Intangible Heritage of the City

MUSEALISATION, PRESERVATION, EDUCATION
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The phenomenon of intangible cultural heritage in the structure of the constantly transforming city-palimpsest is like a book being read all over again. Imprinted on the space of the city, the evidence of historical existence of a specific local identity have their intangible supplements, which are transformed and passed on by successive generations of urban tradition bearers. Buildings and monuments, but also cultivated customs associated with specific social groups or professions, create a network of meanings and places, which are no longer anonymous and abstract. In this multifaceted understanding of the space through experiencing it in a spiritual and mental manner, the ties of humans with the urban space are built. Tensions are created between the community and its cultural environment – a conglomerate of diverse traditions and folklore.

The issue became the subject of an interdisciplinary conference on “Intangible Heritage of the City. Musealisation, Preservation, Education”, organised by the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków. The conference became a forum for debate for museum employees, museologists and interpreters of heritage from various cities in Poland, as well as from abroad (Belarus, Croatia, Russia, Slovenia, Switzerland, Ukraine). An important place in these considerations belongs to the sense of identity that is one of the main parameters of describing urban space. It is intangible heritage that creates the unique aura of the cities, saturated with the emotionality of its heirs. Intangible heritage is the vehicle for identity, shaped by traditions and individual and collective memory.

The papers were divided into seven thematic blocks: musealisation, preservation of intangible cultural heritage, its identification and documentation, education, as well as the identity of the city, the urban audiosphere, promotion and
development of the city. The starting point for the discussion was the declaration, read by the organisers and participants, of the need to reflect on those elements of the work of museums that relate intangible cultural heritage. I believe that city museums can play a significant role in this debate. The city as a space constantly overwritten with new elements of aesthetics, customs and beliefs is a rich composition of the accumulated layers of history and tradition. The city is a complex and multi-faceted creation, growing at a time in which the tangible and intangible exist in a synergistic manner.

At this point, I would like to express my thanks to Magdalena Kwiecińska, who was the initiator and originator of the conference. I would also like to thank Michał Grabowski for his assistance in international cooperation. Thanks also go to those supporting the preparation of the conference: Marzena Przybyła, Daniel Borowski, Andrzej Szoka, as well as the technical and multimedia crew: Dariusz Marczyński, Piotr Cieślik, Grzegorz Dill and Miroslaw Kołodziej.

**INTRODUCTION**

Passed in 2003, the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage provides an altered definition of the museum championed by The International Council of Museums ICOM/UNESCO. The definition stipulates that the new task of the museum is to collect and safeguard the intangible cultural heritage of humanity. The International Council of Museums recognised the intangible aspect of an artefact as an important factor contributing to the development of the museum sector in line with contemporary trends that are focused on society and broadly understood education. The attempts made at re-defining the museum yet again focus on its ontological tasks. The primary tenet of this approach lies in a new understanding of the artefact, which can be defined as a referent of the intangible and the attribute of the intangible heritage while taking into account its environment and cultural context.

During the First Congress of Polish Museologists, which was held in Łódź in 2015, the ethnologist and cultural anthropologist Jan Święch brought forth a significant contribution to the Polish museum sector, especially ethnographic museums since the 1930s, and the recording of the intangible heritage. He argued that:

> [...] the commitment of Polish museum to the programme for safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage marks a return to a most humanistic vision whereby museums perform functions that go beyond mere collecting, exhibiting, and education, and perform their academic mission according to a strictly defined research programme.¹

As a follow-up, the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków (MHK) held an international conference called “The Intangible Heritage of the City. Musealisation, Preservation, Education”, which was aimed at exchanging the know-how at an international level concerning the measures defined in the amended Act on Museums of 29 June 2007. The conference addressed the issues that were hitherto barely present in Polish academic debate, its primary focus being on tradition, folklore, and other forms of human activity in urban space. Furthermore, in 2014, with the support of MHK as an expert, two Cracovian traditions were inscribed on the National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage. These are Nativity scenes making and Lajkonik Procession, which have been under the Museum’s care for years. The participants of conference had the opportunity to attend the Lajkonik Procession, which in 2016 took place on the 3rd of June, according to tradition, one week after Corpus Christi.

The papers collected in the book are created through debate among museum curators, museum researchers, and heritage researchers from Poland (Cieszyn, Katowice, Kraków, Lublin, Nowy Sącz, Poznań, Przeworsk, Toruń, Warszawa, Wieliczka, Wrocław) and elsewhere (Belarus, Croatia, Russia, Slovenia, Switzerland, Ukraine). The authors furnish two cognitive perspectives: theoretical and practical, in their attempts to present the multifaceted character of the Convention and related topics. They make an attempt at tackling the questions addressed during the conference:

What is the intangible urban heritage?
What effect does it have on local identity?
How to record and include the intangible heritage to museum collections?
What is the dynamic between the tangible and the intangible heritage?
What role does the museum play in the preservation and safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage?

What role does the intangible cultural heritage play in promotion and development of cities?

As they elaborate on these subjects, the authors provide an important insight into the reflection and discussion on the implementation of the UNESCO Convention in Europe and its impact on the tradition bearers and practitioners. The intangible heritage is defined by its longevity, which is enhanced by its continuous transmission from one generation to the other, in a particular place and time. Thus, the intangible heritage is susceptible to spontaneous transformation when it accommodates cultural context and reality. This reality is dynamically created by the city, which has a rhythm of its own, a rhythm that is different from that of the country.

While examining the intangible urban heritage, it must be compared and contrasted to the cultural practices that belong in urban space (their rural origins notwithstanding) or are strictly related to urban themes. These practices define the place and its *genius loci*. One is tempted to paraphrase Jerzy Szacki to point out that traditions exist as a dialectic of remembering and forgetting, selecting and discarding, affirming and negating. Last but not least, culture exists insofar as it changes. It reflects one's identity in the here and now while being an important part of the generational heritage. A broad understanding of culture as heritage furnishes a narrative on human history that offers unlimited potential in the urban context. As it expresses collective identity, it also acts as a force in the process of building and reinforcing identification, local history, and memory.
The Folklore Map of Moscow project was carried out in an attempt to explore the urban space of Moscow and the surrounding suburban areas as “folklore area” where specific sites engender legends, worship, rituals, beliefs, anxieties, taboos, and other forms of traditional collective thinking. The project is not restricted to urban legends only, which means our study expands to non-narrative and even non-verbal forms. It is important that they are linked to specific sites. Anything can be such a site, including a public monument or tree, a street or district.

The project is being carried out by the Folklore Lab at the Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow by myself and my colleague Nikita Petrov. Students from different Moscow universities are involved in fieldwork to collect materials for the study.

A question arises why Moscow in the first place. Admittedly, folklore materials of this kind can be found in any other city. Likewise, the description structure we have created can also be used to analyse folk resources from any other city.

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That being said, our focus is on folklore in Moscow, as it is our surrounding area and should be described just like any other tradition.

Regarding spatial boundaries, it must be pointed out that the folklore space of Moscow does not overlap with the administrative boundaries of the city. Additionally, the official administrative boundaries of Moscow were largely expanded in 2012, and the term of New Moscow was coined to encompass the metropolitan area that covers the entire Moscow Oblast. However, nothing has changed in the residents’ perceptions, and to them Moscow remains Moscow within its former boundaries. That being said, a large part of suburbia, together with small towns surrounding the city, create one space, not only geographically but also socially and culturally: their residents commute to Moscow, do shopping in Moscow, and visit the city’s museums, cinemas and theatres, etc. Accordingly, there is no need to separate them from Moscow in our research. Strictly speaking, the Moscow area in our project is limited to the city’s continuous building line. For instance, what is known as the “Road of Death” in the Moscow suburb of Lytkarino (17 km by road away from the Moscow ring road), where according to popular belief too many accidents happen for supernatural reasons, still belongs in the folklore space of Moscow, as the stories about it and related anxieties are fairly common in the east side of Moscow.

