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Urban people
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Review of Anthropology, Ethnology and Ethology of Communication

Thematic issue
THE CITY – IDENTITY – MEMORY

Contents:

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Urban People is an international peer-reviewed anthropological-historical journal for comparative research of the city (primarily European, especially Central European). It focuses on the modern and postmodern city which however, is studied as a product of pre-modern development. The journal strives for a causal explanation of changes experienced by individual cities and their inhabitants. The life of cities is studied in broad political, social and cultural contexts. The journal conceives of the city not only as a certain territory, administrative unit, or place for living and carrying out a profession or other activity; but also as a place which, over the generations, becomes home for people who differ in age, religion, background, etc. and are similar in, e.g., their affiliation with the city.

The aim of this journal, then, is an analysis of attitudes, thoughts, feelings and experiencing of the city by "elite" and ordinary inhabitants. The journal analyzes the identity of a city: its "real" face, its external presentation and the image attributed to it from the outside – by inhabitants of other states, other cities, suburbs, rural areas, etc. The journal declares its relationship to French anthropology's concept of the city and, at the same time, to the Central European accent on the historicity of research. There will be monothematic issues that contain studies, discussions, book reviews and annotations in English or German. The journal places great emphasis on the discussion part which is linked to its articles and current problems of urban anthropology.

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OBJECTIVES AND PROGRAM OF THE ENGLISH EDITION OF THE JOURNAL OF "URBAN PEOPLE"

Blanka Soukupová

The French anthropologist Marc Augé presented the city (large or small) as one of the three key problems (in his terminology, one of the three new "worlds") of contemporary (postmodern) anthropology. However, whether we call the world a new "field" or, as it is usually called in Czech ethnology, an "organism," this comparison will always contain a certain uniqueness, but, at the same time, mutual dependency and isolation from other worlds or organisms. The city represents a socially attractive, scientifically open topic.

The center of attention of the anthropological-historical international journal **Urban People,** born at the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University in Prague is the city (primarily European and, particularly, Central European) drawn into the process of modernization and post-modernization. **Urban People**, meanwhile, deliberately emphasizes comparative research of modern and pre-modern urban territory. The journal endeavors to analyze turning points in the lives of cities, ask questions about the correspondence of these moments to "great history" and the power-political invasion of urban space, while respecting the individuality of every city. At the same time it presumes a certain universality of continuously reshaped urban space and the common fate of so-called socialistic cities.

The city is considered the basic residential and administrative unit of modern and postmodern society in a certain tension with suburbs or small towns and with villages or satellites that became an important postmodern expression of the volatile relationship of people to the city. The journal answers questions about whether these residential units were and are some sort of unintended by-product of the city and when and under which circumstances they are drawn into urban territory.

Comparative research of changes in the modern and postmodern city is not primarily concentrated on its urban development, on the development of

science and technologies in the cities, on the genesis of literary, musical and artistic directions born in the city, etc., but on the development of the interconnected relationship of the city to its inhabitants. In other words: from our point of view, the city represents a phenomenon that is created by people and, at the same time, that produces a certain type of "urban" person, whereas we expect national and regional, and also social, professional, and age, etc., modifications.

This duality of urban identity comes from the fact that people in a city enter into a sort of dialogue with previous generations that created this space and, at the same time, attempt, by means of plans for further development of the city, to address future generations. This journal analyzes such strategies of communication. In this connection, what seems especially significant to us is relations to traditions that penetrate the present while they may, though they need not, contradict each other. Conscious appropriation can, for example, lead one – in the words of Rudolf Jaworski, the German historian – to ethnic "marking" of territory. Ethnic structuralization of the Central European city is connected with the transformation from national efforts to national movements. The attempt to project ideological-political formation onto space appears the moment one can speak of the modern nation. Borders between different districts are then created primarily by social circumstances. The journal attempts to analyze those somewhat mental maps that function as pillars of identity (national, professional, political, local, etc.). At the same time it investigates how they are strengthened.

But we think of the city not only as a space for intergenerational encounters, but also as a setting for the genesis of new directions of thought, new ideologies and their related institutions, new artistic streams and relationships. The journal analyzes the function of the city during its further formation and its positive and negative impact on the atmosphere of the city. Our aim is to discover the task of time in changing relationships to historical places in the city.

As we understand the city, it is the property of the majority population and of minorities in the sense of handicapped groups of the population. The criteria of "minoritiness" are varied: social status, membership in an ethnic and regional group or in a group with similar feelings, opinions, health problems, age, origin, etc.

In **Urban People**, the "city" means the environment shared and symbolized, to a certain extent autonomous, and pluralistically and individually expe-

rienced. Besides the real city, there also exists the virtual city, a city of fantasies, a dreamlike city that lives in memories (private and commonly shared, reproduced and embellished). The journal analyzes the relation between the city (or its parts) and the municipal authorities on one hand and the home on the other. It asks which attributes a home in the city must have.

The aim of the journal is both a comparative analysis of the development of theoretic-methodological approaches to the city and the recognition of the reasons for the survival of certain "national" traditions in urban anthropology. Through the prism of specific scholarly orientation we hope to come closer to characterizing society (mainly Central European and European) as a whole.

Suggested issues: The city – identity – memory – minorities; The city and myth.

FOREWORD TO THE FIRST ISSUE OF THE ENGLISH EDITION OF "URBAN PEOPLE," A JOURNAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY OF URBAN WORLDS

Blanka Soukupová

The city represents a sort of sieve of history. Its temporal layers, at first glance clear in layout, architecture, interiors, indoor and outdoor sculptures and paintings, appropriation of entire spaces, etc., are a document of the continuity of development of its territory and appearance and of important historical turning points that society and its residences pass through. Inappropriate vacant lots in crowded built-up areas in a historic center or insensitively placed constructions and structural elements, however, on first glance also bear witness to the importance people attributed and attribute to the cities' past. It must willy nilly blend with the spirit of the time and that spirit often not only demanded reconstruction of old buildings and their surroundings and therefore helped maintain material for what we can call the memory of a city, but it also determined what to demolish, reconstruct, or change. Modern and post-modern times of a city were then affected by a conflict between so-called traditionalists and so-called modernists. Truly scholarly interest in monuments actually began only in modern national societies.

The original "old" town and its further temporal layers have disappeared forever. They have, therefore, often remained captured only on maps and plans of the time, in pictures, in literary works of the time, in periodicals, later in photographs and postcards and, in the 20th century, in film strips. Apart from those records of how people looked after the memories of a city and what they actually found important to capture and document, there also exists a flow of memories of inhabitants and visitors to their city, literarily codified memories, memories transmitted within the family and interest groups (national, generational, social, local), and also, of course, dreams of the city, virtual images that homesick emigrants could "build". However in any case there is no city without a memory that is the basis of every identity and therefore there is no city without

an identity. Naturally in the course of historical development places developed symbolic importance through certain historical experience (possibly regional, national, social, etc. symbols), and also places with minimal historical moorings. The future of the latter, however, continually remains open; it is never possible to exclude an event that will transform a neutral place into something unique.

The identity of a city, that is, its character, its self perception and its self-presentation as well as its perception and presentation from the exterior, expressed by the polarity of city and suburbs, city and villages, city and rival city (this polarity meanwhile can be negative or positive), is thus an unfinished work of many generations. From the viewpoint of its development, the key is the entire atmosphere in European society and from it the emerging interest of communal institutions. The urban anthropologist, however, must pose another question: what is the importance of the historical character of a city for the character and contentment of the people who live in it? How do they live in quarters with a short history (in housing estates), how do they live in zones with monuments, today crowded with tourists, and how do they live in cities and in quarters with a past that tears at the emotions (e.g., in places where, during the Second World War, there were ghettos overloaded with human suffering)? And is it at all possible to live in areas of former concentration camps without suppressing the past of those places?

The first issue of this journal concerning anthropology of world cities is primarily dedicated to Prague, Warsaw and its rival Krakow, which shares with Prague a reputation as the most beautiful city in the world. The Prague anthropologist Blanka Soukupová deals with the importance of the relationships of Czech society from the turn of the 20th century to the so-called Velvet Revolution (1989) to memorials as some sort of materialization of the past. Warsaw ethnologist Andrzej Stawarz tries to show in his essay Warsaw's attempt to visualize the memory of the totalitarian regime and its victims. In this case he understandably deals with some sort of additional construction of the picture of the time distorted by the regime in the heads and hearts of the people in the town which, from the end of the Second World War, laboriously constructed and is constructing a new identity whose axis is the Warsaw Uprising. The myth of city-heroes and suffering, however, also continued in postwar times (during the years 1949–1956 and 1980–1988 and mainly during the years 1981–1983), when the capital of Poland became the symbol of resistance against totalitarianism. And in the case of Warsaw, the past should thus be of service to the new present. Krakow ethnologist Róża Godula-Węcławowicz proceeds from the

theme of identification of Krakow with old Krakow, whose present space is, to a great extent, a copy of the medieval city. In the mental map of its inhabitants, such a Krakow is bound to several transparent polyfuntional places in the Old Town. This enhances its value as a space for important festivals, promenades, etc. Besides, Durkheim already drew attention to the importance of the rhrythmization of activities for the creation of social time. Krakow functions in the mental map as a city connected at the same time with the personality and cult of John Paul II. Godula-Węcławowicz' text is, to a certain extent, paired with the article by Krakow art historian Tomasz Węcławowicz, who, proceeding from the main anthropological thesis that a city is created by people, writes about the beginnings of the city and the expansion of its borders in the light of the newest social-scientific research. The development of medieval Krakow is tied to Christianization with the mentality of medieval man. However, Krakow's churches, like the main square, later lost many of their original functions and were transformed into memorials. In the closing study, Slovak ethnologist Alexandra Bitušíková deals with the thesis of memorials as an essential, but also, in the course time, a flexible component of the identity of a city. Bitušíková presents two transparent approaches to the revitalization of cities: Americanization and Europeanization. She then illustrates with the example of Bánská Bystrica how European institutions can influence communal politics, which retroactively strengthen individual components of the identity of a town. Ján Griger's report on a sociological survey of how the users of Loreta Square in Prague perceive its sounds stems from the methods of Schafer's acoustic ecology research team and from the research of the Kanda Soundscape Project which was carried out in a traditional quarter of Tokyo in the 1980s. What is most important for anthropology is that he stresses the importance of sounds in the memory and identity of a city. Similar, of course, could perhaps be the case of typical smells.

Social psychologists believe that forgetting ones roots does not pay. The journal's first issue fully endorses this theory while, at the same time, it points out the possibilities of pulling out the roots, natural decomposition, and their new growth. The story of a town – at least for the present – does not end... Besides, in the outskirts of globalized (or generalized) metropolises, international commercial chains and multi-entertainment centers are springing up like mushrooms. Will they some day be embraced by our memory? How do the city and its people handle the present? How much group and individual history, whether or not reflected on, will be contained in the answer to the question, "Where are you from?"

"BEAUTIFUL PRAGUE" – EXPERIENCING THE ANTIQUITY AND BEAUTY OF A CITY IN THE CZECH SOCIETY OF THE 20TH CENTURY[1]

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Abstract:
This study analyzes the relation of the capital of the Czech lands to monuments, which are characterized as the tangibility of memories. The institutionalization of monument preservation founded on a scientific basis was simultaneous with the inception of modern Czech society. Until that time, sites of historical interest participated in the construction of national history. From the turn of the 20th century guardians of memory attempted to take into account the artistic-historical value of monuments. During the First Republic, preservationists tried to cultivate the relation of society to the tangible heritage of the past. That was the time of the "discovery" of natural monuments, while, on the other hand, there were endangered monuments which, in the Czech consciousness, symbolized the supposedly hostile Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Monuments that became symbols of Czechoslovakness drew greater interest. The First Republic brought the first great conflict between preservationists and so-called modern architects. After the Second World War, the relationship to memorials in Prague, which was practically undamaged, was protected by conservationists loyal to the new regime. While, in the first postwar years, they presented the memorials as a source of national self-confidence and as a magnet for tourism, after the February Revolution (1946) they operated with the concept of the socialist city as a city with a generational memory. Criticism of the regime appeared first in a veiled form in the mid-1970s (volunteers in Olsansky Cemetery trimmed the graves of representatives of the Czech National Uprising in an atmosphere of

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depreciation of Czech national identity). From 1988 this was already openly articulated. The target of criticism became the arrogance of the powerful elite leading to unnecessary demolition and inappropriate interference in Prague architecture. Despite virtually no financial resources, the Club for Ancient Prague managed, in the postwar era, to save a great number of valuable memorials in the center and on the oustskirts of Prague.

Keywords: ***urban anthropology, city, monument, memory, national movement, socialism***

Urban anthropologists (ethnologists) often begin thinking about research of a city with the assertion that this society (Gesellschaft) ought to be studied through an analysis of the composition of the communities that live in it (Zajonc 2003: 179). This is surely one of the possibilities that would lead to an understanding of the functioning of urban organisms, specific urban worlds. But, if we accept the idea that the anthropologist does not necessarily have to construct his thesis from direct and long-term contact with existing communities, we are offered the possibility of archival research, the possibility of using written sources and, therefore, a choice of other gauges. Our indicator for knowing the capital of the Czech lands and also, from 1918, of the Czechoslovak Republic, a city that became the symbol of historical and modern Czechness will be its relation to monuments. We will follow this relation from the turn of the 20th century until 1989. Our starting point documents the logical sequence between the inception of modern Czech society, which is freeing itself – even if only through its elite[2] – from sterile homegrown provincialism and the institutionalization of monument preservation on a scientific basis. As a matter of fact, a scientific and enlightening society, the Club for Ancient Prague, was founded only in 1900.[3] Until that time, monuments were almost the only source of confirmation of the national construct of history in Czech national society and its way of thinking. The forming and formed nation perceived them as proofs of its historical continuity and/or connected them with

2 As the Czech historian Jiří Kořalka pointed out, T. G. Masaryk and his circle were constantly criticized for their concept of a modern civil society by the proponents of traditional thinking (Kořalka 1966: 12).

3 Archive of the City of Prague (AMP), SK XXII/204 (unless otherwise mentioned, the quotations are from these archives).

important events in its past. Monuments, in the words of the Czech philosopher Jaroslava Pešková a "specific expression of human reality" (Pešková 1997: 33), were appropriate because they represent some sort of materialization (according to Pešková, visualization) of memory (Pešková 1997: 34). The building of the Museum of the Czech Kingdom (National Museum) on the Horse Market (today's Wenceslas Square) became a symbol of the Prague revolution of 1849; the Town Hall clock, which was repaired in 1866 and, especially, the building of the National Theater, whose foundation stones were laid on May 15, 1868, symbolized the renaissance of the Czech folk living in Bohemia and Moravia, in two inseparable historical Czech lands. Vyšehrad was thought of as the cradle of Czech education and Prague castle as the seat of the Czech rulers and a symbol of erstwhile Czech glory. That is, Czech remembrance also had an unambiguous spatio-temporal context (Nora 1991). Monuments of important personalities of the Czech National Revival were also included in such discourse (Soukupová 2005: 28-33).[4] It was in no way coincidental that one of the first Prague monuments was dedicated to Josef Jungmann, a key personality of the Czech National Revival. The cornerstone was laid in 1873 during the historical time of the Czech depression. The monument, unveiled only in 1878, symbolized Czech peacefulness, but, first and foremost, the invincibility of the Czech nation which could rely on its own strength alone (Hojda & Pokorný 1997: 54-64). The most important monument of the last century and/or since 1918[5] was the Saint Wenceslas statue. Even though not all the social groups perceived the Saint Wenceslas cult in the same way (besides, no nation represents a unanimous society), the notion of Duke Wenceslas as a peace-loving ruler prepared to defend a culturally mature nation prevailed. (Hojda & Pokorný 1997: 113-116, Soukupová 2005: 27-28, 31, 34-38, 41-43).[6]

At the turn of the twentieth century, specialists such as architects, engineers and exponents of historical sciences[7] began to prepare society to include

4 Re: the role of monuments as a form of iconographic symbols in the recent past, cf. the comparative study of Miroslav Hroch (Hroch 2005: 17-20).

5 After World War II the Hus cult was at its strongest. The main gathering point of the Praguers became Old Town Square with the Hus monument (Soukupová 2005: 40).

6 According to the European historian Miroslav Hroch, the auto-stereotype of a peace-loving nation that defends its existence is the typical auto-stereotype of a small nation (Hroch 1999: 160).

7 E.g., in May 1917 on the society's committee were one government councilor, one librarian, one chief engineer, six architects, three engineers, two lawyers and one JUC, one PhD, one PhC, one court councilor, one bank official, and one historian – Prof. Josef Šusta. AMP, SK XXII/204, Nos. 170 and

monuments in discussions about the character of urban space (and this itself was at the time when the Gothic plan of Prague, especially of Prague's New Town (Vošahlík 1983: 299), was conceived as a monument). This debate, however, was not necessarily burdened by the past, present and future positions of the nation. Custodians of the past tried to take into account the artistic-historical value of monuments.[8] This certainly does not mean that their lines of reasoning would not sound very understandable in tense times of national existence and that the conflict about monuments could not include criticism of state politics. An example of such an approach may be the public protest meeting of the Club for Ancient Prague led by government councilman Luboš Jeřábek[9] on May 14, 1918, against the construction of military hospital buildings in the Royal Garden of Prague Castle. And when approximately 400 people who gathered for a meeting in the Sladkovský hall of the Municipal Building expressed their disagreement about the destruction of the unique monument, only secondarily was the questionable construction disputed by medical argumentation that the buildings were unsuitable for the needs of a military hospital. The proposal to refer this question to Czech politicians transformed the idea of monument protection into some sort of political protest.[10]

At the same time, the above-mentioned example brings us to the problem of what exactly was considered a monument. The impulse leading to scientific interest in monuments on an institutional basis was negative: the reconstruction of the Prague ghetto at the turn of the twentieth century (Rybár 1991: 102-105; Bečková 1993) was presented under the catchwords of modernization and the grandeur of Prague. The Czech intellectual public, led by the writer Vilém Mrštík, was unable to prevent the rapid destruction (Rybár 1991: 104-105). In the beginnings of scientific preservation, included under the term "monument"

5236 The following year on the board were six architects, two engineers, three doctors of philosophy and one PhC, three lawyers and one JUC, one academic sculptor, one museum specialist, three high officials and one nobleman. No. 142.

8 E.g. June 10, 1917, the Club for Ancient Prague planned a walk to the Baroque Benedictine monastery complex at Saint Margaret's in Břevnov. AMP, No. 5471. In that same year, members of the Club went through the private collection of pictures of Imperial Councilor Novák, a Gothic monastery of an order of Slavic Benedictines in na Slovanech (Emauzy), a construction site in Podskalí, the Imperial Mill in Bubeneč, restaurant buildings of the 17th century in Stromovka, and a Romanesque basilica in Prosek. No. 2877.

9 In 1917, the vice president of the Club was the librarian Jan Emler and the second vice president was chief engineer Eduard Schwarzer. No. 170. The same committee also worked the following year. No. 142. After the change of regime (in May 1919) engineering councilor engineer Eustach Mölzer became the secretary of the Club and professor of architecture Antonín Engel became vice president.

10 AMP, dated. Prague, May 17, 1918.

was that visualization of human memory: one single construction containing every historical style (especially monasteries, churches, but also agricultural and restaurant buildings, memorials, bridges), pictures, statues, but also parks, gardens and the ground plan itself of the historical city. As memorials, however, musical, literary and theatric works[11] also appeared. Momentous and beautiful were the "ancient" and original, embedded in an original whole. Conservationists expected monuments to be protected against any sort of modernization.

The period between the wars influenced the attitude toward monuments in several directions. The wide democratization of society led to the conviction that the protection of monuments could be of concern to many levels of society. Preservationists were indeed convinced that training and education through lectures, outings, walks, tours, reading, exhibitions, etc. would lead to the cultivation of society. Preservation of "old Prague", the awakening of interest in monuments, and also preservationists' supervision during the reconstructions in the city[12] were counted on. For the first time, there were also discussions about so-called natural monuments. Scientific care of monuments even penetrated into the provinces. On the other hand, however, there was a group of monuments from the beginnings of the republic that were in immediate danger. These were Baroque monuments into which was projected the notion of supposed symbols of White Mountain. On November 3, 1918, the Virgin Mary column in Old Town Square was destroyed, but that was only the beginning... (Hojda & Pokorný 1997: 30). The fate of other Baroque monuments remained in question.

The First Republic, however, was also interesting because, for the first time to such an extent, the interests of urbanists and preservationists clashed. This conflict was understandably most evident in Prague. The so-called regulation of the emerging Greater Prague (from January 1, 1922) (Dějiny Prahy II: 294-299)[13] was performed under the catchword "deaustrofication." The Czech

11 This concept very well illustrates, e.g., a cycle of lectures of the Club from January to March 1918. Václav Vojtíšek, at that time adjunct to the Archives of the City of Prague, gave a lecture on the Historical Development of Prague; K. Guth, adjunct of the Museum of the Czech Kingdom on the Development of Construction in the Middle Ages; architect A. Engl on the Development of the City Plan and Picture of Prague; V. V. Štech, adjunct of the Museum of the Czech Kingdom on Paintings and Sculptures in the Middle Ages and the New Age; Professor Z. Nejedlý on Musical Prague; dean of the Philosophical Faculty of Prague Jan Máchal on the Theater in Prague and K. Hikl on Prague in Literature.

12 Cf. changed statute from 1920. AMP, No. 3995.

13 It is not at all coincidental that one of the first lectures of the Club for Ancient Prague concerned

public was completely possessed by the thought that the provincialism of the capital of the Czech lands, provincialism that was also reflected in its architecture, was intentional. The hostile Austro-Hungarian Empire allegedly did not wish to change Prague into a metropolis. Thus, apparently only after the fall of the monarchy did the "mother of cities" make up for the historical delay. Large-scale plans of municipal mass transportation, plans for the regulation of the Vltava and new city gasworks were designed; a green belt around Prague was considered.[14] (Soukupová 1994: 48, 52-53). The center of the city filled with multistoried buildings (Dějiny Prahy II: 312). In the immediate area and outlying districts housing blocks sprang up in green quarters (Dějiny Prahy II: 314). Attempts at modernization were naturally carried ad absurdum. Contemporary journalists and so-called modern architects called existing Prague architecture inappropriate and unmodern. From their point of view, a new city ought to be well arranged, tailored to rapid relocation of the population and, at the same time, to quality relaxation. Meanwhile there was a widespread wave of migration. Therefore, on October 25, 1924, so-called modern architects, under the leadership of Jaromír Krejcar, later vice president of the Club, founded a competitive Club for New Prague. Its mission was to be the propagation of modern urban constructions, modern housing, and reconstruction of Prague into a modern European metropolis.[15] A third interesting group, the

the preservation of monuments during the so-called regulation of Prague. A lecture was given by Zdeněk Wirth, section council of the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment, in spring 1920. AMP, No. 5193. In spring of the following year, Eduard Schwarzer lectured about the regulation of the Vltava in Prague. No. 45. In April 1932 Engineer Mölzer spoke about monument preservation and the regulation plan of Greater Prague. No. 11657. B. Hübschmann lectured about problems of communication in April 1935. No. 11025.

14 In April 1925 B. Hübschmann gave a lecture at the Club for Ancient Prague on Greater Prague's green belt. AMP, No. 9220.

15 AMP, SK XXII/1269, statutes..., No. 20027. – The Club wanted to reach its goal with meetings, plus public protests, lectures, outings, tours, discussions with other corporations and individuals, letters of thanks to people who fostered the goals of the Club, publications of periodicals, other publications, information about their activities in print, collections, subscriptions, exhibitions, entertainment, social evenings, and support for the founding of similar clubs. Architect Oldřich Tyl became president of the corporation; Viktor Rejmann (Reimann), a lawyer, became the secretary. In January 1925 there was a change in the statutes. According to them, the task of the club was "to study scientific questions about the construction of cities and villages, to propagate modern urbanism and its international principles, and to attempt to realize those principles gained through scientific study during the construction of Prague and other cities in the Czechoslovak Republic". Only citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic could be members. No. 11962. Another change took place in March 1928 when Eng. Vladimír Štulc was elected president, the ex-president became vice president, and Eng. Arch. Alois Mikuškovic became the secretary. On December 17, 1936, the Club, which had not performed any activities, disbanded. No. 1269.

owners of historic houses for whom real estate was a source of income, was as a rule, profit-oriented. It was therefore not a coincidence that interwar care of monuments was linked to a request for tax relief for those who took good care of their property.[16]

During this period, the heightened vigilance of specialists was centered on historic sites of the Czech gymnastic movement, Sokol, Prague castle as the seat of the President where widespread reconstruction was carried out in the spirit of new state historicism (Dějiny Prahy II: 348-349) and archaeological research,[17] the completion of the construction of Saint Vitus cathedral, the grounds of Prague castle and Petřín.[18] Another type of interest, however, was aroused by monuments that were designated for demolition in the modern age. Such a fate awaited the Baroque summer villa, Portheimka, and the so-called Dienzenhofer pavilion in Smíchov (1928),[19] which was to make way for a new bridge, or some buildings in Prague's New Town including, perhaps, the area around the grounds of the Gothic monastery Na Františku (the so-called Agnes grounds). And finally the preservationists concentrated on a demand to preserve the Prague panorama, which, according to them, was threatened by the construction of high buildings – so-called skyscrapers.[20]

By solving these complicated tasks, the preservationists tactically strengthened their declared loyalty to the republic and to the head of state himself. During the opening of the general assembly in May 1919, the Club for Ancient Prague paid homage to President T. G. Masaryk. The club selected Ernst Denis, a French historian, to be an honorary member.[21] On March 5, 1930, it chose as an honorary member Masaryk himself. This took place on the occasion of his birthday. The vote was justified by the president's supposed pioneering interest in monuments.[22]

16 Josef Hula, a lawyer, also lectured at the Club for Ancient Prague in April 1937 on this theme. AMP, No. 10675.

17 E.g., in April 1928 Karel Guth lectured at the Club for Ancient Prague on excavations at Prague Castle. AMP.

18 This theme was addressed in lectures at the Club for Ancient Prague. For example, in January 1924 Z. Wirth lectured on the development of the interior of Saint Vitus cathedral, and V. Birnbaum returned to the theme of the Tyrš house (formerly Michlovský palace). AMP, No. 6093, 113. In April 1924 Z. Wirth spoke about the Černín Palace. No. 7498.

19 On October 30, 1928 the Club for Ancient Prague announced a public poll against the razing of the building. AMP, No. 19858.

20 The problem of skyscrapers was dealt with in an April 1938 lecture at the Club for Ancient Prague by A. Kubiček. AMP, No. 12511.

