Croatian Traditional Heritage Online: Status and Opportunities

The article is based on the research of the websites of Croatian ethnographic museums, museums, associations, religious communities and private collectors who collect and preserve ethnographic materials, public libraries that have local history collections, the official websites of institutions of state administration and local self-government and tourist boards, and attempts to depict the situation of the availability of tangible and intangible traditional heritage on the Croatian web. It shows the few examples of good practice which are in most cases not the result of institutional care for traditional heritage, but the work of creative individuals and associations. The results of the research are compared with the online achievements in other segments of the Croatian cultural heritage, and we point to the untapped communications capabilities of traditional heritage through the web as the most powerful medium for ‘storytelling’.

Keywords: traditional heritage, online presentation of heritage, ethnographic museums, Croatia

1. Introduction

Traditional heritage is a component of the national cultural heritage and is manifested in numerous regional and local variations. Although it is constantly subject to change, even disappearance, it is a strong underpinning of the individual and collective identities. On the other hand, the communication of cultural heritage in a digital form, now mostly over the Web, is a relatively new area that opens up a number of opportunities of exploration and contribution to the development of critical discourse by applying new technologies when communicating heritage.

Cultural heritage and communication have always been closely intertwined. Technologically-assisted communication of heritage is not a new idea. It is as old as the heritage. Without technology - clay tablets, wax, ink, paper, printing, oil colors, etchings, lithographs, woodcuts, photography, mechanics, analog and digital electronics, radio, film, television, etc. - the heritage that we know today would not exist. This technology enables the creation, memorizing, reproduction and communication of tangible
and intangible cultural assets. Technologies generate new codes of accessibility, perception and presentation and democratize access to cultural heritage content allowing its free circulation throughout the society in a variety of versions and copies. We can give credit to each of the technologies for the possibility of a vision of cultural heritage from different perspectives, different interpretations and perceptual modalities. Hopes were high for each of the technologies to open up new creative and communicative horizons and provide new opportunities for learning about heritage. Communicating via the web is just the latest link in this long historical chain of technologically assisted communication of cultural heritage.

Our heritage digitalization projects still to a very large extent do not cover the design and manufacture of digital content for a wider community of users. Because of the financial, technical and professional limitations heritage institutions set their priorities to the internal digitalization in order to document the structure and creation of various digital catalogs and informational aids. Digital heritage, however, goes beyond the level of catalog descriptions of material and contextually interprets certain cultural phenomena, or the entire culture, expanding the functionality of the heritage through rich and strong interactivity and multimedia options and provides extensive connectivity and search options for the heterogeneous sources of heritage. Digitalization of cultural heritage brings many benefits, including, of course, a large number of users that can access digital content on the Internet.

This paper will explore and examine the position of Croatian traditional heritage in the online domain, the tangible, stored in ethnographic collections, as well as intangible heritage, stored as the knowledge, skills, customs, beliefs, games, music, etc. The aim of this research is to determine the extent of usage and how we use traditional cultural assets in the processes of preservation and presentation of our identity in the global online domain and to point to a few examples of good practice, which are largely the result of enthusiasm and actions of creative individuals and associations. We will critically examine the extent to which the Croatian museums, cultural portals and relevant institutions, counties, cities, municipalities and tourist boards contribute to the promotion of Croatian traditional heritage on their official websites.

2. Research on the websites of institutions, communities and individuals who take care of traditional heritage

The presented results of research are part of a broader research enterprise to make ‘an inventory’ and to critically question the entire Croatian heritage online domain. The survey covers the websites of heritage institutions – archives, libraries and museums (ALM), the collections of religious communities, private collections, the associations working in the field of culture, cultural sites, the official web sites of state administration and local government, tourist boards and all related institutions working with heritage or the ones that can contribute to the communication and promotion
of national cultural heritage. For the study a model of evaluation was developed that is objective and reproducible which applies to the entire heritage community, i.e. all the institutions, associations and other legal entities that collect, preserve and communicate the tangible and intangible cultural heritage. We investigate to which extent their websites reflect these fundamental objectives, and we analyze their online offerings. The design of the website is not considered because it is subject to subjective assessment and personal aesthetic preferences.

Based on this evaluation model a relational database of Croatian cultural heritage on the Internet (HKBI) was developed which stores all the collected data. The features of websites (arrays in the HKBI database) are grouped in subsets that correspond to categories of the evaluation model. All websites are evaluated by selected categories:

1. general quality criteria: online identity (their own or within another institution), multilingualism, site maintenance (dynamism), interface accessibility, search tools, site map, printing accessibility, use of multimedia (sound, motion pictures, virtual panoramas, 3D presentations, etc.), the typology of content;

2. communication of heritage and heritage content: digital collections / virtual exhibitions / coherent stories (multilingualism, search mechanisms, integrating content from different sources and institutions collaborating on joint projects, added value);

3. communication with users (e-mail, guest book, online surveys, newsletters, e-commerce) and the of use Web 2.0 services (social networking, social tagging, etc.);

4. dissemination of knowledge about heritage according to the UNESCO’s four pillars of learning, applied to the websites of heritage institutions: doing (what users can do when visiting a website - finding out about service hours and location, news from the cultural calendar, contacting the staff to participate as co-creator of content), knowing (whether the user can learn about the cultural heritage), living together (contribution of a heritage website to the culture of coexistence, tolerance and understanding), being (whether the heritage websites are contributing to the maintenance of their own identity and the sense of belonging to the local community).