We have set ourselves the following goals to achieve in the project:

1. Collecting source materials. It is simple and complex at the same time. On the one hand, a large number of various publications exist on the subject, including several historic collections of Moscow folk textual materials, the most important of which are a book by Evgenyi Baranov, which collects the legends recorded by the author in the 1920s, seminal works by Vladimir Gilarovski and Mihail Pylâev, and works by Maria Artem’eva, Elena Korovina and others that describe “supernatural sites in Moscow”, “mystical Moscow”, “myths and legends of Moscow”. Only few academic works have been devoted to particular sites in the folklore space of Moscow or their related texts and cultural practices. On the other hand, the majority of these publications have been developed for entertainment or commercial reasons, and are often devoid of authentic materials and contain dubious information on the folk culture of Moscow. More often than not they are not based on real tradition. They are a mere figment of their authors’ imagination. As a result, it is necessary to verify the data. However, since these stories (invented and published by their authors, concerning the mystical aspect of urban space) enjoy much popularity, attract vast readership, and are recirculated on the Internet, they become the facts of tradition without necessarily being ones at the beginning. The materials are collected on the internet and in the city.

Surfing the internet provides an opportunity to discover new sites and reveal interesting phenomena, trends, or facts. Fieldwork (observation, interviews) provides an opportunity to verify how well circulated a particular piece of information is and register living traditions.

2. Material systematisation. It is necessary that research material is divided into categories defined by particular tasks. Only by doing so is it possible to understand what type of sites become incorporated into local folklore, and what type of stories, names, actions, and beliefs, etc. are linked to different site categories and why. It is important that the resulting division provides both for site types and related forms of folklore practices.

The types of sites and related examples are provided below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Texts</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Practices</th>
<th>Examples</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MONUMENT</td>
<td>Unofficial names, comical aetiological legends</td>
<td>The monument to the first space explorer Gagarin (mounted on a very high plinth, a male figure with his hands leaning along)</td>
<td>Rubbing against the visible parts of the statue; telling a wish; putting on various objects; decoating (dressing, washing, adding)</td>
<td>People rub against the statues of the revolutionaries at the Plošad’ Revolucii metro station and tell their wishes;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 Baranov Evgenii, Moskovskie legendy, zapisanyye Evgieniem Baranovym, Moskva 1993.
2 Gilarovski Vladimir, Moskva i moskvichi, Moskva 2014.
4 Artem’eva Mariâ, Temnââ storona Moskvy, Moskva 2011; Korovina Elena, Moskva mistîcheskii, Moskva 2012.
5 Gilarovski Vladimir, Moskva i moskvichi, Moskva 2014.
6 Artem’eva Mariâ, Temnââ storona Moskvy, Moskva 2011; Korovina Elena, Moskva mistîcheskii, Moskva 2012.
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<tr>
<td>CITY</td>
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<td></td>
<td>his body and slightly extended to the sides), often referred to as “Where are my suitcases?”</td>
<td>new elements to the monument’s composition, etc.), the practice, which dates back to the 1950s, was initiated by the students of the nearby Moscow University to increase their chances of success at the exams.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TREE</td>
<td>Aetiological texts</td>
<td>Moscow’s Kuzminski Park is known to have a suicide elm, which is said to have witnessed many suicides by hanging</td>
<td>Tying ribbons; breaking off twigs and bark</td>
<td>In Moscow’s Kolomenskoe Park, people tie ribbons to make their wishes come true to a tree standing next to two cult stones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUILDING</td>
<td>Unofficial names; aetiological and historical legends; legends concerning (quasi) historical figures the places are linked to; spooky tales</td>
<td>High-rise buildings from the Stalin era are said: 1. to conceal several storeys underground; 2. to conceal equipment necessary to freeze the ground (buildings of this size would otherwise collapse in the shifting grounds of Moscow); 3. to follow a mystical pentagram grid that is capable of resurrecting Stalin</td>
<td>Visiting High-rise buildings from the Stalin era attract interest both from tourists and the residents of Moscow, it is often frequented by guided tours</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABANDONED BUILDING</td>
<td>Unofficial names; legends explaining why the site has</td>
<td>It is believed that the abandoned hospital in Khovrino</td>
<td>Visiting / refraining from visiting, commemorative</td>
<td>The hospital building in Khovrino is frequented by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CITY</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>been abandoned; legends concerning (quasi) historical figures the places are linked to: spooky legends; legends about spooky communities, e.g. Satanists, who frequent the place, their rituals, legends about someone dying in the building</td>
<td>(Moscow’s suburb): is frequented by Satanists; witnessed a boy’s death / suicide; is a mystical place resembling Resident Evil’s Umbrella; the residents of Khovrino say that every spring a lot of dead bodies are taken out from the building when the snow melts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAVE</td>
<td>Legends about the dead, their life, and how they aided the living; legends about miracles; instructions; not only the graves of pious old men can be the objects of worship, but also other people’s, whom the majority of the residents may know very little about except for the fact that the grave has aiding properties</td>
<td>Worshipped from the 1820s, the venerable Ivan Korejša (died in 1861 and buried in Saint Elias’ Church in Moscow’s Čerkizovo) is said to aid the living in sickness and misfortune, have saved Saint Elias’ Orthodox Church during a German air raid as he prevented the bomb that fell nearby from exploding</td>
<td>Visiting; commemorative practices; leaving objects (offerings); taking away the earth, flowers, and twigs; prayer; writing notes / inscriptions on the tombstone; walking around the tombstone</td>
<td>Korejša’s grave is walked around, the twigs of the tree growing by the grave are broken off and taken home for their healing properties; wishes are written down on Lutheran shrines in the German Cemetery, addressed to God, the buried, or general in nature (“I beg for recovery...”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STONE</td>
<td>Names; aetiological legends; tales about supernatural powers; instructions</td>
<td>Two stones – Male and Female in Kolomenskoe Park were created after</td>
<td>Standing up / sitting down; walking around; leaving a coin or flowers</td>
<td>Two stones – Male and Female in Kolomenskoe Park: men sit on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Inventorying. The work on the “Moscow folklore textual fabric” requires that a possibly comprehensive list of sites was provided, together with their distribution on the map and information on what practices or traditions they have engendered. Hence we are creating an inventory of the sites, together with a map on which they are represented and brief descriptions of fables and practices they have engendered.

4. Research conducted in the project is focused on several aspects:
   – the ways in which narratives, beliefs, and practices are formed, as well as the vectors of tradition development: which persons, events, and mythologemes can increase the folklore properties of the site;
   – an interaction between the site (tangible) and tradition (intangible), e.g. what happens to a tradition when the site that engenders it is obliterated or how new traditions are engendered by the formerly existing or newly created sites;
   – Moscow and environs – a homogeneous folklore space or a set of individual sites, objects, and practices?

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<tr>
<td>SPRING</td>
<td>Names; aetiological legends; tales about the miraculous properties of the water; tales about the unique chemical composition of the water; instructions</td>
<td>Saint George’s slaying of the dragon; those who approach the stones have their cameras or tablets damaged, their mobile phones go dead, compasses fail, etc.</td>
<td>the former to remain in good health; women on the latter to improve their fertility</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Spring of Saint Macarius Želtovodski in the district of Lianozovo; it is said that a widow asked the saint for wealth, Saint Macarius created a healing spring; Saint Macarius appeared to a woman who wanted to commit a suicide because of her drinking husband, the couple would live in harmony ever since</td>
<td>Taking the water away home for consecration or cooking; washing; drinking; tossing a coin</td>
<td>People take the water from the Spring of Saint Macarius away home for its healing properties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTRICT</td>
<td>Unofficial names; texts describing its reputation; local topography (the system of sites on the map); texts (quasi) historical in nature</td>
<td>Several districts in Moscow are considered to be dangerous or rough; it is said they have witnessed a large number of assaults, murders, and robberies. These stories are usually passed on</td>
<td>Visiting / refraining from visiting</td>
<td>A lot of people, mainly young individuals, visit some districts or quarters at night / never visit them to meet / not to meet their residents to experience / avoid the feeling of fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New sites, specially developed by the city authorities to improve the area, creating new practices</td>
<td></td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>Practices depending on the site’s location, type, and purpose</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>by the residents of the adjacent areas; the following textual formula is very common: [name of district] strana čudes, tuda zaižel i tam isčež [land of miracles, you enter there and vanish into thin air]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>
Inscriptions of the shrine walls in the German Cemetery, photo: Andrei Moroz 2012.

