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Mapping Skeuomorphic Artifacts among Polish Young Adults: A Semantic Differential Study of Sculptures at the Licheń Pilgrimage Centre

Abstract: Surprisingly little is known about the religious attitudes of young adults in Poland. Existing scholarship is usually written from a prescriptive view: how young people should behave or what they should do. Quantitive studies, where the researcher's voice is not heard but, rather, young people have a chance 'to speak' for themselves, appears to be lacking. This article aims to redress this gap to some extent by quantitatively studying young adults' attitudes to sculptures erected in Poland's largest modern pilgrimage venue (Licheń). The paper also aims to contribute to understanding how the sacred is negotiated in a contemporary Catholic pilgrimage venue. We show how respondents actively create the *sacrum* dimension and how it correlates with the axes of Potency / Activity / Evaluation. We posit a semantically amorphous structure for the sculptural objects at the Licheń centre and use a semantic differential technique to extract affectively oriented dimensions in attitudes towards these skeuomorphic objects. The results highlight important implications for the understanding of religion in post-modernity and of the phenomenon of modern mega-centers of religious worship. They also support the view of secularization and sacralization as two additive concomitant processes, and of 'sacred' / 'profane' as gradient, rather than binary features. SD has been widely used as an analytical tool in sociological research to measure metaphorical meaning and societal attitudes to brands and particular products (e.g. Osgood 1981; Minato 1983). However, it has rarely been applied to investigate the boundary between the sacred and the secular, or ways of objectifying the sacred (e.g. Muthén 1977). We explore this possibility, drawing on a dataset of 100 questionnaires administered to undergraduate students in a middle-sized town in Poland in October-December 2012. We hope our research will contribute to an understanding of the wider issue of what societal products like material objects can tell us about experiencing the sacred in contemporary society.

Keywords: semantic differential, sacred/profane scale, contemporary pilgrimage centre, skeuopmorphic sculptures, young adults.

Introduction

Surprisingly little is known about the religious attitudes of young adults in Poland.[1] Existing scholarship has usually been written from either a qualitative or prescriptive view. Quantitive studies, where not the researcher's voice is heard but rather, the

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[1] Our special thanks to Joanna Lubos-Kozieł for letting us use her documentation of the Licheń Centre—photos marked "JLK" in the text. All the remaining photos are my authorship, MHG. We wish to express our gratitude to *Polish Sociological Review* anonymous reviewers and to Thomas Anessi. All translations from Polish are mine, MHG.

youth has a chance 'to speak' for themselves, appear to be lacking.[2] This article aims to redress this gap to some extent by studying young people's attitudes to sculptures erected in Poland's largest modern pilgrimage venue (Licheń). Intended as a response to the need for further research into the dimensionality of the religious variable, it must be admitted that the research reported in this paper is limited in scope in that: i) we concentrate on a homogenous cohort of respondents, ii) our main preoccupation is with the parsimonious mapping of objects and investigating possible correlations between potency, evaluation, religiosity and activity factors, rather than providing a picture of young adults' religiosity in Poland as such.

The issue of Catholicism in Poland is more complicated than might initially appear. Currently Poland is the epitome of a Catholic country with an almost homogenous denominational profile,[3] the most Catholic country in Europe after Malta.[4] The pivotal aspect in trying to understand religious life in Poland is the fact that religion has usually been intertwined with political and social developments, with 'religion' generally implying Catholicism.[5] While acknowledging the intricacy of the status of religion issues in contemporary Poland,[6] this study seeks to provide insight into the status of Licheń as a contemporary mega-spiritual Catholic pilgrimage centre.

Licheń is a popular name for currently one of the most important centers of religious (Catholic) cult in Poland, located in Licheń Stary, a village located within Greater Poland voivodship, about 16 km from Konin. It is dedicated to the cult of

[2] The work along these topics in other countries seems to be abundant, though. For example, for a quantitative study of moral and religious beliefs of U.K. high school students, as well as a review of literature on the study of adolescent religious beliefs in U.K., see Murray (1978). The religious effects of different types of schools in the US (that is, Catholic, Protestant and homeschooling) are evaluated in e.g. Uecker (2008).

[3] This was not true until 1945, when the loss of Jews, Germans, and the *kresy* created a homogeneous religious culture. The census from 1931 (page 10) has the breakdown from 31 million into denominations. In particular, it shows 65% Catholics, 20% Orthodox and 10% Jewish.

[4] The predominant religion in Poland is Catholicism. According to information provided by the Główny Urząd Statystyczny (Central Statistical Office), in the years 2006–2008 Catholics were estimated (depending on the adopted calculation method) to make up between 88.4% and 95.8% of the total population (cf. http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/oz_wyzn_rel_stow_nar_i_etn_w_pol_2006-2008.pdf; date of last access November 2012). Statistics for people claiming the Catholic denomination are intricate, because, as some sources observe, (e.g. http://www.apostazja.info/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=259&Itemid=1; date of last access May 2012), the Polish National Census takes the data for this category from statistics compiled by Instytut Statystyki Kościoła Katolickiego (the Statistics Institute of the Catholic Church) without any verification, which for example in 2007, calculated the number of people claiming mainstream Catholic affiliation at 95.8%. The real margin seems thus to fluctuate between 88.4% and 95.8%, varying with the source cited (see also e.g. http://dziedzictwo.ekai.pl/text.show?id=4501).

[5] Borowik—Doktór (2001) is a reference for an exhaustive study of religious issues in Poland and the referential base. See also, for example, Johnson (1989) for an analysis of the church presence in opposition movements. As far as the quantitative aspect of religious affiliation is concerned, the statistics seem to vary. For example, Stark and Iannacone (1996) inquire into the religious decline in Poland, citing the following data: in 1977, a survey placed weekly attendance at 80%. In 1990, the World Values Survey found that 68% of Polish Catholics attended mass weekly. However, more recent polls suggest that the decline is continuing, having dropped in 1996, according to Irena Borowik, to perhaps 55% (Stark and Iannacone [1996: 268]; Borowik [1996: 89]). According to the National Census, there are about 600,000 people of Orthodox faith in Poland and about 160,000 protestants. The population of Poland is safely estimated at 37,000,000 inhabitants (data for 2011). See also Zrinscak (2004) for more statistics.

[6] Which are connected mainly with the Catholic church's political power and practically marginal status of other denominations, see also for example Mariański (1993).

the painting *Matka Boska Licheńska Bolesna Królowa Polski* (Our Lady of Sorrows, Queen of Poland) and owned and managed by the order of Marian brothers.[7] Licheń's rise to recognition was meteoric. Its area, at the time when Fr. Eugeniusz Makulski (MIC) came to Licheń (1965) and assumed responsibility for the premises (1967), encompassed the neo-Gothic parish Church of St. Dorothy (from 1853–1858) with a painting of Our Lady of Licheń in the main altar, a rectory, and the nearby former parish church from the first half of 18th century, surrounded by a cemetery. Just 30 years later (in 1999) Licheń was placed on the list of National Polish Heritage (cf. Sekerdej et al. 2002). At present, after the incorporation of subsequently acquired real estate, the totality of this pilgrimage complex amounts to—according to figures given by its owners—around 100 ha. To this we must add the area of the village of Licheń itself, which, although it does not belong directly to the owners of the centre, it is nevertheless dominated by the pilgrimage function and contains numerous facilities for pilgrims and pilgrimage-making.

The primary landmark at the complex is an enormous basilica, erected in 1994–2004, crowned with a golden dome. With a surface area of 23,000 m^2 and a volume of 300,000 m^3 (data taken from the official site of the centre), it is the biggest church in Poland and one of the biggest in Europe. Apart from the Basilica, Golgotha, and the two original churches (which were both totally re-built and augmented considerably in size), the complex encompasses dozens of other points of interest, including chapels, monuments, sculptures, paintings, commemorative plaques, ponds, fountains, as well as components of a more utilitarian character: hotels, bars, shops, restaurants, toilets and a playground. The visual data on which this article draws is a subset of the documentation of sculptures from the centre.

