of National Antiquity Collectors in Szamotuły (it operated in 1840-1846), and initiator of the publication of a two-volume encyclopaedia *Starożytności polskie* [Polish Antiquities] (1842-1852). It is also worth mentioning Count E. Raczynski (1786-1845), author of *Wspomnienia Wielkopolski* [Memories of Greater Poland] (1842), which contained descriptions and drawings of monuments from that region, and his protégé, historian J. Łukaszewicz (1799-1873), dealing with the history of Poznań and churches from its diocese. In Poznań, K. Żupański's bookstore operated dynamically, publishing, among others, Lelewel's work on medieval doors in Płock and Gniezno (1857). In the year of publication of this work, the Poznań Society of Friends of Science was also established which in its yearbook published texts on art monuments (Karłowska-Kamzowa, 1996).

A significant problem in 'antiquity research' was that it mostly did not treat monuments and works of art as autonomous objects of research, concentrating rather, as mentioned earlier, on the reconstruction of their history. Attempts were sometimes made to make art the main subject of academic work but their authors had to struggle with the lack of methodology for historical-artistic research and the insufficiency of professional terminology in Polish. A very early example is the work *O sztuce u dawnych, czyli Winkelman polski* [On art in the past: a Polish Winkelman], published in 1815 by S.K. Potocki (1755-1821), which already shows the

source of its inspiration in the title. However, it is difficult to consider this author an art historian, although such ideas are sometimes put forward (*cf*. Ekielska-Mardal 2012, p. 44; Gregorowicz-Metz [Rucinska] 2012, p. 47).

There is no doubt that monographic works contributed to the development of art research, such as the overall view of Sobieszczański's Polish art, Rastawiecki's *Słownik malarzów polskich* [Dictionary of Polish painters] in three volumes published in 1850-1857, and *Wzory sztuki średniowiecznej i z epoki Odrodzenia w dawnej Polsce* [Patterns of Medieval and Renaissance art in former Poland] by Rastawiecki & Przezdziecki (1853-1862). Nevertheless, these works were still largely rooted in antiquity traditions, attempts were made to overcome this by making comparisons with other works of art or by introducing a few stylistic terms. For example, in *Wiadomości historyczne o sztukach pięknych w dawnej Polsce* [Historical news on fine arts in former Poland], Sobieszczański identified the Romanesque style with the Byzantine one, called Gothic or Germanic, and considered all modern art to be Renaissance (Kowalczyk, 1981, p. 170). In fact, scholars themselves often emphasized their focus on the historical aspect of art research, for instance E. Rastawiecki who in his foreword to the first volume of his *Słownik malarzów* [Dictionary of painters] admitted that its elaboration was more "historical than critical", adding further: "I tried to accumulate as much detailed information as I could, being more economical in the judgements" (Rastawiecki, 1850, p. II).

It can therefore be said that the Warsaw community has made a step towards the education of academic art history, but after the defeat of the January Uprising, the role of this community decreased dramatically (Białostocki, 1987, pp. 676-677). Therefore, further development of this discipline was attributable to Kraków, where the Academy of Learning established a Commission on Art History (1873), and M. Sokołowski (1839-1911) became the head of the university's Art History Department established in 1882. He was the first Polish researcher to receive a postdoctoral degree (habilitation) in art history from the Jagiellonian University, after previous work in Paris and Vienna where he studied law and history but also had the opportunity to meet art historians (Kalinowski, 1990, pp. 17-18; Kunińska, 2014, pp. 45-50; Małkiewicz, 2005, p. 68). It is Sokołowski who, together with W. Łuszczkiewicz, who was older than him, are considered to be the creators of the Kraków school of art history and in general the precursors of this new discipline at that time (Muthesius, 2012, p. 93).