Breaking off the twigs in the tree by Ivan Korejša’s grave, photo: Andrei Moroz 2012.

General Conclusions

The residents of Moscow hardly realise that their city creates a homogeneous folklore space. People are usually aware of individual sites depending on where they live, how they commute, or their interests. The most detailed information that people usually have is usually linked to the place they live or often visit. The largest number of folklore sites is visible in the city centre. This is down to a large number of factors:

– the city centre as its most historic part has a well-known and well described history; this is where most of the historic buildings that engender folklore narratives have been preserved;

– the tendency to attribute the creation of the sites to particular historical figures is usually restricted to the Old Moscow area (currently, the largest number of tales are linked to the buildings from the Stalin era);

– the city centre is the most frequented area in Moscow, daily routes of the residents usually dissect the centre, which is why centrally located sites are commonly known and mentioned much more often than other places;

– city authorities are also much more active when it comes to building new monuments in the city centre; that being said, some of the sites have been developed specifically to serve informal rituals or they become such regardless of the intentions of their creators and the city authorities.

At the same time, the areas newly incorporated into Moscow (former suburbia, towns, or villages) weave into “Moscow textual fabric” the stories and
practices initially engendered by non-Moscow sites; these local texts become part of the metropolitan textual fabric.

Different sites have different folklore knowledge categories. The sites create separate systems which may entail hierarchy or horizontal relations between the components. For example, monuments in front of the universities become the object of student worship, sacred sites (graves of venerable old men, sacred springs, shrines, etc.) are visited by the pilgrims, abandoned buildings attract young people.

People’s alleged interest in mysticism engenders a large number of texts by individual authors on the subject that recount or recreate traditional legends or create utterly fictional stories. Published in print, on the internet, or on TV, such texts are widely publicised. However, as fieldwork suggests, mystical texts rarely exist in oral tradition; they are present on the internet only.

As a tool to research and showcase the material, we use Yandex maps in which various sites are marked with matching colours; after moving the cursor on the marker, a window pops up with exact coordinates and a brief description. An opportunity with fieldwork results will also be provided in the future.

To date, 156 sites have been included in the database, 88 of which were described through fieldwork and the rest using the existing publications. Further advances on the project will help to improve and develop the existing conclusions and offer new advances on the subject. The first outcomes of the project are available at: http://www.ruthenia.ru/folklore/folklorelaboratory/moscowfolkmap1.htm.

Text translated from Polish language

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What is the Intangible Heritage of the City?

The website of the National Heritage Institute contains a definition that quite exhaustively explains what intangible cultural heritage is:

A very important part of heritage, in addition to historical monuments, works of art and collections of valuable exhibits, is also tradition, living non-material manifestations of culture inherited from ancestors and passed on to future generations.

– Oral traditions, including fables, proverbs, songs, orations, stories of reminiscence and faith, histories, speeches, funeral laments, shepherding and trading calls, including language as a medium of intangible cultural heritage;
– performing arts and musical traditions, including vocal, instrumental and dance traditions, religious, carnival and annual performances;
– socio-cultural practices, such as customs, rituals and annual, situational and family celebrations, christenings, weddings, funerals, local and environment ceremonies, pilgrimages and feast-day customs, games and activities, children’s folklore, ways of celebration, practices used to establish interpersonal contacts, ways of offering wishes, traditional imaginings about the universe, such as folk meteorology;
– knowledge and practices associated with nature and the universe; traditional methods of healing; love and medicine charms, as well as
– knowledge and practices associated with traditional craftsmanship...
– ... all these and many more phenomena, unlisted here, in all their wealth and diversity, are described by one term – intangible cultural heritage.¹

The website also emphasises that:

Intangible cultural heritage, although fragile, is extremely important in the process of shaping the identity of every social group and individual. The survival of intangible heritage in its immense wealth is a condition of maintaining cultural diversity in the face of increasing globalisation.²

Thus, an enormous pressure has been put on the role that intangible heritage plays in the life of the society that created it. It is also worth quoting the rest of the definition, which shows that it does not refer only to history – to what has already passed. It also refers to important present elements (which of course have their roots in the past):

Intangible cultural heritage is both traditional, modern and living – it represents not only the inherited traditions of the past, but also practices creatively transformed in the present, in which we participate as representatives of various social and cultural groups. Phenomena of intangible cultural heritage evolve in response to the changing environment, acting as a link between our present, the past of our ancestors and the future of our children.³

Referring to the above fragments of the definition, I propose that selected internet resources, to which I will refer in detail later in the text, be considered a source thanks to which we can discover and explore both the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of a given community. There are, however, several important provisos, which should be made at this point:

¹ http://niematerialne.nid.pl/Dziedzictwo_niematerialne/ [accessed 15.05.2016].
² Ibidem.
³ Ibidem.
The Significance of the Role of Intangible Heritage in the Process of Exploring the History of Cities and Housing Estates

The research into the history of the Rubinkowo housing estate in Toruń has made me aware that information necessary for reproducing the history of the location and the community living there should be sought not only during interviews with residents, in the resources of the Archive of the City of Toruń, the archives of individual institutions and companies or the local press, but also online. The significance of internet resources for ethnographic studies has been noted and emphasised by many researchers. It is worth referring here to the considerations of Liav Sade-Beck regarding “Internet ethnography” or the concept of “netnography” used by Robert V. Kozints. According to the ideas presented in these considerations, studies may be conducted with internet resources, which initially were merely secondary, but over time, due to the expansion of virtual communities, became the basis for exploring poorly-described socio-cultural phenomena, such as groups that function only online. In turn, Dariusz Jamielniak indicates that the internet is a place where research can be carried out both online and offline. The researched uses the term “virtual ethnography”, writing:

Thanks to this approach, the behaviours and beliefs of the members of internet communities (who are, after all, participants of mainstream culture and “normal” communities) can be studied; therefore, virtual ethnography indirectly expands knowledge about certain aspects of human life, which do not always become apparent in the non-virtual world, although they manifest in online interactions.

It is worth emphasising that in the case of the research I conducted, I was pointed towards these resources by the residents of the housing estate, with whom I conducted interviews at the start of the project. I had known, of course, that such websites or virtual communities existed. What I had not realised was the enormous role they play in the cultivation of the memory and history of the estate, and how involved the residents belonging to various age groups are in the co-creation of such places.

The research I carried out allowed me to discover online resources that are an excellent source of information about the intangible heritage of Rubinkowo. The data can be divided into two categories:

– materials published in the profiles of selected groups and communities on Facebook;
– the remaining bottom-up activities online: encyclopaedias, thematic websites and blogs.

I will discuss the above categories later in the text, based on specific examples referring directly to the housing estate I have mentioned.

Social Media Websites and Selected Thematic Pages as Places of Preservation and Cultivation of Intangible Heritage of the City. An Analysis of Examples Related to the Rubinkowo Housing Estate in Toruń

Moving on to analyses, it is important to emphasise that the internet as a place of creating, functioning and obtaining of the intangible cultural heritage of the city

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is incredibly specific. This specificity consists of particular qualities that characterise the medium, that is:

– the inexhaustibility and constant growth of the resources;
– the possibility of ongoing authorial verification of published materials, commenting on them and modifying them (this means that intangible heritage is always alive – thanks to the ongoing updating of published content).

These are important characteristics that should be kept in mind when referring to specific examples. In the case of the Rubinkowo estate, the largest source database for this type of information is Facebook. The materials published there allow for the reproduction and supplementation of the estate’s history. Residents who are members of individual groups and communities, such as football or speedway fans (Apator Rubinkowo\(^9\), Elana ZKS Rubinkowo\(^10\)), people attending the same school or preschool, preparing for the sacrament of confirmation or first communion (e.g. Bierzmowanie Rubinkowo I 2016\(^11\)), members of the liturgical service, choir or Oasis Movement (e.g. Oaza Rubinkowo\(^12\)) or gathered in a specific part of the estate (e.g. Rubinkowo I\(^13\), Rubinkowo I\(^14\)), post incredibly valuable materials to the groups every day. Thanks to them, the abovementioned Facebook pages are a rich source for researching archival photographs and films, both as well as other commemorative materials\(^15\). They can be divided into several basic groups.