21 AMP, No. 5660.

22 AMP, No. 7574, dated March 6, 1930.

The First Republic's plans ended at the time of the protectorate. World War II and the truly endangered existence of the Czech nation inclined the preservationists to greater interest in monuments in the Czech countryside, which itself became an unusual phenomenon.[23] That is to say, it was actually the landscape that permitted the Czech nation to see its own, centuries-old succession of generations that cultivated the land. Identification with the Czech landscape was, therefore, a striking compensatory strategy. The Club for Ancient Prague itself[24] propagating tolerated Czechness was therefore not prohibited, in contrast to a number of other Czech corporations. In 1941 it even prepared an exhibition on the theme of Monument Preservation.[25]

The end of World War II, therefore, logically brought a new wave of monument preservation activity. Prague, in contrast to other Middle European cities, was almost completely spared from war damage. Thus its importance within Europe increased. It was considered the best preserved urban complex north of Venice and east of the Rhine.[26] In regard to postwar reconstruction, preservationists actually solved only partial problems: the question of completing the construction of the Old Town Hall, which was partially burned down; renewal of Old Town Square[27] and the completion of the construction of Podskalí under Emauzy which was bombarded in February 1945,[28] the renewal of the Gröbe villa, which, after the bombardment, became a target for thieves.[29] At the same time they could concentrate on their prewar tasks,[30] which were

23 This strategy was announced by the Club for Ancient Prague in May 1939. AMP, No. 15037.

24 Presidents of the club were Z. Wirth; a city official (from June 1940), city official Rudolf Hlubinka (from June 1940), and J. Almer (from April 1941). First vice presidents were A. Kubíček, J. Almer (from June 1940) and Z. Wirth (from April 1941). Second vice presidents were Docent K. Guth, Z. Wirth (from June 1940) and R. Hlubinka (from April 1941). AMP, No. 25826, 21174, 12790, 32459.

25 AMP, dated Prague, November 22, 1941.

26 Emler, J. (1947) *Za starou Prahu*. XXII. 9, 66.

27 March 24. 1946. Zdeněk Wirth gave a lecture at the Club about this problem. AMP, No. 4365. – Further cf. Secretarial report. *Za starou Prahu*, XXII. 9, 76.

28 The Club supported the design of the architect Bohumil Hypšman (Hübschmann), who endeavored to create a dominant feature of Podskalí.

29 (1948) Secretarial report. XXIII, 1-2, 8. – The villa began to be reconstructed, but, because there was an insufficiency of slate, it was replaced with asbestos-cement (1949). Secretarial report *Za starou Prahu*, XXIV, 1-3, 12.

30 There was a certain continuity in the Club for Ancient Prague in its officials: in March 1946 Emanuel Poche, vice-director of the Museum of Decorative Arts became president; J. Almer became first vice president, J. Mannsbarth became second vice president and Eng. Adolf Janoušek became secretary. AMP, No. 6354, 27673, – From June 1950, the vice president was Eng. Ludvík Prisching, second vice president J. Mannsbarth and secretary Ministry Councilor Eng. Adolf Janoušek. AMP. – In March 1952 Docent L. Prisching was again voted president, E. Poche first vice president, J.

primarily esthetic changes of the Hradčany (Castle Quarter) panorama,[31] the Vyšehrad panorama,[32] the renewal of several public spaces (e.g. Bethlehem Square, Kampa, Prague parks) and the strengthening of its institutions.[33] Further, they tried to save Portheimka, to remove advertisements from Prague historical buildings (e.g. agitation posters of the Communist publishing house Svoboda on Slovanský dům – the Slavonic House – on the street called Na příkopě), to remove ruthless alterations of memorials during the protectorate, and to repair many valuable monuments, including house signs[34] and imperial graves in Olšanský cemetery.[35] The postwar city also met with greedy owners who let their objects decay so they could then tear them down[36] or with, e.g., architectonically inappropriate projects (construction of a student city in the New Town) and/or with spontaneous reconstructions.

Nevertheless, a relation to monuments was developing. Shortly after World War II, monuments were valued as documents of the mature architecture of the Czech "metropolis", as a magnet for tourists and, at the same time, as national property and a source of national pride.[37] One of the first postwar exhibitions, *Prague Castle in the Middle Ages*, presented the Castle as a symbol of Czech history.[38] At the same time, preservationists endeavored to have the Bethlehem Chapel[39] proclaimed as national property and to have it reconstructed. Places connected with the so-called National Resistance, mainly the crypt of the Saint Charles Boromeo church on Resslova Street, the hiding place of the assassins of Reinhard Heydrich, Deputy Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia,[40] began to be considered national monuments. Also valued were Jewish monuments, of course mainly as a kind of publicity for the Czechoslovak Republic abroad (Soukupová 1005: 47). 1960 saw the opening of the Pinkas

Mannsbarth second vice president and Josef Mayer, an official, was voted secretary. The organization counted circa 1000 members, mainly officials, professors, architects, artists and students. AMP, XXII, 204.

31 Hubinka, A. (1947) *Za starou Prahu,* XXII, 9, 68-69.

32 (1947) Regulation of Podolí below Vyšehrad. *Za starou Prahu*, *Bulletin for Monument Preservation*, XXII, 35.

33 Cf. memorandum of the Club presented to the central national committee on March 10, 1948. (1948). Memorandum. *Za starou Prahu*, XXIII, 3-4, 1-2.

34 (1947). Secretarial report. *Za starou Prahu*, XXII, 9, 76-78.

35 (1948). Secretarial report. *Za starou Prahu*, XXIII, 3-4, 6-9.

36 Emler, J. (1947). *Za starou Prahu*, XXII, 9, 66.

37 Emler, J. (1947). *Za starou Prahu*, XXII, 9, 66.

38 Prisching, L. (1947). *Za starou Prahu*, XXII, 9, 67.

39 (1947) Secretarial report. *Za starou Prahu*, XXII, 9, 78.

40 Mannsbarth, J. (1947). *Za starou Prahu*, XXII, 10, 106.

synagogue as a memorial to the Czech victims of the Shoah (Soukupová 2005: 51). In 1968, at a time of worsening Israeli-Soviet relations, the synagogue was closed. Both the Maisel and the Old-New Synagogues were closed to the public (officially for reconstruction) (Soukupová 2005: 52). After the February Revolution (1948), preservationists tactically began to consider monuments a valuable source of education for the construction of a socialistic city. President Klement Gottwald positively appreciated their loyalty[41] and donated a financial gift to the Club for Ancient Prague (at that time having 378 members from Prague and 70 from other locations).[42]

Despite that gesture of Gottwald's, preservationists often had to confront the opinions that monument preservation was outdated romanticism, an expression of sentiment or bourgeois patriotism.[43] Not even their loyalty to the new regime prevented the 1939 demolition of the so-called Brauner house on National Street and Perštýn, a classicist building from the end of the l8th century, seat of the famous Union Café, gathering place of intellectuals and artists. The dům U kaštanu (Chestnut Tree House), originally an inn reconstructed in classical style, the site of the founding of the Czechoslavonic Social Democratic party (1878),[44] was also endangered. The future Museum of the Origins of the Czech Worker Movement was finally partly demolished to make way for roads. (Poche 1985: 383)

The old-new attempt to harmonize the original character of Prague with the demands of modern man on the move in the city was perceived as the greatest problem of postwar Prague conservation. The problem of urban mass transportation dragged on through all of the postwar history of expanding Prague, especially the so-called roads on the left bank of the Vltava.[45] Preservationists were especially upset by the noisy tramways in the narrow streets of the Old Town, disturbing the statics of the old buildings.[46] They also viewed with skepticism plans of an elaborate construction of underground trains which, accord-

41 In 1950, the Club for Ancient Prague chose the premier, Antonín Zápotocký, as honorary member. AMP, dated April 7, 1950.

42 (1949). Secretarial report. *Za starou Prahu*, XXIV, 1-3, 15. (1948). Za *starou Prahu*, XXIII, 9-10, 53.

43 Vaněček, J. (1951) Why do we protect architectural monuments? *Za starou Prahu*, XXVI, l, 1.

44 (1949) *Za starou Prahu*, XXIV, 1-3. 1.

45 The history of urban mass transportation is, however, older. In 1897–1905 a network of tram tracks was already built in Prague (Fojtík & Liner & Prošek 1980:13). Re: postwar problems, cf., e.g., Mannsbarth, J. (1947). *Za starou Prahu*, XXII, 9, 70-71.

46 The Club also protested against the restoration of the tramway lines in Celetná Street in the Old Town. Secretarial report. Cited above, page 8.

The sculpture was recently restored. Archives of the City of Prague, SK XXII/204, The Club for Old Prague.

ing to them, would carry the risk of static damage to buildings. (In 1948 the underground railway was even labeled "an Old Town grave.") As early as 1948, the Club for Ancient Prague hosted a lecture by Eng. A. Janoušek on the ravages of vehicles, the straining of roadways with heavy cars and on the bad state of the roads, as well as on the destruction of Prague cobblestones by the tram tracks. He saw the solution in the construction of housing near factories and/or a reduction of the need for workers to use mass transportation.[47] Nor was there praise for trolley-buses, which were not appropriate because of the overhead wires. The esthetic character of the streets was unequivocally given precedence over the quality of the atmosphere; however, after the Second World War there was an insufficient number of buses[48] (buses had been recommended), and also generally of tires[49].[50] The first stage of the construction of the underground (called "metro" in Prague) was realized only in the years 1974 to 1985 (Čech & Fojtík & Prošek 1992: 8). Nor could the traffic problem in the historic city of Prague be solved. In 1973 the number of autos in Prague rose to more than 160,000 (Pošusta & Lukáčová & Háber & Prošek, 1975: 52). By December 31, 1990, 428,769 motor vehicles were registered (Čech & Fojtík & Prošek 1992: 5).

The preservationists' work was naturally complicated by so-called all-society interest. For example, shortly after World War II, when women made up the essential work force, the Central National Committee of the Capital City of Prague decided on the construction of a nursery school in the historically valuable Seminary Garden. The Club for Ancient Prague issued a protest. Even more dangerous than the nursery school, however, was the government regulation of October 1945 concerning the construction of a highway joining the west and the east of the state. It was to have run in Prague along the Vltava.[51] Apart from this, there was an attempt of so-called roadway fanatics to open the narrow streets of Old Town to automobiles.[52] Along with these difficulties was

47 (1948). *Za starou Prahu*, XXIII, 6-8, 41-42, 44.

48 Cf. (1949) *Za starou Prahu*, XXIV, 1-3, 2. – Prague had regular bus transportation from 1925. The first buses appeared in its streets in 1908 (Pošusta & Lukáčová & Háber & Prošek, 1975: 29). Janoušek, A. (1948).

49 After liberation, Prague had only 95 autobuses, many of which were incapable of operating, and 23 trolley-buses. Transportation was ensured mainly by tramways. (Pošusta & Lukáčová & Háber & Prošek, 1975: 46, 44).

50 Janoušek, A. (1948). *Za starou Prahu*, XXIII, 3-4.

51 Janoušek, A. (1947). Lesser Quarter river roads. *Za starou Prahu*, XXII, 9, 81-82.

52 (1948). Secretarial report. *Za starou Prahu*, XXIII, 1-2, 7-9.

Autumn cleaning in Olšanský Cemetery, 1986. Archives of the City of Prague, SK XXII/204, The Club for Old Prague.

the unavailability of essential building materials for delicate repairs of historic buildings.[53]

In the 1950s the historical center of the city, which, as a result of the Shoah and the postwar expulsion of the German population, had already visibly begun to deteriorate. This – along with a change of ownership – caused the state[54] to begin taking care of it. Despite the declared interest of Communist leaders in monuments, the care was poor. In December 1950, Member of Parliament Gustav Bareš spoke at the constitutional conference of the city committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in the People's House about Prague as the pride and the heart of the republic, a city with a deep memory. At the same time he outlined the large creative plans of the new regime. According to them, the

53 Janoušek, A. (1950). *Za starou Prahu*, XXV, 4-5, 29.

54 (1951) Who embraces the creation of monument preservation. *Za starou Prahu* XXVI. 3, 21.

Šverma bridge (completed in 1958), a new building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, a National Gallery, a large square for manifestations of the people, and a new university complex would be erected. Žizkov, Libeň, and Vysočany would be reconstructed; a new quarter in Pankrác would be built, etc. The pioneers were to get their own building; the progressive journalist Jan Neruda was to have his own monument. Large houses were to be built for workers to alleviate the postwar dearth of housing. In 1946 the university had begun to adapt the Karolinum to its needs. In 1951, the little summer palace of Hvězda (Star) was reconstructed to house the Museum of Alois Jirásek.[55] But despite clear instructions from the Party, there were various concepts of the future appearance of Socialistic Prague. Some Prague architects wished to remake Prague into a city of skyscrapers, while others pictured extensive quarters of private houses.[56]

A change in the relation to memorials came about only in the 60s. In the Club for Ancient Prague work began under a new board.[57] At the same time there was an increase in the number of members.[58] Czech preservationists began to be interested in the care of monuments in Western Europe. In Prague they concentrated on the renewal of the historic core of the city and the so-called Royal Road, on modifications of the area around the National Theater, and on the problem of an underground train system. A special committee in the Club worked on monuments of the Hussite era.

During the so-called normalization, there was a drop in the membership of the Club for Ancient Prague.[59] Under the new social conditions, preserva-

55 (1952) *Za starou Prahu* XXVII, 1-2, P. 75.

56 Chamrád, V. (1951) *Tvorba*, 1. – Vice mayor Eng. Chamrád also wrote about a new sport center and new arterial roads. Ibid.

57 In June 1959 Architect Alois Kubiček became president, Dr. Jarmila Brožová first vice president, Eng. Jaroslav Pudr second vice president, Josef Mayer first secretary, and Dr. Milada Matyášová second secretary. From December 1963 Architect Eng. Bohumír Kozák took over as president, A. Janoušek as first vice president (from October 1964 Eng. Jaroslav Pudr), Josef Mayer as second vice president (from March 1966 Univ. Prof. Karel Krejčí), Dr. Jiří Špét as first secretary (from October 1963 historian Vladimír Sakař) and Dr. Zdeněk Dušek as second secretary. From June 1969 a new function, third secretary, was taken over by Eng. Jiří Novák.

58 On December 31, 1962, there were 1109 members (of whom 983 were from Prague), on Dec. 31. 1963, there were 1044 (932 from Prague), on Dec. 31, 1965, there were 1041 (of whom 106 were from outside of Prague), on Dec. 31, 1966, there were 1050 (of whom 112 were non-Praguers), on Dec. 31, 1967. there were 1059 (of whom 114 were non-Praguers), on Dec. 31, 1968, there were 935 (of whom 96 were non-Praguers).

59 On December 31, 1969, the Club had 814 members; on Dec. 31, 1970, 823 members; on Dec. 31, 1971, 827 members; on Dec. 31, 1973, 823 members (of whom 76 non-Praguers), on Dec. 31, 1974,

A periodical of the Club for Old Prague. Archives of the City of Prague, SK XXII/204, The Club for Old Prague.

tionists concentrated on cultural work and on celebrating the anniversaries of the representatives of the Czech National Revival (e.g., in 1970, the 100th anniversary of the death of the painter Josef Mánes; in 1976, the 100th anniversary of the death of the historiographer František Palacký), and also of the heroes of the Prague Uprising (1945). In November 1971 their postwar dream was

838 members; on January 1, 1975, 871 members and, on December 31, 1975, 962 members. In February 1970 B. Kozák was elected president; K. Krejčí became first vice president; J. Novák became second vice president. The posts of secretaries were filled by Z. Dušek, Eng. Zdeněk Mertl and V. Sakař. In 1972 Professor of Architecture Emanuel Hruška and K. Krejčí (in 1978 O. Hora) were elected vice presidents; V. Sakař, Eng. František Petroušek and Dr. Oldřich Hora (in 1978 Z. Dušek and F. Petroušek) were elected secretaries. In January 1980 E. Hruška (in 1988 the lawyer Oldřich Hora) captured the presidency; the vice presidents were O. Hora and preservationist Josef Mayer (from 1988 Eng. Architect Karel Firbas a Jiří Novák); remaining as secretaries were Z. Dušek (from 1984 Eng. Zdeněk Mertl, from 1985 Eng. Jiří Novák, from 1988 electrotechnician Josef Hrubeš) and F. Petroušek.

realized: the historic core of Prague was proclaimed a state historical reservation. Despite this, during those very years, many monuments were destroyed. Enterprises and cooperatives championed unsuitable modifications of doors and gates that were replaced by standardized metal gates meant for factories and they favored shops in historically valuable buildings. Garages appeared on ground floors. Buildings with glass facades (the Máj department store constructed between 1973 and 1975 on the corner of National and Spálená Streets and the House of Children's Books, a steel skeleton from 1966–1969, constructed on the site of the Brauner house). A fashionable wave of interest in antiques led to numerous thefts of relics (from Olšanský cemetery bronze sculptures and metal lanterns disappeared and from the Charles Bridge gilded parts were stolen from statues at the beginning of the 80s). The thefts were also often accompanied by vandalism.

In the following era, also, the horizons of the city were changing. Tall buildings that spoiled the panorama of Prague rose in Pankrác. In 1965 the Club began its lost battle for the preservation of the Těšnov station, a neo-renaissance building from 1875, one of the most beautiful stations in Central Europe (in 1975 it gave way to a north-south arterial road) and architectonically one of the most valuable buildings of the rebuilt old Žižkov. At the same time it concentrated on the conservation of the old parts of Olšanský cemetery, the modification of the Baroque building complex of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Margaret in Břevnov, the completion of the construction around the National Theater, disregarding the character the 19th century, Můstek, the Ungelt and the reconstruction of the Gothic building U kamenného zvonu (At the Golden Bell) in Old Town Square. To the credit of the Club, the classicist Hansen House on Na příkopě was saved. The greatest work, however, was carried out by volunteers in the second cemetery of Olšanský (e.g. in 1977 they put in over 1000 hours of volunteer work).[60] It was apparently this activity, which stretched out over the 1980s, that secured the Club growing favor among average Praguers: in the autumn of 1979, it again had more than 1000 members; in 1986, 1189; in 1989, approximately 1300. At Olšany there were also memorial gatherings at the graves of leaders of the Czech National Revival (in 1978 the journalist Václav Matěj Kramerius, the wife of the composer František Škroup, a creator of hymns, the journalist Karel Havlíček Borovský; in 1979 the play-

60 In 1974–1982, volunteers worked 11,770 hours; in 1974–1985, they worked 19,349 (work of the members of the Club for Ancient Prague in Olšanský Cemetery II in 1986).

wright V. V. Klicpera; in 1980 and 1989 the wife of the composer Bedřich Smetana). The volunteers fixed up the grave of the philosopher Bernard Bolzano and the wife of the composer Zdeněk Fibich. The stimulating Czech society constructed its new identity on the tradition of the Czech National Revival. On the official level, interest grew in the monuments of the time of Charles IV (in 1978, the 600th anniversary of his death was celebrated). Promotion of the revival tradition was tolerated and even supported.

Volunteer activity emboldened the preservationists. In 1979 the Club for Ancient Prague issued a memorandum against the destruction of the iron construction of the Vinohradský Market (1902), in which was found a document about the growth of Vinohrady at the beginning of the 20th century. It further protested against a new television tower on Petřín hill[61] (in 1981 there was a resolution to transfer the construction to the area of Mahler park in Žižkov)[62] and against the callous reconstruction of the Čertovka stream. It was successful in the cases of the rescue of the Romanesque Mary Magdalene rotunda in Prague 6 – Přední Kopanina – and the Palace Hotel from the turn of the 20th century, and of the reconstruction of a classicist chapel in Háje in Prague 4. Nor could they solve the transportation problem in Prague, which was transformed into a crossroads in the second half of the 1980s and lost its human scale. Closed shops and emptied apartments in the center of the city and/or the moving of Praguers to housing estates outside the center contributed to the loss of the intimacy of the historic town.[63]

Even before November 1989 the Club for Ancient Prague had openly criticized incompetent authorities. The greatest disagreement was over the television tower in Žižkov. It was criticized for its brutal domination of the Prague skyline and/or as a metallurgical and petrochemical combine that violates the private nature of Žižkov and Vinohrady. Not less vigorously did the preservationists come to the rescue of the Žižkov School on Commenius Square.[64] The genius loci of old Žižkov actually managed to save it at five minutes to twelve!

61 The Club stimulated the revitalization of Petřín: the putting of the cable car into service, the repair of the restaurant Na nebozízku, the repair of the observatory, and the renovation of the park.

62 Even though they were successful in a certain way, in 1983 the Club warned that the construction of a television tower would be useless after 2000 because of the progress of technology. AMP, Report on activities... in 1983.

63 Cf., e.g., Announcement of the Club for Ancient Prague 1986 from February 13, 1987, pp. 1-2.

64 Fuka, Z. (1987). From the activities of the technical committee of the Club for Ancient Prague. *Reports of the Club for Ancient Prague,* pp. 18 and 26.

Conclusion

Everything began with the demolition of the unique monumental complex of the Prague ghetto. For the first time, to an unprecedented extent, there was a conflict between the demands of urban modernization, including all the negative consequences of this process, and its relation to the past. The importance attached to the various monuments was interconnected with tension and a changed way of thinking. The modern Czech no longer had to think back on the historical situation of his nation when looking at a monument. A monument could only authentically document a certain time and esthetically beautify the city. If, however, it came into conflict with the so-called majority interest, often even populism, it was in real danger. That is, monuments always stood on the border between the past and the passionate present. The original was perceived as beautiful by specialists. The administration of the city and its ordinary inhabitants, however, could give preference to other values: comfort, presumed usefulness, etc. The society of 1948–1989 as a whole was, in a controlled manner, cut off from its past. Therefore it is not surprising that it also lost the ability to identify with its monuments. However, it did not lose the ability to regulate itself during that period. Tolerated and even valued volunteer activity at Olšanský cemetery was certainly something more than meaningful free-time activity. Every grave of a "nation builder" that was tidied up could strengthen devalued national identity. Gradually society regained the awareness of certain values that it would be a pity to lose. This activity could undoubtedly be a certain form of protest against the ongoing removal of memories that could be reduced to only a certain part of history which was, besides, purposefully modified.

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PATRIOTIC SITES IN THE SPACE OF A EUROPEAN METROPOLIS AT THE TURN OF THE 21ST CENTURY. THE EXAMPLE OF WARSAW

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Abstract:
This article looks at the possibility of undertaking more comprehensive research into the functioning and meaning of cultural patriotic sites in large cities. It takes the example of the largest Polish metropolis – Warsaw – in the period from the birth of the 3rd Republic of Poland to the beginning of the 21st century. It considers a patriotic site a site commemorating a historic event of importance to independence, a site symbolising an armed act, or a site immortalising the act or acts of a specific hero or group of heroes. The study is not aimed at conducting a comprehensive analysis of the spatial arrangement of patriotic sites within the Warsaw cultural scenery, but in this case it analyses the problem of historic remembrance and shaping historic sites.

Keywords: ***city: hero, victim, totalitarianism, communism***

In this outline, I wish to pay particular attention to the possibility of undertaking more comprehensive research into the functioning and meaning of cultural patriotic sites in large cities. In this case, I will use only one example, but it is typical. I will take the example of the largest Polish metropolis – Warsaw. As is commonly known, the capital of Poland itself, due to its unusual history, has for over two centuries remained an 'untamed' city, the symbol of heroism and the Polish nation's struggle for freedom. Its space features an enormous

number of sites creating and documenting this symbolic aspect of the city,[1] growing between the fall of the Republic at the end of the 18th century and the end of the Second World War to be 'a nation's sanctity'.[2] The sites were and are named differently, yet they can be given a common name – 'patriotic sites'.

What do I consider a patriotic site? First, it is above all a site commemorating a historic event of importance to independence and (from the nation's point of view) symbolising an armed act or immortalising the act or acts of a specific hero (or group of heroes). Not infrequently, even very frequently, these are sites related to the martyrdom of individuals or entire groups subject to extermination by the enemy; they are used to cultivate remembrance and respect for the fallen or murdered and are of fundamental importance for shaping the nation's historic awareness and national identity. The sites adopt various forms such as a cemetery (including separate areas), a museum (historic and of martyrdom), a mausoleum, a monument, an obelisk, a commemorative plaque, etc. For the purposes of semantisation of patriotic sites, one should certainly allow for such sites which, performing above all other public functions (e.g. religious, educational, military, etc.), perfectly fit the category of remembrance sites, patriotic sites, e.g. churches, universities, schools, military bases, etc., within the premises of which – i.e., not only within the external municipal space – there are monuments, obelisks, commemorative plaques, etc.

The period from the birth of the 3rd Republic of Poland to the beginning of the 21st century brought about, both in Warsaw and in other cities of Poland, a significant change in the manner and extent of commemorating the Polish independence fight and repressions which the Polish nation experienced in the 20th century. In particular, commemorations related to the period of the Second World War and the Stalinist period were dealt with. Indeed, as excellently exemplified by Warsaw, we deal with the social and cultural process of restoring remembrance and shaping a new historic awareness after nearly half a century of ideological indoctrination of the nation, expressed by instilling in Poles a one-sided vision of the latest history of Poland. Within the process, although a vital role is played by new scientific publications or documentary films, of greater

1 Back in the period of the People's Republic of Poland), Kłoskowska (1983) paid attention to the possibility of researching the city as a value (axiological criterion) with reference to a wider complex of national culture phenomena.

2 The expression was used – in connection with the capital reconstruction – by Cardinal August Hlond, Primate of Poland, in his sermon during the enthronement at the Saint John Cathedral in Warsaw on 30 May 1946 (see: Katedra..., 1998: 23).

importance for social awareness there appears to be a phenomenon commonly called 'the fight with monuments' (as well as 'for monuments') or 'with symbols'. It can be noted that the phenomenon has so far been characterised by two phases. In the first, we mainly dealt with rejecting and eliminating from the city space, that is from its cultural scenery, but also from the collective memory, sites clearly and negatively associated with the 'Commune' (monuments to Dzierżyński, Nowotko, Gen. Świerczewski, the so-called 'Ubelisk' – commemorating 'consolidators' of the people's authorities, etc.);[3] in the second, there were predominant initiatives to recreate and restore earlier destroyed patriotic sites and to commemorate to a greater extent the acts, events and heroes or victims of the regime which the Polish nation was supposed to forget forever. As part of the process, some memorial sites established in the times of the People's Republic of Poland were preserved (e.g. the Mausoleum of the Fight and Martyrdom in Szuch Avenue, the Pawiak Prison Museum, the Museum of the Fight and Martyrdom in Palmiry) as, since the very beginning, they had the nature of patriotic sites or, regardless of the manipulations of intentions of the Communist authorities, performed such a role in the opinion of a significant part of Polish society. Still, only after 1989 could one attempt to remove from these sites those elements which falsified history[4] (Stawarz 2000: 165-177).

Most important in this fight for truth and remembrance were undoubtedly the following motifs (almost simultaneously developed by scientific research, investigations conducted, etc.): the Polish-Soviet War of 1919–1920, the Katyń Crime, the Warsaw Uprising (1944), great numbers of Poles in the East after 17 September 1939, and repressions against political prisoners of the Stalinist period in the years 1944–1956. Somehow earlier historic issues (e.g. Olszynka Grochowska 1831, the hills of the Citadel) remained in the background, although even these gained numerous advocates and did not disappear from the Warsaw remembrance map. It should also be stated that the capital gained new monuments to distinguished Poles with great difficulty. It is worth recalling, though, several of those erected after 1990, including the monu-

3 At the same time changes were made in the names of streets whose patrons were 'badly' associated with the People's Republic of Poland (e.g. Nowotko Street was changed to Anders Street, Marchlewski Avenue was changed to Jan Paweł II Avenue, Świerczewski Avenue was changed to Solidarity Avenue, etc.).