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1 The HKBI database was consolidated during the months of preliminary research in 2010, and iteratively tested on samples of websites in order to check whether all the essential features of websites, digital collections, virtual exhibitions and other heritage contents were included in the database. As the study progressed, so the database was rebuilt and, after a dozen iterations, structurally consolidated in early 2011. (Šojat-Bikić 2011).

2 Report to UNESCO by the International Commission on Education in the 21st century, defines the four pillars of learning: “Lifelong learning is based on four pillars: knowing how to live, doing, living together, being.” (UNESCO 1996: 37) Thus, we learn so we can perform the tasks in the workplace, to know (and learn to learn), live in the community and keep our own identity. These are useful categories for the evaluation of heritage websites from the aspect of the content and the aspect of the total contribution to the knowledge society.
The basic modules of the HKBI database consist of registers, browsers, statistical packages, and various reports. The database contains records of the Croatian heritage institutions (ALM), the collections of religious communities and private collections, cultural institutions and organizations, cultural portals, websites of cities, towns and villages and tourist boards in Croatia, then digital collections, virtual exhibitions, the intangible heritage and historical personages on the web, digital issues of serials and books. The information on heritage institutions was collected and checked in the official directories of archives, libraries and museums at central portals, inspection registers and rolls of the Croatian Ministry of Culture, the Court Register of companies in the Republic of Croatia, the Register of Associations in the Republic of Croatia, and other relevant online resources.

From the database HKBI one can get a variety of statistical and comparative views on the communication of the Croatian cultural heritage on the Internet.

2.1. Ethnographic museums, museums with ethnographic collections and ethnographic collections on the Internet

The HKBI database contains records of 338 museums and museum collections (dislocated units of museums, collections within libraries, schools, associations, cities, municipalities and other entities). Ethnographic material is collected and preserved in 162 museums and museum collections. Their presence on the internet is illustrated by a graphical representation in Figure 1, from which it is clear that 42 museums have their own websites, while others are presented on the websites of other institutions.

3 HKBI database is regularly updated so that it always reflects a faithful image of Croatian heritage online domain, and currently it contains about 10,000 different records. The data presented in this paper are valid on the date of 15th of April 2011.


6 The Court register of companies in the Republic of Croatia, https://sudreg.pravosudje.hr/Sudreg/index.jsp (Jan 17 2011)

7 The Register of Associations in the Republic of Croatia, http://www.appluprava.hr/RegistarUdruga/ (Jan 17 2011)

8 93 museums (56 independent museums, 6 museums within the museum institutions, 10 museums within the cities and municipalities, 13 museums within open universities and cultural centers, 4 private museums, 2 museums within the company, 2 museums within the associations) and 69 museum collections (6 museum collections as dislocated units of museums, a collection within the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 14 collections within the cities and municipalities, a collection at the open university, 2 collections within the national parks, 5 collections within the school system and 40 collections within the associations) belong to this group.

9 Among 338 museums and museum collections in Croatia, 101 (29.9%) have their own website. Among 111 independent museums, registered in the Court Register of companies in Croatia, 75 (67.6%) were independently presented on the Internet. Thus, 32.4% of the independent museums in the Republic of Croatia do not yet have their own website.
Figure 1 Network identity of museums and museum collections of ethnographic material

- 27; 24.8%
- 4; 3.7%
- 6; 5.5%
- 21; 19.3%
- 9; 8.3%

- Their own website (38.5%)
- Related public institution (24.8%)
- Museum documentation center (3.7%)
- Other public institution (5.5%)
- City (19.3%)
- Tourist board (8.3%)

Figure 2 Features of the museums’ with ethnographic collections own websites according to the general quality criteria

- Searchable: 9 (21.4%)
- Prepared for printing: 6 (14.3%)
- Accessibility: 2 (4.8%)
- Site map: 4 (9.5%)
- Multimedia: 7 (16.7%)
- Refreshing content: 34 (81%)
- Bilingual – Croatian – English: 17 (40.5%)
Figure 3 The typology of the content of the museums’ with ethnographic collections own websites

- Web 2.0 services: 9 (21.4%)
- E-commerce: 1 (2.4%)
- Request for feedback: 41 (97.6%)
- Selected objects: 20 (47.6%)
- Additional content: 18 (42.9%)
- Archive: 19 (45.2%)
- Archive: 20 (47.6%)
- Guide through the exhibition: 16 (38.1%)
- News: 34 (81%)
- Information on departments/collections: 31 (73.8%)
- Information about the staff: 28 (66.7%)
- History of the institution: 34 (81%)
- General information: 42 (100%)
- Mission statement: 5 (11.9%)

Figure 4 Number of museum objects on the Internet by type of object

- Archaeological: 13415; 40.1%
- Ethnographic: 15682; 46.9%
- Technical: 435; 1.3%
- Artistic: 536; 1.6%
- Cultural-historical: 1872; 5.6%
- Other: 1269; 3.8%
The features of their own websites according to the general quality criteria are given in Figure 2 while the typology of the website content is shown in Figure 3, from which it is clear that the website is not used for the dissemination of knowledge about heritage but primarily for the promotion of the museum. The standardized form of the ‘online brochure’ is prevalent, which contains general information about museums and collections, the history of museums, news, archives of exhibitions and publications and a small number of selected museum objects, and the expectation of feedback from users is reduced to the possibility of sending electronic mail to employees of the museum. There is little additional content - these are short reviews of local history or stories about local traditions (12 museums), biographies of prominent people (4 museums), digitized publications and articles (8 museums). Thus, we find almost no content related to the traditional heritage – digital collections or coherent multimedia stories. Very few ethnographic objects are presented. If we compare the achievements with other Croatian museums (Figure 4), we see that the objects from the collections of art and natural history dominate on the Internet, while the ethnographic share is just 1.3%.10

Evaluation of museum websites under UNESCO’s four pillars of learning does not indicate their contribution to the knowledge society. Users can ‘do’ the following: find service information and news from the cultural calendar and based on that they can visit the museum or the museum staff can be contacted via e-mail.