The first are private photographs. The residents of the Rubinkowo estate openly share their private photographs – both digital and analogue – with other internet users. These are photos with a diverse range of subjects:

\(^*\) photographs from family albums, which document important family events, such as walks around the estate, picnics, playtime with children from the neighbourhood, family visits to fairs;
\(^*\) photographs showing events associated with professional life, such as photos from the workplace, group photos with colleagues, photographs showing the work being done, company celebrations of national holidays and parades;
\(^*\) photographs showing important events from the history of the estate, such as the construction of new apartment blocks, the cutting down of an important tree, the closing of the estate bar, the construction of a new playground or wading pool, the laying of a tram track, or the opening of a supermarket.

These last types of photographs are a spontaneous reaction to ongoing or planned investments or events, express approval of or protest against a decision made by the authorities, and present the emotions evoked by a given situation. The spontaneous comments published under such photographs are of particular importance in this case.

An excellent example of this are the entries made as part of an ongoing discussion, spanning the profiles of many groups (particularly the Facebook groups Stowarzyszenie Nasze Rubinkowo\(^16\) and Rubinkowo 90’s\(^17\)), regarding a planned tram line. City authorities proposed three variants of the route for the new line – each of them was discussed in the forum. The statements, sometimes very emotional – e.g. “We can’t let them force a tram into our estate!”\(^18\) – demonstrate that residents are both attached to the site and identify with it. Rubinkowo is a familiar area – its residents are fully aware of the unique nature of the space they live in – full of greenery and spaces dedicated to playgrounds, bike paths and carparks. And this specificity of the space is also being emphasised in the comments about the photos of the plans of the tram route. The matter is ongoing, but it can be assumed that regardless of the decision made by the responsible department of Toruń City Hall, the online reactions and initiatives of the residents will become part of the estate’s history.

The course of events in the case of the cutting down of a tree, which had been “in Rubinkowo forever, before the blocks were built” and had been “the witness to the construction of the estate, like the Szosa Lubicka street, which had always

\(^12\) https://www.facebook.com/groups/466279060179039/?fref=ts [accessed 12.05.2016].
\(^13\) https://www.facebook.com/Rubinkowowladcymelanze/?fref=ts [accessed 11.05.2016].
\(^15\) Because of the nature of the materials published there, it is important to emphasise the enormous role of visual anthropology in the materials I studied. The internet resources I refer to in this article are an inexhaustible and constantly growing photographic database. These are both scans from analogue prints as well as digital photographs. The images gathered and published by the residents of the estate document the history of the location and present its most important aspects from the point of view of its participants. This allows for a two-track, complete analysis of the collected research materials: presenting the content of interviews and comments with the photographs that illustrate them.
\(^16\) https://www.facebook.com/Nasze-Rubinkowo-1510821602560483/?fref=ts [accessed 12.05.2016].
\(^17\) https://www.facebook.com/groups/202771099829594/?fref=ts [accessed 12.05.2016].
\(^18\) Fragment of a comment made on the Stowarzyszenie Nasze Rubinkowo Facebook page.
been there”. The removal of the symbol of the estate caused a storm of activity – the Rubinkowo Facebook communities published photographs documenting both the cutting down of the tree and the view after its completing. This caused a wave of reminiscences connected with the tree, which had been treated as a landmark on the map of the estate. “I live in the block next to the tree”, “I’m waiting under the tree”, “take a right at the tree”, “I always order a cab to the tree” – these are only some of the comments that appeared under the photos, indicating that “the tree” had been the defining element of the space of Rubinkowo.

The second group are amateur recordings, often made with mobile phones. These are short films, documenting events important to the residents, such as the opening of a supermarket or a sudden storm or heavy downpour.

The third group are scanned or photographed press clippings. In the aforementioned profile Rubinkowo 90’s, there are two albums created by one of the users. They contain the results of archival research, during which he found – as he himself says – all the articles regarding Rubinkowo, which were published in the local press in the early 20th century. He divided them into two albums – “Rubinkowo in old press – pre-1919” and “Rubinkowo in old press – the Roaring Twenties”. Both of them contain dozens of scanned or photographed press clippings from the times when the present-day estate was the site of the village of Rubinkowo.

The fourth group of commemorative materials that can be reached via the internet, are traditions, urban legends, and customs associated with a location. Together, they have the character of modern folklore. It is worth noting that this group also fits into the definition of online folklore suggested by Wojciech Burszta and Adam Pomieciński:

E-folklore also includes new forms and genres that speak to its dynamic development: chats, blogs, forums, online memes and social networks. All of them belong to online communities, each of which creates stories about their own "local" worlds. These narratives are multiplied in countless varieties.

Among such phenomena are entries that explain places the residents of the estate consider mysterious, such as the hills between the buildings, called “whales” or “dolphins”, the woods at the edge of the estate that, particularly for the younger residents, constitute the “end of the world” or the bricked-over doors on the 11th floor of every block. Stories about people who are inseparably connected with Rubinkowo and are symbols of the estate should also be added to these. One of the noteworthy stories is the legend of Mister “Eude-Beude”. Both in personal conversations as well as photo captions, I have found information that indicate this was a lonely, most likely mentally ill man. Children and youth remember him as a mysterious man, who wandered the estate and muttered unintelligibly – hence the nickname “Eude-Beude”.

The discussions that take place around the materials published – comments added on an ongoing basis – are very valuable. They indicate the interest of the residents in the websites, the need to participate in creating the history of the estate, as well as a sentiment for the location. Materials published on the sites are very often commented on by people who have not lived on the estate for a long time, but remember their childhood spent in Rubinkowo. A photo, comment or recording that is added causes a torrent of memories and usually becomes a starting point for further lively discussion. The most turbulent ones appear on the aforementioned Rubinkowo 90’s page.

Also worth mentioning in this text are other bottom-up initiatives from outside of Facebook, intended to preserve and record locations or events important to the history of the estate. An excellent example are virtual encyclopaedias or private themed blogs. There are, however, far fewer of them than groups or communities on Facebook. This does not mean, of course, that they are less relevant. One example is e-wietor – Wielka Internetowa Encylopedia Torunia [The Great Online Encyclopaedia of Toruń], where entries regarding Rubinkowo can be found. Although the initiative was started by Andrzej Warot in 2003, but quickly stalled due to a lack of funds for the project. Another attempt in 2009 resulted in definite steps being taken to finalise the predecessors’ plans. An editorial team was appointed: Prof. Krzysztof Mikulski (president), Janina Hupenthal (deputy) and Andrzej Warot (secretary). The encyclopaedia was taken under the patronage of Mayor Michał Zaleski and since that time, its resources have steadily grown, with new entries being added. Currently, anyone can add an entry to e-wietor, after sending it to the editorial team. After entering the keyword “Rubinkowo”,

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19 Quotations from comments made on the Rubinkowo 90’s and Stowarzyszenie Nasze Rubinkowo Facebook pages.
20 Burszta, Wojciech, Pomieciński Adam, E-folklor, „Kultura Popularna” 2012, no. 3 (33), pp. 4-5.
22 http://e-wietor.pl/historia-encyklopedii-torunia/ [accessed 15.05.2016].
I found a sizeable list of articles regarding schools operating on the estate, biographies of street patrons and people associated with Rubinkowo. There are also entries on events taking place on the estate, the parishes operating there as well as the no longer existing cemetery, which is still remembered by the first residents of the estate.

Conclusion

In summing up these deliberations, I would like to emphasise that all examples discussed are the effect of spontaneous and bottom-up initiatives, intended to satisfy the need – perhaps initially unconsciously – to preserve the intangible cultural heritage and pass it on to subsequent users, readers and residents of the estate. This informality is an extremely important characteristic, which shows that there is a desire to care for the heritage, that residents are aware of the need to preserve the achievements of generations that create the estate. It is worth emphasising the significance and importance of the materials contained online for:

– building and strengthening memory about the history of the estate;
– building and strengthening the memory and identity of the location, as well as strengthening the residents’ sense of belonging to a community;
– the bottom-up need to document, preserve and safeguard the legacy and the intangible heritage of the location and the city.