4 Changes to this type of objects in the 1990s were described in numerous issues of the 'Past and Remembrance' magazine published by the Council for the Protection of Remembrance of the Fights and Martyrdom as well as in the 'Information Bulletins' of the Main Board of the World Association of Home Army Soldiers or other periodicals.

ments to: Walerian Łukasiński (1988), Józef Piłsudski (3 realisations – 1990, 1995, 1998), Pope John Paul II (3 realisations – 1992, 1994, 1996), Stefan Starzyński (1993), Jan Matejko (1994), Father Jerzy Popiełuszko (2 realisations in 1996, the third in 1999), Maurycy Mochnacki (2000), Henryk Sienkiewicz (2000), Juliusz Słowacki (2001), Gen. Józef Bem (2002), Gabriel Narutowicz (2002), Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski (2002), Gen. Grot-Rowecki (2005), and Father Ignacy Skorupko (2005). In recent years, a Monument to Roman Dmowski was erected.

This study is not aimed at conducting a comprehensive analysis of the spatial arrangement of patriotic sites within the Warsaw cultural scenery, although undoubtedly development of research works in the last several years indicates such significant possibilities (e.g. Tyszka 1990; Grzesiuk-Olszewska 2003; Ciepłowski 2004; Dąbrowa et al. 2005). Still, it may be stated here that such analysis should be based on the adoption of the following criteria:

1) nature and chronology of the events commemorated
2) form of commemoration
3) localisation
4) functioning in the city inhabitants' space perception
5) functioning in the city symbolic culture

From the point of view of ethnology or cultural anthropology, the most important are criteria 4 and 5, whereas the earlier may be used to evaluate any disturbances associated with the establishment and functioning of patriotic sites. Observation of the sites in the past leads to a general conclusion: city inhabitants' care for and devotion to specific patriotic sites (including in particular only selected social circles – combatants and veterans, activists of organisations and associations or foundations caring for the sites commemorated, part of the youth – schools, scouting, etc.) may accompany both indifference and their being ignored by many other inhabitants and acts of aggression – i.e. vandalism, destroying to obtain raw material (metals) for profit, or 'program' profanation.

Greatest importance must definitely be attributed to patriotic sites of an institutional nature, accessible to inhabitants and tourists every day and often on holidays (churches, museums, mausoleums) and those monuments where official ceremonies are held on a regular basis (anniversaries, taps, readings of the roll of the dead, etc.) – national, municipal, district, or circle-related.

Churches. Warsaw churches belonging to the sphere of the absolute sacrum have for many generations also been the mainstay of historic remembrance of the Polish nation (Varsavia Sacra 1996; Madurowicz 2002). Practically every church features commemorative plaques and epitaphs commemorating both martyrdom and the independence fight of the Poles (Tyszka 1990). Even during the era of the People's Republic of Poland, when there were no other possibilities, it was at churches that 'disloyal' plaques were placed, for instance commemorating the Home Army and other secret organisations, soldiers or priests who, 'for faith and homeland', lost their lives in the years of the Second World War, etc. The same churches often held masses for the souls of the fallen and murdered but also 'national retreats', including lectures by historians that were devoted to the 'white stains' on the national history; thematic exhibitions were presented; epitaphs were unveiled, etc.[5] Here in Warsaw we have churches which have become unusual national sanctuaries – above all St. John's Cathedral, the Field Cathedral of the Polish Army and Holy Cross Church, as well as numerous others. The exceptional sacral role of these churches performed over consecutive decades, even centuries, has been mixed with the history of Poland and the Polish nation. Hence, Warsaw churches, because of their crypts, tombstones and epitaph plaques, are unusual patriotic sites. It is sufficient to remember that at St. John's Cathedral there are the remains of several Mazovian princes, the last king of the Republic, Stanisław August Poniatowski, and the murdered first President of the Republic of Poland, Gabriel Narutowicz. Here are also the epitaph plaques of distinguished Polish statesmen – Józef Piłsudski, Roman Dmowski and Ignacy Jan Paderewski (also his crypt since 2001) as well as of the indomitable President of Warsaw, Stefan Starzyński. But not only the history of Poland is 'incorporated' in the Cathedral interior. The Cathedral itself – just as Warsaw, reconstructed after destruction – was many a time a site of historic events. Most recently, one event was of an exceptional dimension: it was at this cathedral that, with far-reaching consequences, the first pilgrimage of John Paul II to his homeland started in 1979. Many years earlier, this magnificent building inspired the work of Henryk Sienkiewicz, a great writer who so excellently strengthened Polish patriotism with his work. Let us recall a fragment of our Noble prize winner's memoirs:

[5] One of the first attempts to synthetically summarise such activities in the years 1947-1989 was undertaken nearly 10 years ago by one of the leading post-1956 independence opposition activists in the People's Republic of Poland – Wojciech Ziembiński (1998).

Yet I do not know myself if because, from all these various mementos, these portraits, these monuments, these marble faces, there did not blow towards me the wind of the centuries past, fame, power, freedom – and did not bring these seeds which long were lying in my soul before my historical novels grew from them. (Sienkiewicz 1916). It may be said that history, in a strange manner, came full circle: it is at Saint John's Cathedral that the Henryk Sienkiewicz crypt can be found (since 1924). There are many more such strange coincidences at this unusual place, thanks to which the Cathedral is part a national pantheon and on the other hand a site of utmost importance in shaping Polish patriotism for the next generations of Poles. And every epoch contributed something new, which intensified both the sacral and the patriotic and national dimension of the church.

If we investigate the history of Warsaw churches deeply, we will see the continuous connection of many of them to numerous historic events, including the Poles' fight for independence. During the era of the People's Republic of Poland, when entering the churches one might not only participate in the service but learn the national history or even discover it anew. And then, when the patriotic custom was actually withering due to ideological indoctrination and governmental bans, holy masses to the homeland or services on anniversaries of 'prohibited' national holidays were held in the churches. Many patriotic priests were repressed for this brave activity, from the Stalinist era (1944–1956) to the late years of the People's Republic of Poland. An unusual symbol of priests involved in the realisation of the 'God, Honour, Homeland' motto is Father Jerzy Popiełuszko, bestially murdered by a group of Security Service officers in 1984. Within a few years the grave and the monument (as well as the recently-opened museum) of Father Jerzy located within the premises of St. Stanisław Kostka in Żoliborz became exceptionally important elements of the new national sanctuary, a destination of numerous pilgrimages from the country and of Poles from abroad. As a living place of religious cult of patriotic values, the sanctuary is also probably strongest and most important in Warsaw as a symbol of the contemporary martyrdom of Polish priests as well as an unusual symbol of Solidarity struggling with the communist authorities.

Museums and mausoleums. Already existing buildings of this kind (the Polish Army Museum – 1920, the Mausoleum of Struggle and Martyrdom – 1952, the Pawiak Prison Museum – 1965, the 10th Pavilion of the Warsaw Citadel Museum – 1962, the Museum of Struggle and Martyrdom in Palmiry – 1980)

were joined at the beginning of the 3rd Republic by the Museum of Independence (1990), and, after slightly over 20 years of collection and organisation works, by the Warsaw Uprising Museum (2004). These institutions systematically conduct broad educational and popularising activities (museum lessons, lectures, documentary film projections, meetings with combatants, etc.). In the second half of the 1990s there were introduced – upon the initiative of the Museum of Independence – special series of meetings allowing ever greater social circles (including teenagers' groups) to acquaint themselves with the history of struggle and martyrdom of the Poles: The Pawiak Prison Remembrance Days[6] and Warsaw Citadel Days (May). On the other hand, the Warsaw Uprising Museum is both the main place of meetings of the Uprising fighters and their families and an institution ever more successfully applying modern forms of familiarising the young generation with historic issues, in particular those related to the fate of Warsaw and Poland in the years of the Second World War. It is worth emphasising here that the building where the Warsaw Uprising Museum was located, although not historically related to the Uprising in any special way, apart from strictly museum functions, has been provided with symbolic attributes (the Park of Freedom with the Remembrance Wall featuring several thousand names of the Uprising fighters who lost their lives fighting the invader) and a sacral object (a chapel). The Warsaw Uprising Museum is the latest example of creating a modern museum to perform the role of an institution implementing the historic policy of state authorities (as proven by, among others, the celebrations of the 60th Anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising) but also to become a very important place in the capital city symbolic space, a place of important patriotic values comprehensible to all the inhabitants and visitors. It should also be noted that the development of the Museum is part of the almost continuing series (begun in 1945) of commemorating the vastness of the martyrdom and unusual heroism of Varsovians during the German occupation. The city cultural scenery still lacks an institution expressly presenting and symbolising Polish victories, such as in the Polish-Soviet War of 1919–1920 or the 'road to freedom' of 1980–1989. Nonetheless, there are more and more frequent exhibitions and educational events in the leading Warsaw museums: The Polish Army Museum, the Historic Museum of the capital city of Warsaw, and the Museum of Independence.

6 Originally, the Pawiak Prison Remembrance Days were held in April and for some years now have been organised in the last week of September, connected with the Warsaw surrender anniversary and beginnings of the Polish Underground State (1939).

Monuments. Monuments that were erected, from the point of view of their patriotic role, should be divided into three categories:

– monuments to the fights for independence,

– monuments commemorating martyrdom,

– monuments to specific historic characters – heroes, freedom fighters, creators of the national culture.

Warsaw monuments have their own most complicated history. Beside several long rooted in the city cultural scenery (in fact, it is hard to imagine Warsaw without them), such as Sigismund's Column (the oldest European monument of laic nature), the monument to Adam Mickiewicz, the monument to Chopin in Łazienki, the monument to Copernicus in front of the Staszic Palace, or the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the vast majority appeared relatively recently – i.e. in times remembered by the living generations. Remembering here the recent history of Warsaw monuments one must know that many of them would not have been erected but for the determination of individual social committees and organisations. Very often the many years of hardship were worthwhile despite the aversion of the authorities (especially in the years of the People's Republic of Poland) and trouble collecting relevant funds. Monuments become gradually rooted in the capital scenery despite sometimes clearly bad localisations, scandals associated with competition results (winning designs sometimes were not realised), and despite lack of interest of the city authorities in restoring certain monuments to their original locations.[7] Some monuments have often faced the risk – after 1989 – of devastation, such as the Mermaid Monument designed by Konstanty Hegla (which was eventually finely restored and placed in 1999 – just as before the war – in the centre of the Old Town Square), symbolic crosses on the hills of the Warsaw Citadel, or the Traugutt Cross. Other monuments sometimes sank into oblivion, decayed due to lack of care and maintenance, or the space around them was appropriated for purposes not having anything to do with the nature of the monument (e.g., for several years now teenagers have been skateboarding at the Monument to Wincenty Witos in Three Crosses Square).

[7] Such was the situation with among others, the Dowborczyk Monument which in the 1930s was erected in Powiśle and during the years just after the war was removed by the Communist authorities. Several years ago the monument was recreated but the city authorities did not agree to its prewar localisation. As a result, the monument was placed ('temporarily') in front of the Polish Army Museum

Capital city monuments, as well as a vast majority of patriotic sites, document, commemorate and symbolise the outstanding role of Warsaw in the fight of consecutive generations of Poles for freedom of the Homeland. It is interesting that the contemporary city space is currently dominated, due to their localisation, shape and dimensions, by patriotic sites related to the fight for independence during the Second World War. Sites commemorating uprisings (of 1794, 1830–1831, 1863–1864) are in general located beyond the very centre but, significantly, at historic sites to which they are related. Unfortunately, the dynamic urban growth of the city, its suburbs and new districts, but also the activities of the communist authorities aimed at wiping out the meaning of many commemorations (if certain monuments could not have been removed totally), resulted in gradual removal of these sites from the inhabitants' memory. Recently, 'Generations' Associations demanded commemoration of part of these sites (let us note – how selectively however) (the Warsaw Commission of the Youth Movement History) issuing a special paper[8] (Dąbrowa et al. 2005).

It should also be added that some kind of 'fight for monuments' is still continuing. Recently founded social committees and associations have been endeavouring to realise further monuments, but have not been meeting with either appropriate social atmosphere, interest of the media, or a friendly attitude of governmental authorities. The most spectacular examples indicate that most probably Warsaw will still have to wait at least for the erection of monuments to: Józef Wybicki (author of Dąbrowski's Mazurka – the Polish national anthem!),[9] Tadeusz Kościuszko – one of the greatest national heroes,[10] as well as a monument (initially planned as a triumphal arch) commemorating Polish victory near Warsaw in August 1920 over the Red Army, or one commemo-

8 The authors of the publication demanded in it commemoration of the leftist activities of the Polish Workers Party, the Związek Walki Młodych, the People's Guards and the People's Army from the time of the Second World War. What is interesting is that as 'forgotten' places (contradictory to the actual state of affairs) the authors classified both the Pawiak Prison Museum and the 10th Pavilion Museum (including the Execution Gate), which were perfectly incorporated in the city historic space as well as in the memory of the inhabitants.

9 The foundation act was officially built in Gen. Jan Henryk Dąbrowski Square in 1997 to celebrate the 200th anniversary Dąbrowski's Mazurka.

10 Appointed on the 100th anniversary of Kościuszko's death, the committee did not manage during the Second Republic to have a monument of the famous Commander in Warsaw, which was managed by social activists and authorities in many cities of the country even before 1939. For some years now, the Committee for the Erection of a Monument to Tadeusz Kościuszko in Warsaw presided over by Professor Marian Marek Drozdowski, PhD, has been trying to solve the grave situation.

rating the victims of the Warsaw concentration camp. But, on the other hand, social activists managed (initially still illegally) to commemorate the victims of the Katyń Crime and maintain and develop the monument in Olszynka Grochowska (gradual realisation of the Alley of Fame) which in the Communist era had been almost totally destroyed (Melak 2004: 79-98).

Monuments belonging to patriotic sites considered an important element of municipal symbolism reveal, above all, the Polish nature and our attitude to commemorating history, at the same time defining and maintaining the legend of Warsaw as an undefeated, unbroken city. This symbolism is strengthened by both remembrance of events important to the fate of the city and the frequently dramatic lots of those very monuments. Examples of monuments well rooted in city symbolism certainly include the unusual Mermaid Monument realised in 1939 by Ludwika Nitschowa. The monument, unveiled during a modest ceremony and without publicity just before the outbreak of the Second World War, survived the hard time of the German occupation, becoming one of the few symbols giving strength to the inhabitants returning to the devastated and bloodless city. But knowledge of the history of this monument enables us (although today only an insignificant part of Warsaw inhabitants fully realise it) to appreciate the somehow dual symbolism of the Mermaid Monument. Not long ago, Małgorzata Baranowska referred to it (1998: 95):

The model for Ludwika Nitschowa's Mermaid was a young poet, Krystyna Krahelska (1914–1944), who died in the Warsaw Uprising five years later. She fought for that bronze maid and for herself. The mermaid remained, just wounded, and its various symbolic meanings also include that of having the face of a participant in the Warsaw Uprising. Neither invaders nor anyone else realised it. The Germans were less afraid of it so it escaped the fate of deliberately destroyed Warsaw monuments.[11]

What is very important is that this monument of such interesting and strong symbolism does not have surroundings matching its importance (thus confirming the continuation of the strange 'city turning its back to the river') nor 'does it participate' in the patriotic custom of Warsaw inhabitants. Nonetheless, as one may believe that, based on numerous publications, it retains its leading position among numerous mermaid images depicting the capital city emblem (Grochowska 2000: 84-103).

11 A fine biography of Krystyna Krahelska was published by Maria Marzena Grochowska and Bohdan Grzymała-Siedlecki (1996).

One patriotic site erected in a prestigious place because of its close relation to national history and national functions performed is the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Piłsudski Square. The characteristics of the tomb were most aptly recently defined by Wiesław Jan Wysocki (2000: 7):

... This form of a soldier's tomb – the Homeland Altar – features evidence of a soldier's oath fulfilled, a sign of loyalty to the Republic, and at the same time symbolic identity with each soldier's tomb and war cemeteries from so many battles of our thousand-year-long history. It was erected to glorify Sacrifice and Heroism, which are known and named, yet remain nameless. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is also evidence of the moral rights of the state to freedom and life in a sovereign state...

Therefore, it may be said that the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier symbolises fully Polish armed action in defence of the state and the fight for independence during the nation's enslavement. All the other patriotic sites refer to defined periods of our history (e.g. a complex of buildings associated with the Warsaw Citadel, the Pawiak Prison Museum), events (e.g. the Monument to the Heroes of the Warsaw Uprising), facts of mass repression of the nation (e.g. the Umschlagplatz Monument, the Monument to the Fallen and Murdered in the East, the Monument to the Martyrs of the Communist Terror in Poland in the years 1944–1956), or, to finish, historic characters. Among numerous patriotic sites appearing in Warsaw public space, I would like to mention only two sites which, featuring exceptionally strong symbolism, are of unusual importance now for shaping the contemporary liberation ethos. One of the sites functions in the sacred sphere (Tomb – Monument to Father Jerzy Popiełuszko at St. Stanisław Kostka Church in Żoliborz), the other – the Monument to the Polish Underground State and the Home Army – in the profane sphere but in a very important, prestigious part of Warsaw, just next to the Seym buildings [For You, Homeland 1999].

Within the remembrance sphere, of exceptional nature are the monuments and commemorative plaques documenting the fight and extermination of the Jewish community. At the moment, at over 60 sites (mainly in the district of Muranów), we can read about the great tragedy of the Jews (Ghetto... 1999: 155-171); most meaningful is the Route of Remembrance of the Fight and Martyrdom formed by 19 memorial sites marked with black syenite blocks.[12] It

12 Ibid., pp. 169-170. The route was created according to a design by Z. Gąsior, S. Jankowski and M. Moderau in 1988 – on the 45th anniversary of the ghetto uprising.

should be noted that in the next few years, along the Route, opposite the Monument to the Ghetto Heroes, a Museum of the History of Polish Jews will be erected.

Patriotic custom – ceremonies. Numerous ceremonies associated with historic anniversaries are held at patriotic sites. Mere presentation of the schedule of these ceremonies held in Warsaw would require a significant volume of this publication. Generally, almost every month in the capital may play the role of 'national remembrance month', from January (anniversary of the start of the January Uprising) to December (anniversary of the first mass execution during the German occupation, anniversary of the martial law of 13 December 1981). Undoubtedly however the following holidays and anniversaries feature extremely extensive agendas and are certain of mass participation of Warsaw inhabitants. 1 August (anniversary of the start of the Warsaw Uprising), 15 August (anniversary of the 'Miracle at the Vistula'), 1 September (anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War) and 11 November – Independence Day. Let us see which patriotic sites are included in the scenarios of celebrations of only one of the holidays – Independence Day. Gradually since 1989, Independence Day has been enjoying ever greater popularity; not only do state and military authorities observe it in an appropriate setting (Independence Day..., 2003: 77-95, 125-135) but also individual city districts celebrate it more and more widely. Apart from masses, patriotic song concerts, exhibitions, Independence Day races and rallies and swimming competitions, there are marches to monuments and other patriotic sites. And so, in 2004, apart from the official changing of the guard at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier attended by top state officials, the city inhabitants were invited to march to the monument to the Polish Underground State and the Home Army near the Seym. Moreover, wreaths and flowers were placed in the district of Wawer at the monument to Józef Piłsudski and in Żoliborz ('under boulders commemorating the anniversary of recovery of independence')[13] at the Sokolnicki Tower. The day before Independence Day official delegations (including government authorities of the capital city of Warsaw and of the Mazowieckie Voivodeship) placed wreaths and bouquets of flowers in the Execution Gate of the Warsaw Citadel.

13 'Rzeczpospolita' daily no. 264 of 10-11 XI 2004, p. 20 (press release).

Casual actions – remembrance. For several years after 1989 there were few initiatives of this type. Overwhelming and aggressive advertising (also large format adverts) of strictly commercial nature practically prevented, for instance, presentation of posters of patriotic content (reminding the people of national anniversaries). Scout alerts organised from time to time (e.g. associated with commemorating the famous Action at the Arsenal) did not meet with any wide social or media response. The years were definitely dominated by ceremonies which – although in the spirit of independence – appeared too official and standard to a significant part of the people. Recent years may indicate a possibility of a significant breakthrough within this sphere of public activity. One of the most interesting examples of activities aimed at raising and restoring historic remembrance of the city inhabitants is for example the latest event during which, in memory of the 63rd anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising, youths put 1,000 simple crosses with lamps and small white and red paper flags at selected sites where the Uprising fighters died. What is more, Varsovians were reminded of the time of the Uprising by a lamp shining on top of the Warsaw Uprising Mound for 63 days (from 1 August to 2 October) and furthermore, near the Old Town, scouts lit lamps at sewer manholes.

Worth remembering is also the more and more frequent appearance of more or less successful outdoor attempts to reconstruct historic events. For some years now, they have been enjoying ever greater popularity and attracting numerous spectators. They appear to have an ever greater impact on the interests of the capital city inhabitants in the history of the city and Poland. It is good to mention at least several of the most spectacular events of this type. For some years now (1998, 2001, 2002), events have been staged related to Józef Piłsudski's coming to Warsaw (on 10 November 1918) while in 2004 quite successful attempts were undertaken to reconstruct battle scenes: first, inhabitants of Warsaw were shown a fragment of Polish-Soviet battles in the Old Town of April 1794. (Warsaw Insurrection), then the 1994 Warsaw Uprising battles in the district of Wola and, finally, in November, the capture of the Arsenal by the insurgents in 1830.

* * *

When we look at the barely analysed problem of historic remembrance and shaping historic sites from a slightly longer time perspective, we will discern that during the 'people's rules' (1944/45–1989) Warsaw was for political and

ideological reasons shaped to be a centre of dominating industrial features which were to provide the social and professional structure of the city with a working class majority, that is the so-called 'leading power of the nation'. Within the 'national remembrance' sphere this meant the firm will of the authorities to realise monuments, obelisks and commemorative plaques referring above all to the traditions of the workers' movement. After 1989, political changes but also the city's entry into a post-industrial development phase, enabled gradual transformations within Warsaw public space. In most general terms, it may be said that new patriotic sites to an ever greater extent personify the traditions of independence suppressed by the Communist regime and show respect and do justice to those historic characters the nation was supposed to forget during the era of the People's Republic of Poland. But most recent history (after 1945) found its symbolic expression in the form of monuments and plaques to commemorate the victims of communist crimes, including hundreds of Poles repressed during the Stalinist era. What is interesting and surprising is that Warsaw does not have within its public space any patriotic sites related to the events of 1970 and 1980–81 or devoted to the victims of the martial law of 13 December 1981.

In the case of Warsaw, further documentation and research – from the point of view we are interested in here – should be conducted in parallel in two directions: 1) full inventory and preparation of a special publication generally available to the city inhabitants and other interested parties (e.g., an atlas of patriotic sites);[14] 2) conducting studies and analyses related to the symbolism of patriotic sites, the role of these sites in shaping historic awareness of the city inhabitants, and culture-creating importance of patriotic sites. The nature of possible further research, ethnological or sociological works associated with patriotic sites as important elements of the city symbolic space but also of significance to the process of shaping contemporary cultural identity of our city appears to be indicated by a fragment of a recent statement of Dariusz Gajewski (director of 'Warsaw' of 2003) in the context of commemorations related to the lots of the city inhabitants during the German occupation, including those associated with the Warsaw Uprising:

14 With respect to the years before the Second World War, one may indicate an interesting attempt of a similar study, see: S. Sempołowska (et al.), 1938 (p. 201-276, section entitled 'More important buildings and sites commemorated in the years 1788–1792, 1794, 1830–1831, 1860–1864, 1904–1906, 1918' – with a map of Warsaw). On the other hand, among the numerous publications of recent years, the 'Warszawskie Termopile' [Warsaw's Thermopylae] series ought to be deemed some kind of an example setting the correct direction of documentation and popularisation works.

... Uprising fighters cannot find themselves here as it is not theirs anymore; theirs ceased to exist during the war. Supposedly everybody knows that but it is hard to accept it emotionally. And understanding Warsaw without this knowledge is not possible... We live here for years and do not think about it, and this is the case when the city has another in it – the destroyed one... (quote from: Sańczuk, Chaciński, Skolimowski 2005: 215)

On the other hand, various forms of commemorations in the public space – both in the sacred and profane spheres – will make it possible to organise anew the life of inhabitants in a destroyed and then restored city now aspiring to play the role of one of the most important European metropolises. In further research into this significantly important cultural process let us use – as some kind of inspiration – current remarks of humanists learning and still discovering Warsaw anew. Here is one more such remark which, in that respect, inspires ethnologists or cultural anthropologists:

... what layers of horror do we tread every day, nobody could sleep here peacefully. The dead would not let us fall asleep... Death in Warsaw does not evoke thrills of emotions or ill fascination but has been domesticated, involved in ordinary routine (...) (Zielińska 1995: 180-181)

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KRAKOW: *GENIUS LOCI* OF THE TOWN SPACE

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Abstract:
This paper aims to analyze the urban space of Krakow and studies the role of specific sites such as Cathedral Hill, the Main Main Market Square, and the Church on the Rock which convey specific significance to the inhabitants. The basic categories of culture – "space" and "time" – are used in the anthropological sense (viz. Czarnowski and Eliade), and help to explain the unique character of Krakow's genius loci.

Keywords: ***Krakow; town space; urban anthropology***

The phenomenon of urban space involves architects, historians and anthropologists. For the latter what is most important is actually the imagined space which exists only in social consciousness, in a social meaning. Urban space is not a continuous one. It has various places, various meanings. There are some typical words used in this case: a magic and mysterious place, the genius of the place – *genius loci*. Poles think, "What a wonderful town Krakow is, how unique, what special atmosphere it has." Lots of tourists can say the same about Paris, Munich, New York, or about Prague, of course. Some say, "*Cracovia altera Roma,"* which means, "Krakow, the second Rome" or "Krakow – the Polish Athens." (Ulewicz 1994)

What is the reason for such feelings? It is not its metropolitan status, because little towns like Sorrento or Avignon can be as nice as big capital cities. It is also not a question of architectural monuments, because not every monument has its own specifics which attract tourists and pilgrims, which inspire poets and painters. So the force that attracts people is not connected with material urban space, but rather with one's image of the space.

"Space" and "time" are basic categories of culture – universal forms and ideas through which people perceive reality and can build their own picture of the world. The experiences of "space" and "time" cause every particular fragment of them to be valued in different ways. Stephan Czarnowski and Mircea Eliade conceive of time and space as structures created by myth, or as the results of mythical feeling. The highest values are connected with the central point. The centre is marked as one's "own" safe place or the sacred place for religious people (Czarnowski 1925; Eliade 1949).