Accounts by ethnographers draw attention to how the legend of the place is being made ad-hoc, often with the help of local artisans (e.g. Marciniak 1999). The opinions of artists show a unanimous abhorrence of the aesthetics of statues and paintings located there (e.g. Klekot 2002). The media have pointed out problematic issues behind the financial aspects of developing the site (e.g. Dzienisiewicz 2002; Kwiatkowska-England 2006). Nevertheless, the centre continues to grow, burgeoning at an unprecedented rate. It claims to attract some 1.5 million of visitors a year (source: e.g. http://www.ave-maria.pl/component/content/article/257). It even sprouted a 'franchise' centre in Kalków, which owns a copy of the miraculous Licheń Icon. The foundations for the assumed sanctity of the place are the accounts of two miraculous apparitions of the Madonna, to Tomasz Kłossowski and Mikołaj Sikatka (cf. Marciniak 1999, Kwiatkowska-England 2006 for a more detailed discussion on these apparitions).

The scholarship on Licheń is burgeoning. The majority however consists of reports written from a single perspective—that of the site's former custodian, Fr. Eugeniusz Makulski (MIC) (e.g. Makulski 2002; [no indication of author] 2010), who is also the author of the commercial success of the Licheń as a pilgrimage centre. These

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[7] The full name of the order is Congregation of Marian Fathers of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary (*Congregatio Clericorum Marianorum ab Immaculata Conceptionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae*, abbrev. MIC).

encompass mainly albums, guides and documentation of the centre's growth. There is also a significant body of research carried on from the ethnographic perspective, basing on the interviews with the inhabitants of the Licheń Stary village and with pilgrims . Marciniak (1999) offers a monographic study of the Licheń centre, combining ethnographic and historical perspectives. The researcher presents both the history of Licheń and of the Holy Icon, which she reconstructs on the basis of archival research as well as analyzing the perception of Licheń by its inhabitants and by pilgrims on the basis of on-site interviews. Dzienisiewicz (2002) studied the image of Licheń in media and through the eyes of pilgrims. Using the methods of field study and ethnographic interviews, she provides a comprehensive overview of some issues connected with the construction of the centre, its commercial offerings, and its perception by the media and pilgrims. Kula (2002) gives an ethnography of the Licheń Golgotha Hill, based on historic insights and a substantial number of fieldwork interviews (conducted in 1998). Krochmal (2010) discusses the centre's functions as the *profanum* dimensions in the service of *sacrum*. The work also provides statistics on the pilgrimage movement and public relations channels. The aim of the study by Sekerdej et al. (2007) was to enquire into the reasons for Licheń's enormous popularity and its burgeoning status. They see Licheń as representing a new mode of pilgrimage and of being a pilgrim, which, in contrast to the traditional mode, frequently resembles tourism (Sekerdej et al. 2007: 434). Furthermore, pilgrims often treat the site as a leisure centre rather than a sacred space. Sekerdej et al. also point out a crucial feature of Licheń as a pilgrimage centre: the affirmation of national identity, which stands apart from traditional affirmations of religious identity (Sekerdej et al. 2007: 434).

Haładewicz-Grzelak (forth.) offers a qualitative analysis of the phenomenological space of the Licheń pilgrimage centre. It was posited there that in Licheń several types of boundary collapse occur. One of them is a blurring of the boundary between *sacrum* (the sacred) and *profanum* (the profane). This blurring was exemplified in a semiotic analysis of sculptures usually referred to as "small religious monuments:" wayside shrines (cf. Popp 2004; Kowalski 1994). These theoretical results were corroborated by the results of an empirical test administered to students of the Politechnika Opolska [Technological University in Opole] in 2010, and reported in Haładewicz-Grzelak, Lubos-Kozieł (forthcoming). Out of 113 valid answers (group T), 50 people indicated that they had actually been to the centre as pilgrims. These individuals formed a new analytic group (Group L) for the second stage of the analysis. A statistical count was next run to single out those respondents from Group L who had a positive recognition index for the Holy Icon of Licheń. The results were significant: only 10 people out of the group, exactly 20%, correctly recognized the Holy Icon in the coat (riza). The recognition rate for group T was a little over 15%. This revealed a general tendency: a visit to the centre augmented the recognition rate for the holy painting by only 5%, which is a statistically negligible result.

The present discussion builds on these insights, attempting to semantically map the relations between traditional wayside shrines and the sculptural objects that are abundantly located throughout the Licheń centre. The semantic differential (henceforth SD) was chosen as the analytical tool for carrying out such a mapping. Our

purpose was to establish how these sculptural objects, which function as containers of the sacred, are socially experienced by young adults in terms of the religious variable and social competency. By sampling the attitudes of a specific cohort of respondents, this research can be placed within the broader realm of theorizing sacredness (cf. e.g. Blain & Wallis 2004) and the study of religiousness and sacralization in post-modern society (cf. e.g. Snow et al. 2010; Poethig 2002; Cowan 2005; Callahan 1999). To this aim, there are two databases for the study. The first is a collection of photos documenting the sculptures located at the spiritual centre in Licheń (collected by MHG and JLK in 12–14 September 2010), while the second consists of a set of 100 questionnaires administered to undergraduate students of Opole University of Technology in October–December 2011.

Our analysis will benefit from considering the dyad 'vernacular' versus 'skeuomorphic'. Porphyrios (1997 [1983]) assumes that, notwithstanding the superficial associations with rusticity that the concept of 'vernacular' evokes, its basic meaning is different: "The idea of vernacular has nothing to do with stylistics. […] The essential meaning of vernacular refers to straightforward construction, to the rudimentary building of shelter, an activity that exhibits reason, efficiency, economy, durability and pleasure" (Porphyrios 1997 [1983]: 179–80) as cited in Evans & Humphrey 2002: 191). As Evans & Humphrey (2002) further stipulate, "'a vernacular', if that term has any validity at all, must relate architectural processes to a given social and technological context. It is then the practical expression in built form of the habitus of social groups. The vernacular is always ordinary and it may even be ugly (Venturi et al., 2000 [1972]) but it cannot be divorced from the experiences and emotional associations of viable everyday life" (Evans & Humphrey 2002: 191). Skeuomorphs, on the other hand, as Evans & Humphrey (2002) further put it, are artifacts which are meant to evoke the appearance of objects made of other materials. They may involve transformation of previously functional features into decorative ones: "Skeuomorphic architecture is thus likely to spin away from the vernacular, whether vernacular is understood in the direct sense or in the transcendental form" (Evans & Humphrey 2002: 192). The authors further distinguish between the sense of a 'mythic order' and symbolism that may assume many contingent forms: "The skeuomorph cannot be seen to 'stand on its own' (of course, no object in fact does this), but inserts itself into relationality from the beginning by virtue of its pretending to be something else" (Evans & Humphrey 2002: 193). Positing that the sculptures of Licheń are examples of skeuomorphic objects, we inquire into cognitive relations that this status implies.[8]

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[8] The issues of contemporary religious venues and faith in contemporary (consumerist) culture have been addressed from a variety of perspectives. For example, Snow et al (2010), using multisite team approach, examine ethnographically how megachurches go about attracting new members and retaining existing ones. They also provide an overview of scholarly literature that has sought to account for the recent growth of megachurches. Blain—Wallis (2004) study the sacralization process on 'pagan' sites, such as Avebury or Stonehenge: "Rather than look at this as matters of 'right' and 'wrong' approaches to megaliths, we are asking why and how sites are considered as sacred; how this perception contrasts with the 'preservation ethos' of heritage management—if it does, how and why 'sacredness' and 'heritage' become important constituents of British culture today" (Blain—Wallis 2004: 239). The authors conclude that "it is vital that the term 'sacred' continues to be theorized, contested and negotiated, that a single meaning is not 'set in stone'" (Blain—Wallis 2004: 257).