It is worthwhile to once again refer here to the definition of intangible cultural heritage I cited at the beginning, in which it is emphasised that “Every manifestation of this heritage is important and valuable for those who practice it and for whom it ensures a sense of belonging to their community; therefore, every such phenomenon deserves survival”.

The analyses and research I have undertaken have also demonstrated what is important for the residents of Rubinkowo and what gives them a sense of belonging to a community. This intangible cultural heritage – gathered, collected, annotated, commented on and constantly supplemented – speaks to the identity of the residents and to their memory. Returning once again to the definition cited at the start of the article – although it is very fragile and unique, it is essential for the maintaining of distinctiveness and emphasising the diversity of a given group

or location. This is also the case with Rubinkowo, the specificity of which was revealed to me, among others, through the analysis of the materials discussed here.

Text translated from Polish language

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23 http://niematerialne.nid.pl/Dziedzictwo_niematerialne/ [accessed 15.05.2016].
The Fête des Vignerons in Switzerland.
An Original Celebration in Honour of the Best Winegrowers

The Fête des Vignerons (Winegrowers Festival) is held once every generation in Vevey, a small town in the French-speaking part of Switzerland on the north shore of Lake Geneva, bordered by the terraced vineyards of Lavaux, a UNESCO world heritage site since 2007. The Fête des Vignerons is the first living tradition that the Swiss Confederation submitted to UNESCO in March 2015 for registration on the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity list. UNESCO’s decision should be reached by the end of 2016.

Since 1797, the Confrérie des Vignerons (Winegrowers Brotherhood) of Vevey has organised Fête des Vignerons once every generation in the town’s large market square, a unique and majestic theatrical stage that opens on to the lake and the mountains.

The origins of the event, however, are found in a much older parade held from time immemorial, although not documented until 1647. Each edition of the

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2 Cf. Carruzzo-Frey Sabine, Ferrari-Dupont Patricia, Du Labeur aux honneurs, quatre siècles
The 3rd Fête des Vignerons in Vevey in 1833, Confrérie des Vignerons.

Fête des Vignerons is built around similar themes (the seasons of the vine and of wine, the winegrower’s tasks, the cycle of life of Man, Nature, the cosmos, etc.), but each time it is a totally original creation. More than just a festival or a spectacle, it is above all a solemn celebration honouring the best winegrowing workers of the region. The performance by thousands of volunteer amateur players in an arena that nowadays holds almost 18,000 spectators, the Fête des Vignerons is a major event in French-speaking Switzerland.

Since the first Fête des Vignerons in 1797, it has only been held eleven times. The next time will be in the summer of 2019. Despite this unusual timeframe, it is a significant example of the idea of transmission, transgenerational exchange and respect of a tradition strengthened by innovation, all ideas that characterise intangible cultural heritage as defined by UNESCO. Originally created to celebrate and promote good vine cultivating practices, the Fête des Vignerons also created a strong, natural bond with the terraced vineyards of Lavaux, upon which the work of the Confrérie des Vignerons experts have had a major impact in terms of know-how and heritage preservation. The Fête des Vignerons and the terraced vineyards of Lavaux are a link between intangible cultural heritage and cultural heritage, with the former being the symbolic image of the latter.

The foundation of the Fête des Vignerons is the Confrérie des Vignerons that organises the event. Despite its name, this guild was not actually founded by winegrowers themselves, but by vineyard owners who cared about the quality of the work carried out in their vineyards by their agricultural labourers, the winegrowers. The guild was formed in times long gone by, as is poetically expressed in the Confrérie des Vignerons journals (called Manuals), but its working and aims are well known since 1647. To begin with the primary goal of this land owners’ association was to control the work done by the winegrowers in the vineyards. For over 350 years, the guild has appointed expert winegrowers to evaluate and mark the vine workers’ work. After publicly announcing the results of the experts’ visits to the vineyards, the entire assembly of the Confrérie followed by the town’s population would gather and parade through the town, dancing in the streets, in the squares and under the windows of the town’s notables, before reaching the market square where a banquet was set up. During the 17th and 18th centuries, this parade was extended to include many extra elements, such as flags, fifes and drums, singers, wooden effigies, decorated hoops and other accessories. In 1730 a young boy was placed on a barrel to personify Bacchus. By then there were already hundreds of participants in the parade. In the austere Protestant society of the Old Regime the Confrérie’s colourful, noisy parade was a welcome and awaited attraction. People came from all the surrounding villages. It soon became too costly for the Confrérie des Vignerons to organise the event every year, so from the 18th century it was celebrated every three years and later every six years.

While initially the Confrérie’s idea was to reprimand workers who did not adequately perform their tasks, the Enlightenment signified an advance in outlook. Around 1770, the Confrérie des Vignerons began to consider it more opportune to reward those who had worked the vines best, those who had created added value for the land owners, or those whose technical improvements had increased revenue, rather than scolding those who had neglected their duties. So the idea emerged to give a medal and a bonus to the best winegrowers. Thirty years would pass before the idea of solemnly crowning the best worker was realised. Finally in 1797, a few months before the Vaudois Revolution, the Confrérie des Vignerons was able to crown the two best winegrowers in Vevey’s large market square. At the end of the 18th century, when Alpine festivals and ideals were fashionable with Europe’s privileged classes, raised seating was built in the Market Square for
spectators to attend the solemn ceremony in comfort. This required staging of what had previously been merely a parade into a performance of successive living tableaus, and the first Fête des Vignerons was born.

The spectacle, conceived as a reconstitution of pastoral life, was divided into four seasons. Three mythological divinities presided the first three seasons: Pales, goddess of pastures and shepherds, personified Spring, Ceres, goddess of the harvest, Summer, Bacchus, the God of wine, Autumn. The village wedding, interpreted as a moment of sharing and the promise of rebirth, symbolised Winter. The second Fête des Vignerons did not take place until 1819, after the politically troubled times of the Vaudois Revolution and, especially, the Napoleonic Wars in Europe. For this second Fête, two new troupes completed the backbone that has been the structure of each following Fête des Vignerons: the Hundred Swiss guards, a troupe of honour in the uniform of former Swiss mercenary guards, who are the Fête security forces, symbolising the young Canton of Vaud’s attachment to the Swiss Confederation, and the “armaillis”, traditional cattle herders, symbolising the attachment of the winegrowers and the townspeople to their Alpine roots. The “armaillis” call their herds with a very popular song in French-speaking Switzerland, the «Ranz des vaches». No Fête des Vignerons is conceivable without this melody sung in chorus, or later on as a solo, amidst a herd of cows.

During the 19th and 20th centuries the Fête des Vignerons grew continuously and attained a truly artistic dimension. With every edition the number of participants and spectators has increased. The Fête is driven as much by the enthusiasm of the organisers, amateur actors, professional artists, as by the spectators. Staging, direction, music, scenario, choreography, scenery, stages and costumes are new and original each time, although the general themes are always the same. The Confrérie provides a framework within which the artists can express themselves freely to enhance the celebration.

Since the 19th century, people have come from far and wide to attend this unique event that combines tradition with innovation. The Fête des Vignerons, with its sources in its history and heritage, must mirror its present. Its modernity and its foothold in the daily life of the region’s population is what guarantees that the younger generation, attending their first Fête, will be interested in organising the next one, perpetuating a centuries-old tradition. Every organiser of the Fête knows that he or she is but a link in a chain that must continue on into the future. Every new Fête also wants to be more beautiful than the previous one, which impacts costs of course, and is certainly one of the reasons it is only held once a generation, approximately every twenty years, or five times a century.

The table shows clearly the scope of the event.