### 2.2. Religious communities and their ethnographic collections

Of the 152 collections of religious communities in the HKBI database11, 20 contain ethnographic material. The official websites of religious communities list the basic information about the 33 collections (21.7%), six of which contain ethnographic material. On only four sites of religious communities we find selected objects from the collection (127 objects, presented only with a picture, none of which belong to the ethnographic collections). Thus, the ethnographic collections of religious communities are inaccessible to users online.

### 2.3. Cultural associations

It is very hard to find accurate information on the number of cultural associations working in the field of preservation and presentation of Croatian traditional heritage and reproductive performance of the original folklore, collection of ethnographic material and documentation of local traditions. Unofficial information claims that there are 750 cultural associations in the Republic of Croatia (Knjaz 2010: 12). Researching

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10 Croatian museums showed 33,419 objects on the Internet, with images and basic information (Šojat-Bikić 2011), which makes up about 0.5% of all museum objects, which according to statistical data for 2009 amount to 6,025,490 (Franulić 2010: 4).

the Croatian Register of associations\textsuperscript{12}, the portal Croatian folklore\textsuperscript{13} and the official websites of cities and municipalities\textsuperscript{14}, we came up with information on 993 associations, and research on the Internet found that 147 (14.8\%) of the associations have an independent web site. Only 31 of these organizations, in addition to general information, history and programs of the association, presented some additional content with descriptions of traditional costumes and customs on their sites. So, if you want to know something about traditional attire, you have to find the appropriate page of the association on the Internet, which is not that simple.

\textbf{2.4. Private ethnographic collections}

As it is difficult to determine the exact number of cultural associations working in the field of preservation and communication of traditional heritage, it is difficult to find the exact number of private ethnographic collections. Based on the research of websites of cities, towns and tourist boards and extracts from the Croatian Register of Cultural Property\textsuperscript{15} data was collected on 64 collections owned by individuals and families, of whom 20 (31.2\%) have their own websites. On the site we do not find digitized material from these collections but only 158 objects represented by a picture.

\textbf{2.5. Cultural portals}

Cultural portals should be the central entry point to heritage content on the Internet. The National Portal of Croatian cultural heritage\textsuperscript{16}, launched in June 2008, is still not a one-stop shop, and not even a first-stop shop where one could find links to all the heritage and heritage-related institutions in Croatia and the online heritage content - digital collections, virtual exhibitions, etc., although its “basic intention is to create a unique ID site card for RH on a global scale” (Špoljarić 2008: 17). Portal Culturenet - Croatian Cultural web Center\textsuperscript{17}, which was started in 2001 by the Ministry of Culture and the Open Society Institute, also cannot meet the criteria for a national portal because it does not present an entrance to all segments of the heritage online domain.\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{12} Croatian Register of associations, http://www.appluprava.hr/RegistarUdruga/ (Jan 17 2011)
\item \textsuperscript{13} Croatian folklore portal, http://www.hrvatskifolklor.net/ (Feb 22 2011)
\item \textsuperscript{14} On the official websites of cities and municipalities there is information on about 458 cultural and artistic associations that operate in their area.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Database of legislative search engine CADIAL, http://cadial.hidra.hr/ (Jan 17 2011)
\item \textsuperscript{16} The National Portal of Croatian cultural heritage, http://www.kultura.hr (Apr 12 2011)
\item \textsuperscript{17} Culturenet – Croatian cultural web center, http://www.culturenet.hr/ (Apr 12 2011)
\item \textsuperscript{18} The Portal of Public Libraries (http://www.knjiznica.hr) was set up in 2007. But in recent years it has not been updated with new data on libraries or information about the newly created libraries. Up to date, and the most comprehensive portal is the Museum Documentation Center (http://www.mdc.hr), which is also the oldest, active since 1997, provides strong support for the museums and the wider community.
\end{itemize}
Table 1 illustrates the deficiency of the Croatian Cultural Heritage portal, which likely stems from the methodology of collecting data from the heritage and heritage-related institutions through a questionnaire instead of devising a research strategy of data collection.19

Table 1 Representation of heritage institutions and online collections at the Croatian Cultural Heritage portal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>presented on the Croatian cultural heritage portal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>state archives</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public libraries</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>museums</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>online collections</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5 Unidentified object at the ‘virtual exhibition’ Attire in the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek

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19 This was also one of the motives to create the HKBI database (Šojat-Bikić 2011)
The portal is now burdened with information about collections that can be accessed only in the institutions themselves. 20 ‘Virtual exhibitions’ in the Multimedia section are not virtual exhibitions. ‘Pretty pictures’ of museum objects with a signature that contains only a generic name for the image files generated by digital cameras does not constitute even a digital collection, let alone a virtual exhibition (Figure 5). 21 The objects are shown only in pictures, but users would see them through what is said about them. Object and its description (label) are two parts of the same whole. “The ‘missing’ labels, therefore, brought not just the objects, but the whole idea of an exhibition into question.” (Parry 2007: 77). Parry points out that “the semiotics of ‘labels’ has remained part of museums’ design of digital interactive applications [...] the formats may change, interfaces may vary, the content may be more dynamic, but in each of these cases the culture of museum ‘label’ is sustained.” (Parry 2007: 78) As the third problem of the Croatian Cultural Heritage portal, the questionable classification of collections by the type of material 22 and topics and subtopics 23, evidently sticks out, calling for a more professional and consistent approach.