The work also incorporates a quantitative study of the religious variable.[9] For this purpose, we use the dyad developed by Mircea Eliade of *the sacrum / profanum* dimension (Eliade 1957).[10] As pointed out by Tokarski, Eliade considered this dichotomy to be phenomenological. The sacred is an irreducible nucleus found in all historic religious phenomena. It is co-substantial with being and for this reason the sacred is considered indispensable. Loss of the idea of the *sacrum* would be suicidal for a nation (Tokarski 1988: XV). Hence, for Eliade the basis of any religion is a dialectic between the sacred and the profane (myth and history; the cosmos and chaos; the real and the unreal). It is crucial to note that, according to Eliade, the *sacrum* is a real dimension (in other words, real as an intentional object), while the *profanum* is paramount to a proper understanding the sacred. Particular manifestations of the sacred are called 'hierophanies' by Eliade (Tokarski 1988: XVI). Saliba further observes that in Eliade's oeuvre, man—a temporal, earthbound being—"cannot have direct access to the sacred, which is transcendent. Man's knowledge of the sacred is therefore not completely the result of man's endeavours" (Saliba 1976: 54). Similarly, sacred time is momentary (eternal), while profane time has duration, history and a past (Saliba 1976: 59). In our study, while making use of the sacred / profane dichotomy in trying to map some aspects of religious attitudes, we posit a gradient and dynamic, rather than a static and binary nature, for religious variables, which could be inscribed by two processes: sacralization and desacralization.

Functional, Structural and Material Description of the Analyzed Objects

It is generally agreed that wayside shrines are one of the means of marking apotropoeic boundaries. They are at the same time an expression of votive and imploring gestures, and also they can become permanent witnesses of such gestures (Kowalski 1994: 80ff). Wayside shrines have been studied from a variety of perspectives. While an art historian looks for expression of artistic form or transfer of rustic elements, an ethnographer or a religious studies scholar would be interested in the contents (e.g. details of peasant life as reflected in the cult) (Popp 2004: 10f). That is why wayside shrines are often defined as small religious artistic monuments, witnesses of rustic piousness as well as harbingers of artistic processes in folk art (Popp 2004: 24). Krasuski (1983) assumes that wayside shines and crosses function as signs of the segmentation of space in Polish traditional rural culture. Krasuski's

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[9] For example, see King & Hunt (1990), who worked within the context of the congregational involvement of mainline U.S. Protestant Christianity; Roof et al.'s (1977) study among American undergraduate students suggests three underlying factors, labeled as "value of religious efforts," "value of difficult experience," "the basic human condition" . The scholars have also checked the interrelations of these factors with more traditional aspects of American religiosity.

[10] Actually, Eliade accepted Roger Caillois's definition of 'the sacred' as being in opposition to 'the profane'. Létourneau (1997) recalls that for example Durkheim chose the category of *sacré* rather than that of *divin* or *surnaturel*: "la catégorie de sacré est plus large que celle de surnaturel ou de divin; dans la mesure où elle est englobante, elle est pour moi à situer dans la catégorie du comprehensif. Il s'agit d'une catégorie interprétative" (Létourneau 1997: 313).

theory is motivated first of all by the topological proprieties of crosses and way-side shrines. He shows that places marked by a wayside shrine are, in a sense, special in a cosmogonic direction: either particularly dangerous (hence, for exam-ple, the shape of the cross was to counteract the 'bad' cross of a crossroads or functioned as hierophanies) or particularly laden with sacrum connotations (Kra-suski 1986: 225).

The size of a wayside shrine can vary. Shrines in the middle of a village can be quite big, resembling a small church or chapel, but their function is also somewhat different than a 'standard' wayside shrine: this central shrine serves as a starting point for processions and, in fact, numerous 'open-air' religious celebrations in a village take place around them, rather than in the church (Krasuski 1986). The usual height of a wayside shrine is about that of an adult person. The materials from which they are constructed also vary. In Poland or in Germany, shrines are usually made of sandstone or wood. A wayside shrine usually consists of a small plinth onto which a small niche chamber is placed with a plaster cast effigy of the Madonna or a particular saint (see e.g. Seweryn 1958; Popp 2004). The figure inside the chamber is usually quite small, with an average size of about 30 cm. On this chamber, a bigger cross with the crucified Christ is mounted. There is also a small restricted area (in our interpretation, a palpable boundary of the sacrum, *hortus conclusus*) around the wayside shrine, which can be marked by growing flowers and/or a small fence, or by strips fastened to the figure and extending towards the sides. In the taxonomy expounded in Evans & Humphrey (2002), they can be called vernacular objects, still possessing a transparent function in the religious system.

In analytical terms, this type of small religious monument, the traditional wayside shrine (hereafter 'WS'), was assumed to be the neutral, zero level—Type 0, and selected specimens are shown in Fig. 1.

Fig. 1.

Examples of 'canonical' Polish wayside shrines, photos taken in the region of Upper Silesia.
Very often shrines bear inscriptions in German, even in the Fraktur font. Shrines could also be erected as an act of gratitude or commemoration of a past event (cf. right). This did not influence their topological properties or the aspectual properties. Photos: MHG.

Licheń's sculptural specimens (LSE) were analytically positioned with relation to the vernacular Type 0 so as to capture the diversity in their material structure. Altogether we singled out four types of artifacts.

As Evans & Humphrey point out, skeuomorphs involve a citation from the original context, "a cipher of cultures and icons of identity" (Evans & Humphrey 2002: 190). In this connection, two first types that were singled out are the direct reflection of a traditional wayside shrine and their properties are juxtaposed in Table 1. The two remaining types, rather than recalling wayside shrines, recall sculptural decoration, of differing degree of religious (sacrum) reference. The resulting typology is suggested as follows:

Type 1 consists of large (size of an adult person or larger) white cast figurines placed inside spaces that normally feature only a wayside shrine. In terms of their structural description, there is contextual (topological) agreement with traditional wayside shrines (WS) but there is also constructional difference. Type 2 includes sculptural specimens in the form of huge, usually marble, multi-storey chambers. These chambers recall the niche in a traditional wayside shrine (cf. Fig. 1). There is topological (contextual) difference, but also constructional agreement and recursiveness. The detailed material and topological specification of these two types is juxtaposed against a traditional wayside shrine in Table 1. The classification of the remaining types is based on an ideological abstraction: the amount of religious content in a particular representation.

Type 3 is a mixed type proposed to contain both religious and secular content in the semiotic specification of the *topos*, intermingled with elements of wayside shrines in some cases. We propose including in this category, for example, figures of angels, since in contemporary culture they have become somewhat symbolic and dissociated from purely religious content. The sculptures in question are all made of white plaster cast, are anonymous, and were executed in late 1980s.[11] It could be noticed that there is no categorical difference between type 1 and type 3, the division rather implies gradient salience. We based our preliminary classification on the relative prominence of the sculptural aspect in type 3 specimens as compared to the prominence of the wayside shrine in types 1 and 2.