### The Fêtes des Vignerons of the XIXth and XXth centuries in numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FÉTE</th>
<th>Numbers of seats in the arena</th>
<th>Actors and extras</th>
<th>Performances</th>
<th>Price of seats in francs</th>
<th>Total cost in francs</th>
<th>Final result in francs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>2 mornings</td>
<td>1–3</td>
<td>16 254</td>
<td>Deficit 9666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>2 mornings</td>
<td>1–3</td>
<td>27 007</td>
<td>Deficit 8121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>8000</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>3 mornings</td>
<td>1–5</td>
<td>64 851</td>
<td>Deficit 20 367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>10 500</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>3 mornings</td>
<td>1–40</td>
<td>144 464</td>
<td>Deficit 10 861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>12 000</td>
<td>1379</td>
<td>5 mornings</td>
<td>2–40</td>
<td>347 751</td>
<td>Profits 52 810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>12 500</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>6 mornings</td>
<td>2–25</td>
<td>625 338</td>
<td>Profits 40 664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>14 000</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>6 mornings</td>
<td>5,50–82,50</td>
<td>1 202 497</td>
<td>Profits 216 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>16 000</td>
<td>3857</td>
<td>11 mornings</td>
<td>2 evenings</td>
<td>10–70</td>
<td>4 695 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>15 576</td>
<td>4250</td>
<td>8 mornings</td>
<td>6 evenings</td>
<td>30–160</td>
<td>20 707 011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>16 000</td>
<td>5050</td>
<td>1 crowning ceremony</td>
<td>7 mornings 7 evenings</td>
<td>65–260</td>
<td>54 000 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last Fête, in 1999, cost more than CHF 50 million (i.e., over 200 million PLN). The Confrérie des Vignerons does not aim to make profits. However,

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a positive balance is almost a requisite in order to have the necessary funds to start the organising the next edition, and so as to carry on the tradition of rewarding the best winegrowers every three years between two Fêtes. The Confrérie’s major activity is not actually organising the Fête des Vignerons, but controlling the work done in the region’s vineyards by the vine workers on behalf of the landowners (private individuals but also many public entities, wine-producing companies, and foundations). Their work in the vines is evaluated three times a year: in spring, at the beginning of summer and a few weeks before the grape harvest. Every three years, they are rewarded according to merit at an official ceremony, known as a Triennial, attended by five hundred guests, including several members of the Confrérie des Vignerons, figures from political, winegrowing, economic and artistic circles, and the winegrowers acknowledged for their good work.

The Swiss Confederation ratified the UNESCO Agreement on Intangible Heritage in 2008. Subsequently, the 26 Swiss cantons were asked to draw up an inventory of their living traditions. The Fête des Vignerons is one of the traditions the Canton of Vaud wanted to present. Among hundreds of submissions, the experts appointed by the Swiss government finally made a national inventory of 167 living traditions - the “List of living traditions in Switzerland”\(^5\). In October 2014, the federal government selected the eight living traditions it would present over the following ten years to the UNESCO\(^6\) Commission of Experts. It was agreed with the Confrérie des Vignerons, that the Fête des Vignerons would be the first submission Switzerland would enter. The file was prepared jointly by the Federal Bureau of Culture and the Confrérie des Vignerons, with the official support of the Canton of Vaud, the town of Vevey and numerous enthusiasts of the tradition, who expressed their support by letter or by e-mail. The file was submitted to UNESCO at the end of March 2015, and their decision should be given at the end of November 2016.

The Confrérie des Vignerons is confident as the Fête des Vignerons is a living tradition that highlights theatrical arts, which are transgenerational (be it the actors, extras, volunteers or spectators), which prompts the whole community to participate without social, political or ethnic distinctions, and which is made possible through the enthusiasm of thousands of volunteers. They contribute not only as actors, singers and dancers, but in many commissions and back-office jobs the organisation of the Fête requires.

The Confrérie des Vignerons Museum plays an important role in the transmission and documentation of the intangible heritage the Fête des Vignerons represents. It is located in the Château de Vevey, which has also been the headquarters of the Confrérie since 1953. As well as the rooms with the permanent exhibition and its collections, and one for temporary exhibitions, it also houses the archives of the Fête des Vignerons Society and the Confrérie des Vignerons Board of Trustees meeting rooms. It is both a place for preserving the past and a place for transmitting the knowledge and know-how of the Fête. The museum attempts to make this living tradition, albeit « dormant » between two events, accessible through films, sound recordings, photographs, written documents, engravings, objects, scale models of the different arenas and original costumes. Visitors to the museum include participants of past editions of the Fête, people from the region, tourists from farther afield and researchers. Between two live events, it is also the only place where the local population can relive through images and recordings the event in which many of them took part. The challenge for a museum whose

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\(^6\) Liste indicative du patrimoine culturel immatériel en Suisse, Office fédéral de la culture, Berne 2014.
aim is to make the intangible tangible lies in this paradox. For all the authenticity or the beauty of what it displays, it is nigh impossible to bring the fleeting intensity of a collective experience alive through images and words, or to adequately express the emotion and strong memories that taking part in the Fête means for those who lived it.

As an event that marks the Vevey region, the Fête des Vignerons is somewhat of a milestone in time. For many people the Fête des Vignerons is a moment in time to mark important events of their lives. One often hears: «It happened before ... during ... after the Fête des Vignerons of such and such a year».

The impact of this Fête is such that it brings together townspeople and country dwellers, foreigners and locals, in one place for over three weeks to experience a project and a culture uniting the simple joys of winegrowing traditions with contemporary theatrical art.

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Pawel Lechowski is an ethnographer and used to serve as an expert and advisor to the Ministry of the Interior on Roma matters. He takes an active part in education and inclusion programmes and contributes to the activity of various organisations that promote Roma culture. He participates in conferences and his opinions were quoted in reports by the European Roma Rights Centre. He has shown a constant interest in the Roma culture since the 1960s. At the end of the 1970s he helped Adam Bartosz in the preparation of the temporary exhibition “Roma People in Polish Culture” at the Ethnographic Museum in Tarnów. In the 1980s he contributed as a museum counsellor in the process of obtaining museum exhibits. His particular focus was on the Roma section. Ten years later he began creating his own collection (he no longer works for the Museum)¹, the process of which overlapped with a large wave of migration of Roma people from Romania in Kraków in the 1990s. Pawel Lechowski’s collection grew as he continued to help the migrants. He organised medical care and legal assistance, sought accommodation, especially during freezing weather in winter, and served as a

¹ Pawel Lechowski, who worked in the Ethnographic Museum in Tarnów until 1993, has been developing his private collection since 1994. The collection makes a lasting contribution to the preservation of Roma heritage in Central and Eastern Europe.
translator on important matters from and into Romani. From 1994–2000, a multigenerational Roma family from Romania (over 20 people) lived in his flat. Lechowski was called a Roma ambassador/consul, and his acquaintance with Roma people evolved into friendship. In her Polcul Award eulogy, Joanna Dunikowska thus described the winner’s contribution:

[...] his initial interest was for pragmatic reasons, as he hoped to purchase museum exhibits. With his newly developed connections, he started to speak Romani, which he could only read previously. Roma people would turn to him with their problems, and he felt that they were increasingly counting on his help [...] The news about a gadjo who selflessly helped the Roma spread in a flash.

Pawel Lechowski’s interest in a different culture, which evolved into a passion, gave rise to one of the largest private collections of Roma items in Poland. The literature on the subject describes collecting as a passion, “innocuous madness”, a creative act, or a never-ending process; in other words, a relentless search and a decision-making process based on a previously defined and detailed idea. Hence collectors’ items are deeply charged emotionally, share a spiritual dimension, and bear witness to history. They have a unique value in that they are gathered in a particular place and time for particular purposes, and the meaning inherent in the items and the process of their production belong in the realm of intangible cultural heritage.

The process of choosing the items and adding them to a particular collection changes their existential dimension. As they become objectified, they draw upon the phenomenological approach in her research on culture and collecting: 

... the museum is a non-profit organisational unit whose aim is to collect and preserve the natural and cultural tangible and intangible heritage of humanity [highlighted by the author]; provide information on the values and content preserved by their collections; promote basic historical, scientific and cultural values, both Polish and universal; shape cognitive and aesthetic sense; and provide access to its collections.