The "centre of Krakow" is commonly considered to be the Old Town of Krakow. "To visit Krakow" means "to visit the Old Town". The simple words: "to go to town" mean "to go to the Old Town", to the old Main Market Square or to any street nearby. Such cases are easy to notice in every mono-centric, historic town. What is the reason for this? So-called old towns mean historic centres of modern European towns. They were built in the past as geometrically planned areas crowded with houses and churches and they were surrounded by city defensive walls. Besides, people who lived there in the past, inside the walls, had a special social status, much higher than inhabitants of the suburbs. This structure was permanently registered in social memory through the centuries and it still is. It was common in the mid-nineteenth century to change the medieval defensive walls into park promenades. In the same way some two hundreds years ago the Old Town of Krakow was surrounded by a green ring of park trees. The centre and the borders of the town space are still clearly visible today and they are fixed in everyone's mind.

The Krakow Main Market Square was created in the mid-thirteenth century, but it still is the centre of the twenty-first-century town. The Main Market Square is connected not only with everyday life (administrative and commercial), but also with cultural and religious life as well. It was, and still is, crowded with people when various ceremonies take place there. It is really a large square. All Krakovians consider it the most magnificent medieval square in the whole of Europe and they are very proud of it. The Main Market Square with the Renaissance Cloth Hall, the Gothic Town Hall tower and the surrounding houses and palaces is a really nice place. It creates a part of the so-called Krakow dream about its glorious past. For centuries Krakow was the royal capital of Poland but lost this function at the very end of the sixteenth century. The memory of it is still evident in the common image of Krakow of the inhabitants themselves. Such an experience often occurs in various old towns of Middle Europe.

What else composes the picture of the 'centre' in the Main Market Square? In the northern corner stands the huge parish church of St. Mary. This church also seems to be part of the above-mentioned specific, mythical dream. All Krakovians think this is the oldest and most attractive church, though art historians do not agree. In fact, inside the church there are many works of art of the highest quality and among them the huge Gothic sculptured altar made by Veit Stoss, who came to Krakow from Nuremberg at the end of the 15th century. It is commonly thought that his creativeness placed him among the Kings and Patron Saints – all the persons who play the main roles in "Krakow's dream".

The higher tower of St Mary's Church belongs not to the Church but to the town. All year long, on every hour, a guard plays a trumpet call from the top of this tower. In May and in October early mornings he also plays traditional religious songs dedicated to St Mary. The hourly trumpet call is connected with a medieval legend about a Mongolian invasion when one of the Mongols killed the St Mary's church guard with an arrow. This call has been transmitted by Polish State Radio every day at noon since 1927. So every day at noon Krakow's Main Market Square with its parish Church becomes, for a few minutes, the centre of Poland (replacing the capital city of Warsaw!). Marking the noon hour by similar trumpet calls or by the peal of bells in the old tower-clocks is not rare in old towns all over Poland and all over Middle Europe. Everywhere the meaning of these sounds is the same – marking an image of the centre of the town and remembrance of the glorious past.

Moreover, the meanings and values of Main Market Square as the "central" place are fixed periodically by an annual cycle of religious ceremonies. These are, first of all: the Corpus Christi procession in May or June, a special mass in St Mary's church devoted to St Joseph, one of the patron saints of the town (the 19th of March) and a special mass and a church fair on Assumption Day (the 15th of August).

Besides, there are also occasional celebrations on anniversaries of important historic events. These are commonly felt to be substitutes for the old royal ceremonies which took place on Main Market Square some hundreds of years ago (Pilichowska 1993; Rozek 1993).

Another parallel 'centre' of Krakow is the royal castle and the cathedral. Both are located on the hill called by an ancient Celtic name Wawel (Wavell). Here one can dream the genuine royal dream of Krakow while walking round the arcade courtyard and down the nave of the Gothic cathedral. Here are the former royal residence and royal coronation place and here is the royal necro-

Krakow, Wawel Cathedral, Woman from the Highland praying at Ara Patriae. *[Photo: T. Węcławowicz]*

polis. After the tragic fall of the Polish kingdom at the end of the eighteenth century, the kings were replaced by rulers of the national soul, which means by eminent romantic poets and national heroes. They were buried in the crypts of the cathedral, close to the kings' tombstones. In the middle of the cathedral there is the shrine of St Stanislaw, one of the main patron saints of Poland. In the nineteenth century it was commonly considered as *Ara Patriae* – the altar of the homeland. A hundred years ago they called Wawel the "Polish Acropolis" (Miodonska-Brookes 1994). Until today its values are of the highest level:

Krakow, Processional ceremony with relics of the Patron Saints from Wawel Hill
[photo. T. Węcławowicz]

spiritual, religious, and many others connected with the national history. The cathedral on Wawel Hill relates to the memory of Karol Wojtyla as bishop of Krakow and as Pope John Paul II.

The second national 'pantheon' and, at the same time, a third parallel centre is located on a hill called the Rock. According to a medieval legend, here in the church was the place where the Krakow bishop St Stanislaw was killed by King Boleslaw. Since the end of the nineteenth century in the church crypt there has been a necropolis of Polish intellectuals: writers, poets, composers.

In fact, the "Church on the Rock" is located outside the old town of Krakow, far to the south, but in the mental space, on the mental map of the town it belongs to old Krakow.

These "central places" of Krakow play their own roles at the same moments and they cumulate their meanings. They are complementary one to another. In the social memory they exist together. First of all they mark the "sacred" space of the town. The term "sacred" is used in the wider, anthropo-

Krakow, Main Market Square, Easter Saturday ceremony in front of the St Mary's Church *[photo A. Bujak after A. Bujak, Mystical Krakow, Krakow 1996]*

logical sense. Sacred (*sacrum*) is the opposite of secular (*profanum*). Sacred is used not only in the religious meaning. It is a category of things and behaviours which the common people consider unusual and different from the everyday case and connected with great values.

In Krakow the sacred value of a space has several levels of meaning:

– the first one – a religious one
– the second one – a national and patriotic one
– the third one – connected with artistic features
– and the fourth one – connected with folk and popular culture.

Those sacred values of the Krakow space are periodically recalled with the different rituals and ceremonies which take place on Main Market Square and on nearby streets.

The first point mentioned above is related to the vivid religious cults of Corpus Christi, St. Stanislaw and St Mary. Periodic processions are organized that go from Wawel Hill to Main Market Square (and back) and from Wawel

Krakow, Main Market Square, traditional Horseman (Lajkonik) dance on the eighth day after Corpus Christi Day *[photo: A. Bujak after A. Bujak, Mystical Krakow, Krakow 1996]*

Hill to the Church on the Rock (and back). They attract thousands of people not only from Krakow but also from other Polish towns and villages. What is most important is that this is a periodic cycle, year after year, ages old.

The second point is that the ceremonies are connected with the anniversaries of the main national events; we can call this "sacred national history." The way of celebration is always the same: a mass in the cathedral; next a procession through the streets of the Old Town to the "Katyn Cross" – a symbol

Krakow, The Church on the Rock, sarcophagi of famous Poles in the church crypt.
[fot. A. Bujak after A. Bujak & M. Rozek, Krakow, Krakow 1989]

of Poles murdered by the Soviets during the Second World War – and then along the so-called Royal Road to the tomb of the Unknown Warrior placed in front of the monument dedicated to the victory over the Teutonic Knights in the Middle Ages. Another example is the anniversary of the eighteenth-century Kosciuszko insurrection celebrated on Main Market Square. It is significant that the remembrance still remains. It means the past is very important nowadays and tradition is present in modern times.

The third point was mentioned as connected with artistic features. This creates a "very Krakow" atmosphere of happenings on the streets – annual festivals of street theatre – and also summer concerts named "Music in Old Krakow" taking place in ancient halls, courts and gardens.

The fourth point is connected with folk and popular Krakow tradition alive in cyclical rituals and events. Among them is an orientally dressed horseman riding a wooden horse dancing on the streets on the eighth day after Corpus Christi Day. Every year inhabitants of Krakow meet their President and

their Archbishop on Main Market Square to wish one another Merry Christmas, Happy New Year and Happy Easter. For a few they have organized there Christmas Eve supper and Easter entertainment for poor people. All these folk and popular events are joined with commercial activities, so it is not easy to distinguish which one is religious, which is folk and popular or which is purely commercial.

We dare say: urban space is filled with social memory. It is created by ideas, images and meanings. The "signs of remembrance" can have material shapes like churches, buildings, street names, or monuments. Some of these "places" are associated with famous persons. One of them was Archbishop Karol Wojtyla. He spent over forty years in Krakow and from 1978 he returned several times as Pope John II. He lived in many houses and he celebrated masses in many churches. As a result he created "his own space" in Krakow.

* * *

The common image of a town is composed not only of material elements and material values but, primarily, of non-material values. When a town loses its inhabitants with their traditions and their dreams, it loses its identity. The image of the town belongs to them. They take it with them and the new inhabitants can create a new identity.

Luckily Krakow is a unique town where society has been stable through the centuries. But in Polish history there were spectacular events when the population of several big towns were forced to move to the west, e.g., people from the old Polish town of Lvov were moved to Wroclaw (Breslau). So today's Lvov in Ukraine is quite a different town from what it was before the last war, though all the architectural monuments still stand in good condition. Wroclaw (Breslau) in Lower Silesia is also a quite different town from before 1945. It was fascinating and at the same time tragic to see how the people from Lvov settled in Wroclaw and tried to create a second Lvov there. The idea of the native town was more vivid than the realities of the new place. But they were not successful. The next generation created a new world of its own there. Not better and not worse than the previous one. Simply – a new one.

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MEDIEVAL KRAKOW AND ITS CHURCHES: STRUCTURE AND MEANINGS

Tomasz Węcławowicz

Abstract:

The first part of this paper aims to analyze the pattern of the network of Krakow town churches in the Romanesque and Gothic periods and studies the role of these individual components of urban landscape taking into account the significance of their dedications (patrocinia) in the symbolic space of the town.

The rocky (Wawel) Hill, rising among the meanders of the Vistula River, constitutes the centre of Krakow. Since the very end of the 10th century it was the seat of the bishops and the ducal residence, and later it became the main residence of the Polish kings. In the Romanesque period ten churches and chapels were built here: the cathedral complex consisted of the baptistery chapel and two basilicas, and seven other small churches and chapels according to the concept developed in the early Middle Ages following the exegesis of the apocalyptic vision of St John the Evangelist.

Beneath the castle, along the main trade routes, four churches were founded in modo cruces. Some historians have suggested that the idea of a cruciform layout came from Prince Kazimir, known as the Restorer. In the second half of the 11th century the prince intended to re-create in his capital the layout of the imperial seat in Aachen, an arrangement rich in powerful association.

At the end of the 12th century, three more churches dedicated to the Roman Martyrs were founded in Krakow simultaneously as an attempt to re-invent the city as a similitudo Romae in its Early Christian glory.

The second part of this paper explains the distinguishing features of the cathedral church and other churches in town and argues that iconographic analysis of their architecture helps to explain their unique character and appearance.

During the 14th century the cathedral church was quickly becoming one the most important in the Kingdom, the true Königskirche. The idea of Christian Kingship was an important part of their iconographic program. Also the monumental basilical churches in town can be seen as a manifestation of Kingdom and Kingship. In contrast to the importance of the monumental basilical churches, the meanings of the small hall churches concentrated more on the devotion aspects.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages the city space gradually took on new symbolic meanings connected with the cathedral church as the sanctuary of St Stanislaw, Pater Patriae – the primary political patron of Poland.

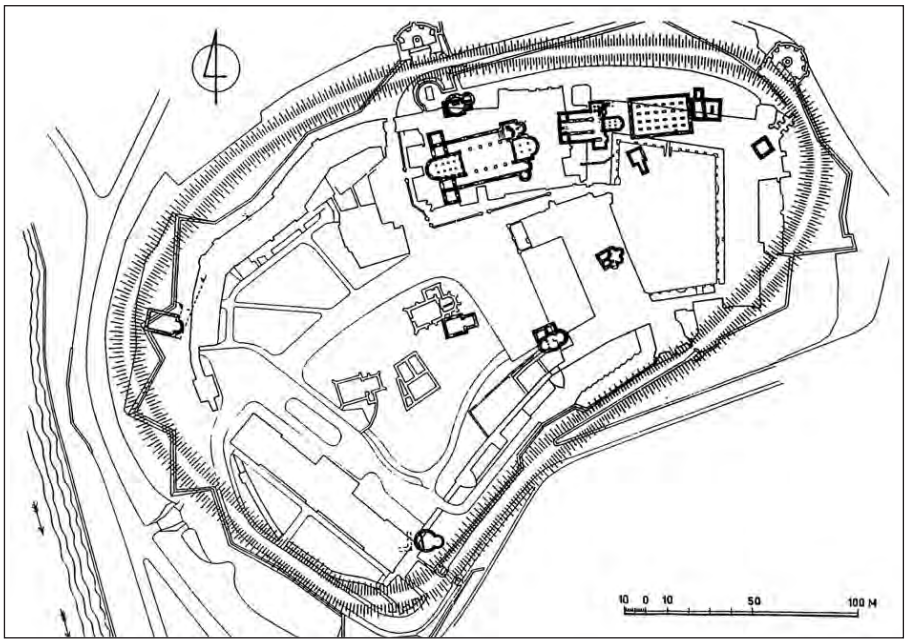
Keywords: ***Middle Ages; Krakow; Meanings of Architecture***

The city of Krakow is unique in that its many medieval monuments – ecclesiastical as well as secular – have been preserved and still dominate the townscape. The medieval agglomeration can be clearly discerned in the centre of the contemporary city. A lot has been written about the history of Krakow and its monuments but the meaning of the structure of the medieval town still awaits a proper study. Most important is an analysis of the network of Krakow town churches in the Romanesque and Gothic periods together with the role of these individual components of urban landscape and the significance of their dedications (*patrocinia*) in a symbolic space of the town. There are also some important architectural elements which help create the sacral space of these monumental dominant features.

The rocky Wawel Hill, rising among the meanders of the Vistula River, constitutes the centre of Krakow. From the very end of the 10th century it was the seat of the bishops and the ducal residence, and later it became the main residence of the Polish kings.

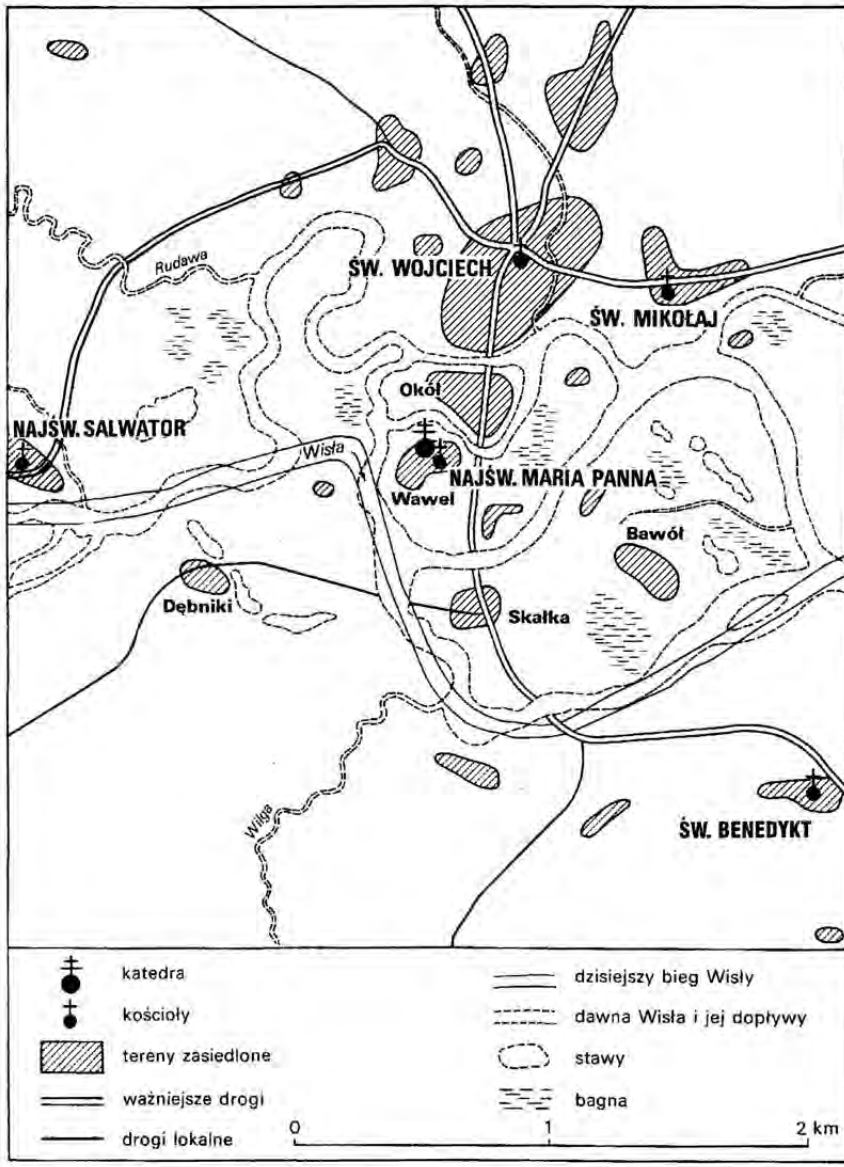
In the Romanesque period ten churches and chapels were built here**:** the cathedral complex consisted of the baptistery chapel and two basilicas, and seven other small churches and chapels according to the concept developed in the early Middle Ages following the exegesis of the apocalyptic vision of St John the Evangelist. Probably the tallest among these structures was the double storey *tetraconchos* – the palace chapel of St Mary placed in the middle of the hill (Pianowski 1995; Węcławowicz 2005b). (ill. 1)

Beneath the castle, along the main trade routes, four churches were founded *in modo crucis***:** The Holy Saviour in the West, St Adalbert to the North,

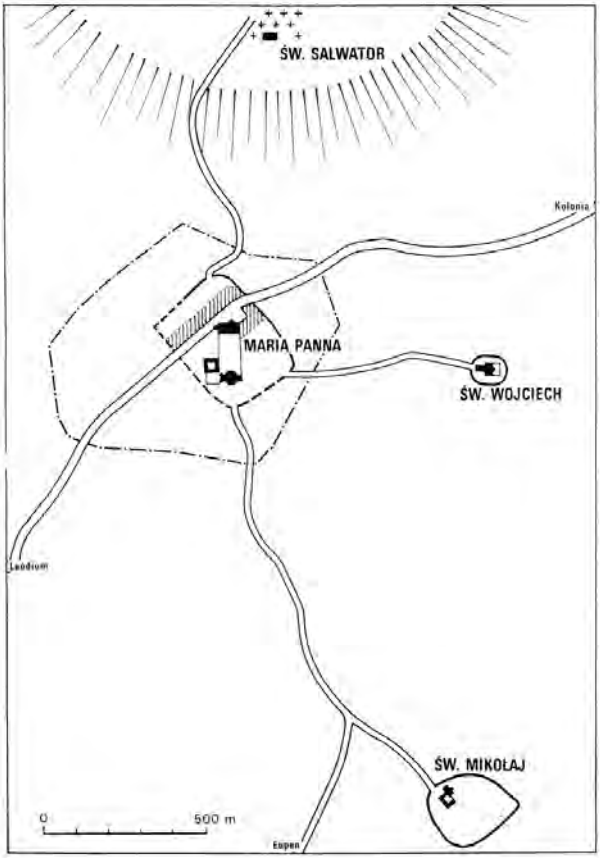


1. Krakow, Wawel Hill, ground-plan in the Romanesque age. In the middle the* teraconchos *– the palace chapel of St Mary. *[after Pianowski 1998]*

St Nicholas in the West and St Benedict on the South side. No sources shed any light on the circumstances of these four foundations, but their relics suggest that they were built in the second half of the 11th century. Some historians have suggested that the idea of a cruciform layout came from Prince Kazimir, known as the Restorer, but was realized only later by his son King Boleslaus. Prince Kazimir was related to the Emperor Otto III and spent his youth in Aachen and Cologne. In Aachen he might have seen the realisation of a similar imperial foundation – Otto III built three churches around the Carolingian palace complex with the chapel of St Mary. Just as in Krakow, these were dedicated to the Holy Saviour, St. Adalbert and St Nicholas (Michałowski 1989; Skwierczynski 1993, pp. 36ff). It is important to emphasise that the Christian name of Prince Kazimir was *Carolus*, and it was given to him to stress the relation between the young Piast dynasty and the rulers of the *Sacrum Romanum Imperium*. The Restorer was strongly supported by his uncle, the archbishop of Cologne, in his campaign to renovate the Church organization in Poland. All



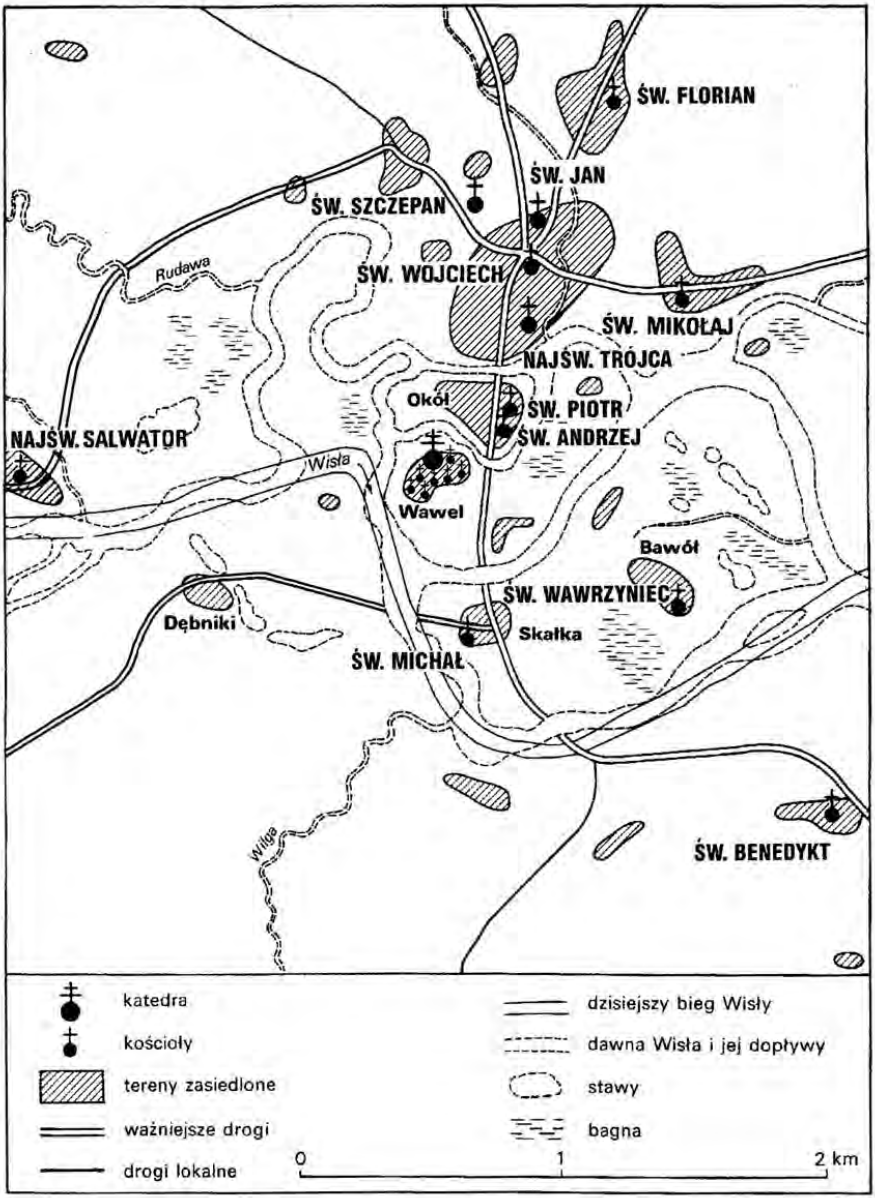
2. Krakow, agglomeration at the end of the 11th century with 'border churches' of The Holy Saviour (Najśw Salwator), of St Adalbert (Św. Wojciech), of St Nicholas (Św. Mikołaj) and of St Benedict (Św. Benedykt) round Wawel Hill with the palace chapel of St Mary (Najśw. Maria Panna). *[after Węcławowicz 2005].*



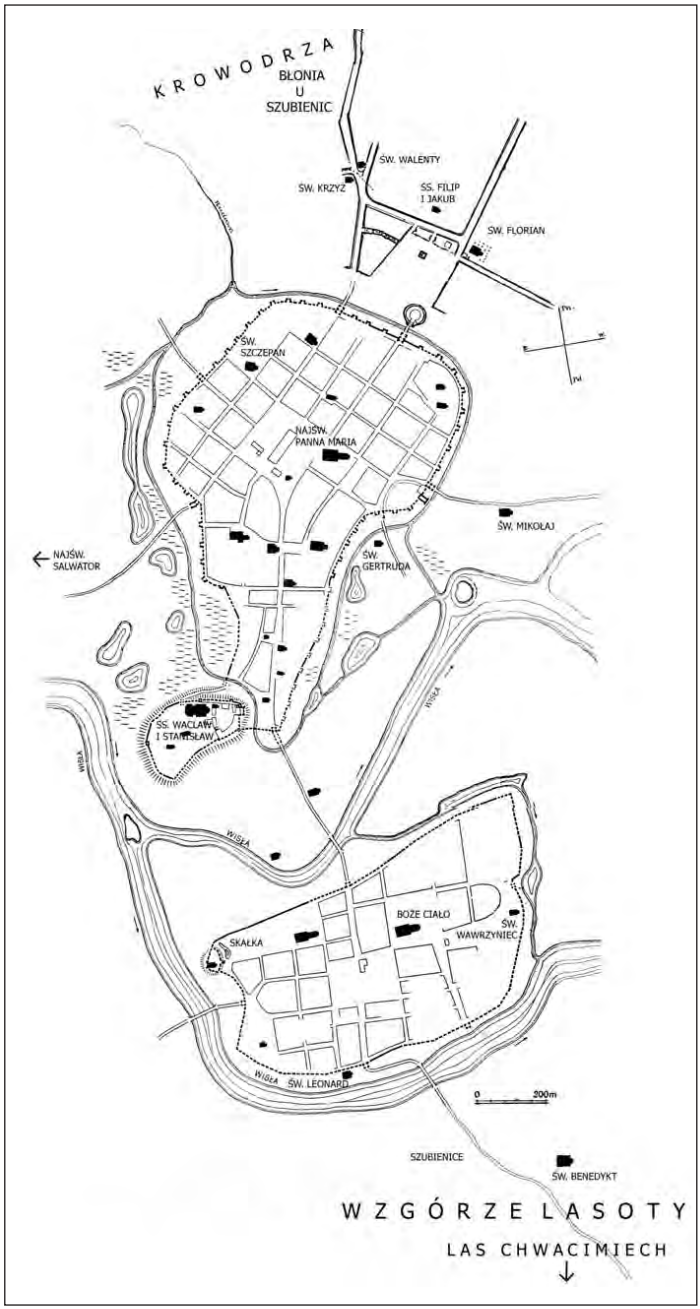
3. Aachen, the 'border churches' founded by Otto III round the Charlemagne Chapel. *[after Michałowski 1989].*

these links make it feasible for the prince to re-create in his Polish capital the layout of the Imperial seat in Aachen, an arrangement rich in powerful association. (ill. 2 and 3)