2.6. Intangible cultural heritage on the Internet

UNESCO’s Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage defines intangible cultural heritage as “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage” (UNESCO 2003: 2). From the definition it follows that the intangible heritage is self-identified, transmitted from generation to generation, a living and constituent component of the identity (Crofts 2010: 2).

“Intangible cultural heritage is manifested in five domains:

a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;

b) performing arts;

c) social practices, rituals and festive events;

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20 Of 249 collections listed on the portal only 36 (14.5%) are online collections. The reason for such a ‘large’ number of collections lies in the fact that the individual units of collections of digitalized material are referred to as a ‘separate’ collections. For example, the Local digitalized collection of Marko Marulić City Library in Split is ‘divided’ into six (!) collections, all of which contain a single unit http://www.kultura.hr/hr/Ustanove/GRKM/#/collections (April 13 2011)

21 Virtual exhibition ‘Attire’ - Museum of Slavonia in Osijek, http://www.kultura.hr/hr/Multimedija/Virtualne-izlozbe/Muzej-Slavonije-Osijek-Ruho/ (image)/5964/(offset)/180 (April 13 2011). User can only understand that it is about the traditional attire and nothing more.

22 The Objects category means nothing, http://www.kultura.hr/hr/Zbirke/po-vrsti-grade (Apr 13 2011)

23 For example, the subtopic Music, http://www.kultura.hr/hr/Zbirke/po-temi/Umjetnost/Glazba (Apr 13 2011) does not include a collection of mechanical musical automatons of Ivan Gerersdorfer, http://mdc.hr/Donations/ZCM/Gerersdorfer/index_hr.html, to which otherwise there are links on the portal.
d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
e) traditional craftsmanship “(UNESCO 2003: 2)

Tangible and intangible cultural heritage is actually difficult to distinguish - knowledge and skills are embedded in every material object. Therefore Jeff Malpas believes that the division of cultural heritage into tangible and intangible is artificial.

“Culture is always tied to its materiality and is inseparable from it. Specific cultural practices [...] depend upon, and are articulated by means of specific instruments and arrangements of instruments, specific sites and pathways [...] Even language has its own materiality in the form of speech, mark and sign, while the very possibility of meaning resides in the inter-relation of speakers with one another and with an objectual world.” (Malpas 2008: 15)

Republic of Croatia signed the UNESCO Convention and designated the Ministry of Culture as the body to implement it. Currently there are 85 assets on the List of protected assets of intangible cultural heritage of the Ministry of Culture. The classification of intangible cultural assets by UNESCO’s five domains and their display on the Internet is shown in Table 2, a list of their own websites is given in the Appendix. As Table 2 shows, the potential of Croatian intangible cultural heritage has not yet been sufficiently exploited in the online domain.

Table 2 Protected Croatian intangible cultural heritage on the internet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domains of intangible cultural heritage according to UNESCO</th>
<th>The number of intangible cultural heritage entries listed by the Croatian Ministry of Culture</th>
<th>the number of Croatian intangible cultural heritage entries on official websites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>their own</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oral traditions</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>performing arts</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social practices</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knowledge concerning nature and the world</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traditional craftsmanship</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first entries of intangible heritage protection list of intangible cultural heritage were made in 2004.

2.7. The institutions of state administration, local governments, tourist boards and presentation of cultural heritage on the Internet

The websites of institutions of state administration and local self-government and tourist boards, in addition to providing general service information to the public, may well contribute to the presentation of cultural heritage by referring hypertext links to heritage content on the Internet. Research on their official sites shows that these institutions have not sufficiently used hypertextuality as a basic feature of the Web, or collaborated with heritage institutions to offer customers something more than just service information. Segments of their pages that relate to the presentation of heritage can be classified into five categories: local history, famous or known local people, monument heritage, traditional heritage, intangible heritage.

Table 3 Presentation of heritage at the official sites of the counties, cities, towns and tourist boards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>counties</th>
<th>cities</th>
<th>municipalities</th>
<th>tourist board</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>number</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have websites</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>99.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>only in Croatian</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>88.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>multilingual</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have public libraries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have museums / museum collections</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have ethnographical collections</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have cultural-artistic associations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present their heritage on a website</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>81.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>local history</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>76.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>notable local people</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monumental heritage</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35.0%</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traditional heritage</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intangible heritage</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oral traditions</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>performing arts</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social practices</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knowledge concerning nature and the universe</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traditional craftsmanship</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 shows quantitative data produced by the research of sites, and to build a more comprehensive picture we list the figures for museums and ethnographic collections, public libraries and cultural and artistic associations that care for the traditional heritage of the cities and municipalities. As evident from Table 3, the tourist boards are leading in the presentation of heritage, which meets the expectations, while counties, cities and municipalities require more work on their websites in order to present the local history and heritage, or connect to a site from the heritage online domain. It can also be read that the presentation of traditional heritage is neglected in relation to monument heritage.