Type 4 is a straightforward purely secular sculpture, which can be placed in a *sacrum* context (e.g. near a quasi-shrine). The common feature is again their white colour, and large dimensions.[12] The purely secular type in the database is represented, for example, by a sculpture of Wicenty Witos, or by sculptures placed

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[11] There is one emblematic author of sculptures at the Licheń centre who is explicitly mentioned by name in guides and elaborations on Licheń, namely Olga Bajkowska, who supposedly authored the bulk of the adornments on Licheń's Golgotha Hill (excluded from analysis here). However, Kwiatkowska-England (2007) concludes what follows (gloss): "I did not manage to acquire any information on the artistic background, date of birth or any other realizations executed by Ms Bajkowska. Although she signed herself as an artist-sculptor [e.g. an inscription inside the Ascension Cave], it cannot be established which art school she graduated from. Basing on the correspondence I had with Ms Sylwia Czyżewska and Ms Irena Wawrzyniak (…), I learnt that, unfortunately, Ms Bajkowska is dead. Licheń's Golgotha *in extenso* was designed by Fr. Makulski (MIC) and the sculptures were made *in situ*, by hand. Notwithstanding, neither any of the ladies nor the priest custodian appear to know anything on Ms Bajkowska, although the latter must have stayed in touch with her for several years (judging by the dates of the construction of Golgotha)" (Kwiatkowska-England 2007: 37). As far as the plethora of other sculptured elements in Licheń is concerned, their authorship is usually nowhere mentioned. A notable exception is one of the monuments of John Paul II, erected in front of Licheń Basilica. As Kwiatkowska-England (2007) points out, the monument came into being on the initiative of a managing director of one of Poland's construction companies and it is authored by Marian Konieczny. Since its unveiling in 1999 it has been arousing controversies. It shows the Pope who is receiving from the hands of the kneeling priest custodian (Fr. Makulski) a model of the Basilica. The tympanum features a frieze showing believers in procession with gifts, amongst them also a carving of the managing director and of Basilica's architect—Barbara Bielecka (Kwiatkowska-England 2007: 47).

[12] There is also another type of sculpture in Licheń: colored, roughed representations of villains connected with the history of Christianity or history of Poland. This subsumes for example, Nazis torturing the priest Maximilian Kolbe or soldiers torturing Jesus. We decided to exclude these sculptures from the analysis as

in chapel of *Męczeństwa i Bohaterstwa polskiego narodu* 'martyrdom and heroism of the Polish nation,' e.g. of Gen. Władysław Sikorski.

Out of the corpus documenting the four types, 11 specimens, representing types 0–4 were chosen for the instrument. They are presented in Fig 2 in miniature. No information about the authorship was available for any of the objects. No. 1 includes a monument of Wicenty Witos (1874–1945), who was leader of the People's Party (*Stronnictwo Ludowe*), an agrarian populist party, and a politician and activist of great merit to the Polish state. Marciniak established that the sculpture was made in 1988 (Marciniak 1998: 30). The politician is carrying crops to stress his agrarian affiliation and is accompanied by two children, one in uniform. There is a banner behind him. We classified the sculpture as a straightforward type 4 (purely secular) due to the lack of any religious attribute in the composition. (photo: JLK). No. 2 is a canonical form of a traditional wayside shrine (type 0), cf. Fig. 1, taken in the region of Silesia (Poland). No. 3. is a shrine located in the Lichen cemetery. It is made of granite and recursively features four chambers (the two upper ones could not be fit into the picture, source: MHG). In the upper chamber, there is a plaster-cast figure of Madonna, and in the lowest one, the figure of a bishop. The whole is profusely adorned with plaster vases containing artificial flowers (type 2).

No. 4 is placed about 10 km from Licheń Stary village, in Izabelin, opposite the house where one of the visionaries, Tomasz Kłossowski, used to live (right, photo: JLK). The figure of Kłossowski placed inside the *sacrum* space is much taller than an average adult. Furthermore, Kłossowski was never officially proclaimed a saint or blessed, which means in practice that a lay person is 'encapsulated' inside a sacred space usually reserved for the figures of saints for worship. There is also an internal sub-*sacrum* space inside the confines of the 'main' shrine: behind Kłossowski there is a representation of a shrine. This figure, like the previous one, contains quite a few examples of a recursive algorithm. The shrine inside the encircled space contains one of the copies of Matka Boska Licheńska (the Holy Icon of Licheń). However, these copies recur twice more in the sculptural concatenation under inspection: it can be noticed that Tomasz Kłossowski has a medallion around his neck with an effigy of the Licheń Madonna, and he is also holding a plaster-cast copy of the painting of the Holy Icon. This makes three separate, different representations of the Holy Icon within one 'shrine'.

No. 5 is a type 3 artifact, a concatenation featuring two angels adoring a figure of Christ Enthroned, below which a cast of the *Virituti Militari* order is placed (Lat. 'military virtue, DAT.). The order, the highest Polish military decoration, is definitely not a religious theme. No. 6 was classified as a secular (type 4) sculpture, placed in Licheń's recreational pond. Three dolphins are supporting a chalice-fountain, which

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semiotically different from the rest of the analyzed materials: they do not fall into any of the pre-established types (not even *type 4*) and could be assumed to be their opposites: both in terms of the facture of the sculpture (hyper-rough not sleek), and the 'devil' like and hyper-ugly features of the villains. Perhaps it was not a totally justified move (for example, they could have been included in the instruments as specimens of type 5) but at this stage we have already had too many variables in the choice of the materials that we decided to leave the sacrum dynamics of the (Christianity) villains for future study.

Fig. 2

The Set of Stimuli Contained in the Instrument

No. 1

No. 2

No. 3

No. 4

No. 5

No. 6

No. 7

No. 8

No. 9

No. 10

No. 11

No. 12

could be a skeumorphic citation of a liturgical object. No. 7 (type 3) can be considered a mixed type among the semantically amorphous type 3 objects. It consists of a set of huge white cast sculptures placed near a crossroads on one of Licheń's walls. As such,

Table 1

Contrastive Specification of the Material Description of Licheń's Small Religious Monuments

	Similarities to Type 0	Differences from Type 0
Type 1	— topological similarity: placed near a bend in the road or at the crossroads. — possess elements of a traditional wayside shrine, with an encircled space around it, determining the border between *sacrum* and *profanum*, adornments in the form of flowers or ribbons.	— augmented size: encapsulate sculptures of the size of an adult person or larger (a small chamber in a WS usually contains a sculpture of about 30–40 cm high) — lack of colour: cast figures in WS's are always coloured. Type 1 segments are immaculately white. — people who were never officially proclaimed saints or blessed appear inside the encircled sacred space in Type 1 LSE (e.g. Tomasz Kłossowski, one of the supposed Licheń visionaries). — in a traditional wayside shrine, devotional figures never occur OUTSIDE the shrine.
Type 2	Similar constructional order: chambered construction	— augmented size (e.g. the figures in subsequent chambers of the constructs in Fig. 4 are about the height of a human being), — topological difference: LSE 2 are placed in locations where a traditional shrine would never occur, e.g. a cemetery, near a pond[a] — recursiveness: both the chambers themselves and the thematic features of a shrine are multiplied in this type. Chambers are mounted one over another, hence their number is at least double, and usually, triple that of a traditional shrine, where canonically one small chamber occurs. — church officials who were never officially proclaimed saints or blessed appear inside the space for devotional figures in Type 2 LSE (e.g. bishops).

[a] Constructs that might look like a wayside shrine in the Licheń centre are placed in locations where no 'living / traditional' wayside shrine would be erected, such as in a cemetery or at the edge of a pond. For example, during Cross Days, processions are held in Poland to wayside shrines and road crosses, with flowers and joyful singing, praying for blessing at work and plentiful crops. It cannot possibly be envisaged that such a procession would be held at a cemetery or in boats on a recreational pond.

it possesses the features of all the types distinguished so far: it has the topological features of a shrine (placed at a cross-roads, or near a corner of a property), contains huge, white sculptures of both saints and angels, and has a multi-chambered structure.

No. 8 (type 1) is a wayside shrine placed on a crossroads about 20 km from Licheń. Theoretically, it has all the elements of a vernacular shrine, except for its size: a person roughly 170 cm in height reaches the knee of the Madonna (photo: MHG). Also, the chamber with the figure is the most prominent part, whereas the chamber is usually small or omitted altogether, with the most prominent element being the hierophantic cross. There is, however, a multiplicity of decorative elements can be encountered in

a traditional wayside shrine, though never all at once. For example, ribbons are placed on the shrines only on special occasions when a religious festivity is held (e.g., Cross days), so they are not 'staple' decorations. Flags are never placed on a vernacular wayside shrine. The specimen in question has two: one is the national flag of Poland and the other is the flag of Licheń, although historically, Licheń has never been a town, and thus is not entitled to a flag.