Formerly, i.e. in 1928, the eminent ethnologist Kazimierz Moszyński developed one of the first models of ethnographic collecting. He would collect artefacts while drawing attention to their intangible content. With the human at the core of his thinking, Moszyński argued that tangible objects reflected spiritual and social life and captured the ephemeral qualities inherent in human gestures, beliefs, and thinking. In the 1930s, Cezaria Baudouin de Courtemay-Ehenkreutz-Jędrzejewiczowa drew upon the phenomenological approach in her research on culture and collecting:

Since the 1920s, the daily practice of ethnographic collecting in Poland has been focused on the items in their both tangible and intangible dimensions. Anna Nadolska-Styczynska says that such an approach is an obvious necessity for ethnographic museums. Jan Krzysztof Maluński (1938–1989, a long-standing director of the State Ethnographic Museum) legacy, which is stored in the Museum’s archive, holds a number of postulates concerning the activity of Polish ethnographic museums. One of the postulates therein defines intangible cultural heritage as “folklore culture as an inseparable whole, together with the word, dance, and music”5. Despite long-standing practice, the approach was legitimised in Poland as late as 2007 by the amendment added by the President of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Poland to Act No. 136. The amendment followed the ratification of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage by Poland. The amended Act stipulates that

... the museum is a non-profit organisational unit whose aim is to collect and preserve the natural and cultural tangible and intangible heritage of humanity [highlighted by the author]; provide information on the values and content preserved by their collections; promote basic historical, scientific and cultural values, both Polish and universal; shape cognitive and aesthetic sense; and provide access to its collections.

1 Z Pawłem Lechowskim o sytuacji Cyganów rumuńskich w Krakowie rozmawia Tadeusz Kornas, „Gazeta Krakowska” 1994, no. 112; Ambasadór, film, dir. Katarzyna Kotula, 1999; Machowska Madalena, Rumiański konsul. Paweł Lechowski wśród Cyganów, „Puls Biznesu” 2004, 1 X.
3 Folga-Januszewska Dorota, Muzeum: fenomeny i problemy, Kraków 2015, p. 62.
5 Nadolska-Styczynska Anna, Pośród zabytków z odległych stron. Muzealnicy i polskie etnograficzne kolekcje pozaeuropejskie, Toruń 2011, p. 73.
7 Święch Jan, Współczesne problemy kolekcjonerstwa w muzeach etnograficznych, „Etnografia Nowa” 2009, no. 1, p. 47.
she was not interested merely in the physical properties of the objects, but in their full cultural context that emerged in an interaction between the material, technology, ideological and symbolic shape and function, and the history of structural change, the emergence of new and the disappearance of old values inherent in the object.\footnote{Święch Jan, op. cit., p. 46.}

She developed the first methodology for the study of material objects to be used by ethnographic museums. It was based on her description of reality as a humanistic reflection on the human condition. Jędrzejewiczowa's methodology was continued after World War II by Maria Znamierowska-Prüfferowa from the Ethnographic Museum in Toruń.

As one returns to the beginnings of ethnographic collecting and Kazimierz Moszyński's approach, one might venture a conclusion that in his view material culture was inextricably linked to spiritual and social culture. His thinking was further developed in postulates expressed by Czesław Robotycki in the 1990s: "the ethnomethodological concepts shed light on everyday life phenomena and use tangible objects to illustrate various aspects of daily scenarios [...]; they bring out the phenomena as ephemeral as customs and everyday contexts"\footnote{Robotycki Czesław, Muzeum, miejsce dla rzeczy i idei [in:] Wyznania i perswazje. Werbalizacja obrazu, ed. Maria Magdalena Kośko, Poznań 1998, vol. 1, p. 11.} Moszyński pointed out the importance of the content inherent in tangible objects, while Robotycki highlighted the meaning they drew in particular contexts. Things have their own biographies and their own identities; they are particular entities that exist in the world just the way people, plants, or animals do\footnote{Sikora Sławomir, Muzeum miejsce magiczne... Wspomnienie o Piotrze Barnabie Szackim, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa. Konteksty” 2004, no. 1-2, p. 229-232; Barański Janusz, Świat rzeczy. Zarys antropologiczny, Kraków 2007.}. The dynamic that occurs between people and material objects — the emerging meanings and contexts — constitutes a "sensual work of remembrance"\footnote{Rakowski Tomasz, Antropologia rzeczy: wprowadzenie, „Antropologia rzeczy. Kultura współczesna. Teorie. Interpretacje. Praktyka” 2008, no. 3, p. 5-8.} that survives to the future generations as the "signs of existence"\footnote{Kowalski Krzysztof, O istocie dziedzictwa europejskiego – rozważania, Kraków 2013.} that were left in tangible form.

For people and material objects create

\footnote{Święch Jan, op. cit., p. 46.}


\footnote{Kowalski Krzysztof, O istocie dziedzictwa europejskiego – rozważania, Kraków 2013.}

\footnote{Rodak Paweł, Obiekty muzealne i archiwalne a praktyki kulturowe (wstępne rozpoznanie), „Etnografia Nowa” 2014, no. 6, p. 53.}
Paweł Lechowski’s collection is Poland’s largest private collection of tangible Roma heritage in Central and Eastern Europe. It is unique due to the number and variety of items and the context in which it was created. Lechowski’s decision to create a collection was inspired in 1990 by an icon representing the Virgin Mary, which he continues to treat as his talisman. While trying to obtain a Roma wagon to a museum collection, Lechowski found an abandoned Roma camp on the outskirts of Kraków. His notes provide the following testimony:

[...] I found in one of the wagons an abandoned little icon, which as it turned out later on had been painted by one the camp’s minor residents. Before it gave rise to the entire collection of archive records and artefacts, the icon, which is now holding inventory number PL-1, served as Lechowski’s inspiration to follow Roma visual arts in all its existing forms. Interestingly, experts in Roma culture of the day considered Roma visual arts to be virtually non-existent.18

Lechowski was seeking the icon’s painter for a long time, but to no avail. However, the information he was able to gather suggests that it was created in the Roma community, and as such can be treated as a form of Roma visual art.

A large wave of migration to Poland by the Roma people from Romania since 1990, which followed the political change after the downfall of Nicolae Ceaușescu, has played an important role in extending Lechowski’s collection. Lechowski established a rapport with Roma people at the time to obtain the artefacts they had brought with them from Romania. He thought they would be included in the Tarnów museum collection, but due to insufficient funds not all of them were accepted. He decided that he would create a collection of items that the museum failed to purchase. His collection now holds 400 inventoried items, either made or used by Roma people. They are divided into the following sub-collections: Roma visual arts (oil painting, pastels, drawings, prints, and sculpture), Roma crafts (pots and pans; foundry, blacksmith and basketry artefacts), artefacts used by Roma people (musical instruments, wagon ornaments), clothing and jewellery, and artefacts that testify to the presence of Roma people as an inspiration in the culture of the social majority. The latter section encompasses visual arts, postcards, notes, and songbooks that draw on Roma musical motifs, ceramic figures, dolls, and packaging (foodstuffs, cigarette packets, bottles). The collection also holds sound recordings: cassettes and vinyl records, fairy tales based on Roma motifs, films on Roma subjects, radio and television broadcasts. The collection is supplemented with archive records such as several documents, a large number of photographs, postcards, abundant specialist literature from Poland and abroad, which is also available in Romani. Additionally, the collection holds posters promoting a variety of Roma-related events: lectures, speeches, parties and performances featuring Roma music; and posters promoting films based on Roma themes.

Lechowski points out that

[...] all of the items in the collection are not and will never be one, defined, and complete whole. The collection can and should be extended with new items, and supplemented and updated with new exhibits and archive records. Only then, even though it is a never-ending process, can one represent and illustrate as fully as possible the

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18 Lechowski Paweł, Typescript owned by the author.
Roma world and culture as well as their reception, i.e. the ways in which other people perceive the Roma world and culture. 19

The collection features a variety of items from Poland, the Balkans, including Romania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania; Eastern Europe, including Russia and Ukraine; Western Europe, including Spain; and Slovakia. The growth of the collection was fostered by his newly established connections with Roma people migrating to Poland from Romania, which expanded the circle of friends and Roma traditions bearers. Lechowski gained their trust and he also came to their aid while travelling to southern Europe. Each of his travels was also used to obtain new exhibits.