3. Croatian traditional heritage online: examples of good practice

Based on the survey of the entire Croatian heritage online domain one may argue that the examples of communication of traditional heritage via the web are still scarce and mainly the work of creative individuals and associations, and in a smaller measure of museums or similar institutions. We will show examples of good practice, and in the annex we will be giving a list of all the websites where you can find content related to traditional Croatian heritage.

3.1. Ecomuseum Batana House - Casa della batana, Rovinj

The website of the ecomuseum Batana House (http://www.batana.org), opened in 2004, clearly projects the goal of the project - “to get through the story of Batana by opening large and small windows with views of the large and small histories and traditions of Rovinj and its inhabitants” (Ratković 2005: 311). In that it stands out among the Croatian museum’s website.26 Namely, not only does it deliver essential information about the museum, but it also delivers a coherent, ‘scenic’ story about the traditional Rovinj vessel connecting places, memories and identity. Although many consider the web a non-place, this website is an example of local specificity and it has successfully mapped the UNESCO pillars that support the learning so we can ‘live together’ and ‘be’.

The project of founding ecomuseums in Croatia continues with the concept of a permanent future display of Ecomuseum of lace and lacemaking in Lepoglava27, which was presented mid-February 2009 in Lepoglava. “In the part outside the museum walls Ecomuseum would cover the lace festival, the routes of lace, children’s lace park, Lace garden, a virtual museum of lace on the web.” (Gumbas 2009: 15) Therefore,

26 The website was set up in 2006 and in the same year it won the Oscar, a national prize awarded by the jury of VIDI magazine as the best site in the category of science, education and culture.

27 The authors of the project are Marija Kukec and Dragana Lucija Ratković from the company Muze Ltd. from Zagreb, which has implemented the ecomuseum project Batana House, and Dr. Tihana Petrović Leš, head of the Department of Ethnology, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb.
what is particularly pleasing in this is the plan to present the Croatian lacemaking tradition in the online domain.

3.2. Drago Muvrin’s collection of traditional African art

A digital collection, produced within the framework of “Donations to the city of Zagreb online” of the Museum Documentation Center, in collaboration with the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb and Drago Muvrin and published in the second half of 2010 (http://www.muvrin.mdc.hr/hr/), contains objects of African art collected by architect Drago Muvrin and donated to the City of Zagreb in 1999: sculptures (76), masks (29), utility and decorative objects (75) and music instruments (23). Objects were presented with pictures, which can be magnified and rotated and with a classical label with basic information and brief descriptions.

Answers to questions about the donors’ meeting with Africa and the emergence of collections, a virtual walk through the collection set in the donor’s flat, sound recordings of African instruments and musical contributions, which were composed by Nenad Kovačić add value to the digital collection and thus the media experience of the collection is more complete. The website is bilingual (Croatian / English), and browsing collections is possible through the four categories mentioned above and images of objects within each category. Consequently, this is not only the digital collection but also a virtual exhibition.

Since the donor is under the terms of the deed contract “required to allow access to the collection for the cultural and scientific staff of institutions and experts and scholars” (Mihalić 2008: 122), but not to the general audience, this way of presentation makes the collection accessible to everyone, and much earlier than it may one day be exhibited at the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb.

Croatian museums do not invite users to share their ideas or knowledge on heritage with museum staff and the wider community. The communication is one way - from curators to the user as a passive consumer of the offered. The only Croatian example contrary to Walsh’s “unassailable voice” (Walsh 2010: 235), in which users are invited to get into contact by email if they have different or additional information about museum objects, is actually located on the website of this collection.

28 Collection is managed by the donor in his lifetime, and after his death or if he so requests, the collection will be handed over to the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb (Mihalić 2008: 122).

29 A virtual exhibition is a digital product that usually comes from a careful selection of digital collections of digital objects by linking an idea, theme, concept or a relational schema that corresponds to the question: why should all these digital objects be found on the same exhibition? A virtual exhibition can only speak if there are objects that illustrate the theme of the exhibition related to the story, or some other conceptual scheme of their relationships. “An exhibition has a tight connection between its idea, objects, and script that ties them all together.” (Kalfatovic 2002: 3)

30 In his famous and often quoted essay from 1997 Peter Walsh lucidly announces that the web will change the official, “unassailable voice” of museums into a kinder, gentler, more interesting, inspirative and less pompous manner of addressing users.
Unfortunately, this is the only ethnographic collection available in the Croatian online domain, and it does not belong to the Croatian cultural space, but to the African (mainly Nigerian and Ghanaian).

3.3. A virtual exhibition of Slavonia, Baranja and Srijem – the springs of European civilization

A virtual version of the exhibition opened on April 24 2009 in Klovićevi dvori in Zagreb, was published online in May 2010. Virtual exhibition as a whole faithfully follows the concept of the actual exhibition, and its information and navigation architecture are modeled according to the physical setup of the exhibition premises in Klovićevi dvori.\textsuperscript{31} The ability to search by topics, the chosen fields (author, title, type, institution, material, dating) and the timeline was added. “The online catalog has included two thousand items from 22 museums and galleries of the five Eastern Croatian counties, a number of museums in Zagreb, the Croatian State Archives, the National and University Library, many libraries, church collections, archives, theaters, institutes and private collections.” (Kalle 2010: 35) The exhibition also includes ethnographic materials (traditional and handicraft economy, housing, clothing and rustic life), and is available at http://www.bastina-slavonija.info/, in Croatian and English versions.\textsuperscript{32}

3.4. Croatian traditional instruments

The website contains pictures, descriptions and sound recordings of traditional Croatian musical instruments, and it was designed and was published in 2000 by Stjepan Večković, musician, musical instrument builder, a soloist of “Lado”, the head of the Croatian Bagpipe Band and founder of the Center for Traditional Instruments (2007). It describes and visualizes with images the Croatian traditional instruments: double-reed, bagpipe, gune, mih, sopile, roženice etc. Number of objects: 25; Languages: Croatian, English; Searching: list. Network address: http://www.hrvatska-tradicijska-glazbala.com/

3.5. Virtual museum of the traditional music of Međimurje

Virtual museum of the traditional music of Međimurje, an original project by Lidija Bajuk, is one of the few examples of online dissemination of knowledge in the field of

\textsuperscript{31} Jennifer Trant considers that a direct transposition of navigating through a physical space to navigation through a network or an information space may be less successful in the clear communication of content or context (Trant 1997: 22-2).