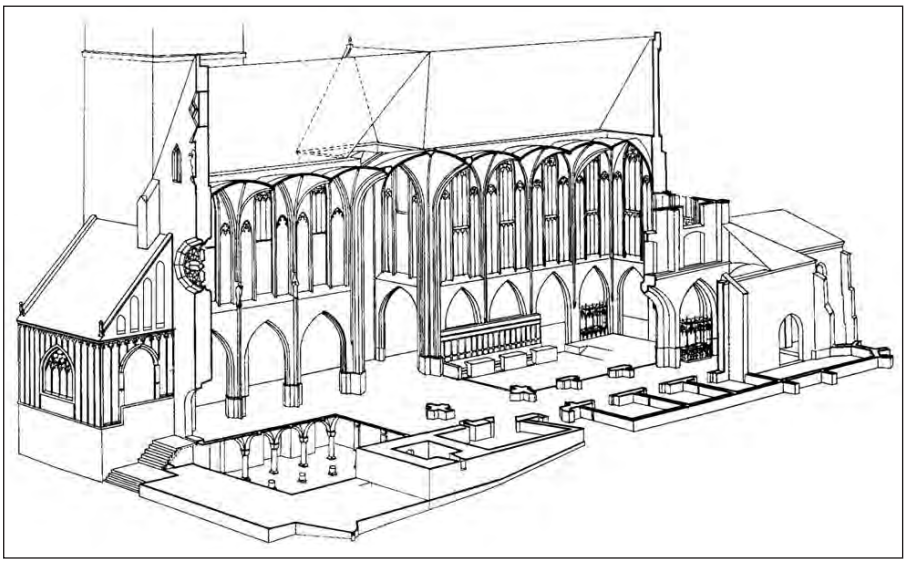
One hundred years later, at the end of the 12th century, three more churches were founded in Krakow simultaneously. These were St Florian, St Stephen and St Lawrence built on the western, southern and northern peripheries of the agglomeration. In 1186 Bishop Gideon transferred the relics of St Florian from Italy to Krakow in order to enhance the status of his cathedral. According to a medieval legend of this transfer [*Legenda translationis sancti Floriani Martyri*] the relics of St Florian rested in Roman catacombs together with those of St Stephen and St Laurence. In view of this "holy affinity" we may interpret the foundation of their three Krakow churches as an attempt to re-



4. Krakow, agglomeration at the end of the 12th century with the new 'border churches' of St Stephan (Św. Szczepan), of St Florien (Św. Florian) and of St Lawrence (Św. Wawrzyniec). *[after Węcławowicz 2005].*



5. Krakow, agglomeration at the end of the 15th century. *[after Węcławowicz 2005].*



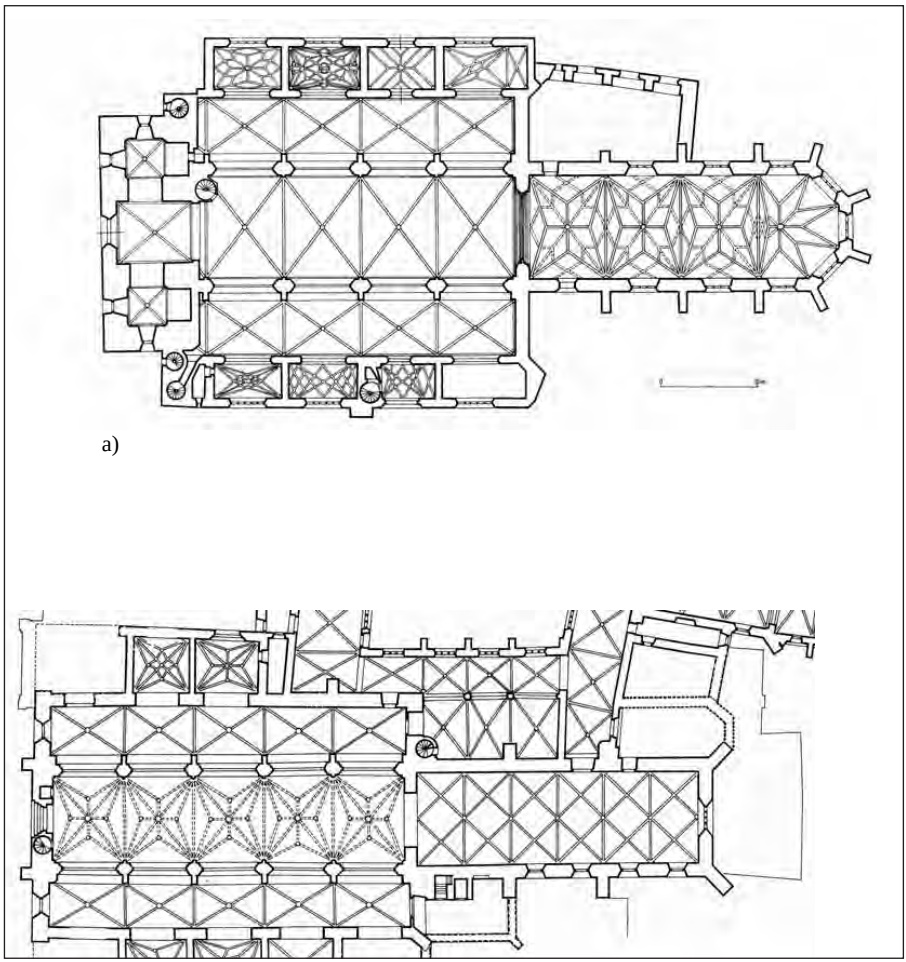
6. Krakow, cathedral church at the end of the 14th century. Longitude section. *[after Węcławowicz 2005]*

invent the city as a *similitude Rome* in its Early Christian glory (Translation 1888; Węcławowicz 2005a, pp. 134-136). Till the end of the Middle Ages the urban borders hardly transcended the approximate limits defined in ca 1200 by the churches of St Stephen, St Florian and St Laurence. (ill. 4 and 5)

* * *

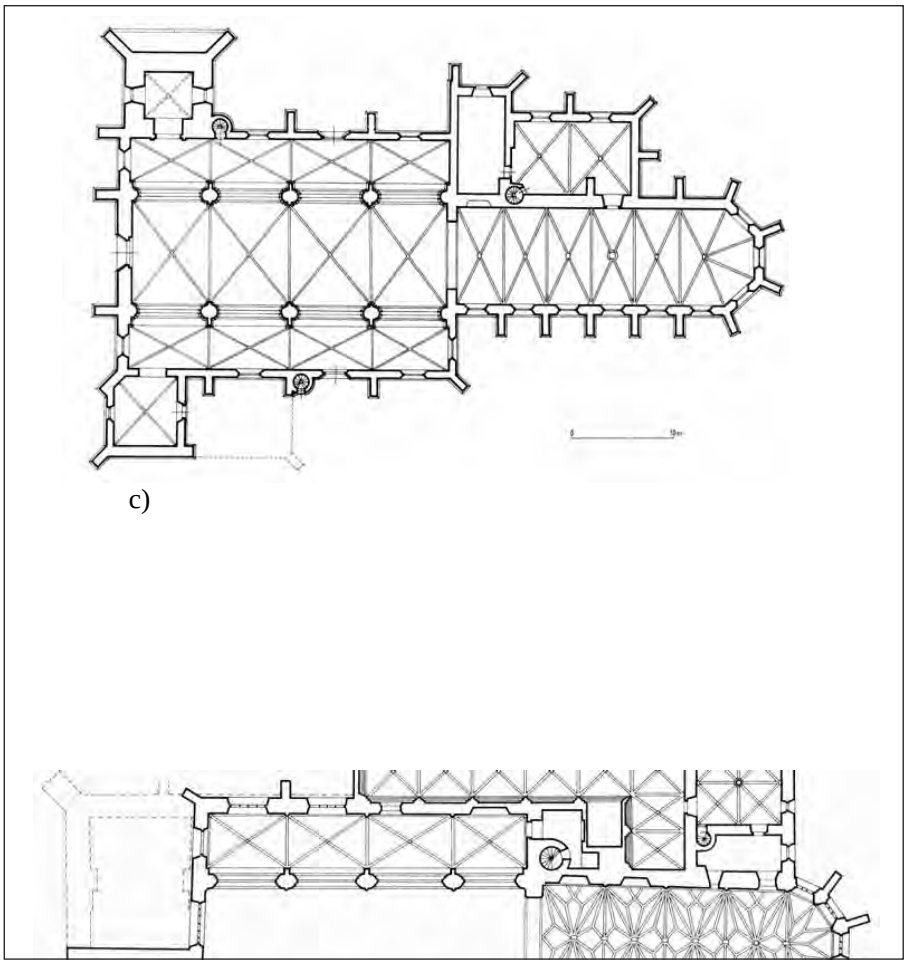
In the mid-14th century, Central Europe experienced important political and economic changes. In Poland, the ancient and revered Piast dynasty returned to power with the coronation of King Ladislaw the Short in 1320, restoring political unity after two hundred years of political fragmentation. Krakow became the capital town of the new state. Under the royal and bishop's patronage old churches were rebuilt in the city itself as well as in the two new satellite towns outside the capital's defensive walls – called Kazimir (Casimirus) and Klepardia (Clepardia). (ill. 5 and 11)

The rebuilding of Krakow cathedral as a large Gothic basilica was the first of these modern foundations, and others soon followed suit – the main parish church of St. Mary, the Dominican church, and two large basilicas (the church



7 a, b. Krakow, Great basilical churches: parish church of St Mary and Dominican church of the Holy Trinity. *[after* Architektura gotycka *1995].*

of the Austin Friars and the parish church of Corpus Christi), which were constructed in Kasimir. All these churches shared similar characteristics in their ground plan, construction and architectural detail pioneered by the cathedral workshop and have thus been treated in the literature as a one group, the so-called 'Krakow school of fourteenth century architecture'. (Crossley 1985, pp. 18-84; Crossley 1995; Węcławowicz 1993) (ill. 6 and 7a-d)



7 c, d. Kazimir near Krakow, Great basilical churches: parish church of the Corpus Christi and the Austin Friars church of St Catherine. *[after* Architektura gotycka *1995].*

In the same period the second group of churches, among them some of the above-mentioned Romanesque churches, were reconstructed, again following a strikingly uniform model. (ill. 8a-c and 9a-e)

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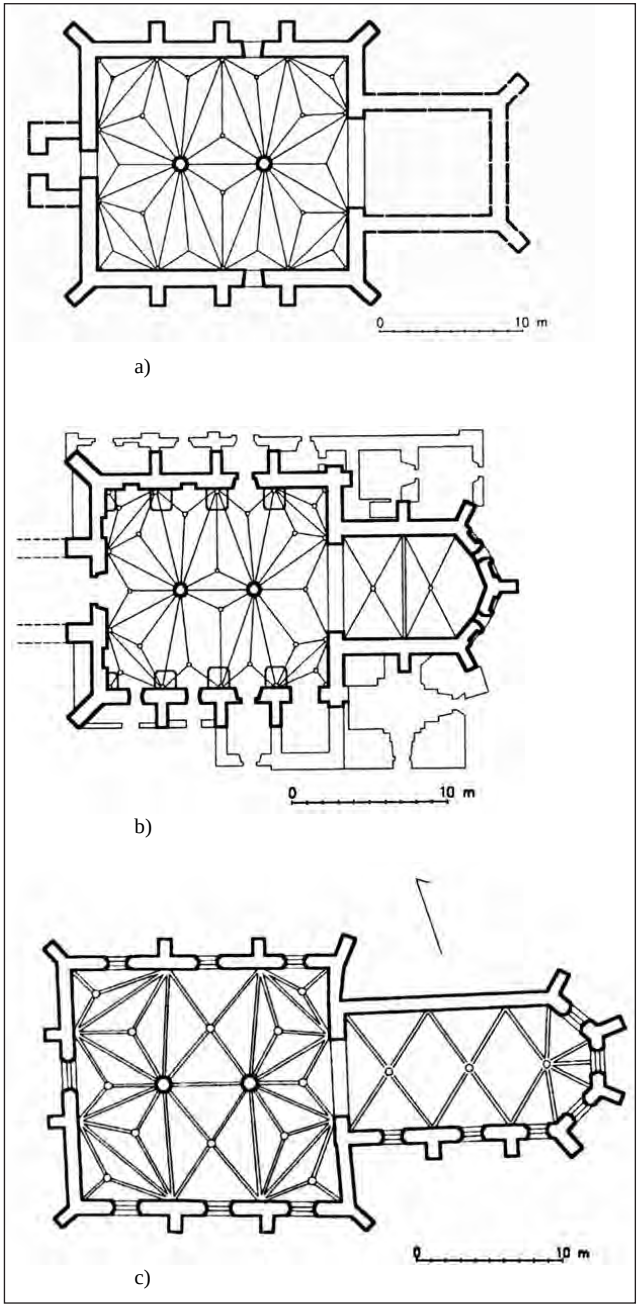
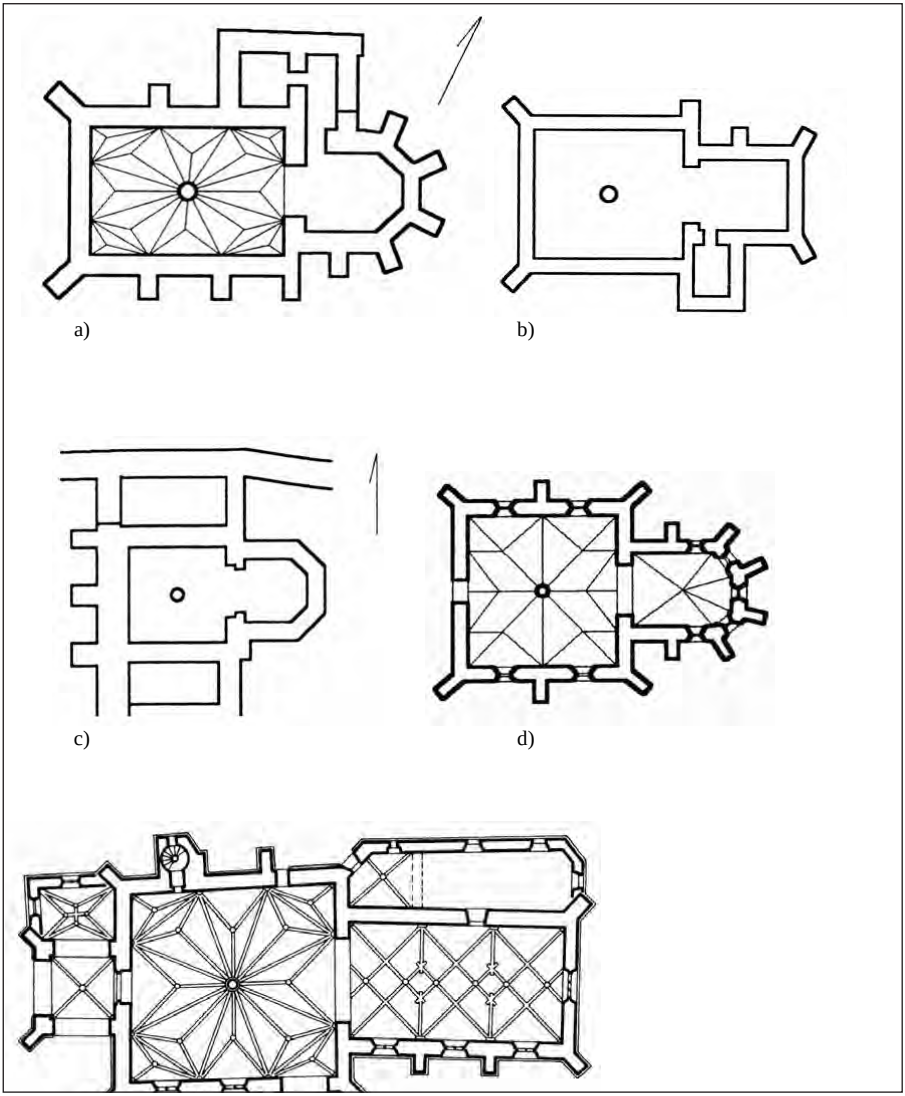
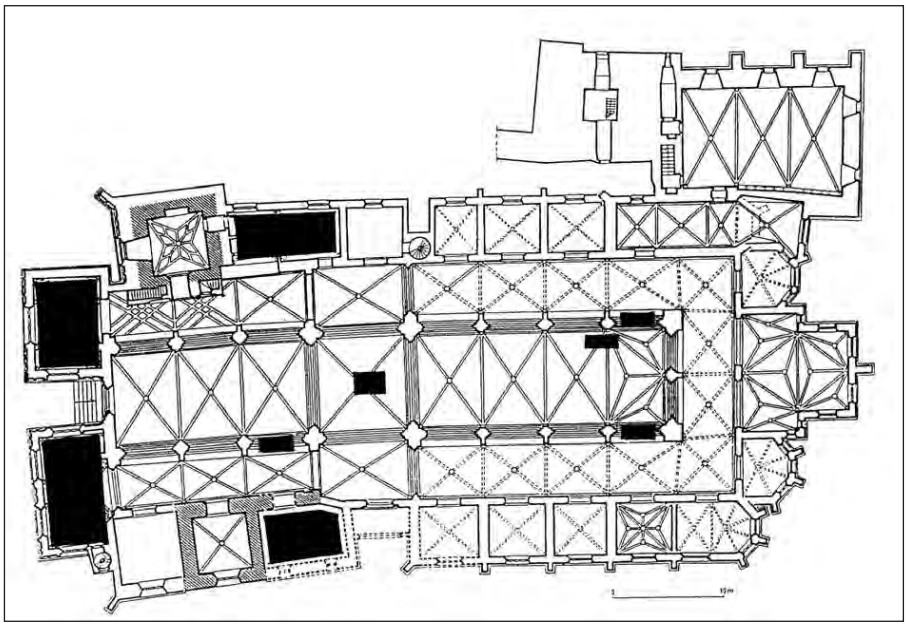


8 a, b, c. Krakow, Double-pillar churches: parish churches of St. Steven and of the All Saints and the monastic church of St Marcus *[after Goras 2003].*



9 a, b, c, d, e. Krakow, Single-pillar churches: collegiate churches of St. Michael and St George, castle church of St Mary from Egypt, votive church of St Giles, parish church of the Holy Cross. *[after Goras 2003].*



10. Krakow, cathedral church. Marked black: shrine of St Stanislaw in medio ecclesiae; the places of his cult in side chapels; the royal tombs round the main altar and in the south aisle; the royal burial chapels at the west *[after Wecławowicz 2005].*

It is important to explain the distinguishing features of the churches belonging to these two groups and to argue that iconographic analysis of their architecture helps to explain their unique character and appearance. Especially helpful in this can be an attempt to understand the intention of the founder. The four nearly identical basilicas, following one scheme and constructed over a short time, seem to have been conceived as a part of an artistic program for the rebuilding of the Polish capital town. Their naves were modelled on the nave of the cathedral and it is likely that it was their patrons' intention to convey some of the ideas of the cathedral church. In the middle of the 14th century the Krakow cathedral quickly became one the most important in the Kingdom, the true *Königskirche* – the coronation church, the royal mausoleum and the shrine of the national patron saint. The Gothic remodelling of the cathedral church treated the sacrosanct places connected to the saint with great respect. The location of his Romanesque tomb was unchanged and it became the geometrical and devotional focus of the new basilica

The arrangement of the royal tombs "in the orbit" of St Stanislaw's shrine – those of Ladislaw the Short and his son Kazimir the Great are placed in the eastern part of the ambulatory and those of Ladislaw the Jagiellon and his son Kazimir the Jagiellon in its western part – emphasizes the role of St Stanislaw as the patron saint of the Polish Kingdom and the meaning of the church space as a microcosm representing that kingdom in both the territorial and historical sense. Royal coronations took place in the centre of the cathedral church and thus in the centre of the Kingdom. (ill. 10)

The disposition of the cathedral interior and surviving fragments of the original cathedral decoration – e.g., the figure of St Stanislaw, the coat of arms with the Polish eagle – testify that the idea of Christian Kingship was an important part of their iconographic program. (Crossley 1995; Crossley 2001; Rożnowska-Sadraei 2003, Węcławowicz 2005, pp. 65-98)

In the above-mentioned basilical churches some elements of decorations refer to similar ideas: e.g., the coat of arms with the Polish eagle, and the coats of arms of the members of the Royal family. The King's name KA-ZY-MI-RUS was spelled out on the rib-vault bosses. These monumental churches can be seen as a manifestation of Kingdom and Kingship.

The remains of the small Romanesque churches from the second group have also been excavated and studied. Archaeological and historical research has shown that all these buildings were re-designed to have Gothic hall naves with a pair or a single pillar in the middle (Goras 2003). (ill. 8 and 9)

In contrast with the importance of the monumental basilical churches, the intentions of this group concentrated more on the devotion aspects. According to the biblical exegesis, the central stone pillar can be seen as an allegory of the True Cross, in moral or so-called tropological interpretation as the Tree of Paradise. Anagogical interpretation understands the pillar as the tree standing in the middle of Heavenly Jerusalem as seen by St. John in his vision of the Last Judgment.

* * *

During the 15th century the city of Krakow itself came to be seen as being under the special protection of St Stanislaw – the primary political patron of Poland. The city space gradually took on new symbolic meanings connected with the cathedral church. In some of the 15th century descriptions the city space

11. Krakow at the end of the 15th century. *[after Hartmann Schedel Buch der Cronicken, Nürnberg 1493].*

gradually took on new symbolic meanings: towering above the town was the royal castle surrounded by "crown-shaped" walls – the seat of kings and the cathedral church, the resting place of the holy relics of St Stanislaw, the *Pater Patriae* (Dlugosz 1961, pp. 168-169).

Moreover Krakow also appears (contrary to geographical facts) to be situated in the very centre of Poland as well as in the very centre of Europe. The *topos* of the town "in the centre" goes back to Ezekiel's vision of Jerusalem existing amidst pagan states.

At the end of the Middle Ages Krakow's inhabitants had no doubt – the *omphalos* was placed inside the cathedral church, at St Stanislaw's shrine. (ill. 11)

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URBAN IDENTITIES AND DIVERSITIES: A KEY TO THE RENAISSANCE OF THE CITY?[1]

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Abstract:
This paper looks at factors of urban identity forming in a contemporary city. It studies diversity as one of the characteristics of the city and its relation to identity as the other side of diversity. It explores urban strategies that focus on the regeneration of historic city centres and revitalisation of urban life and urban identities as well as on attracting visitors and investors to the city. This emphasis on cultural planning is an important part of urban development strategies that aim at the support and growth of local economies. This paper presents a case study of the middle-size city of Banska Bystrica (Central Slovakia). It identifies and analyses six factors that contribute to urban identity construction in the city and examines hetero-images – reflections of the image of the city in the minds and memories of visitors. In the final part the paper focuses on studying the local government approach to revitalisation of urban life in Banska Bystrica.

Keywords: ***city, identity, Europe, Banská Bystrica***

Introduction

"What is the city but the people?" This sentence written by William Shakespeare remains true throughout the whole long history of the city and can be taken as a starting point for a social anthropological study of the city. The city is home for millions of people who choose to live in this open and diversified

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society. It is understood in many, often contradictory ways: it may be loved, celebrated and glorified, or hated and damned. The main characteristics of each city can be summarised in three words expressed in 1938 by one of the classics of urban theory, Louis Wirth: size, density and heterogeneity (Wirth, 1938). The city is also a physical environment with specific forms of social, economic and institutional organisation and with a complex system of public and private spaces. It is an urban setting where diverse identities meet and collide. The challenge for each city is to create inclusive spaces that can address different identities and fulfill the needs of all the segments of a heterogeneous population. As Socrates said, "Our purpose in founding the city was not to make any one class in it surpassingly happy, but to make the city as a whole as happy as possible." (Plato, translated by Lindsay, 1957) The question for an urban anthropologist is what is it that makes people happy in one city and unhappy in another; why do people prefer one place to another; what is hidden behind the soul of a city and love for a particular city. Are the objects of a positive relation to a city and identity-forming elements streets, squares, buildings, institutions, shops, parks, a river, festivals, customs, theatres, universities, smells, sounds (silence), rhythm, memories...? A positive relation of the inhabitants to their city and positive identification with the city reflect the health, energy, dynamics and vitality of the city. However, one should never forget that both the people who love their city and the objects of their love change in the course of time. Streets and buildings change; the structure of the population changes; memories and collective memory – the reservoir of knowledge, experience, images, feelings and attitudes (Kilianova, 1996) – change, too. It is in memory that history and the present meet. This element of memory is an important factor of identity construction Urban identity-forming is influenced by numerous factors of a material and spiritual nature. The city is a colourful mosaic of people, cultures, subcultures and diverse lifestyles that have an impact on the attitude of each individual towards his/her city. Urban inhabitants form their identity through various pictures, images and symbols. Since the 1980s the development in many contemporary cities has led to revitalisation of urban identities, initiated by local governments and private enterprises. The characteristic feature of this process is the shift from the focus on material and symbolic aspects of the city to the support of urban culture, diversity and creativity organised in numerous public spaces. Movement for rediscovery and revitalisation of urban traditions and rituals, organisation of urban festivals and parades, reconstruction of historic city centres – these are activities that create space for collec-

tive identity construction of the urban inhabitants and at the same time aim at attracting tourists and investors (De la Pradelle, 1996).

Revitalisation of cities, city cultures and identities and creation of new urban images and symbols as the means of marketing the city have developed in two ways described by Bianchini and Schwengel (1991) as "Americanisation" and "Europeanisation". Americanisation means reconstruction and transformation of redundant, decaying urban sites into spectacular spaces with theme-park entertainment, markets, restaurants and leisure shopping, usually located on a waterfront (e.g. Boston, New York's South Street Seaport, London – Docklands or Sydney – Darling Harbour; Stevenson, 2003: 100-101). Europeanisation has been developing since the 1980s. It focuses on urban cultural planning and cultural policy and its main objective is local cultural development and support for local creativity as a basis for strategies to revive local economies (Stevenson 2003: 104). The key element of this approach is the rhetoric of local difference and diversity. Initiatives focus on identification and promotion of local distinctiveness, specific features of the city and through creative practice the nurturing of a positive image and a sense of place and belonging (Stevenson 2003: 104). The process of cultural revitalisation and revival of collective urban identities in European cities is a top-down process influenced and managed by policies of cities, regions, nations and European transnational institutions. The Council of Europe and the European Union initiate many activities to promote the process. The most famous one is the European Union competition for the European City of Culture that has been organised since 1985 as a result of an agreement by the Council of Ministers of Culture. Following its results it is evident that a number of cities that were awarded this title profited from the initiative. They not only transformed and revitalised physical spaces in the city, but they also had an impact on the relation of urban inhabitants to their city, their identity, responsibility and interest in participation in the governance.