No. 9 (type 2) is one of the multi-chambered, granite shrines, placed nearby a recreational pond behind the sculpture with dolphins. We can see a fisherman in the lowest chamber as a skeuomorphic reference to St. Peter. The photo was taken from a path used by tourists/pilgrims: as can be seen, there is no physical way to approach the shrine in order, for example, to offer fresh flowers or pray near it. No. 10 (type 0) is an example of a wayside shrine (photo: MHG, taken in the region of Silesia, Poland); however, it seems more recent than the 19th century specimen in no. 2. Since it is made of cement and much taller than a traditional wayside shrine, we can hypothesize that the vernacular element may be much weaker than in no. 2, while instead, the institutionalized dimension is underscored (strong, orderly fence, an almost sterile design and surroundings). The last artifact is a Licheń shrine, (posited type 2). There are several alleys in Licheń with votive texts. The shrine in question, funded by war veterans, is placed in one such alley, in a row of other votive shrines funded by various trade chambers. It is made of various types of marble, it is huge, and in the top chamber there is a white plaster-cast figure of Christ enthroned, with all the space of the plinth being taken up by votive inscriptions and the full names of the founders of the shrine.

Methodology and Research Procedure

Whenever we encounter something in the world, we respond affectively to it. Our affective response derives from a combination of innate biological dispositions and environmentally situated learning. The semantic differential (SD) was developed by Osgood and colleagues during the 1940s and 1950s as a means of measuring this affective response to stimuli. The basic principle is straightforward: respondents are asked to rate a stimulus on a set of bipolar scales (e.g. *pleasant–unpleasant; strong–weak; fast–slow*) and the average responses to the scales across the set of rated stimuli are factor analyzed to derive a simpler set of affective dimensions. Numerous studies have suggested that sets of scales primarily reduce down to two or three more basic dimensions, regardless of culture or domain. The first dimension—nearly always present—is one of evaluation. The second dimension that usually appears is typically one of dynamism, which may, however, sometimes also appear as two separate dimensions of potency and activity. These basic dimensions also crop up repeatedly in other contexts—for instance, in studies of personality adjectives and motivation (e.g. Saucier & Goldberg 2001; Wojciszke, Abele & Baryla 2009). Studies combining the semantic differential with neuroimaging and EEG strongly support the validity of this model of affective response (Skrandies 2004; Schaefer & Rotte 2010). Depending

on the set of scales presented to respondents, other domain-specific dimensions of meaning may also be extracted, although the basic two or three dimensions are almost universally present.

The labelling of the two or three dimensions can vary from study to study. Evaluation, potency, and activity are Osgood's labels and commonly used for the three-dimensional model. However, these also map quite closely onto the earlier theory of Wilhelm Wundt (cf. Reisenzein 2000). For the two-dimensional model, other labels have been suggested: e.g., social competence vs potency or, from a more psychoanalytic perspective, mother vs father (see Schaefer & Rotte 2010).

The investigation reported in this paper involved sampling subjects on adjective scales presented with respect to 11 visual texts, representing sculptures at Licheń pilgrimage centre plus two traditional small religious monuments to compare. The respondents both for the pilot study and for the main study were students of Opole University of Technology (Politechnika Opolska), aged between 21–23 with no linguistic, semiotic or religious studies background at all. They were chosen at random from standard departments of a University of Technology, following typical specializations as e.g. Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Civil Engineering, Management, Production Engineering or Physical Education.[13] They were not sampled to represent any specific population. The sample consists of students born and raised in the region, mainly Catholic in the religious background. Such a selection could be representative of average Polish undergraduate population from middle-sized and smaller towns and villages.[14]

Subjects filled the questionnaire individually in electronic format. A computer with copies of the questionnaire was placed during their classes in the classroom and a researcher was present to clarify possible queries. In this way, the respondents did not lose their class time nor did they devote their personal free time to the questionnaire.

[13] Politechnika Opolska [Opole University of Technology] places about in the middle of Polish national ranking of universities. Opole is a middle sized town, about 110 000 inhabitants but the students mainly come from smaller localities surrounding the city. Hence, the respondents can be assumed of coming from a homogenous background of smaller towns and villages. Another crucial supposition is that in Poland the Catholic religion is predominant (the exact percentages of inhabitants admitting to being a Catholic vary with different sources but according to GUS statistics it is about 96% cf. footnote 2). Hence, even if a particular respondent was a not particularly religious person, we assume that Catholic monuments are actually part of cultural heritage in Poland rather than purely religious heritage, hence the recognition rate and evaluation thereof should not be influenced by religious convictions (religiosity).

[14] As an anonymous reviewer points out, such an assumption can be questionable, since studies on for example religiosity (e.g. Libiszowska 1991) show that there are differences connected with the type of education (*humanities* versus *sciences*). To this charge we would respond that the range of departments included in the sample was chosen in order to avoid a typically 'hardcore' technological bias: students of typically 'technological' departments (e.g. Machine Construction, Mechatronics, etc.) were only a small percentage of the sample. On the other hand, a considerable portion of the respondents were students of Physical Education, which is definitely not a science-oriented field of study. Also, programmes in Economics, Management, Administration, and Food Technology are usually present in both Polish universities and polytechnics, so it is hard to say that they reflect either type (most crucially, students do not get a title of B.Sc having completed these, but only BA). For this reason, we would maintain, with a certain dose of conventionality, that the sample was representative, conceding (on the basis of previous empirical work done by the second author on the iconography of Saint Nicholas) that perhaps a typically humanities profile (languages, cultural studies, psychology, arts etc.) might place higher on the Catholic religious affiliation, but there should not be significant difference in the responses to the main body of the questionnaire.

We also wanted to give each person exactly the time they needed to answer fully without hustle or looking at the peers. The target number of replies was set at 100, ideally featuring 50 female and 50 male respondents. In reality, the total amount of respondents exceeded 120: a lot of questionnaires were invalid due to incorrect filling (e.g. missing replies, or double crossing a scale). The respondents were not told where the sculptures come from (all except two from the Licheń spiritual centre) and they never asked for the provenience of the stimuli. The answers were annotated into a spreadsheet and subjected to statistical calculations.

The instrument was of a standard format, featuring two introductory pages, an example page, and 11 pages with stimulus concepts: each stimulus concept was contained on one page beside 20 identical sets of scales. Prior to the main survey, participants in the study completed a set of questions on introductory pages. They were asked, for example, to specify their sex[15] and to answer a question about their denominational affiliation on a three-level scale adapted from Muthén et al. (1977: 279).[16] This was a collateral question, aimed at delimitating the background of our respondents, and the answers did not affect in any way the subsequent research procedure, although it proved to be important in the analysis of the correlation of the *sacrum* content and evaluation. We were interested only in whether the respondents claimed a Catholic denominational identity, and if not, whether they claimed any other denominational identity or whether they were atheists was of no relevance. We assumed that since the artifacts were taken from a Catholic centre, it would be interesting to additionally control for the number of subjects identifying with the Catholic milieu as such.

The results on this collateral criterion were somewhat surprising. As mentioned before, of the set of 100 valid responses, there were 50 male and 50 female students. Their religious affiliation patterns were as represented in Table 2 and 3. Our results differ slightly from official statistics (cf. above), but we have to consider our having measured a particular societal slicing: young educated respondents from middle-sized towns rather than the entire country's population.

At first glance, it might seem that the results exceeded expectations as far as the religious affiliation declarations of Polish young adults are concerned. At this point, we cannot offer an explanation for the high rate of the declarations of Catholic affiliation among our respondents. One possible reason could be the structuring of the sample

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[15] This question, as well as the structuring of the sample (consisting of equal numbers of men and women) was aimed at controlling for a possible variegation of replies according to the gender of the respondents. However, at this stage of the analysis of the final results, we found no statistically significant difference between the affective attitudes to the artifacts in question between men and women.