\textsuperscript{32} Croatian heritage institutions rarely use the web as a medium of presentation of virtual exhibitions. In addition to the exhibition Slavonia, Baranja and Srijem – the springs of European civilization, we find Treasure of the National and University Library (http://www.nsk.hr/virtualne_izlozbe.aspx), an exhibition of the Print Collection of NSK From Klović and Rembrandt to Warhol and Pircelj (http://graficka.nsk.hr/) and three virtual exhibitions of the Library of Zagreb: Ivana Brlić Mažuranić (http://kgzdzb.arhivpro.hr/kgzizlozba/), Marija Jurić Zagorka (http://www.arhiva.kgz.hr/zagorka/ulazna.html) and Zagreb on the threshold of the modern era (http://kgzdzb.arhivpro.hr/moderno_doba/)
Croatian traditional music. Lidija Bajuk started to deal with Međimurje traditional music in the nineties of the 20th century, beginning a process of styling and performing it in an entirely new way, and in 2009 she launched the virtual museum. The rich printed and pictorial content processes the motifs and themes of the Međimurje traditional music, dance, musical instruments, musical groups, melographers, performance, style, etc. It also shows the natural and ethnographic characteristics of Međimurje, its history and spirituality. When she communicates the Međimurje music Lidija Bajuk uses different methods and facilities to help establish the identity of the tourist region, creating a well-designed digital product with the goal to educate about and to preserve the diversity and identity and, ultimately, to aid with the profiling of the regional heritage offer. A database of musicians and discography is in preparation. Languages: Croatian; Searching: category list. Network address: http://mtraditional.com/.

“The Međimurje music, building a “rating “in the previous period among various reference groups and, ultimately, the public as a general reference group, has achieved significant results in communication of Međimurje with its surroundings. It has proved to be an excellent communication channel which communicates many connotations, an emotional charge, different meanings, etc. “(Blagus 2010: 84)

Aware of the potential of the Međimurje traditional heritage, especially musical, Lidija Bajuk believes that a virtual museum of the Međimurje traditional music is only the first step towards establishing a physical museum as a crowning place where all the signs of identity would be networked.: “I keep repeating that foreigners will not come because of Selnice pikač, zlevanka or Svetomarska lace. Personally I am very attached to all these signs of identity, but there must be some umbrella to network it all.” (Novosel, Španiček 2010: 4)

3.6. Glagolitic singing in the diocese of Sibenik

The Croatian Cultural Association “ Heritage Sung”33 has created a website in 2009 dedicated to the Glagolitic singing, a protected Croatian intangible cultural heritage. Along with images of the customs of the parishes of the diocese of Šibenik, and the history of Glagolitic singing as specific components of the Croatian liturgical singing in the Western Church rite, numerous multimedia contents - audio (35) and video (4) and digitized publications (5) are available on the site. Number of objects: 44; Languages: Croatian, English; Searching: category list, full text. Network address: http://www.pjevanabastina.hr

33 The association was established in 2005 with the aim of the research, preservation and nurturing of origin and characteristics of Croatian singing heritage. So far they have issued five sets of media (books, CD, DVD) dedicated to the historical, spiritual singing heritage of parishes Lišane, Vodice, Šepurine, Stankovci and Zaton.
3.7. Virtual communities in the domain of traditional heritage

A few examples of virtual Croatian communities that preserve and communicate the traditional heritage are found outside the institutional heritage community. They are driven by creative individuals who form associations in order to preserve and present tangible and intangible heritage, and assemble virtual communities around common interests and themes. Virtual communities that preserve their own memory and identity are the best way of approaching the definition of ecomuseum by Georges-Henri Rivière in 1980, who described them as a philosophy of “limitless variety,” suggesting that an “Ecomuseum is whatever the community wants it to be” (Davis 2005: 370).

3.7.1. The project Conservation of the Vlach and Žejane language

The project Conservation of the Vlach and Žejane language was launched by dr. Zvjezdana Vrzić in 2005. “She has been living in America for twenty years– she currently teaches at New York University and was motivated to the research by her childhood, stories of her grandmother in the Vlach language.” (Radić 2009) Around 200-300 native speakers are estimated to live in New York, while in the villages of Istria (Žejane, Nova Vas, Šušnjevica, Jesenovik, villages around Kršan), about 250 people are using this endangered language (Marghescu 2009: 593).