The city can be understood as a complex of identities and diversities. Identity and diversity play an important role in contemporary urban strategies. While in the 1970s–1990s urban studies emphasised mainly inequalities, differences and spatial segregation from the point of view of different categories (ethnicity, race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, social stratification, etc.), since the 1990s terminology has shifted to the issues of diversity and differentiation where diverse identities meet and mix and create a multilevel environment leading either to polarisation and fragmentation or to inclusion and integration. According to Stevenson it is the urban setting that is the place where diversity

is most evident and where the biggest freedom to be "different" exists. Cities are places where difference is both created and most likely to be tolerated (Stevenson 2003: 41). As Landry suggests, diversity in its many forms and broad understanding is the primary element of vibrant urban spaces and activities leading to visual stimulation (Landry 2006: 253). This fact is used in numerous development strategies of contemporary cities that build upon the rhetoric of local differences and celebration of urban diversity. Diversity is becoming a slave of urban marketing. Several urban-anthropological studies (e.g. Zukin, 1997; Marcuse, 2000; Davis, 1990) criticise neoliberal use and manipulation of the term diversity which is often presented by city representatives as an exotic and aesthetically attractive feature of the city and which is positively accepted unless it stands against free market or it points at inequality. On the one hand, urban authorities face pressure from minorities asking for support and promotion of their cultural needs (e.g. minority schools, clubs, media, festivals, political parties etc.). On the other hand, they feel pressure from investors and cultural tourism to create an image of the city as a centre of innovation, diversity and cultural activities and festivities for all. Urban diversity policies include creation of public spaces that are meeting points and places of social interaction for various groups. Following Worpole and Greenhalgh (1996, quoted by Shaw and MacLeod; 2000: 165), "the best public spaces have rhythms and patterns of use of their own, being occupied at different times by quite different groups, occasionally by almost everybody. Their attractiveness, flexibility, and pluralist sense of ownership make them very valuable features of urban life." Building of good quality urban public spaces that are places of integration and inclusion, create conditions for meeting of diverse identities and address often contradictory needs of different segments of the population remains a big challenge for contemporary cities (Beall, 1997).

"*Alive in Banská Bystrica, after death in heaven*": Factors of identity-forming in the city of Banská Bystrica

The following case study raises some issues concerning mechanisms that have an impact on identity-forming among the inhabitants of the city of Banská Bystrica (Slovakia).[2] It has been based on the results of qualitative research

[2] Banská Bystrica is situated in the middle of Central Slovakia in the Hron Valley, surrounded by several mountain ranges. It has almost 85,000 inhabitants (up to 100,000 in wider agglomeration) and it ranks among medium-sized cities (fifth largest city in Slovakia).

(face-to-face interviews and participant observation), and an analysis of archival documents, contemporary regional press and memoirs.

Urban life can be characterised by dynamics, openness, heterogeneity, diversity, greater tolerance, anonymity, mobility and more freedom that is well expressed in a German proverb "Stadt Luft macht frei" (*Urban air makes you feel free*). All these characteristics contribute to the creation of the image of the city as the basis for construction of urban identity. The concept of urban identity includes both identity of the city itself as well as local identity of its inhabitants. Images of the city are formed either as auto-images (auto-stereotypes) that are created in memory and mental maps of urban inhabitants or as hetero-images (hetero-stereotypes) described as reflections of the city in the memory of visitors.

Auto-images of the city

Each inhabitant of the city forms and remembers his/her own unique image of the city, which can differ from the one existing in the memory of visitors. The way people look at their city may be influenced by their social status, ethnic and religious affiliation, gender, age, physical and mental abilities, etc. From the results of the research in the city of Banská Bystrica we can say that auto-images that are the means and the result of the process of identification of each inhabitant with his/ her city are formed by different factors:[3]

1. Urban symbols (especially the coat-of-arms and its use at various official celebrations with local officials present.

2. Architecture, and urban structures and spaces (dominant architectural structures, buildings, streets, squares, neighbourhoods and other public objects and spaces) are among the most important phenomena of urban identity-forming. In Banská Bystrica, it is mainly the old architecture of the city centre that is the main aspect of identification of the inhabitants with their city. Following interviews with local residents, the reconstructed central square (The Square of the Slovak National Uprising) is considered the most significant public space. Its transformation in the 1990s contributed to the revitalisation of urban life and local identity. Ethnological research confirmed the importance of the central square in the life of the inhabitants in the past and at

[3] Detailed analysis of identification factors was published in: BITUŠÍKOVÁ, Alexandra. 2003. Čo je mesto? (Mesto v predstavách jeho obyvateľov.) Český lid, 90 (3), s. 217-224.

present (Bitušíková, 1995; 1998), but it is particularly after the reconstruction in 1994 that the square became the real space of social integration attracting a diverse urban population. The inhabitants themselves feel that *"the square is a place that belongs to all"* (J. M., 1922). Its regeneration has reinforced local identity and pride among both young and old people. At the same time, it has become a symbol of internationalisation and a "return to Europe", especially for the younger generation, who compare the transformed city with other cities in Europe, as expressed by a respondent:

"*I am proud of our city now. When I sit on the terrace of the cafe on the square, it feels like being in Paris*" (J. B., 1974).

In addition to its integration and identification functions, the square with its several significant and most popular meeting points (the leaning tower, the statue of Virgin Mary, the fountain and the obelisk) is even considered by individual inhabitants a "magic" place, using the words of Pawlowska (1998). She describes as magic all urban spaces or objects that have a special, often emotional meaning for each or some inhabitants. These places may be insignificant from an outsider's view and usually differ from the ones celebrated in the tour-guides. They are *genia loci*, attracting residents by their atmosphere and promoting positive memories and emotions (Pawlowska, 1998: 31). These can be squares, parks, buildings, memorials, cafés, pubs, cemeteries, trees, etc. – places with a soul, taste, smell, light, sound or silence, favourite spaces for social contacts and communication. Every city resident has his/ her own "magic places" that play an important role in the memory (either individual or collective) and contribute to the creation of the individual unique image of the city and identity building.

3. Geographical and landscape features

Geography plays a strong identification function in the Banská Bystrica image. The city is situated in the picturesque valley of the Hron River, surrounded by several mountain ranges. For the inhabitants, it is mainly Urpín hill, the Hron River and the region of the Hron valley (*Pohronie*) that are part of local identity. All old and present tour guides describe the city as "the pearl of the Hron valley", "the city on the banks of the Hron River" or "the city under Urpín". During the period of the Slovak National Revival (19th century), Urpín hill was a meeting point of Slovak students who used to sing patriotic songs there (Hronské noviny, 13. 9. 1924). Urpín and the Hron are often mentioned in memoirs as places for romantic walks and first rendezvous.

„For us students, Urpín was the hill of love. It was nicely lighted with won-

derful paths; it is where we used to have rendezvous. We also used to walk on the promenade along the banks of the Hron River" (J. M., 1922).

Geographical names are now reflected in names of institutions or products representing or characterising the city (Urpín beer, the Urpín cinema, the Urpín and Hronka folklore ensembles, the Hron choir, the Hronka cheese shop, etc.).

4. Language (urban dialect; specific intonation; words that are characteristic of only one particular city; and frequent surnames and place names)

The Banská Bystrica language is a factor of identification both within the urban society itself and in communication situations outside the city. Words that are known only among the city inhabitants (e.g. *krepý*, which means dull, stupid), specific use of word endings and intonation that reminds one of singing are clear identification features of an inhabitant of Banská Bystrica. Local, often unofficial names of city quarters, spaces and objects reinforce a common sense of belonging to the city. They can be names of places or objects that no longer exist (or places with a new function) which live in collective memory even after long years (in Banská Bystrica e.g., places like "*u Kemov*" – a former pre-1939 Jewish department store, "*pri Leninovi*" – the space of a former statue of Lenin that was destroyed in 1990, "*pri KPŠ*" – a former political school, etc.).

5. Urban cultural and social events, festivals and rituals

Urban events and festivals play a significant role in identity-forming as well as in the creation of hetero–images. Since the 17th century the most famous event in Banská Bystrica has been the Radvaň market (*Radvanský jarmok)* that used to take place in the nearby neighbourhood of Radvaň (now part of the city). In 2007 it celebrated its 350th anniversary. Other events which are also well known outside the city have been the *Bystrica Bells* song contest; the *Banská Bystrica Bar* sports competition; the *Finex* financial fair*, The City Days* that celebrate the famous medieval mining history of the city (The Copper Banská Bystrica) and the celebration to commemorate the Slovak National Uprising (1944), the largest anti-Nazi uprising in Central Europe (The Insurgent Bystrica).

6. Memories, emotions, fantasies, passions, images and stereotypes

Memories, emotions, fantasies, passions, images and stereotypes are among the most vivid and strongest means of urban identification. The city is lived and experienced in the imagination of each individual in a different way. Stevenson (2003) describes it as the "imaginary city" which is the place of memory, culture, literature or anecdote compared to the real "physical" city consist-

ing of streets, buildings and footpaths (Stevenson, 2003: 113). Each individual connects the imaginary city with categories such as the place of birth, childhood, first love, family, home, happiness, security etc. Verbalisation of these feelings and emotions often reflects a positive relationship of the inhabitants to their city, pride, passion or nostalgic memory. Auto-images can be marked by overestimation of positives of the city when comparing it to other cities. Local patriotism of Banská Bystrica inhabitants is evident from their descriptions of the city as "the pearl of Slovakia", "the heart of Slovakia" and in an old proverb "Alive in Banská Bystrica, and after death in heaven."

Hetero-images of the city

Compared to auto-images of the city, created and often glorified by the inhabitants themselves, hetero-images may reflect different or contradictory characteristics. Banská Bystrica and its inhabitants are often described by outsiders as proud and haughty, and strong local patriotism is seen as superiority, as expressed in pejorative phrases: "genteel Bystrica" or "noble Bystrica" meant ironically, "haughty Bystricians" (die stolzen Neusohler"[4]), "greedy Bystrica" or "the greedy one near Zvolen".[5] These hetero-images reflect not only the outside view of the city and its inhabitants, but also the position of the city in a wider regional and national context and rival relations between the neighbouring cities of Banská Bystrica and Zvolen.

Hetero-images are created by visitors and inhabitants of other cities on the basis of a visit to the city or via information from media, guide books or other secondary sources. Good or bad media or a tour-guide image can have a significant impact on the development of tourism or investment flows. It can often differ from objective reality. If it becomes stereotyped, it can take years to improve the image of the city. When searching through online tour-guides, we can read: "*Connected to the outlying districts by some of the country's most precipitous railways, Banská Bystrica is also a handsome historic town in its own right – once you've made it through the tangled suburbs of the burgeoning cement and logging industries*" (www.travelotica.com). Reviews of visitors commenting on their visit to the city mention most often the main square as the place to remember ("*With the most attractive town square in the whole of Slovakia, and*

4 Original old name of Banská Bystrica was Neosolium (Neusohl in German).

5 Zvolen is the nearest city to Banská Bystrica. Both cities have always been rivals and competitors, which is most evident at mutual sports matches or in anecdotes.

with lots to see and do, Banska Bystrica is one of the highlights of any visit to the region." [www.heartofeurope.co.uk]) and the Museum of the Slovak National Uprising, which attracts on the one hand with its exhibits explaining the most important event in modern Slovak history and on the other hand with its impressive architecture ("*it is unique architecturally – it looks a bit like a deep pan pizza sliced down the middle*" [www.ivebeenthere.co.uk]; or "*looking something like an intergalactic mushroom chopped in half* " [www.travelotica.com]). Opinions of foreign visitors sometimes reflect different views on the reconstruction of the historic centre from the ones of home residents. An American guide who used to come to Banská Bystrica with tourist groups before 1989 argues:

"*I am sure that Banská Bystrica inhabitants are proud of their square now, but I am not very excited. It is nice that there are no cars there, but the space around the fountain looks like a subway stop. And why do shop-keepers hang clothes outside on the streets? It looks like the cheapest part of New York. I loved your old medieval square; it certainly needed reconstruction and some details now are lovely, but I am not sure I will ever bring tourists there – it looks like being at home, in the US*" (H.C., 1937).

This example shows that what the local people embrace as beautiful, alive, diverse and "western-like" after years of the grey homogeneous looks of the square, some outside visitors mainly from the "West" may find it ordinary and no longer interesting.

Local government: creating and marketing the image of the city

Urban government, local authorities, institutions, travel agencies and other subjects representing the city inside and outside are crucial actors in forming the image and identity of the city. Through "place marketing" and various activities and practices they brand the city and present, sell and offer it to local residents and to visitors, tourists and investors. The policy of local cultural development plays an increasingly important role in many cities of the world. Emphasis is put on the support of an active and creative involvement of citizens in urban activities and their participation in the governance as the basis for the revival and diversification of local economies. Transformation of physical and symbolic urban spaces into places of interaction, integration and inclusion attracting diverse groups of population goes hand in hand with these strategies.

Regeneration of the city centre in Banská Bystrica started from the initiative of the mayor (an architect) in 1994 with the reconstruction of the main square (Bitušíková, 1995; 1998). Transformation of the physical space of the square from the former busy traffic zone into a vivid pedestrian zone also meant a radical transformation of the relation of the inhabitants to their city, and growth of their pride and interest in the city. It contributed to revitalisation of pluralistic and diversified urban life that was for almost half a century frozen under the communist ideology and socialist urbanism serving it. The efforts of the local government did not end with the transformation of the square. In 2006, reconstruction of the castle area (*Barbakan*) was finalised, which resulted in opening a spacious pedestrian zone connecting the square with the castle and offering many opportunities for relaxation and social interaction. Numerous urban newsletters and bulletins that are distributed to every household regularly publish articles on historic monuments, buildings, streets and other places of interest in order to revive the interest of each citizen in his/her city. They describe important spiritual places known as *terra sana maxima,* which are supposed to be a source of positive energy. According to geophysical surveys published in the journal Bystrický permon (March 2007), the most significant place of this kind in Banská Bystrica is the main square. It is described as *genium loci* – a space of local memory and collective information that has been for centuries the main area for gatherings and rallies and the witness of all important historic turning points including the fall of communism in November 1989. Whether one believes in such "scientific" explanations or not, the articles bringing information about the city landmarks make identification of the inhabitants with their city easier and stronger.

In addition to transition of physical structures, urban authorities put much effort into the revival of urban life in public places. They regularly organise and support dozens of cultural festivals and celebrations for local residents and outside visitors. The City Days are among the most important ones. They take place at the beginning of September together with the Radvaň market. The programme includes a historic parade in medieval costumes, a market with traditional handcrafts, and a number of cultural activities. In 2007, The City Days were organised in the spirit of the competition for the title "European City of Culture" in 2013. Each project competing for this title has to focus on a vision of sustainable revitalisation of the city; presentation of its historic, cultural and spiritual heritage; involvement of the city in European culture and close

cooperation with various European partners; empowerment of citizens and their participation in urban governance; and support of regionalism by closer collaboration between the city and the region. The Banská Bystrica project called "Banská Bystrica – BaBy born in Europe" should become an integral part of the strategy for social and cultural sustainable development of the city. Following the speeches of the mayor, the city chose the method of active and creative involvement of all citizens and cultural institutions as well as private businesses in the process (V Bystrici zaživa, October 2007). Both the mayor and the president of the region (VÚC Banská Bystrica) stated that joining the European competition has been a priority for the city and the region. The 2007 City Days were a rehearsal for the final stage of the project. The programme under the umbrella of the "European City of Culture" logo included a living picture of the famous painting "The market in Banská Bystrica" by Dominik Skutecky from the 19th century; revival of the coat-of-arms; concerts, theatres, artistic performances, and an international conference "Cultural policies of European cities for the next decade". In the press release the mayor said: "The most important thing is that each inhabitant of Banská Bystrica identifies positively with the city and will be proud of it. The ambition to receive the title of the European City of Culture has to be the ambition of every citizen of Banská Bystrica" (www.sme.sk/c/3463609, 31. 8. 2007).

In addition to the effort to compete for the title of the European City of Culture, urban authorities started the initiative to add Banská Bystrica to the UNESCO heritage list as a part of world industrial heritage.

Conclusions

This study examines mechanisms that have an impact on the construction of identity of urban inhabitants. Six factors are identified and analysed: urban symbols; architecture and urban structures and spaces; geographical and landscape features; language; urban festivals and rituals; and emotions, memories, images and stereotypes. Auto-images as reflections of local inhabitants and hetero-images as reflections of outsiders are part of the image-making of each city. The developments towards reinforcement of urban identities and at the same time support for tolerance of diversity are an integral component of the trend towards regeneration of cities and their creative and economic potential. Globalisation is the main engine behind this trend. It stimulates competition in all spheres of life from economic to social and cultural ones, and – despite

the opinions of all opponents – it makes cities invest in preservation and promotion of their own specificities and cultural heritage if they want to be winners in global competition. The process of revitalisation of cities is supported by European, national, regional and local institutions and self-governments. The middle-sized Central European city of Banská Bystrica joined the process in an active, dynamic way, expressed mainly through its effort to win the title of The European City of Culture in 2013. The local self-government is the main initiator of the new urban strategy that built upon the promotion of urban culture and its unique features as a crucial part of urban planning. This strategy corresponds with the development in other European cities in which cultural policy meets urban planning with the objective of creating cities where inhabitants will feel safe and happy, and of attracting visitors, investors and highly qualified and skilled professionals (knowledge workers) who look for dynamic centres of creativity and innovation. Urban cultural heritage, architecture, arts, cultural activities and vivid and diversified urban life – these are domains that play a crucial role in the renaissance of the city, and in strategies of the economic, social and cultural sustainability of the city. It is important to balance the top-down process led by policy-makers and influenced by global forces with the bottom-up process that aims at strengthening the local identity of urban citizens and involving them in the governance. Managed and "soft" integration of local and global processes, practices and influences can lead to growth and prosperity of the city and contribute to better coexistence and a good quality of life for all segments of the urban population.

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ACOUSTIC ECOLOGY – A CASE STUDY OF THE SOUNDSCAPE OF LORETA SQUARE IN PRAGUE

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Abstract:
This diploma thesis is based on key theoretical concepts of acoustic ecology and soundscape and is divided into two main parts. In first part of the thesis I discussed three main approaches to research of subjective perception and interpretation of everyday sound environment: the ecological approach of WSP, Truax's acoustic communication approach, and the structural approach of Augoyard and Amphoux of the CRESSON research institute. Concerning each approach I discussed the basic terms and method (or methods) used for soundscape research. In the second part of the thesis I described each phase and made an analysis of the results of the field research of the soundscape of Loreta Square in Prague. The research was done with questionnaires, and two main approaches were used: one place-oriented approach (subjective perception and interpretation of the everyday soundscape of all of Loreta Square) and one sound-oriented approach (subjective perception and interpretation of the sound of the Loreta Carillon). In the following text I will focus on the historical background of acoustic ecology and on the results of field research.

Keywords: ***acoustic ecology, soundscape, Raymond Murray Schafer, acoustic communication, Barry Truax, CRESSON, Loreta Square, Loreta Carillon***

The number, quality and character of the sounds we meet in our environment are constantly changing. Some of the sounds disappear with the passage of time, never to return. Others last for centuries. Completely new sounds appear.

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As a rule, people begin to take notice of the sounds around them when they are forced to face noise problems. Havránek, author of one of the most important books dealing with noise (Havránek 1990), however, is well aware of its specific character when, for example, in connection with musical noise, he states the following: "Musical noise is only partially a health problem. The bigger part is a sociocultural question." (Havránek 1997: 169) By this, he indicates that, for us to understand the role and function of sound in a human environment better, we must apply a broader theory or approach that would define it more precisely. Therefore, it is important to ask much deeper questions than only about the intensity of sound: How does sound function in a human environment? With which methods can one research human sound environment? On the basis of ascertained realities, how can its quality be preserved and improved?

Not only these, but many other questions connected with noise problems have arisen with the creation of the new multidisciplinary field of **acoustic ecology**.[2] This was defined as "... the study of the effects of the acoustic environment or soundscape on the physical responses or behavioral characteristics of creatures living within it." (Schafer 1994: 271) The very beginning of acoustic ecology is connected with the activity of research of the World Soundscape Project (henceforth called WSP) group, which was founded by Raymond Murray Schafer[3] in 1970 at Simon Fraser University (henceforth called SFU) in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, and the group worked together until Schafer's departure from SFU in 1975. The basis of the WSP concept became the multidisciplinary, subjective perception of the sound environment, educational activity and the musicality which was attributed to the sound environment. The inspiration for the founding of the WSP was, for Schafer, the artistic Bauhaus movement, which combined crafts and the fine arts and gave rise to the new discipline of industrial design. Similarly, Schafer originally endeavored to unite the disciplines concerned with sound: on one hand, those dealing with sound from the scientific angle and, on the other, those having to do with the artistic angle. Even though this was never accomplished, the main goal of the WSP – the combining of research on the technical, sociological and aesthetic

2 In specialized literature the terms *ecoacoustics, environmental acoustics, soundscape ecology, ecology of sound* and *sound ecology* are also used as a synonym for acoustic ecology.

3 Raymond Murray Schafer (born 1933), Canadian composer, musician, soundscape researcher, founder of acoustic ecology. His key publication is the book *The Tuning of the World* (1977), in which he summarizes basic theoretical viewpoints and notes accrued from field research.

aspects of the sound environment – managed to be accomplished within the framework of soundscape studies.

The WSP approach to sound in the human environment was specific mainly in two respects. On one hand, instead of a negative approach which considers sound in the environment only as "noise pollution", the group applied an approach centered on positive aspects of the sound environment. The other aspect was the substitution of sound research in laboratory conditions by research *in situ*, thus field research in real human living environments. At the beginning of their activity, the group had already defined five concrete goals: (1) to undertake an intensive interdisciplinary study of contrasting acoustic environments and their effects on man, (2) to suggest ways of changing and improving acoustic environments, (3) to educate students and field workers in acoustic ecology, (4) to educate the general public in acoustic ecology and (5) to prepare reports as guides to future studies.

The key term of acoustic ecology is **soundscape**.[4] Schafer (1994) defined this term in two ways: on one hand, from the practical angle, that is, as "any acoustic field of study" (Schafer 1994: 7) and/or "technically, any portion of the sonic environment regarded as a field of study" (ibid.: 274), and, on the other hand, from the aesthetic angle because, according to him, "... the soundscape is no accidental by-product of society; rather it is a deliberate construction by its creators, a composition which may be as much distinguished for its beauty as for its ugliness." (ibid.: 237) Franěk (2003) states more specifically that this term "(1) includes acoustic phenomena that we can actively hear, record, measure, and compare; (2) at the same time, it is a community's aural heritage, which is important for a feeling of comfort and for a sense of the importance of a given place; (3) soundscape is necessary to view as a part of a broader socio-ecological context (it solves the question of the extent to which soundscape is a by-product of social, political and economic structures)." Franěk also adds that "research work of ecological acousticians rests on the recognition and registration of the acoustic characteristics of a certain environment. It is therefore not only a question of measuring the noise level, but also of the identification of the character of various sounds and their value from the point of view of the people who live in a given environment. Various environments or regions are namely defined by having somewhat different acoustic environments – each

4 For the area of acoustic ecology that is dealt with in the study of sound environment, the terms *soundscape studies* and/or *soundscape research* are used.

contains sounds that reflect the kind of homelike, dialectic, industrial and agricultural process and natural environment of the place (insects, birds, water, etc.) Apart from specific sounds, in every environment there is something that is common to a certain region or to a greater geographic area." (Franěk 2005: 197) As far as methods are concerned, these were worked out during three key field studies carried out in the first half of the 1970s.[5] During the field studies the group applied five research methods: (a) research of spatial distribution of sound in the environment, (b) research of time distribution of sound in the environment (c) research of legislation and noise by-laws, (d) research of people's subjective reactions on the various types of sounds and (e) recordings of concrete soundscapes.

The core of Schafer's theoretical contribution is the concept of **features of the soundscape.** The basis of this concept, which Schafer and WSP use for all of their field research on naming specific sounds in the concrete living environment, is a concept of figure-background taken from Gestalt psychology. Schafer and WSP distinguish three prominent types of sounds in a living environment. The first of them is *keynote*. Keynote is a term taken from music, where it denotes the tonality of the composition in question.[6] As Schafer (1994: 9) says, "keynote sounds do not have to be listened to consciously; they are overheard but cannot be overlooked." Schafer further says that, "the keynote sounds of a landscape are those created by its geography and climate: water, wind, forests, plains, birds, insects and animals." (ibid.: 9-10) According to Schafer, "many of those sounds may possess archetypal significance; that is, they may have imprinted themselves so deeply on the people hearing them that life without them would be sensed as a distinct impoverishment." (ibid.) The second type of sound is *soundsignal*. Schafer says that "signals are foreground sounds and they are listed to consciously." (ibid.) He adds that "in terms of the psychologist, they are figure rather than ground." (ibid.) The third type of sound is *soundmark*. As Schafer says, "the term *soundmark* is derived from landmark and refers to a community sound which is unique and possesses

5 The first of them was a 1972 study *The Vancouver Soundscape;* one year later selected members of the group did a *Cross-Canada Recording Tour,* during which they made a great number of recordings and measurements. In 1975 a study *Five Village Soundscapes* was carried out in five European villages in Sweden, Germany, Italy, France and Scotland.

6 This is valid only if we consider that music is tonal if, from the perspective of musical tonality, it has a center around which the whole composition oscillates throughout its course and to which it returns at its conclusion. Tonality is typical for most European classical music of the 18th and 19th centuries.

qualities which make it specially regarded or noticed by the people in that community." (ibid.: 10) Schafer supposes that "once a soundmark has been identified, it deserves to be protected, for soundmarks make the acoustic life of the community unique." (ibid.)

I applied the theoretical assumptions described above to a case study of the soundscape of the Loreta Square in Prague. The model for it became the research project called the Kanda Soundscape Project carried out by a team of Japanese soundscape researchers headed by Keiko Torigoe (2002) in one of the oldest quarters of Tokyo in the years 1986–1988 and described in the first world publication dedicated to the studies and methods of soundscape research. Just as with Torigoe, there were, within the framework of my field research, two main approaches: (a) *one place oriented approach*, by means of which it was possible to research what sounds could be heard in the place under study and (b) *one sound oriented approach*, by means of which it was possible to research how the respondents hear the specific sound in the place under study. I carried out research of the soundscape, a component of which was a pilot study, by means of questionnaires. On the basis of the two above-mentioned main approaches, I divided the questionnaire into two parts. The first part (11 questions) contained questions about perception and interpretation of the daily sound environment of all of Loreta Square (henceforth called LS) from a long-term perspective; in the second part (5 questions) I based my questions on perception and interpretation of the sound of the Loreta Carillon (henceforth called LC).

On the basis of theoretical presumptions, I asked two main research questions: (1) Do there exist in LS, in the sense of Schafer's definition, features of the soundscape and, if so, which sounds comprise them in LS? (2) Do there exist in LS, in the sense of Truax's definition, definable relations between listeners, sound and environment?[7] I developed these two research questions into six main preliminary hypotheses both for research perception and interpretation of the daily LS soundscape and from the long-term point of view for both perception and interpretation of LC sound.