[16] The exact question was: *Czy uważasz sie za katolika? Proszę zaznacz na trzystopniowej skali (2) wg klucza: tak / raczej tak / nie"* [gloss: do you consider yourself a Catholic? Please annotate your answer on a three level scale: yes / rather yes / no] (points on the scale: 2–1–0). As an anonymous reviewer points out, this was a question about religious affiliation rather than religiosity as such: a question about group membership. We absolutely agree with this comment. The difference is crucial: religious affiliation is rather passive and associated with social identity—e.g. a lot of people in the UK, if asked to state their religion on a form (for instance), would say "Church of England," even if they had not set foot inside a church for years (apart from attending weddings and funerals) and possibly even if they did not really believe in God. Religiosity (or religiousness) is more about active practice and belief—what people actually do (e.g. how often they pray, or meditate, etc.)—and can include aspects of spirituality that fall outside of organized religion (or the person's stated affiliation). See also Piwowarski (1998).

Table 2

Religious Affiliation Profile of the Cohort of the Respondents
(right: an example of affiliation structure for female respondents)

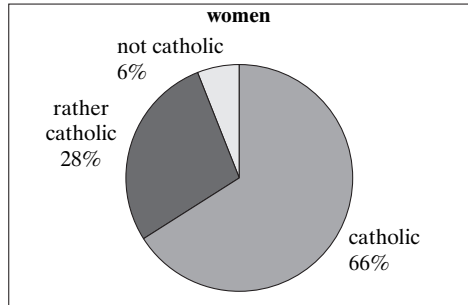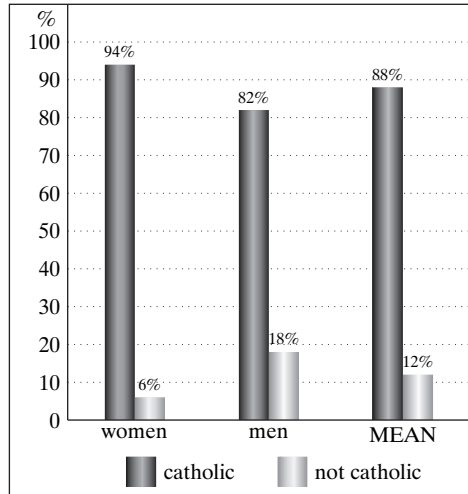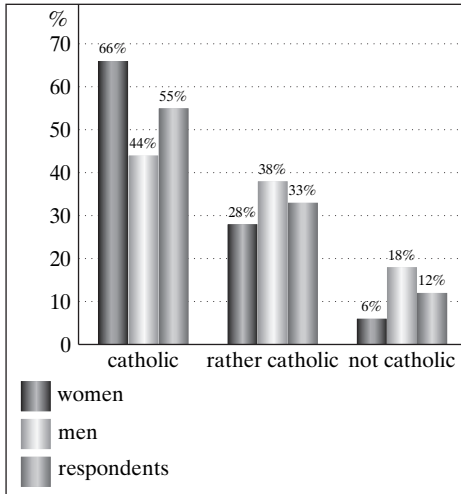| RELGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE RESPONDENTS			
	catholic	rather catholic	not catholic
women	66%	28%	6%
men	44%	38%	18%
respondents	55%	33%	12%

Table 3

Column charts plotting the results
(left): a detailed breakdown, with the average (as 'respondents');
(right): a categorical chart, showing a divide: either a Catholic or not

as such, which consisted mainly of inhabitants of smaller localities in Silesia. Perhaps the religiosity of the inhabitants of smaller localities is higher than average, perhaps it is a question of the stronger feeling of religious affiliation of the inhabitants of the Silesian region.

On the other hand, a more detailed look at our data generally captures the dynamics of Catholic affiliation among young adults. The key is the intermediate option, which we included, following Muthén et al., in our questionnaire (a 'rather yes' option). The total count (that is, including 'yes' and 'rather yes'), does indeed yield high numbers, exceeding on average 90% (cf. table 3). However, if we count only the 'yes' option for whether people were actively involved in religious issues, then the count

is even lower than official statistics. The data could thus be interpreted as including a margin of people ('rather yes' option) who are gradually becoming less involved in religious issues as such, but prefer to retain their Catholic affiliation. A collateral finding evident from the graph is that it can be seen that women consider usually themselves more Catholic; however, among men there is a much larger tendency to avoid commitment in religiosity declarations: the part of the graph where the answer was 'rather yes' is much larger in the case of male respondents than with female ones.

As far as the adjective scales themselves are concerned, these were presented in the instrument in random order and in a systematized direction.[17] The 20 adjective scales (using the usual bipolar, seven-point format) were chosen according to the following criteria: (a) a pilot study run in May 2011 on 24 respondents, (b) from the earlier research of Andrew Wilson (marker variables) (e.g. 1997, 2005, 2006, 2007), an earlier study by Muthén (1977), (c) earlier theoretical research by Haładewicz-Grzelak on the venue. The scales (as translated from Polish) were as follows: active–passive, Catholic–non-Catholic, muted–emotional, pleasant–unpleasant, nationalistic–not nationalistic, friendly–aloof, heavy–light, sacral–not sacral, unusual–commonplace, discreet–obtrusive, strong–weak, nice–repulsive, homely–unfamiliar, progressive–conservative, alive–lifeless, attractive–unattractive, blatant–muted, religious–unreligious, happy–sad.

The stimulus concepts (in the form of the visual material in colour) were a subset of documentation collected September 12–14, 2010 by the first author and Joanna Lubos-Kozieł at the venue during joint fieldwork. The final selection was arrived at after the results of the pilot study in May 2011, and the set is shown in Fig. 2. The rationale for the final selection of photos was to set off the gradient between the sacred and profane in specific categories of material artifacts which were preestablished during the theoretical part of the research.

As we observed earlier, Osgood's original Evaluation-Potency-Activity dimensions are sometimes conflated (most frequently into two dimensions corresponding to Evaluation and Dynamism); furthermore, additional dimensions may prove to be present in studies of particular domains. Therefore, rather than assuming that the original set of experimental scales can be combined into the three dimensions of Evaluation, Potency, and Activity, it is safer for the first stage of the research to determine empirically the associative structure of the area under investigation by means of an exploratory factor analysis.

The data were therefore loaded into the program of Hogenraad & David (1971) and subjected to a between-items principal axis factor analysis with varimax rotation. In line with the best current practice in factor analysis, a number of criteria were set for performing this analysis. First, it was ensured that all of the communalities exceeded 0.6, since "if communalities are high, recovery of population factors in sample data is normally very good, almost regardless of sample size, level of overdetermination, or the presence of model error" (MacCallum, Widaman, Preacher &

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[17] for a detailed discussion on the directionality of the scales, cf. Dickson—Albaum 1975, available at http://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/display.asp?id=5778 (date of access: September 2011).

Hong, 2001: 636)—"high" here meaning "probably all greater than .6" (MacCallum, Widaman, Zhang & Hong, 1999: 96). This led to the retention of just eight out of the original twenty scales in the factor analysis. Second, it was ensured that the extracted factors contained at least three variables (i.e. scales) with loadings higher than 0.6, since "a factor with fewer than three items is generally weak and unstable" (Costello & Osborne, 2005: 5). Ideally, "if components possess four or more variables with loadings above .60, the pattern may be interpreted whatever the sample size used" (Guadagnoli & Velicer 1988: 274). With our small number of retained variables, we were not able to satisfy this criterion on both factors; however, three variables on both factors had loadings greater than 0.6, and, on the first factor, a further fourth variable came close to meeting the criterion, with a loading of 0.586. Applying these criteria allowed us to extract two factors, both of which had eigenvalues greater than 2, thus also more than satisfying the Kaiser criterion that all retained factors should have eigenvalues greater than 1. Although factor analysis can extract up to $N - 1$ factors, where N is the number of variables entered into the analysis, the remaining factors did not satisfy the Kaiser criterion, as well as failing on our other criteria.