Obviously, the establishment of a Commission on Art History at the Academy of Learning did not mean the extinction of 'antiquity research' for the benefit of modern art history. As noted by Kalinowski, there was no one among the founding members of the Commission with an education in art history. Instead, there were representatives of other academic disciplines such as the philosopher J. Kremer, professor of medieval archaeology, J. Łepkowski (1826-1894), heritage conservationist of monuments, P. Popiel (1807-1892), and literary historian and critic, L. Siemieński (1807-1877). W. Łuszczkiewicz, a professor of painting and drawing at the School of Fine Arts, was most closely associated with art history (Kalinowski, 1996, pp. 25-26). In the *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce* [Reports of the Commission for the Study of Art History in Poland], typical 'antiquity works' were published, but the methodology of research gradually evolved towards art history, which was mainly attributable to M. Sokołowski. It is also worth noting that the Committee on Art History played a significant role in the academic life of the entire country, as it invited scholars from the other partitions to its meetings, as well as organizing academic trips in the other direction (Kalinowski, 1996, p. 38). As a result, around 1900, art history was already a well-established academic discipline in the Polish lands, taught at universities in Kraków, and Lviv where the Department of Art History was established in 1893 (Małkiewicz, 1996, p. 64). There is no doubt that the activities and achievements of the Art History Committee of the Academy of Learning radiated into the territory of the Prussian and Russian Partitions.

In general, the development of research on art in the Polish lands in the 19th century was based on the evolution of the approach to monuments and works of art, from treating them only in terms of the categories of historical sources towards greater interest in form, artistic genesis, relationships with other works of art produced in a given period, etc. This forced the creation of more elaborate descriptions of buildings, sculptures and paintings, and the use of professional terminology, especially the growing repertoire of stylistic terms. While attempting to analyse the development of art writing in 19th century guidebooks, we can easily see that certain phenomena occurred simultaneously with progress in historical and artistic research.

It is worth noting that the oldest guidebooks written in the first half of the 19th century and the beginning of its second had a remarkable 'antiquity character'. They are dominated by historical information about monuments, with a frequent lack of an attempt to describe them or the limitation of the characteristics of a given building to a statement of its antiquity or the appearance of antique attributes. The authors of these guides were also fond of transcribing inscriptions, identifying coats of arms, and, in the case of paintings, they tried to explore the subject, but failed to describe the paintings themselves.

This close relationship between guidebooks and the mainstream of 'antiquity research' is not surprising if one mentions that the authors of the most important

guidebooks were the 'antiquity researchers' of that time, such as A. Grabowski, Ł. Gołębiowski, J. Mączyński, A.H. Kirkor and F.M. Sobieszczański. Some of their guidebooks had a more academic than popular character, such as Grabowski's guidebooks, whose text was supported by numerous footnotes. Other authors instead of making footnotes reported the opinions of other researchers in the text. For example, in his guides to Vilnius, Kirkor repeatedly referred to the works of M. Baliński and J.I. Kraszewski.

The first author to make a fairly clear distinction between an academic study and a more popular form of guidebook was Mączyński. In 1845, he published a three-volume *Pamiątka z Krakowa* [Memorials from Kraków], an academic work with numerous footnotes, widely discussing the history and monuments of the city. Nine years later, a more overall guidebook was published, with a layout that made it easier to move around the city. In the foreword, the author made a very interesting statement:

> [...] in order to satisfy the presented need to publish a book that could serve the countrymen to get to know this dear city, I re-edited *Pamiątka z Krakowa*, multiplying it with recently acquired information, indicating public companies, private collections and a review of the surroundings, and shortening it to make a summary of history and old descriptions, all of this according to the idea that I have of a book meeting the above-mentioned goal (Mączyński, 1854, p. XIII).

Using the described procedure, it was possible to develop a guidebook with a high level of content, while providing visitors with a lot of practical information and maintaining a handy format.