[7] Barry Truax (born 1947), Canadian musician, composer of electro-acoustic music, researcher in the field of soundscape studies and acoustic communication, member of the WSP. Truax's acoustic communication approach, which is described in detail in his most important book *Acoustic Communication* (1984, 2001), is based on the presumption of the existence of system composed of three independent entities (listener, sound and environment) and on the impacts of the changes which could occur in any part of the system.

I set up the hypotheses for (a) *one place oriented approach* as follows: **1a) Sounds which the respondents notice and name in connection with the LS environment will be correlated with their ages**. Assumption: with the lowering age of the respondents there will be a growth in the number of sounds produced by electro-acoustic sound systems. **2a) Perception and interpretation of features of the soundscape (according to the definition used by WSP) by the respondents will be correlated with the usage of the LS environment.** Assumption: an examined sociological groups of LS users (employees of state institutions and private companies, local inhabitants) will analyze among themselves important differences in identification of features of the soundscape while, within those groups, there will be distinctive social features. **3a) Concepts of noise in an urban environment will be correlated with the ages of the respondents.** Assumption: with increasing age individual respondents will regard different kinds of sound as noise while I presume that they will prefer to regard as noise the sounds produced by people (transportation, loud speaking) and to a much smaller extent, sounds of nature (the songs of birds, the rustling of leaves on the trees). The second of three hypotheses for (b) *one sound oriented approach* was defined as follows: **1b) Respondents will, thanks to various demographic characteristics, assign various marks and values to the LC sound.** Assumption: as in case 2a), respondents will able to separate into groups that will be able to analyze among themselves important differences in perception and interpretation of the LC sound, while within those groups there will, in that respect, be marked social features; **2b) Respondents with increasing age and a growing number of years of LS use will perhaps even consider the extinction of LC sound a great loss and an impoverishment of the soundscape of the LS.** Assumption: the longer respondents have been LS users, the more they will consider the sound not only a more interesting, but also a more valuable and important component of the soundscape of the LS. **3b) Respondents with increasing age and a growing number of years of LS use will regard LC sound as having cultural value.** Assumption: the longer respondents have been LS users, the more likely they will ascribe cultural value to the LC sound.

In a sample of the respondents practically all the groups of LS users were represented whereas only long-term LS residents or people working there for a long period took part in the research. Those who received questionnaires were not only people who work in state institutions (employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic and employees of Loreta) and peo-

ple who work for private companies (employees of the Hotel Loreta, employees of local restaurants, shops and cafés), but also other groups who participate in the LS space like local residents or members of the Council of Minorities of the Capuchin Brothers. A total of 83 questionnaires were distributed; respondents filled out and returned 70 of them. As for gender, 32 men and 36 women[8] participated in the research. As for levels of education, 10 respondents finished elementary school, 28 finished secondary school, 30 had college degrees and two had other types of education. From the viewpoint of age, 6 participants in the research were 18 years old or younger, 10 respondents were between 19 and 25 years old, 13 respondents were between 26 and 35 years old, 9 respondents were between 36 and 45 years old, 19 respondents were between 46 and 55 years old, 9 respondents were between 56 and 65 years old, 3 respondents were between 66 and 75 years old, and 1 respondent was 76 years old or older. As for the LS usage, 20 respondents mentioned that they lived on LS, 37 respondents work on LS, 1 respondent lives and works on LS, and 12 respondents did not fill out this category.[9] Regarding how long the respondents have been using LS, the results were as follows: less than 1 year 9 respondents (1 respondent 14 days, 1 respondent 1 month, 2 respondents 2 months, 1 respondent 3 months, 1 respondent 4 months, 1 respondent 5 months, 2 respondents 6 months), 8 respondents 1-2 years, 19 respondents 3-5 years, 6 respondents 6-9 years, 7 respondents 10-14 years, 8 respondents 15-19 years, 2 respondents 20-24 years, 2 respondents 25-29 years, 2 respondents 30-39 years and 6 respondents 40 or more years.

Let us now look at the results of the first part of the research from the angle of the main preliminary hypotheses. As for preliminary hypothesis No. 1a), this hypothesis was not confirmed. If we take into consideration the 11 sounds that respondents named more than twice, in 8 cases these sounds are connected with human activity. Of these 8 cases, in 2 of them their source is man (the sounds of tourists, human voices speaking), in 6 cases man is their creator (bells, autos, a street harmonica player, a little train for tourists, fireworks,

8 In 2 cases, it was not possible to determine the sex because, in one case, neither of the choices was selected (questionnaire No. 28) and, in the other case, both choices were selected by a husband and wife (questionnaire No. 63).

9 To the group of respondents who expressed their LS usage, I also included respondents who did not chose a) (live) or b) (work) in the questionnaire, but next to one choice wrote in a number of years. In regard to specification of a concrete length of LS usage, respondents considered this question answered. That occurred in 7 cases in questionnaires Nos. 51, 57, 65 and 76 (respondents who live on LS) and questionnaires Nos. 5, 19 and 30 (respondents who work on LS).

sirens). In 3 cases, they are natural sounds (birdlife, the wind, vegetation and trees). Sounds produced by electro-acoustic sound systems were mentioned in only three cases ("sirens" twice, "music from cafés" once). Thus the number of respondents is, from the viewpoint of effecting a possible evaluation, negligible. Significantly, the respondents did not express themselves either in question No. 7 ("Imagine that you have the possibility of creating the soundscape on LS according to your imagination. Which sounds would you like to add and which sounds would you like to remove in comparison with contemporary situation?" – only 8 respondents would add music to LS, in the clear majority however only acoustic music) or in the related question No. 10 ("Based on your personal or professional interests which criteria would you choose to define the situation of acoustic well-being on LS" – only 1 respondent requested "lowering the volume of the music in restaurants"). Respondents in all demographic categories unambiguously prefer sounds whose sources or creators are man.

Preliminary hypothesis No. 2a) was not confirmed either. It appeared that perception of features of the soundscape[10] do not depend on the LS usage by the respondents nor on demographic categories. The results are the following: a) *keynote* – sounds of autos – named by 41 (58.6%) of the respondents. Of them 21 were men and 18 women; 2 respondents did not express themselves precisely. From the viewpoint of education, this sound was named by 3 respondents with a basic-school education, 17 respondents with a secondary-school education, 20 respondents with a college education, and 1 respondent with another type of education. As for the age of the respondents, this sound was named by 2 respondents 18 years old or younger, 9 respondents 19-25 years old, 9 respondents 26-35 years old, 5 respondents 36-45 years old, 9 respondents 46-55 years old, 6 respondents 56-65 years old, and 1 respondent 66-75 years old. As for LS usage by the respondents, 9 respondents live on LS, 25 respondents work on LS, 1 respondent lives and works on LS, and 6 respondents did not pick any of the choices. As for LS use, not even one of the choices was picked. As far as the length of time of LS use 9 respondents have been using LS for less than 1 year, 5 respondents 1-2 years, 11 respondents 3-5 years, 5 respondents 6-9 years, 4 respondents 10-14 years, 2 respondents

10 For the purposes of this research I determined the concrete sounds that fulfill the role of features of the soundscape of the LS those sounds that were detected by more than 50% of the respondents. I have also taken into consideration the above-mentioned definitions of the features of the soundscape, the character of the sounds and their occurrence from the viewpoint of time in the LS environment.

15-19 years, 2 respondents 20-24 years, none of the respondents 25-29 years, 1 respondent 30-39 years, and 2 respondents 40 or more years; b) *soundsignal* – sounds of tourists – named by 38 (54,3%) of the respondents.[11] Of them, there were 19 women, 18 men, and 1 respondent who did not answer precisely. From the viewpoint of education, this sound was named by 3 respondents with basic-school education, 11 respondents with secondary-school education, 23 respondents with college education and 1 respondent with another type of education. As for the age of the respondents, this sound was selected by 2 respondents 18 years old or less, 4 respondents 19-25 years old, 7 respondents 26-35 years old, 6 respondents 36-45 years old, 15 respondents 46-55 years old, 3 respondents 56-65 years old, and 1 respondent 66-75 years old. In regard to LS usage by the respondents, 13 respondents live on LS, 17 respondents work on LS, 1 respondent lives and works on LS and 7 respondents did not answer. As for the length of time of LS usage, 3 respondents have been using the locality less than 1 year, 6 respondents 1-2 years, 8 respondents 3-5 years, 5 respondents 6-9 years, 5 respondents 10-14 years, 4 respondents 15-19 years, 1 respondent 20-24 years, 1 respondent 25-29 years, 2 respondents 30-39 years and 3 respondents 40 or more years; c) *soundmark* – sound of LC – selected by 44 (62,9%) of the residents. Of them, there were 18 men and 24 women; 2 respondents did not state the answer precisely. From the viewpoint of education, this sound was selected by 6 respondents with basic-school education, 15 respondents with secondary-school education, 22 respondents with college education, and 1 respondent with another type of education. As for the age of the respondents, this sound was selected by 3 respondents 18 years old or under, 3 respondents 19-25 years old, 7 respondents 26-35 years old, 7 respondents 36-45 years old, 14 respondents 46-55 years old, 6 respondents 56-65 years old, 3 respondents 66-75 years old, and 1 respondent 76 years old or older. As for the kind of LS usage by the respondents, 12 respondents live on LS, 23 respondents work on LS, 1 respondent lives and works on LS, and 8 respondents did not answer. As for the length of time of LS usage, 4 respondents have been using the locality for less than 1 year, 5 respondents 1-2 years,

11 2 respondents independently named 2 sources of sound related to tourism. In one case (questionnaire No. 32) the respondent mentioned especially "foreign languages" and "the guide's voice"; in one case (questionnaire No. 80) the respondent mentioned especially the "buzz of tourists" and "comments of guides through a microphone"). In listing the answers received to question No. 2 ("Please make a list of three sounds which you imagine when someone says "Loreta Square") I thus worked with 40 responses, while here with 38 respondents.

10 respondents 3-5 years, 5 respondents 6-9 years, 6 respondents 10-14 years, 5 respondents 15-19 years, 2 respondents 20-24 years, none of the respondents 25-29 years, 2 respondents 30-39 years and 5 respondents 40 or more years. From these viewpoints, then, we see clearly that the perception of features of the soundscape proceeds across all imaginable demographic categories.

Hypothesis No. 3a) was only partially confirmed. Respondents consider noise in an urban environment exclusively sounds whose source or creators are man. Respondents did not regard natural sounds as noise in even one case. Most of the time (28x) noise from automobile traffic was selected by 25 respondents.[12] If we look at their age structure, then 1 respondent was in the 18-years-or-less category, 6 respondents in the 19-25 category, 3 respondents in the 26-35 category, 5 respondents in the 36-45 category, 8 respondents in the 46-55 category and 2 respondents in the 56-65 category. Thus one cannot say that the sensation of this noise grew proportionately with age; on the contrary, we see a relatively high number of respondents in the younger age categories who mention the noise of automobile traffic. As for other demographic categories, this noise was mentioned by 13 men and 12 women. From the point of view of education, this noise was mentioned by 3 respondents with a basic-school education, 13 respondents with a secondary-school education, 8 respondents with a college education, and 1 respondent with a different type of education. As for LS usage, 7 respondents live on LS, 12 respondents work on LS, 6 respondents did not pick any of the choices. As for the length of time of LS usage, 4 respondents have used LS for less than 1 year, 3 respondents 1-2 years, 8 respondents 3-5 years, 1 respondent 6-9 years, 2 respondents 10-14 years, 3 respondents 15-19 years, 1 respondent 25-29 years, 1 respondent 30-39 years and 2 respondents 40 or more years. Thus once again in all demographic groups the clear majority of categories are represented.

We will now concentration our attention on the second part of the research which focused on the perception and interpretation of sound of the LC. As for hypothesis No. 1b), this hypothesis was only partially confirmed. 57 respondents wrote about concrete images, thoughts and memories; 6 respondents did not answer this question; 4 respondents had no concrete images, thoughts or

[12] 2 respondents named several sources of noise from automobile traffic. In the first case (questionnaire No. 66) the respondent named 3 sources: "the deep sound of motors of standing microbuses", "the sound of wheels of passing autos" and "the sound of motors of passing autos". In the second case (questionnaire No. 71) the respondent named 2 sources: "autos" and "autobuses". In listing the statements received in question No. 8 ("Does the noise exist on LS in your opinion? If yes, in what situations and contexts?"), I therefore worked with 28 responses, while here with 25 respondents.

memories, and 3 respondents crossed out this question. The images, thoughts and memories described by the 57 respondents were divided into 26 groups[13] as follows:

1. Memories of childhood and/or memories relating to one's own family and family members (8x). The following answers were given: "memories from childhood... Most of the time was spent around Loreta and there were not a few experiences"; "When as a child I went to see a nativity scene in Loreta"; "nostalgia, longing for childhood, pleasure from the beauty of the sounds, pleasure from the admiration of the tourists, it's a pity that the song is so short"; "memories of youth and parents"; "youth, wedding, caresses"; "memory of mother, who was born and lived for twenty years at Pohořelec 10 and often remembered the Loreta bells"; "memories of visits to Prague in childhood" and "The LC sound was pleasant in a different way for everyone at different times. For my grandfather who was locked up in a nearby little house (Communist house of detention), it was unpleasant (in the 50s)."

2. Images related to perception of time (7x). Respondents mentioned the following: "It has already been a whole hour"; "It occurs to me that it is morning; actually it doesn't play at night"; "Another hour gone and I haven't accomplished a thing"; "A thought about the clock on the hour, memories of friends admiring the LC"; "I am aware of some of time segment"; "continuity" and "mornings."

3.-5. Romantic images (5x). The following answers were given: "romantic, devotion to the Virgin Mary"; "pleasant, romantic mood"; "Loreta litany, a square under a layer of ice, romantic nocturnal lighting, a hidden home..." "nostalgia, romance, joy" and "a fairy tale."

3.-5. Images related to work (5x). Respondents wrote these answers: "work"; "jobs"; "employment"; "work + humility toward history" and "employment, thoughts and memories of parents and friends."

3.-5. Images connected to a feeling of peace and tranquility (5x). Respondents expressed the following: "peace, evening, tranquility"; "pleasant tranquility"; "peace and tranquility" "acoustic tranquility" and "an early summer evening in a pleasant place."

6.-7. Images related to the history of the place (3x). Respondents mentioned: "the history of the place, restfulness"; "history – the legend of the con-

13 In view of the fact that these images, thoughts and memories of respondents were very varied, belonging to concrete groups can in some cases be understood as approximate and these answers could belong to several categories.

struction and of the carillon" and "the ancient and peaceful atmosphere of the quarter lying close by and at the same time isolated from the rush of the big city center".

6.-7. Images related to religion and faith (3x). Respondents wrote these answers: "adoration of the Virgin Mary"; "believers" and "belief in God (Catholicism)".

8.-9. Images related to home (2x). Two respondents mentioned "home".

8.-9. Musical images (2x). Mentioned were "... church singing depending on the melody and the mood" and "The sound evokes folk music".

10.-26. Other images (1x). 17 respondents mentioned the following: "church, village, noon"; "the bustle of the big city"; "at 10 o'clock entrance to the 'U Černého vola' restaurant"; "thoughts of LS come back to me"; "Although I have lived here all my life, I hardly notice the LC, but otherwise – a smile"; "uncertainty – I don't know when the new owner of the house is going to throw me out on the street"; "the bell-founder Mr. Manoušek"; "wedding" "summer, vacation"; "the LC rings mainly on Sunday – and too often and long – a stereotype"; "Hradčany!"; "an image of a pleasant feeling in the soul"; "ancient costumes, peaceful walks, a pilgrimage to Loreta"; "It's good that the bells are so high that nobody will steal them"; "gloomy images"; "a musty thing"; "literary motifs about a mother whose deceased children were reincarnated as bells + visual: Baroque motifs of angels floating over Loreta + nostalgic memories of personal experiences."

As is clear from the above listings, the absolute majority of the respondents (81.4%) have concrete images, thoughts and memories, but none of their groups predominates strikingly because the biggest group consisted of only 8 respondents (that is 14% of those who had concrete images, thoughts and memories and 11.4% of the total number of respondents). This dominant group is strikingly smaller than the dominant group of respondents who agreed in their perception of features of the soundscape. If we look at the composition of this largest group from a demographic point of view, we find it is composed of 6 women and 2 men. From the viewpoint of their education levels, there are 2 respondents with an elementary school education, 2 respondents with a secondary school education, and 4 respondents with a college education. Division according to age is as follows: 1 respondent 18 years old or less, 1 respondent 26-35 years old, 1 respondent 36-45 years old, 2 respondents 46-55 years old, 1 respondent 56-65 years old, and 2 respondents 66-75 years old. According to their LS usage, 3 respondents live on LS, 3 respondents work on LS, 2

respondents did not choose any of the categories. From the viewpoint of the length of LS usage, in this group there are: 1 respondent who has been using this locality for 3-5 years, 1 respondent 6-9 years, 1 respondent 10-14 years, 2 respondents 15-19 years, 1 respondent 25-29 years, and 2 respondents 40 or more years. From the standpoint of all the demographic indicators, the group is very diverse and no group of respondents predominated markedly in even one instance. It is possible to call quite surprising the very low number of respondents (only 3) who connected the LC sound with images related to religion and faith because, from the point of view of religious significance, I expected a much greater number of respondents. Preliminary hypothesis No. 2b) was not confirmed. For 57 respondents (81.4%), that is, for a clear majority, extinction of the LC sound would mean, from the acoustic angle, a great loss and impoverishment. As for the high number of those respondents it is possible to state that this opinion was shared by the respondents throughout all demographic categories. This merely supports the vision of the LC sound as a soundmark perceived very strongly throughout all demographic categories. Preliminary hypothesis No. 3b) was not confirmed either. An even greater number, 64 respondents (91.4%), that is, an overwhelming majority, assigns cultural value to the LC sound. In view of the fact that I asked respondents whether the LC sound has cultural value without precisely defining what the cultural value of the LC consists of, the question can be asked how to define this cultural value of the LC sound and/or other soundmarks in a living environment by using the information received.

On the basis of the facts that came out of this research, I have come to the following conclusions: (1) the research unequivocally confirmed that in researching the LS environment it is clearly possible to identify (according to the definition used by Schafer and WSP) features of the soundscape: sounds of autos (*keynote*), sounds of tourists (*soundsignal*) and sound of LC (*soundmark*). These sounds are perceived by the majority (more than 50%) of the respondents across all demographic categories. I am convinced that a future transformation of these sounds would have a key influence on the assessment of the quality of the LS soundscape by the respondents. In the future it is also possible to make a comparative study that would show the change in the structure of the sounds that make up the content of the LS soundscape and its subjective perception by respondents. (2) The research also showed that when it is a question of perception of a concrete sound in the research environment (in our case the sound of the LC) respondents have at their disposal a wide range of images,

thoughts and memories evoked by the sound of the LC; however, no group of those images, thoughts and memories is heavily preponderant. An analysis of the largest group also showed that it is not possible to establish more precise combinations of criteria because the respondents are, from the viewpoint of the demographic groups we observed, very differentiated. (3) The research also opened the question of how to treat sounds to which we can ascribe the status of soundmark. As for Schafer's statement that "once a soundmark has been identified, it deserves to be protected, for soundmarks make the acoustic life of the community unique," the question arises in what manner do these sounds protect and assure that they will remain in the environment. The earlier WSP findings were confirmed: that in a living environment next to architectonic works there also exist concrete sounds that are characteristic for this environment, co-creating its identity[14] and they are important for the people who participate in it. I presume that, in contrast to the very elaborate methods we have at our disposal to safeguard important architectonic works, we apparently stand at the very beginning of protection of this kind of sounds in a living environment.

I am convinced that questions posed by acoustic ecology will, in connection with changes in the soundscape of man, gain more and more importance. The research of Schafer's WSP group and a whole list of other projects, above all the work of researchers at the French institute CRESSON, have lent great impetus to it.

[14] Here it is necessary to refer to the approach of the research team that was organized around the social philosopher Jean-François Augoyard and the architect and geographer Pascal Amphoux in the research institute Centre de Reserche sur l'Espace Sonore et l'Environnement Urbain (henceforth only CRESSON), which was founded in the French city of Grenoble in 1979, about which Schafer says that this is "perhaps the most significant team of 'soundscape' researchers in the world today ..." This team developed a complex research method for the identification and analysis of specific, representative locations in an urban environment which give the city its sonic identity. The key works which were focused on a description of this research method and its application in field research were published at the beginning of the 1990s (viz. references).

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Ursula Hemetek and Adelaida Reyes (eds.): CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE URBAN AREA: EXPLORATIONS IN URBAN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY.

Vienna: Institut für Musik und Darstellende Kunst Wien, 2007, 160 pp + 2 accompanying CD, ISBN 978-3-902153-03-6.

Zuzana Jurková

Although the term "Urban ethnomusicology" has already been one of the relatively standard terms for several decades, it is not frequently a topic of publications or scholarly meetings. One of them was the international symposium Cultural Diversity in the Urban Area, held in Vienna in March 2006, organized by the UNESCO Working Group Vienna and the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna. The annotated publication contains the proceedings of this entire symposium.

The first two texts were written by one of the pioneers of urban ethnomusicology, Adelaida Reyes. In the introduction she discusses the key question of the meaningfulness and/or content of the term "urban ethnomusicology" "...the urban in urban ethnomusicology transcends the matter of geography, size, demography... It stands ... for a dynamic organism the character of which derives from the density of human interactions that it engenders and that, in turn, shape it. ..It defines the subject of urban ethnomusicological study by invoking the reciprocal relations between matrix and product, and by showing the object to be a product of that reciprocity." (p. 2) In that interpretation, urban ethnomusicology appears not as a curious field, but as an essential one: In the current world which is so dynamic and changing the city is a place where **mutually** connected cultural and musical data are expressed most clearly. "Urban Ethnomusicology Revisited. An Assessment of its Role in the Development of Its Parent Discipline" is actually a glance into the history of urban ethnomusicology (in which its author played an important role) by means of a look at changes in ethnomusicological paradigms. The rest of the volume is described by Adelaida Reyes in the introduction (p. 12-13):

"Almost all of the papers are case studies or allude to case studies. The majority are the result of fieldwork in Vienna. There are two examples of collaborative field-based research which together underscore the importance of collaboration in complex situations where the challenges are of a magnitude that can easily overwhelm a single fieldworker. In other respects, these examples provide interesting contrasts and juxtapositions that can stimulate ideas for future work.

"One example consists of a set of three articles dedicated to studies of immigrant groups in Vienna. In her article, Ursula Hemetek outlines the background of the project as a whole and provides the theoretical underpinnings of a structure designed to accommodate individual studies and provide them with common ground so that, potentially, the structure becomes more broadly applicable. Hande Sağlam's study focuses on Turkish immigrants in Vienna. Sofija Bajrektarević seeks insights into the musical lives of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia

by concentrating on their wedding customs.

"The other example is a joint project undertaken by Philip Bohlman, Sebastian Klotz and Lars-Christian Koch. It contrasts with the above in its choice of locale and in the way its findings are presented. While the Hemetek- Sağlam-Bajrektarević research takes place in a single city, Vienna, and presents its findings in three reports, the Bohlman-Klotz-Koch project takes on three cities – Chicago, Kolkata, and Berlin – and presents its findings in one article. Their study is explicitly comparative, stipulating bases for comparison that not only draw from the musical, the sociocultural and the historical, but answer to the transcultural and transnational aspects of their data.

"Along with Gerda Lechleitner's article on the Bukharian Jews and Barbara Kostner's and Paolo Vinati's on Italian music, the first set exemplifies the different ways in which groups respond to and interact with the same city – Vienna – and the ways in which those interactions find expression in each group's musical life. The three-city joint project, in contrast, aims for a framework out of which dramatic differences in the music of cities located in three separate continents can yield if not generalizations applicable to a wide range of urban musical lives, then linkages between the specificities of culturally and physically distant musical lives.

"The sheer volume of information that urban ethnomusicological studies generate and which the articles in this volume can only hint at, itself poses significant problems. Documentation, storage, delivery systems (to mention only the more obvious), all require criteria for selection based on careful attention to ethnographic and musical information collected prior to, during, and following fieldwork. While the data collected may differ according to the uses for which they are intended (e.g., for archival purposes or for writing a monograph), fieldwork is shown to be an important research component. In her field research on the Bukharian Jews, Gerda Lechleitner's concern is with the archival, and her article demonstrates the service that fieldwork can render to archival work. Regine Allgayer-Kaufmann, Christoph Reuter, Silke Aichberger, Eva Anzenbacher, Flora Königsberger, and Carolin Ratzinger, on the other hand, focus on the service that archives render to data and to those who use them. They show how a growing stream of data might be handled using the Online Content Management System currently in development for Vienna Music Institutions but open for use by scholars in general. Web-based with various search possibilities, this CMS is remarkable not only for its expandability but also for its versatility.

"In all of the articles in this volume, complexity is assumed; it informs field strategies, the collection, ordering and analysis of data, their storage and conservation for use by today's scholars and those of future generations. In the exposure that the authors give to the wealth of opportunities for scholarly work in urban areas; for the challenges that the articles bring to light; and for the invitation implicit in all these to test the boundaries and limits of orthodoxy the better to respond to emergent meth-

odological needs, this volume and the symposium from which it derived opens wide the door to a debate that cannot but benefit all who are interested in ethnomusicology, in urban areas, and in the music that emanates from and animates them. For so doing, the organizers, in particular Ursula Hemetek and Gerlinda Haid, their partners and sponsors, the Institute of Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, and the UNESCO Working Group Vienna deserve the gratitude of the scholarly community." (p. 11-12)

The contents of the volume: Adelaida Reyes: *Introduction*; Adelaida Reyes: *Urban Ethnomusicology Revisited. An Assessment of Its Role in the Development of Its Parent Discipline*; Philip V. Bohlman, Sebastian Klotz, Lars-Christian Koch: *Tale of Three Cities – Berlin, Chicago, and Kolkata at the Metropolitan Musical Crossroads*; Ursula Hemetek: *Musical Practice of Immigrants from the Former Yugoslavia and Turkey in Vienna I". Methodology, Concepts, Background, Structuring*; Hande Sağlam: *Musical Practice of Immigrants from the Former Yugoslavia and Turkey in Vienna II: Musical Identification and Transcultural Process among Turkish Immigrants in Vienna*; Sofija Bajrektarević: *Musical Practice of Immigrants from the Former Yugoslavia and Turkey in Vienna III: The Ex-YU Immigrant Population in Vienna and Its Wedding Customs*; Gerda Lechleitner: *The Community of Bukharian Jews in Vienna – a Preliminary Report*; Barbara Kostner, Paolo Vinati: *"Volare, cantare...". Italian Music in Vienna*; Regine Allgayer-Kaufmann, Chritoph Reuter, Silke Aichberger, Eva Anzenbacher, Flora Königsberger, Carolin Ratzinger: *The Online Content Management System for Vienna Music Institutions*; Ursula Hemetek, Hande Sağlam, Sofija Bajrektarević: *Documentation of the Concert „Unexpected Viennese Musical Worlds" (Wiener musikalische Welten der anderen Art)*; List of Audio Examples on CD 1 and 2.