The three highest loading scales on each factor were averaged into dimension scores using Hogenraad & David's program (1971). The two dimensions were Evaluation (pleasant, friendly, nice) and Religiousness (catholic, sacral, religious). The fourth high-loading scale on the first factor was disregarded, since this program does not allow the use of dimensions with unequal scale contributions. Hogenraad & David's program was also used to extract three statistical measures of the ratings of the 11 images on the two scales:

1. The *dimension score* (also known as the *composite factor score*), the actual mean rating of an item on a dimension. This takes on a value between -3 and $+3$.
2. The *distance from the origin*, a measure of how meaningful (i.e. intensely rated) an item is. This the square root of the sum of the squares of the dimension scores and thus, in the present case of two dimensions, takes on a value between 0 and $\sqrt{3^2 + 3^2} = 4.243$.
3. The *cultural instability*, a measure of the homogeneity/heterogeneity of the ratings of an item. It is calculated from the absolute deviations of the group mean from the mid-point of the scales (the group polarity) and the absolute deviations of each individual subject from the mid-point of the scales (the individual polarity). Subtracting the group polarity from the individual polarity gives the cultural instability, which also takes on a value between -3 and $+3$. Higher values of cultural instability correspond to greater disagreement (heterogeneity) in ratings.

To help distinguish patterns on these measures, we used a 95% confidence interval to divide the individual measurements into low, average, and high levels. Values above the upper limit of the confidence interval were considered "high" and values below the lower limit were considered "low." (For a similar procedure, see Fleischer 2003). However, the absolute value of a measurement also needs to be taken into account when interpreting the results, since the high/low bands are relative only to the sample mean and not to the total range of the measure.

Results and Discussion

In designing the instrument, we assumed that secular objects (secular in terms of their semiotic and representational content) would most probably be perceived as being low in terms of religiousness. What we wanted to determine was the correlation of the religious variable with the other three factors. Also, assuming that SD as an analytical tool locates the concepts in semantic space, we were interested in where particular items would be located within this space: which of the sacred objects would place highest on the religiousness[18] scale and which lower, and whether there would be any transfer of the sacred aspect onto secular representations and vice versa. The results of the statistical calculations can be briefly summarized as in Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4

95% CI for means:

Factor 1	0.599–1.112
Factor 2	0.535–2.489
Cultural Instability	0.266–0.461
Distance from origin	1.929–2.678

Table 5

Meaning:

|	High scoring images	Low scoring images
Factor 1	6, 8	9, 10, 11
Factor 2	2, 3, 7, 10	6
Instability	1, 9	6, 8
Distance from origin	2, 3, 6, 8, 10	1, 9

The resulting semantic space for Licheń artifacts can thus be drawn as in Fig. 3.

Several crucial conclusions can be inferred from the results. Let us first concentrate on the second factor, religiousness. The highest negative score on the scale was given to the dolphins with the chalice (no. 6), which was close to the highest possible score (-2.307). Negative religiousness results were also obtained for the monument of Wincenty Witos (no. 1), but it might be noticed that this artifact placed quite close to the neutral point, and is perceived as much less 'secular' than no. 6 (-0.910). In our previous structural semiotic discussion, it was established that in purely representational terms, no. 1 did not involve any devotional elements (unless we count the ever-present spotless white colour as connoting the sacred), while no. 6 involved a chalice, which is usually a Catholic symbol for the Eucharist. The results are a clear indication of the skeuomorphic status of the two representations: the chalice functions as a decontextualized grafting (although placed on a sculpture in the largest pilgrimage centre in Poland) and the monument of the politician, which we hypothesized would be perceived as straightforwardly secular, since it does not contain any sacred elements, was cognitively processed as being much less secular, being distanced from no. 6 by more than one point. The results for this group thus went against the expectation that a secular item would be straightforwardly perceived as secular, and a sacred one as sacred.

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[18] This term, or more commonly 'religiosity' is generally used to refer to people—how religious they are (usually in their practices or beliefs).

Fig. 3

A Graphical Representation of the Two Factor Solution
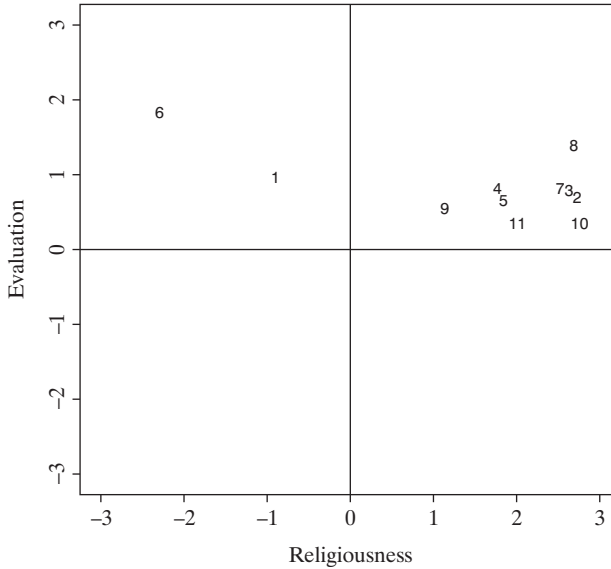
Among the items placed on the positive end of the scale, the shrine with a fisherman (no. 9) stands out at (1.123). The closest neighbour is the monument of Tomasz Kłossowski (no. 4), placing at (1.747). In fact, as evident from the graph, as far the dimension of religiousness is concerned, it forms a sort of cognitive cluster with numbers 5 and 11. Another cognitive cluster with the remaining specimens seems to have formed as well in the case of 7, 2, 11, 3 and 8. It is thus worth asking whether any common semiotic elements could account for the cognitive clustering, which differs from the representational categories suggested above, based on the functional and material description of artifacts. The shrine 'protruding' from the pond could be singled out due to its unusual context, and we could posit that the degree of skeuomorphic grafting is highest here in the group of 'sacred' artifacts. The unusual stony material, the golden colour of the upper figure, and the prominent fishing net in the lower chamber are all alien to the canonical elements of a wayside shrine and from the canonical symbols the currently function in the Catholic religion.

The cognitive cluster of no. 4 and no. 5 could be interpreted as being based on the prominence of white, plaster-cast sculptures, which, however, relatively lack the appropriate context for being perceived as highly *sacrum*. No. 11, which could be interpreted as a clustering of these two items in terms of the *sacrum* factor alone, will be left aside for the moment, since, as can be noticed, it is in fact distanced with regard to the other scale, and we submit that other factors play a crucial role in mapping this artifact. The final group includes the visual texts featured in no.s 7, 3, 2, 10 and 8. No. 2 and no. 10 were not Licheń artifacts but randomly chosen 'vernacular' wayside shrines from a previously collected (2009–2010) database of pictures of Silesian wayside shrines. Both placed at practically the same point on the religiosity scale: the score

for no. 2 was (2.697) and for no. 10 it was (2.749). Their distancing takes place on another dimension, which will be discussed later. No. 8 (a huge plaster-cast figure of the Licheń Madonna) placed only slightly below that, at 2.660 so practically it forms part of the cognitive cluster with 7, 3, 2, and 10. This differs from a representationally based typology since, according to which it should cluster with no. 4, as it features an oversized white plaster-cast figure. The use of the semantic differential as a tool enabled us to refine and deepen the analysis in that it brought to the fore several acts previously disregarded. The white figure of the Madonna, in fact, differs crucially from the white huge figure of Kłossowski: as has been previously mentioned, Kłossowski was never officially proclaimed a saint or blessed by the Catholic Church, although it has never officially disapproved of its saliency in the Licheń cult. Hence, there is a significant difference between 1.747 and 2.660 of one point (see appendix), which was sufficient to place the 8 in a separate cognitive cluster. Also, a purely representational analysis was not able to pattern no. 7 with any of the types. SD unanimously placed it in the 'second' cognitive cluster, together with the vernacular shrines and the Licheń Madonna shrine. Of course, this does not mean that there is a difference between these artifacts, but rather, that differences should be sought in other dimensions, a thread that cannot be pursued in this paper. It must also be taken into account that the respondents were predominantly Catholics, and a separate study could be merited of how respondents with other denominational backgrounds would cluster the stimuli in question. On the other hand, the Lichen pilgrimage centre is targeted specifically at Polish Catholic visitors. At this stage of the analysis, we can also offer no explanation as to why no. 3, which was assumed to be Type 2 in the representational analysis, patterns together with the vernacular wayside shrines. We venture to posit at this point that perhaps the factor at issue here could be the long-established cult of Mary in Poland, which means that all possible representations featuring the Madonna, regardless of the contexts, would be perceived as being high on the religiosity scale.