The website of the project was created to present the Vlach and Žejane (a.k.a. Istroromanian) language to a wider audience. It is a part of the effort to comprehensively document this endangered language. In 2007 the project was expanded to include Croatia, which was achieved through the cooperation of the Association for research and documentation of the languages and culture of Istria and Kvarner “Traces” and the Ethnographic Museum of Istria. That same year, on September 27 the Istroromanian speech was included on the List of protected assets of intangible cultural heritage of the Ministry of Culture. The website of the project was announced in June 2010. Authentic records of the lifestyle, the history of the locality and the knowledge stored in the language and transferred by it - in the words of native speakers – serve as a virtual link to the members of displaced communities in preserving and documenting their language, history and culture and education, data collection and digitalization of materials essential for the language and the community. The project has recently prompted the establishment of the local residents associations which aim to conserve the local language and culture - Association ‘spod Učka’ (in Šušnjevica) and the Association Žejane (in Žejane). The digital collection includes text, images, audio and video, and is organized into four thematic units: Community Voices, Learn,

34 The term ‘virtual community’ is attributed to Harold Rheingold in 1993. He wrote a book under the same title. According to Rheingold, “Virtual communities are social aggregations that emerge from the Net when enough people carry on those public discussions long enough, with sufficient human feeling, to form webs of personal relationships in cyberspace” (Rheingold 1995).

35 From e-mail from dr. Zvjezdana Vrzić addressed to the author of the article on Feb 8 2011. This is an example of how the web, as a non-place, not only encourages the creation of virtual communities, but also real, offline communities.
Disappearance of many traditional processes in the local community - music, language, customs, crafts, children’s games, etc. - is inevitable, and this way of preserving and communicating via the web is an example of good practice of collection and documentation of intangible cultural heritage.\textsuperscript{36}

\subsection*{3.7.2. The website of Istroromanians in Croatia}

This is another website dedicated to preserving the identity of the Istroromanian community and the presentation of their language and culture to a global audience. It was started by Bogdan Banu\textsuperscript{37} in 1999 with the aim of making a presentation of Istroromanian culture and establishing a location on the web from which all online content related to the life and culture of Istroromanian community would be approached. The website presents a rich bibliography, pictures and sound material, poetry, stories of community members\textsuperscript{38}, etc. Although the site is not within the Croatian online domain, it is worth mentioning here as another example of how creative individuals can certainly contribute to the preservation and promotion of endangered intangible heritage, and how personal initiatives can serve as role models for often slow institutions. Number of items: 147 (growing); Languages: English, Istroromanian; Searching: category list. Network address: http://www.istro-romanian.net/.

\textsuperscript{36} It is surprising that the Croatian Cultural Heritage portal (http://www.kultura.hr) and the site of the Ethnographic Museum of Istria (http://www.emi.hr), partners of the Association “Traces”, provide no link to this extraordinary project. During 2009 and 2010, under the program of protection of intangible cultural heritage, the Ministry of Culture awarded the Ethnographic Museum 50,000,00 kn for the protection of Istroromanian speech (Approved Programs of the Ministry of Culture, http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id =29). When the Croatian Prime Minister Jadranka Kosor visited Bucharest in January 2011, one of the topics discussed was the Istroromanian community in Istria. Romanian Prime Minister Emil Boc explained that “the Istroromanian dialect is one of the four dialects of Romanian language and asked Croatia to assist in its preservation, because it is threatened with extinction” (Lipovac 2011: 2). We do not know what the Prime Minister replied to her Romanian counterpart, but if she mentioned that the Croatian Ministry of Culture has helped conservation projects of Vlach and Žejane language, it would certainly be found in the newspaper report. Has anyone from the Ministry of Culture prepared this fact for the Prime Minister before the trip?

\textsuperscript{37} Bogdan Banu arrived in the student exchange program to the United States where he graduated from Brigham Young University in Utah. Although not a professional linguist, historian or anthropologist, from his interest in preserving his own identity and the identity of the community from which he came this website has been born, worthy of attention. Today he lives and works in Washington.

\textsuperscript{38} Although not explicitly stated in the UNESCO Convention on the protection of intangible cultural heritage, personal stories that explain life situations, events and experiences are identified and collected as a significant segment of the intangible cultural heritage (Solanilla 2008: 105).
3.8. Other online sources for the study of Croatian traditional heritage

Although the traditional heritage is preserved, documented and communicated primarily by museums, cultural and artistic associations, institutes for ethnology and folklore, materials related to the locality and identity of local communities are collected in heritage institutions and other related institutions. Public libraries have a legal obligation to collect and keep local collections which provide valuable resources for researching their locality, including the traditional heritage. Today 211 public libraries and 147 local heritage collections are registered in Croatia (Tošić-Grlač 2009: 2). On 20 independent websites of public libraries (out of 63) we find digitalized selected items from local collections. Traditional heritage is communicated only by City Library Pula (http://vizz.gkc-pula.hr/) – with a digitalized issue of the Croatian folk songs from the area.

Other sources for the study of traditional heritage can be found on the Digital repository of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences (http://hazu.arhivpro.hr/), which contains the Almanac of folk life and customs and in the the digital library of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb (http://dzs.ffzg.hr/), which contains 65 oral folktales.

4. Untapped opportunities of ‘storytelling’ on the Web

The Croatian online domain presents 91 digital heritage collections: 5 archival (5.5%), 39 librarian (42.9%), 19 museums (20.9%) and 28 other collections (30.8%). Figure 6 shows the typology of online collections by type of source materials. As the graphic shows, online collections that communicate traditional heritage - the ethnographic material and intangible heritage - make up only 5.5% of collections on the web. For a country with 85 protected intangibles cultural treasures, of which ten are on UNESCO’s list – that is not enough.