However, even after the middle of the 19th century, guidebooks were not only simplified versions of academic works, but they also became a place for the development of the method of description of monuments and works of art. Interesting in this respect is the case of Sobieszczański, who, as mentioned before, used stylistic terms quite sparingly in his synthesis of Polish art, but developed its resources in his guidebook descriptions of Warsaw. Therefore, one can propose a thesis that in the case of this researcher, travel guidebooks somehow stimulated the evolution and enrichment of the conceptual apparatus which was later overtaken by other authors of guides to Warsaw. Some of them, such as W. Czajewski and W. Gomulicki in particular, tried to expand this apparatus, introducing terms most likely derived from other works.

The development of professional research in the field of art history, which progressed in the last quarter of the 19th century, contributed to the final 'transition' of guidebook literature from the position of works co-creating the academic (antique) trend of writing on art

to popular works, drawing on the achievements of academic work but not always following them. This contrast between the publication of academic guidebooks, emphasized for the first time by J. Mączynski, appeared very clearly in the foreword to another guide to Kraków written by W. Łuszczkiewicz. The author admitted that he was more satisfied with academic works, whereas "The form of a guide does not allow for the elaboration on information about Kraków, because it hates the quotations and polemics inherent in critical work" (Łuszczkiewicz, 1875, p. VI). It is probably no coincidence that one of the first Polish art historians formulated such a statement.

Łuszczkiewicz was also the last important art researcher in the 19th century to write a travel guidebook, which in a way symbolizes the fact that academic literature on art had separated from guidebook publications. The authors of subsequent guidebooks repeated the information about monuments included in earlier guidebooks, but also used works written by art historians and older 'antiquity works'. This is indicated in the lists of references included in some guides. One example is the railway guidebook to Galicia, which contains a surprisingly large amount of historical and artistic information. The oldest publication of this kind, published in 1886, contains an extensive chapter on Lviv (almost 120 pages), and the list of sources includes not only guidebooks by Kunasiewicz and Schneider & Dzieduszycki, but also numerous 'antiquity research' works (including those by Baliński & Lipiński, Święcki & Moraczewski) (*Przewodnik z Krakowa do Lwowa...* [Guide from Kraków to Lviv...], 1886, p. III). Even more interesting in this respect is G. Smólski's guide (1844-1911), in which the most important of the previous guides to the city (including Łuszczkiewicz and K. Bartoszewicz) were used to describe Kraków, as well as Tomasz Święcki's *Opis starożytnej Polski* [Description of Ancient Poland] and M. Sokołowski's work on the Czartoryski Museum (Smólski, 1893, p. 100).

5. CONCLUSION

The analysis of Polish travel guidebooks from the 19th century, although selective from necessity due to the vast amount of material, demonstrated that these publications should be treated as an important element of 19th century artistic historiography. The information about monuments and works of art published in the guidebooks reflects the progressing development of historical and artistic research, expressed in more and more professional descriptions which became full of stylistic terms. Obviously, not all guidebooks were equally focused on art since this was mainly the

domain of publications on historical urban centres discussed in the article. It is worth noting, however, that historical and artistic contents were sometimes also published in guidebooks to health resorts, e.g. in the description of a proposed trip.[10]

Guides to cities describing numerous churches, palaces and other monuments, also adapted the way of valuing particular works of art and entire stylistic epochs. This is particularly evident in the critical attitude towards the Baroque, which was consistently presented by W. Łuszczkiewicz, but also by some other authors of other guides, such as W. Czajewski, who wrote about the "era of the exaggerated Baroque" (Czajewski, 1892, p. 21) with reference to the statues from the Saxon Garden in Warsaw, or M. Dąbrowski, who regretted that a large part of the Kraków's St. Andrew Church was "disfigured by the Baroque" (Dąbrowski, 1899, pp. 47-48). Obviously, such a perception of 17th and 18th century art was not specifically Polish, but it reflected universal European trends. They were expressed, among others, by J. Burckhardt, who in his famous book *Der Cicerone* (1855) described the Baroque not very flatteringly as a 'feral renaissance' (Bałus, Krasny, 2007, p. 21).