Jane Mink Rossen – Uri Sharvit. A FUSION OF TRADITIONS: LITURGICAL MUSIC IN THE COPENHAGEN SYNAGOGUE.

Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2006, 156 pp + 1 accompanying CD, ISBN 87-7674-038-2.

Veronika Seidlová

Although we have no comprehensive history of Jewish liturgical music in Europe, "the present study provides the Danish part of this story." (p. 65)

This book is based on the collection of tapes which were recorded by the ethnomusicologist Jane Mink Rossen for the Danish Folklore Archives during services in the Copenhagen Synagogue in 1967. Jane Mink Rossen, who has served as Assistant Professor and Research Fellow at Copenhagen University and the Danish Folklore Archives and who is known for her later fieldwork in the Solomon Islands (*Songs of Bellona*, 1987), made these recordings after coming to Denmark from New York City where she

completed her studies at Columbia University. "In 1967, I was an immigrant, a shy outsider with limited contacts." (p. 11) The Chief Rabbi of the Copenhagen Synagogue gave her permission to record during *Rosh hashana* and *Simchat Torah* services, a fact worth mentioning since live recordings of Jewish services are quite rare because of religious restrictions. Further, Mink Rossen interviewed the Copenhagen Torah reader and two cantors (i.e., singers who lead the Jewish services), recorded paraliturgical songs sung in Jewish homes, and carried out historical research. Since the author is particularly interested in integration processes as reflected in music and religious life, the first part of the book thus talks about the arrival of Jews in Denmark, the first synagogues and schools, synagogue music in Europe and the impact of the cultural environment in general, and finally about musical acculturation in the Copenhagen Synagogue. The first part also provides a history of the local cantorate and choir from 1833 to 2001.

The second part of the book was written by Uri Sharvit, who is a composer and former Head of the Musicology Department at Bar-Ilan University and a well known expert in Jewish prayer modes (*Prayer Tunes*, 1981), Jewish Yemenite chants (1981), and paraliturgical Moroccan *Baqqashot* (*Me'ir Nativ*, 2003). Uri Sharvit transcribed selected Copenhagen recordings, wrote an analysis, and compared the material with music in manuscripts from Denmark and other countries.

Danish Jewry is the oldest minority in Denmark, with an unbroken history of 400 years. "Most Danish Jews escaped the Holocaust: of the 500 who were deported to Theresienstadt (Terezín), all but 53 survived and returned." (p. 9) Under the German occupation, the majority of Danish Jews escaped to Sweden, and most of them came back when Denmark was liberated. An interesting piece of information for Czech readers might be that one cantor recorded and interviewed by Jane Mink Rossen was Eduard Fried (1911–1992) from Oradia, Romania, who was educated before the war as a cantor in Prague. Jane Mink Rossen describes the way Fried got to Copenhagen: during the war Fried was deported to Theresienstadt where the camp administration used him in performances. During his imprisonment, he met Danish Jews. After liberation, he became a cantor in the Altneu synagogue in Prague, and, in 1948, he again met somebody from the Copenhagen Synagogue who arranged for Fried to replace a Copenhagen cantor who had left. Although Mink Rossen does not mention it explicitly, it must have been a great opportunity for Fried to get a job in Copenhagen and to be able to leave, since in 1948 the Communists came to power in Czechoslovakia, and because of their harsh anti-Semitic policy (though declared officially as anti-Zionistic") many Jews went into exile during and after that year. I learned that the present cantor of the Jerusalem Synagogue in Prague, Alexandr Putík, received permission to visit his sister in Copenhagen during the iron curtain times, and by chance he met Eduard Fried. Fried's singing very much reminded him of Prague cantor Ladislav Moshe Blum. Putík was also astounded by the atmosphere in the Copenhagen Synagogue where there

were men still wearing toppers. Fried talked to him warmly, remembering his suffering during the Holocaust and many other issues. This little story is just to illustrate that there was a musical connection between Jews in Copenhagen and Prague, and it would be interesting to examine it.

The story of Eduard Fried could be taken as an example or symbolic indication of socio-cultural integrating processes which occurred in the Copenhagen Synagogue and are described in the book – a fusion of Orthodox and Reform religious traditions, and of Western Ashkenazi and Eastern Ashkenazi musical styles. The former cantor of the Orthodox Altneu Synagogue in Prague appeared in Copenhagen where there was music which was largely an off-shoot of 18th-century Reform developments in the synagogues of Vienna and Berlin characterized by choir accompaniment, conflicts whether to use an organ or not, Western harmonization, fewer and shorter melismatic embellishments, syllabic chanting and slow motion. On the other hand, the Eastern Ashkenazi style called the "*Polnische Weise*" ("Polish version") is characterized by "extreme melismatic embellishments, rapid melismatic 'runs', intensive improvisations, inclusion of Hassidic tunes, and great frequency of modal shifting from one *shtayger* [Jewish prayer mode] to another." (p. 90) Fried was not the only cantor there; he served along with Leopold Grabowski, who came from Germany. The two styles used during one service are heard on the accompanying CD.

As Uri Sharvit puts it, "the Copenhagen community was founded in 1684 by German Jews who, naturally, brought with them their liturgical and musical traditions. However, in the following centuries, many Eastern European Jews settled in Denmark, bringing Eastern European practices to the established musical tradition. The compromises that were adopted following the Reform-Orthodox conflict and the predominance of Eastern European cantors from 1844 onward gave rise to the special character of the liturgical situation in the Copenhagen Synagogue, namely the combination of German and Polish practices and the amalgamation of their musical styles." (p. 70). It might be interesting to point out that a similar process of hybridization also happened in Prague, namely in the Jerusalem Synagogue.

Anyone who is interested in Jewish music and acculturation processes will benefit from this comprehensive study supplied with fieldwork recordings and their thorough musical transcriptions.

Slavomíra Ferenčuhová, Michaela Šuleřová, Barbora Vacková (eds.): MĚSTO [THE CITY].

***Sociální studia* [Social Studies] 2/2006**, Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University, Brno 2006, 227 pp., ISSN 1214-813X.

Hedvika Novotná

Social Studies (Sociální studia), a scholarly journal published by the Faculty of Social Science of Masaryk University in Brno, declares it is an interdisciplinary

periodical covering various fields of social science, particularly sociology, social and cultural anthropology, political science, psychology, and history, with particular emphasis on the social and cultural context of the problems discussed. Each issue of the journal is monothematic and concentrates on new, as yet unmapped social trends, view and themes of social science research. One of the most recent issues of this journal covered urban problems. The editors kept the intentions of the authors open within the framework of a generally limited theme. In the editorial *THE CITY: The Beginning of Urban Studies in the Czech Republic?* this intention illuminates "the possibility of discovering various ways of viewing a city as an object of research in the contemporary work (mainly) of young researchers in (primarily) the Czech milieu." Thus a pléiade of miscellaneous themes are presented which are divided into three sections" *Life in the City* is dedicated to a specific city's way of life; the second look – *(De)signing cities* – reflects the character of the city as an entity deliberately and systematically featured in historically changing social conditions; the third approach – *The City as Image and Sound* views the city as a tangible, visual and auditive environment and concurrently recognizes the "physical" environment of the city and the fact that its users perceive it. Despite the declared multidepartmentalism in the journal, the sociological approach evidently prevails. This is confirmed both by the introductory text of the journal (appearing outside of the above-mentioned sections) – a study by Dušan Jandák, *I.A. Bláha and the Beginnings of Czech Urban Sociology.* Bláha's work presents the first Czech empirical research on the city as well as the first Czech urban sociological theory; his sociological functionalism is an original theoretical approach to the study of the city along with M. Weber, G. Simmel and the Chicago School.

The section *Life in the City* is introduced in a translation of Walter Benjamin's text *Man of the Crowd,* which is one of his fragmentary, unfinished sketches exploring the changing urban society of the nineteenth century. He is interested in the changes to which its inhabitants are subjected while experiencing the pressures of their environment. A commentary on the text *Benjamin's Baudelairian Texts, On Walter Benjamin's "Man of the Crowd"* was written by Jaroslav Střítecký. Michaela Šuléřová, in the article *The Potential and Limits of City Space,* presents a twofold discussion on the quality of city optics of public urban spaces; on one hand, it examines the possibilities of a city for creating societies and a public and further deals with the contemporary discussion of social structure in an urban space. The aim of Roman Vido's paper *Religious City, Irreligious City* is to sketch some aspects of the relationship between religion and the city and to focus on the multilayered nature and ambiguity of the influence of the urban environment on the religious life of the individual as well as society in pre-modern and modern times.

The second section, *(De)signing cities*, is introduced in a translation, this time of the chapter *Planning Purified Cities* from Richard Sennett's book *The Uses of Disorder.* The text deals with the example of power relations incorporated in the pro-

cess of urban planning. Barbora Vacková is the author of the essay *"As much Light, Air, Joy and Simplicity as Possible..." Features of Utopian Thought in the History of City Planning*, in which she offers a potential approach to ideas of city planning from antiquity to the present which can be found in the philosophical, urban and scientific tradition. The end of the text deals with avant-garde urbanism of the first half of the 20th century, especially the Zlín and Ostrava region. Michal Růžička, in his article *Geography of Social Exclusion,* addresses the genesis of urban ghettos in Czech cities as a result of social and spatial control of the dominant cultural order by excluding 'the others'; this process could be controlled by more inclusive and sensitive urban planning and spatial management. The article by Slavomíra Ferenčuhová, *'Together and Contented'. Images of Integrated Society in Urban Planning*, attempts to introduce urban planning as a particular field of interest within urban sociology and studies urban change. The example of the city of Brno and an analysis of the document "Strategy for Brno" raise questions about the role representatives of the city's inhabitants play in attempts to "integrate" urban society and the importance of the city as a structure of "identification" for its inhabitants.

The third section – *The City as Image and Sound* – contains two studies. Tomáš Řiháček, in his paper *What Does a City Sound Like? The Urban Sonic Environment from a Soundscape Concept Perspective* presents the concept of the sonosphere, which values sound as a source of cultural wealth, and not at all a potential source of annoyance, disturbance and destructive influences. In her paper *Town and Society. Kutná Hora during the long 14th Century* Blanka Altová follows the linkage between the social and urbanistic development of Kutná Hora in pre-Hussite times.

The journal concludes with three papers which are also connected to the theme: an essay by Jan Krása, *At Home in Nature, at Home in the City*, a research report *The Age of a City or Positivist Acquiring Qualitative Knowledge* by Lucie Vidovićová and a review of the book *Antony Vidle: Warped Space. Art, Architecture, and Anxiety in Modern Culture* by Michal Šimůnek.

The monothematic issue of Social Studies with the theme of the City thus presents a self-contained view of the concept of problematics of the City, mainly from the sociological perspective. It reasons that the City – and above all, today's city – is a stimulating and many-layered theme for social studies research and thus creates significant scope for further possible research projects in this field.

Yasar Abu Ghosh, Jakub Grygar, Marek Skovajsa (eds).: MONOTEMATICKÉ ČÍSLO SOCIÁLNÍ ANTROPOLOGIE V POSTSOCIALISMU [THEMATIC ISSUE SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN POST-SOCIALISM].

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Hedvika Novotná

Social anthropology has not yet had a firmly established position in post-socialist Europe. The editors of 2007's first issue of the Czech Sociological Review therefore decided to contribute to a debate about the position of this discipline and at the same time to outline which topics concern contemporary anthropology. The original intention was, above all, to present a kind of cross section of the discipline. The editors called for the submission of text abstracts which were to fulfill three conditions: "a perspective of the discipline (social anthropology), empirical research method (ethnography) and time-space limitation (Czech Republic, Slovakia and other geographically close post-socialistic countries after 1989)." (p. 8) At the same time they asked Chris Hann, one of the leading representatives of the anthropology of post-socialism if he would provide an overview of the development of anthropological research in Central and East Europe. They then had other anthropologists comment on his essay and thus facilitated a stimulating debate about the institutional and political level of the rising of social anthropology in Central and East Europe.

The resulting monothematic issue of Social Anthropology in Post-Socialism was thus de facto composed of two separate – but at the same time closely connected – parts: the study itself chosen from the abstracts that were sent in and a debate about the actual position of the discipline. Not less basic, however, is the *Editorial: Ethnographic Research in Focus,* in which the issue's editors Yasar Abu Ghosh, Jakub Grygar and Marek Skovajsa not only characterize their motivation for creating a publication with such a focus and the approach they used for it, but mainly they justify their emphasis on the anthropological research method of ethnography. They make a de facto connection to the debate that is published here about the character of social anthropology. They resign themselves to the theoretical or paradigmatic limitation of the discipline (whenever possible) and place emphasis on field research and its reflexive concept as the basic characteristic of the discipline.

In their own empirical part, they publish five studies whose characteristics for this report are taken from the abstracts published in this issue. Slovak political scientist and anthropologist Juraj Buzalka, in his text *Nationalism, Religion and Multiculturalism in Southeast Poland* develops the classical anthropological topic of the function of ritual. On the example of the Polish city of Przemyśl, which became known for the

tensions existing between Roman Catholic Poles and Greek Catholic Ukrainians (derived from the indivisible links between nationalism, religion, and politics in Southeast Poland), he analyses how they are tied up in political rituals. "The first two rites analyzed commemorate the sufferings during the war and, by politicizing collective memory, they strengthen the sense of mutual antagonism between religious-national groups. The author's key argument is that, given the important role religious identification plays in the individual's relationship to the nation, religion is becoming a crucial factor in any form of political change. The author also presents an example of reconciliation and how it is applied to collective memory on the basis of a multinational tradition in a third political ritual. In this case two religious-national groups share a 'multicultural' heritage, derived from their understanding of sharing a common tradition, from the majority's acceptance of the minority, and from the religious experience of reconciliation. Political change in either direction, that is, whether amidst the mobilization of differences or the promotion of tolerant co-existence, proceeds through rituals, symbolic gestures, and narratives, in which religion and religious experts occupy a dominant or at least secondary role, and this has an effect on how tolerant a society emerges in the region." (p. 31) American cultural anthropologist Ben Passmore deals with the research carried out by two relatively successful companies in the South Moravian city of Brno during the period preceding EU accession. He indicates that Czechs harbor considerable doubt about the honesty of their political and economic system. The paper *Legitimacy, Engagement and the Creation of Social Capital in the Late Transition Czech Workplace* "accomplish three objectives. It analyzes the interplay in those companies of discourses of honesty with the twin goals of managerial legitimacy and worker engagement. It documents the process of negotiation which has resulted in the development of a new moral economy on the work floor and the growth of powerful worker networks within the enterprise. Finally, it presents a theoretical framework to capture the process of social capital creation and expenditure which is the product of these processes." (p. 67) In this compilation Czech anthropology is represented by researchers of Masaryk University in Brno, Eleonóra Hamar and Czaba Szaló. In the text *Eight Women Migrants and Their Shared Transnational World,* they "examine a transnational migrant network of eight highly educated young women from the post-socialist region of southern Slovakia and devote special attention to the construction of their diasporic identity and shared life-world. They interpret the migration of these highly educated people not as a rupture but as a coherent continuation of their life course. In order to understand their recent biographical situation, it is necessary to consider the role that a particular form of habitus plays in migration. The authors claim that the experience of living in the culturally hybrid life-world of Czechoslovak Hungarians has played an important role in shaping their ability to live in the dual world of migrants." (p. 69) Timothy McCajor Hall of the University of Chicago introduces himself through

his article *Transactional Sex in Prague among Young Men Who Have Sex with Men (1999–2004)*, based on the author's fieldwork in the gay community in Prague during 1999–2002 with follow-up visits in 2004–2006. His article "looks at the experiences of young men (especially gay-identified men) involved in homosexual sex work in Prague, describes their relationship to the mainstream gay scenes in Prague in several phases since the mid-1990s, and discusses problems they face." (p. 89) American social anthropologist Raymond June carried out sixteen months of participant observation research and conducted an interview in the Czech branch of Transparency International. He argues that "a new generation of civic activists has sought to carve a niche in the competitive field by crafting an authoritative professional image. They have accomplished this through the performance of new international codes of neoliberal professionalism to both a Czech and international/western audience in order to gain social recognition. At the same time, however, they risk alienating (and being alienated from) their local counterparts and public if they appear too much the global de-nationalized professional. The discomfort with having to craft their sense of self between globalizing cultures of professionalism and local conditions is a core tension these actors experience in the context of broader changes in the building of civil society and democracy (in the international image), the post-socialist labor market, and the role of the intelligentsia. It demonstrates the limits to the accumulation of global cultural and symbolic capital." (p. 111) The studies based on field research are complemented by the essay by Jaroslav Skupnik (Charles University of Prague) *Reflected Worlds: Marginalisation and Integration from the Perspective of the Socio-psychological Dynamics of Society*, in which the author "takes the specific case of Roma settlements in Slovakia, where he has conducted anthropological research, to illustrate how the mechanism of marginalisation functions. Drawing on the work of Tzvetan Todorov and Peter L. Berger, he argues that at the heart of human sociability – the ability and necessity to live among others – is the constant human need for attention and recognition from others. This basic human need affects the socio-psychological dynamics of society, including the marginalisation as well as integration of some of its groups. This need for attention and recognition leads to the emergence of complex 'counter-worlds' or 'counter-societies', with their alternative value systems. The Roma settlements and urban ghettoes represent such counter-worlds that provide their inhabitants with attention, recognition, positive self-interpretation, and confirmation of their values. If the inhabitants of these counter-worlds are unable to fulfill this need anywhere else, then their integration into wider society cannot be achieved." (p. 133)

From the above, it is clear that the published texts do not represent a cross-section of social anthropological post-socialism. Nevertheless through its thematic diversity it undoubtedly implies the answer to the question which the editors posed in the foreword, that is, if anthropological research in Central and East Europe after 1989 always had to present first and foremost an article

about research on post-socialism. It is evident that references to post-socialism are gradually disappearing from anthropological work and are being replaced by other perspectives. The composition of the authors of this issue is a sad testimony to Czech social anthropology. The editors deduce that the cause of the low number of native-born authors is the emphasis on ethnographic anchorage of the texts, which is not customary in the Czech environment. Besides, this is one of the factors to which another part of the annotated issue of the Sociological Review refers, that is, the introductory essay by Chris Hann, *Anthropology's Multiple Temporalities and its Future in East-Central Europe* and, based on it, a lively debate on the topic of *Social Anthropology and National Ethnography: Partners or Rivals?* Participants were such native-born authors as Milena Benovska (Bulgaria), Aleksandra Bošković (Serbia), Michal Buchowski (Poland), Juraj Podoba (Slovakia) and Zdeněk Uherek (Czech Republic). Two further participants were authors who were experienced with emigration from the Czech Republic: David Z. Scheffel (born in Prague; working in Canada) and Petr Skalník (after nearly 15 years in the Netherlands and the Republic of South Africa, he returned to the Czech Republic in 1992). Last but not least, an external perspective is given by Don Kalb (Dutch anthropologist working in Budapest), Michael Stewart (UK; studies Roma in Hungary, etc.), and Katherine Verdery (USA, research primarily in Rumania). The wide pléiade of authors also presents a wide pléiade of opinions, some even very controversial, concerning the above-mentioned topic which would deserve basic analysis for which there is no room in this paper. Even though the subject of this debate is the relation between social anthropology and ethnography, in sum this discussion primarily shows that social anthropology in practically every country of former Central and East Europe has been wrestling not only with the establishment of the discipline as such, but primarily with its delimitation both in relation to "Western" (American, British or French) tradition and to the tradition of domestic social sciences. Besides, the home state (in this case, Czech) of anthropology is also evidenced by the starting of a controversy regarding publication ethics which was reprinted from this issue of the Sociological Review in pages of the Czech press.

The monothematic issue of the Sociological Review (in the Czech environment of a prestigious social science periodical) concentrating on contemporary social anthropology is undoubtedly a competent publishing feat. It opens a topic that is crucial for the establishment of anthropology in a given environment. However, the question remains of the degree to which native-born "anthropologists" are willing at least to take a peek into open doors in this way. That is, since 1989 there have already been three attempts to bring the topic of the character of social/cultural anthropology in the Czech environment to public discussion. (In the beginning of the 1990s a discussion about the study by Ladislav Holý, *The Little Czech Man and the Great Czech Nation*, made an impression on the pages of the magazine Český lid [The Czech People]. Three years ago the young Czech anthropologists Marek Jakoubek and a Zdeněk R. Nešpor tried

the same on the pages of the same periodical.) Even though many researchers have claimed that the compatibility of Czech anthropology with foreign trends is rising, on the basis of the group of authors' empirical research published here it is clear that until now reality differs from this claim.

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE

Miasto po obu brzegach rzeki – różne oblicza kultury [A city on both banks of a river – various aspects of culture]. October 18–20, 2007, Warsaw, Poland.

Organizers: Polskie Towarzystwo Etnologii Miasta, Muzeum Historyczne m. st. Warszawy, Muzeum Niepodległości, Archiwum Państwowe m. st. Warszawy, Czeskie Centrum, Instytut Słowacki

Hedvika Novotná

Polish ethnology, in particular cultural and social anthropology, has been dedicated for a long time to urban topics. This interest is expressed in the anchoring of urban studies in the Polish Society of Urban Ethnology (Polskie Towarzystwo Etnologii Miasta) which came into being in the year 2000. The subject of interest of this society is the problematics of the social-cultural identity of cities with a view to changes which, at least since the 19th century, accompany the growth of cities and with them the adjoining regions. One of the most important activities of the Polish Society of Urban Ethnology is the organization of international thematically oriented conferences – e.g., *Sfera sacrum i profanum w kulturze współczesnych miast europy środkowej* (The sacred and profane sphere in the culture of contemporary Central European cities (Warsaw – Pultusk, Sept. 16-18, 2004),); *Miejsca biesiadne. Co o nich opowiada antropolog?* (Places for parties; what does an anthropologist have to say about them?) (Lodz, June 1–2, 2006)

The most recent of a series of conferences – *Miasto po obu brzegach rzeki – różne oblicza kultury* (A city on both banks of a river – various aspects of culture) was held October 18–20, 2007, in the spaces of Warsaw museums. The topic of the papers was the city and the river from various perspectives. The fact that the topic is broad was already apparent from the introductory block of contributors: Danuta Kłosek-Kozłowska (Politechnika Warszawska) in a comparison of Rome, Florence, Paris and Prague from an urbanistic viewpoint followed the role of the river in the development of the city. Blanka Soukupová (Univerzita Karlova in Prague, Czech Republic) talked about the Vltava as a symbol of Czechness and Czechoslovakness and, from this point of view, about the changes in the relationship between the Vltava and Prague, oscillating in various historical periods and contexts between partnership and rivalry. Zuzana Beňušková (Univerzita Konstantina Filozofa in Nitra, Slovakia), taking the example of Bratislava and the Danube, demonstrated the function of the space on the banks of the river and changes of its values in the present.

The afternoon block of papers on the first day of the conference dealt with the theme "The river – connecting or dividing?" The introductory paper was to have been the contribution of Grażyna Ewa Karpińska (Uniwersytet Łódzki) with the explicitly current topic "Mostar – city with a bridge". Although scheduled for that time, it was presented the following day. The theme of the conference was metaphorically captured by Halina Godecka (Fundacja Akademia Mediów) in her lecture "Cross-border TV – a bridge over the river: the example of Těšín". Hedvika Novotná (Universita Karlova in Prague, Czech Republic) discussed the question of continuity and discontinuity in an urban space in connection with some aspects of the flood in Prague in 2002. L'ublica Falt'anova (Ustav etnológie SAV, Bratislava, Slovakia) chose the parable of business as a bridge over the river and discussed traditional and new elements in contemporary urban trade.

The second day of the conference was, with one exception (the above-mentioned Mostar), dedicated to Polish cities through the eyes of Polish researchers. The morning block bore the title "Cities on the Vistula (From Krakow to Toruń)". Krakow was introduced in four papers. Piotr Jordan Śliwiński (Katedra Lingwistyki Komputerowej UJ) presented a brilliant semiotic analysis of Krakow's river boulevard. Seweryn A. Wisłocki (Kraków) lectured on Krakow as a city on the left bank of the Vistula. Róża Godula-Węcławowicz (Instytut Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej UJ), using the example of religious festivals, discussed the Podgórze quarter of Krakow. An interesting contrast was an analysis of the right bank of Krakow as a segregated, "worse" city quarter both in a historical and a contemporary perspective by Anna Niedźwiedź (Instytut Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej UJ).

In the second section of this block, the first lecturer, Justyna Słomska (Instytut Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej UAM w Poznaniu), discussed the role of the river in the development of the city and region of Wloclawek. The importance of the river from the perspective of cultural ecology was discussed by Artur Trapszyc (Muzeum Etnograficzne w Toruniu), who used the example of the city of Toruń. In the next contribution, Justyna Słomska concentrated on motifs of the river in folklore.

The afternoon block entitled "Warsaw – a metropolis facing away from the river" began with a multimedial presentation by Przemysław Pasek (Fundacja „Ja Wisła"). The panel discussion about Warsaw with Kwiryna Handke (Instytut Slawistyki PAN), Karol Mórawski (Muzeum Woli), Paweł Michał Smoktunowicz (freelance architect, Warsaw), Joanna Angiel (Wydział Geografii i Studiów Regionalnych UW), Andrzej Stawarz (Muzeum Niepodległości) a Tomasz Sulewski (Warsaw) ranged from a historic-anthropological description of bathing in the Vistula in the second half of the 19th century (Sulewski) to characteristic differences between left-bank and right-bank Warsaw (Handke) to a historical and ethnological analysis of the relation of Warsaw to the Vistula river (Stawarz, Mórawski, Smoktunowicz) and to a sociological probe of contemporary Warsaw secondary-school youths

and their view of the importance of the Vistula (Angel).

On the third and final day of the conference, the "leftover" cities and topics were on the agenda. Tadeusz Sierny (Wydawnictwo Naukowe „Śląsk", Katowice) introduced the journal "Rzeki kultura, cywilizacja, historia" (Rivers: culture, civilization, history). Jarosław Durka (Myszków) discussed the values of social-cultural development of the city of Opole, a city on the Odra River. The last two papers diverged from the motif of the river – the city of Lodž has no river. On the other hand, these were lovely examples of discursive analysis (Aleksandra Krupa [IEiAK UŁ]) and historical anthropology (Katarzyna Najmrocka [Zakład Teorii i Badania Kultury Współczesnej UŁ]).

It is apparent that the problematics of the city is an important topic of contemporary social-science research. The opening up of this narrowly formulated theme clearly requires a multidisciplinary approach. Only thus can the approach of individual scientific disciplines to the various facets of this topic rise to the surface. What is important is, primarily, an emphasis on the connection between theory and empirical data and the consequent accent on the structure of the resulting texts. These should concentrate on research problems that are narrowly formulated, but elaborated in detail, problems which would characterize the trends of contemporary society. A further step which the Polish Society of Urban Ethnology is already preparing is a basic comparison of research from the field of urban anthropology based on mutually formulated and long-lasting research projects.

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