It should be noted that all these digital collections reflect the logic of the database, and a database is not the most suitable medium for ‘storytelling’. Browsing and searching the digital collections of objects (records in the database) does not allow real access to knowledge. Alfredo M. Ronchi thought that a database “is not sufficiently successful in communicating intangible traditional heritage” (Ronchi 2009: 25). Lev Manovich will go a step further and declare a database and stories “natural enemies”. “As a cultural form, the database represents the world as a list of items [...] In contrast, a narrative creates a cause-and-effect trajectory of seemingly unordered items (events).” (Manovich 2001: 225).

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39 These are collections of individuals - collectors, of associations, universities, publishers, companies, etc.
40 Already with seven phenomena entered in 2009 on the UNESCO list of intangible cultural heritage (St. Blasius festival, two-part narrow intervals of Istria and the Croatian littoral, traditional wooden toys from the area of northwestern Croatia, annual spring procession of Queen or lijelje from Gorjani, procession “Za križen” on the Hvar island, bell-ringers from the Kastav area and lacemaking in Croatia), Croatia found itself in fourth place in the world and first in Europe (Salopek 2009: 6). In 2010 Alka, gingerbread craft in the northern Croatian and ojkanje were added to the list, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011#results, (Apr 4 2011)
Eilean Hooper-Greenhill points out the key role of storytelling in the communication of heritage.

“In the modern age, it was to be no longer enough for material things to present themselves on a table of knowledge; the way in which things would be understood was in their relationship to man [...] The stories of man, life, and civilisation were to become more important than the physical identities of material things. The basic structures of knowledge of the modern episteme are totality [...] Knowing and knowledge have become three-dimensional, all-involving, and all-encompassing. The main themes of knowledge are people, their histories, their lives, and their relationships.”(Hooper-Greenhill 1995: 198)

Rather than displaying unrelated museum objects, it is better to tell stories about culture, the historical context, important people, places, events, local traditions, intangible heritage etc. Museum objects should be the backbone of such stories. “Now
the idea is to tell a specific story, and objects are gathered as they relate to the story.” (Hooper-Greenhill 1995: 206).

Web allows the layering of content, presentation of different interpretations, linking different sources and different media (text, sound, moving and static images, animations, 3D presentations). Theory and practice of cybermuseology is based precisely on these features of the web. Its main task is the communication of knowledge using new technologies (Langlais 2005: 74).

In the communication of knowledge about heritage the most important things are ideas and concepts. Only on the basis of good ideas and concepts a good story can emerge. It is always better to have a few good stories than a ‘thin’ set of data about each museum object. ‘Raw’ information will not by itself bring success to the museums. Also the sum of ‘raw’ information will not bring greater success, but only a more complex and richer narrative structure in which the knowledge is recorded about a particular topic. The power of a culture is derived from the power of the story it is able to tell. Guy Hermann rightly concludes: “If the web is the greatest storytelling medium ever invented, and museums are storytelling institutions, then the web must be the greatest medium ever invented for museums.” (Hermann 1999). And without a story, that is, the wider cultural and historical context of museum collections and individual items, their online catalogs, even though intellectually important, would be emotionally meaningless for most users, giving them, like the library online catalog, only basic information about the collection that the museum owns.

5. Conclusion

New information and communication technologies have transformed all aspects of communicating cultural heritage. Digital communication of heritage, like any cultural-historical phenomenon, is not formed out of vacuum. It is the product of past and current thinking about the organization, storage and communication of cultural heritage with the aim of creating and maintaining personal and collective memories and identities. The key features of new information and communication technology in comparison to the older mediums is the ability to integrate different media and content, processing large amounts of information at higher speeds and connections of users and heritage, regardless of the space-time constraints.

New information and communication technologies have brought new responsibilities to heritage institutions. Communicating heritage is in conjunction with the basic tasks of heritage institutions: the collection, preservation, research and documentation of material. Heritage institutions are dependent on computer technology in all those segments of their work. Application of new technologies in ALM institutions opens the space for new forms of communication with users. New paradigms of communication encourage new creative expressions of heritage experts and the creation of new digital cultural assets.
The conducted study shows that digitalization projects have not significantly linked Croatian heritage institutions, both to each other and with the end users. Also, Croatia is still not sufficiently developed to communicate the cultural heritage in digital form, as a critical discourse by applying new technologies when communicating heritage, and no research has encompassed the entire offer of Croatian heritage online domain thus far.

The international distribution of one’s own heritage is important for its contribution to cultural diversity and promotion of national, regional and local cultural identity. The less communicated heritage is, the less important it seems. Research of the Croatian heritage online domain shows that Croatian museums, in most cases, design and form their website for their own promotion, and not to promote heritage they have in their care. In relation to art and natural history collections, ethnographic collections are completely ignored in the online domain, with the exception of the Collection of traditional African art of Drago Muvrin. Websites devoted to intangible heritage are the work of creative individuals and associations.

It is necessary to stimulate the digitalization of Croatian content, whether it is of national or regional or local importance, to promote the cities and regions. With an impressive number of intangible cultural heritage on UNESCO’s list Croatia is situated at the very top of the world, but we’re still waiting for this treasure to be adequately presented on the Internet.

**Appendix. Croatian traditional heritage on the Internet**


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41 The title and the owner of the website, the network address and year of publication are listed. Data on the year of publication was collected in telephone contact with the owners. All websites were last accessed on April 14th 2011.
17. Licitar - warm heart of the Croatian people, Licitar - studio for the design and production of items for decoration and keepsake, Zagreb, http://www.licitar.hr/, 2009


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