As an analytical tool, SD provided a confrontational aspect to our hypotheses, most conspicuous in the case of the first factor that surfaced, namely, the evaluation dimension. To recall, the analyzable scales in this factor were: pleasant, friendly, nice. In this area, we also obtained some unexpected results. The highest score was given to the dolphins compositional group (no. 6), which, as can be recalled, patterned highest on the secular dimension (1.840). The next highly evaluated specimen was the Licheń Madonna (no. 8), (1.403). It seems that the results are not accidental, because the third highest was also the second high on *profanum* dimension and the only one that representationally involved purely secular elements: no. 1—the statue of Wicenty Witos—with (0.980). These three could be posited to form a cognitive cluster along the evaluation dimension. At the opposite pole were no. 10 (a vernacular wayside shrine) and no. 11 (a commemorative marble shrine), with (0.377) and (0.383), respectively. The other vernacular shrine did not fare any better, at (0.720). The results clearly show that the perception of the *sacrum* content seems to move in the opposite direction of the evaluation scale. There can be several reasons for this. The denominational / atheist 'animosity' factor should be definitely ruled out since, as showed in the previous section, our respondents were predominantly declared Catholics, hence a 'mutiny' of

the respondents against the mainstream denomination should be ruled out. It could be hypothesized that the issue here is connected with emotional distance. The two items lowest on the evaluation were the most institutionalized and formally elaborated. The figure of Madonna (no. 8), while also being high in religiosity as an epitome of the cult of Mary, also received a high rating. No. 9, the fourth lowest on the evaluation scale at (0.547), also can be explained by taking into account emotional or even physical distance. The shrine in question is on the edge of the pond, and although it still contains considerable *sacrum* content, this is embedded in cold, stony structures, distanced from the recipient by the extending surface of the water.

A structural explanation is also possible. It can be noticed that all three of the highest-rated skeuomorphs involve grafting and enlargement aspects but do not involve recursiveness. That is, they are all relatively clear visual texts, with a clearly defined focus for cognitive processing: dolphins, the figure of Wincenty Witos, and the Madonna. All the remaining skeuomorphs (leaving aside vernacular shrines) involve several layers of recursiveness on various levels (chambers in shrines, figures, or including nationalistic texts).

Also, in terms of the structural dimension, the results seem to fall into two parts: the centre and the periphery. It could be posited that the 'centric' artifacts are those in which the sacred status is somewhat labile and cognitively undecided. The centre is formed by the no.s 1 and 9, and the group 4, 5 and 11; the periphery by no.s 6 and 8, and the group 7, 3, 2 and 10.

Conclusion

The present work was an empirical exploration into the affective attitudes of a specified homogenous cohort of young respondents towards the sacred and the profane as they intertwine in sculptural objects at a contemporary spiritual centre in Licheń. In looking at these objects, we pursued a number of purposes. The most general was an inquiry into some of the societal aspects of megachurches, a phenomenon which is gaining more and more importance in post-modern society. The inquiry concentrated on a fraction of the overall multifaceted impact of a megachurch, namely the semantic mapping of the material artifacts collocated there (sculptures in particular) as perceived by Polish Catholic young adults.[19]

Assuming that the sculptures at the pilgrimage centre in question were meant as containers for the sacred, we used the instrument of semantic differential to expose their cognitive impact. SD showed several possible dimensions for the cognitive processing of a skeuopmorph. It was shown, first of all, that the vernacular can be perceived as ugly and, in our case, evaluated negatively, which could mean that there is an emotional distance to these artifacts. On the other hand, the item posited to have the highest grafting content (the chalice, which apparently was perceived purely as an adornment element) was also the highest on the friendly, nice and pleasant scale.

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[19] As an anonymous reviewer points out, of merit could also be pursuing the results with a follow-up qualitative study, e.g. in the form of interviews. This aspect is left for future research.

As a result, we hope to have shown that the majority of Licheń's sculptures operate as citations of the *sacrum* rather than the *sacrum* itself. This citation can also attach 'à rebours' on purely secular representations, as the monument of Wincenty Witos shows. Evaluation was shown to be connected to emotional distance. The results point to several possibilities for further investigation. First of all, it might be of merit to investigate further the attitudes of young adults in Poland, not only along the coordinate of religious affiliation and affective attitudes to religious artifacts, but also towards religious concepts as such, given that the results from this report were surprising in many dimensions. Also, we hope to point to the need for devoting more attention to the phenomenon of 'megachurches' (in Poland realized as mega-pilgrimage venues), which seem to be a much more intricate phenomenon on a global level, surpassing the question of purely religious issues.

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ANNEX:
Full Calculation Specifications for the Extracted Factors

Table 1

Composite Factor Scores
(F1—evaluation, F2—religiosity)

	Distance from the original	Composite factorial scores Raw		Composite factorial scores standardized	
		F1	F2	F1	F2
1	1.337	0.980	−0.910	0.301	−1.537
2	2.791	0.720	2.697	−0.327	0.752
3	2.719	0.807	2.597	−0.118	0.688
4	1.937	0.837	1.747	−0.045	0.149
5	1.943	0.670	1.823	−0.448	0.198
6	2.951	1.840	−2.307	2.376	−2.424
7	2.630	0.847	2.490	−0.021	0.621
8	3.007	1.403	2.660	1.322	0.729
9	1.249	0.547	1.123	−0.745	−0.247
10	2.749	0.377	2.723	−1.156	0.769
11	2.027	0.383	1.990	−1.140	0.303
sum	25.340	9.410	16.633	—	—
mean	2.304	0.855	1.512	—	—
Standard Deviation	0.604	0.414	1.575	—	—

Table 2

Juxtaposition of the Polarity in the Answers

	Polarity rough		Polarity standardized		Cultural instability	
	individual	group	individual	raw	raw	standardized
1	1.452	0.945	−1.510	−1.361	0.507	0.909
2	2.025	1.708	0.722	0.595	0.317	−0.296
3	1.995	1.702	0.605	0.578	0.293	−0.444
4	1.582	1.292	−1.004	−0.473	0.290	−0.465
5	1.687	1.247	−0.595	−0.588	0.440	0.486
6	2.210	2.073	1.442	1.530	0.137	−1.437
7	1.978	1.668	0.540	0.492	0.310	−0.338
8	2.205	2.032	1.422	1.423	0.173	−1.205
9	1.575	0.835	−1.030	−1.643	0.740	2.389
10	1.930	1.550	0.352	0.189	0.380	0.106
11	1.597	1.187	−0.945	−0.742	0.410	0.296
sum	20.235	16.238	—	—	3.997	—
mean	1.840	1.476	—	—	0.363	—
Standard Deviation	0.257	0.390	—	—	0.158	—