It is worth noting that in the 19th century, guidebooks were publications with much greater ambitions than today, often written with the participation of art experts. This statement applies not only to Polish works, but also to more recognized publishing houses such as Murray and Baedeker at the time, who employed cultural history researchers to write selected chapters in their guidebooks. For Baedeker, the texts were written by such art historians as C. Gurlitt (1850-1938) and A. Springer (1825-1891), and the historian T. Mommsen (1817-1903) (Koshar, 1998, pp. 332-333). Other researchers worth mentioning include R. Kekulé (1839-1911) who wrote an introductory article on ancient Greek art (*Griechenland*, 1893), and the historian and architect E. Freeman (1823-1892), whose introduction to the history of English architecture was included in a guide to Great Britain of 1897 (Bruce, 2010, p. 99). One of the authors collaborating with Murray's publishing house was a well-known researcher of the past, F. Palgrave (1788-1861), who developed a guide to northern Italy published in 1842 (Palmowski, 2002, p. 114; Parsons, 2007, p. 191). The creation of guidebooks by the numerous Polish art researchers mentioned in this article, was therefore part of a more general tendency in this field.

In the context of the importance of Polish guidebooks published in the 19th century for artistic historiography, it seems particularly important to note that the oldest guidebooks constituted the mainstream of the art writing of those days, while the guidebooks produced at the end of the century were based to a much greater extent on the popularization of knowledge on art history. The progressive specialization in art research was of great importance to the guidebooks, in a way relegating them to the margins of the mainstream of historical and artistic literature. Undoubtedly, guidebooks continued to provide information about monuments and works of art, but more and more based on the secondary popularization of the findings of art historians. This does not mean, however, that these later guidebooks are not interesting for the writing of the history of art. Their significance consisted in acquiring historical and artistic knowledge and making it accessible to a large audience. Therefore, it can be concluded that in general, 19th century guidebooks are an interesting subject of research from the standpoint of the artistic historiography, whereas their role in this respect deserves greater appreciation.

ENDNOTES

[1] This paper was written as part of the grant awarded to the author by the National Science Centre (research project no. 2017/25/B/HS3/00041).

[2] Five editions were published during the author's lifetime, the last in 1866. The next edition was published at the end of the century, in 1900.

[3] The characterization of mountain guides was provided in the following studies devoted to these areas: Kolbuszewski (1981, 1990); Staff (1990). For more information about spa guides, see Opaliński (2008, pp. 533-536); Ziarkowski (2016, p. 273).

[4] This fact is noteworthy, especially in the context of the opinion expressed by S. Ciepłowski that ready-made scenarios of trips appeared in Warsaw guidebooks only at the beginning of the 20th century. See: Ciepłowski (2001, p. 212).

[5] A very similar division into a large number of chapters was used in each guidebook, among which the most extensive were those devoted to churches and secular buildings. See: Antoniewicz (1882); Kozłowski (1893, 1898).

[6] In this case, the description of the St. John the Evangelist Cathedral is interesting, with historical information and the list of church's furnishing (altars, paintings, tombstones, etc.) but without attempting to characterise them. See Gołębiowski (1827, pp. 73-75).

[7] It is worth mentioning that in his later guides, Grabowski, although with considerable resistance, also adapted other stylistic terms, using e.g. *renaissance* to describe the Sigismund's Chapel on the Wawel Hill. See Gołębiowski (1866, p. 87).

[8] Information was contained in the foreword of the guide, see Rostafiński (1891, p. IV).

[9] For more details see Walicki (1931), and, among more recent studies: Kowalczyk (2009); Ziarkowski (2013).

[10] The guides to Szczawnica usually described the nearby castles in Czorsztyn and Niedzica. The historical and artistic contents were particularly abundant in guides to the surroundings of Ojców, which at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries served as a health resort. More details see Ziarkowski (2009).

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