Due to the prominent role they play in Roma culture, a sub-set of outfits deserves a particular attention in Lechowski’s collection. Men’s and women’s clothing, its particular components and the style that reflects Roma tradition based on taboos and obligations described in the Roma code of conduct known as the mageripen20.

Roma people expressed their cultural identity through clothing. That is why outfits play a prominent role in any collection featuring Roma heritage. Roma people only rarely produced clothing themselves; they would sometimes adapt it to meet the local taste and symbols. They are known to have adjusted to the living conditions in the country or city they inhabited; they would also choose the style that imitated that of the local majority. Roma outfits are extremely varied, even within one group, but the code of ethics to be respected by women remains the same. According to Roma tradition, women are prohibited to wear short skirts, trousers, low necklines, open hair (married women), and short hair (all women). The mageripen code stipulates that Roma women must wear a long skirt to cover lower parts of the body, which are considered impure, an apron over it, a scarf that marks their social status and role (married women are required to cover their lower parts of the body, which are considered impure, an apron over it, a scarf...

Lechowski's collection mainly features women’s and children’s clothing from Poland and Romania. This includes blouses, skirts, aprons, and scarves. Some of the items are hand-made, while other are mass produced and bought by Roma women in the high street or open markets; they were sometimes adapted and improved to suit the taste and liking of Roma women. The items in the collection can be used to create 8 or 9 complete women’s outfits, two children’s and one men’s outfit from a selection of several waistcoats, one shirt, hats, two pairs of shoes, and trousers. Skirts, blouses, waistcoats, and scarves are multi-coloured and feature numerous shining elements, which sometimes may seem to be selected at random. This, however, defines the well-conceived style of the Roma outfit and makes it so original21.

The sections covering the Roma clothing from Romania in Lechowski’s collection is rather scarce and in dark colours, which is due to the peculiar style they adopted when they arrived in Kraków in the 1990s. Women masked their Roma

19 Ibidem.
20 „The mageripen is an unwritten code of taboos. According to Roma nomadic tradition, defilement, which divides the world into pure and impure spheres, applies to the members of the Roma community exclusively. It must be highlighted that this division has little to do with tangible dirt but more with ritual impurity, which can be rid of by accepting one’s punishment that is necessary to re-enter the Roma community again”, Talewicz-Kwiatowska Joanna, Europejscy Romowie. Monolit czy różnorodność? [in:] W krainie metarefleksji. Księga poświęcona profesorowi Czesławowi Robotyckiemu, ed. Helena Danielová, Brno 2007, p. 14-15.
22 Lubecka Anna, Tożsamość kulturowa Bergitka Roma, Kraków 2005, p. 278.
background by choosing subdued colours, their heads covered with hats or berets instead of scarves. Additionally, women would often go “to work” in skirts with trousers underneath (they would take off the skirts later through the day), which is prohibited in traditional Roma communities. The skirts they used to wear were much shorter than those prescribed by the *mageripen* rules. In doing so, Roma women wanted to conceal their Roma background when they worked as beggars in Poland, explains Paweł Lechowski.

Original *posoći*, or what is known as thief pouches, are particularly worthy of attention. They are usually kept on a ribbon tied around the waist, or under the apron or outer skirt. According to tradition, the pouches were devised to meet the complicated system of taboos and obligations derived from the division into pure/impure parts of the body and related items of clothing.

[...] Hence they are used for protection, as a cover for its content, especially foodstuffs, against ritual defilement, and impurity. The pouches are thus the most striking example of how an object that is ostensibly banal in its form and basic function can transform into an item that belongs in the realm of the social and the spiritual. At least several other examples can be provided to describe the traditional Roma outfit.

Such outfits were typically ornamented with baubles and colourful fabrics. Jewellery is its integral part. It developed in a variety of forms as Roma people established connections with many cultures over the centuries due to their nomadic lifestyle. Coins are often used as decorative motifs. Their round shape is charged with symbolic meaning that is redolent of the Sun, wealth, and happiness. The authenticity and age of the coins were not important. That being said, coins representing rulers were in demand, especially those with an image of Empress Marie Therese. They were perceived as apotropaic in nature. Ducats representing Emperor Franz Joseph were also popular.

Lechowski’s collection holds several females’ rings, bands, signet rings, and one small brass crucifix. They have little material value. One of the signet rings is particularly charged with meaning: this hand-made artefact is composed of a still ring and a silver coin representing Emperor Franz Joseph soldered to it. A Roma man from Romania offered it to Lechowski in return for his aid.

Paweł Lechowski’s collection grew from passion and interest in a community that, well rooted in Europe as it is, remains exotic to many. It also reflects the striving to preserve Roma heritage in Kraków, while the subset of women’s outfits was created in an effort to preserve all of its manifestations, including intangible meaning carried in tangible form. The latter entered the collection in a variety of ways: through bequest, purchase, or random finds of abandoned clothing. Lechowski’s activity as a collector coincided with the 1990s, which created an environment to take up a particular activity in a particular context. The collection is often presented as part of topical exhibitions or lectures. It is also used for

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24 Women sometimes wear several skits, the outer of which serves as an apron to protect them against physical and ritual impurity (derived from cultural norms),

25 Lechowski Paweł, op. cit.

educational purposes to counter discrimination and intolerance. Undoubtedly, Paweł Lechowski’s collection plays a positive role and promotes social integration and mutual understanding between the Roma community and the dominant society.

Text translated from Polish language

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The Soundscape as the City’s Intangible Heritage.
Study, Protection and Restoration

The Soundscape and Sound Heritage

The initiator of research into the sound landscape, Canadian composer Raymond Murray Schafer, justified his interest in the issue with the care for the condition of the modern sonic environment, which undergoes significant transformations due to ongoing civilisation changes and the resulting audio pollution (an excess of sounds, noise, audio aggression)\(^1\). Schafer was concerned not only by the changes which can be considered in an ecological context, but also cultural issues, associated with understanding the sonic environment ("the audiosphere") in the aspect of meanings, values and traditions. He interpreted the poor condition of the modern sonic environment — especially in big cities — not only as the result of technologically or economically motivated neglect, but also culture-based changes. An example of these changes can be the widespread attitude of a lack of respect for the sounds of the surroundings, as well as inattentive or disrespectful listening.

Listening, as he wrote, became a “lost skill”. This humanist approach to thinking about the audiosphere is particularly reflected in the concept of the “soundscape” developed by Schafer’s research school. The category describes the sonic environment from the perspective of the human beings present within it and co-creating it, as well as from the perspective of social relations and ties. The soundscape, as the definition provided by The Handbook of Acoustic Ecology, is “a sonic environment with emphasis on the way it is perceived and understood by the individual or by a society. It thus depends on the relationship between the individual and any such environment”. In this relation of humans and the environment, the focus is not only on the issues of the auditory perception of sounds, but also their culturally conditioned reception: assigning meanings, understanding their message and relationship with the past, using sound to build ties with people who, sharing the space they live in, co-create an acoustic community. In his research of the soundscape of the city, Schafer used the idea of “soundmarks” as well as “keynote sounds” and "sound signals", distinguishing dominant acoustic phenomena – at the same time important in a social sense – and indicating how they are described and valorised by the city residents. Published in 1974, The Vancouver Soundscape – the first important work of Schafer’s research group – discusses and documents the acoustic phenomena of Vancouver, cites examples of audio phenomena significant for the city, such as the sounds of clocks and church bells, the whistles of trains, ship signals and alarms. In the programme and ideological article, “The Music of the Environment” from 1973, Schafer describes sounds as a particular type of cultural heritage and encourages the creation of threatened and endangered sounds. These include, for example, pastoral calls and the sounds of bells, which are an example of an old, vanishing tradition of human communication that shapes the local social ties. As he writes, “every community has sounds to which it has grown accustomed, and they should be the object of special attention, and if necessary, even care. A unique sound object has the right to make history on par with the symphonies of Beethoven”. This is perhaps the first time that such an empathetic statement is made – the sounds of the environment can have the same cultural value and importance as the artistic musical tradition. The beliefs proclaimed by Schafer, as well as his research and teaching activities are an important step towards changing the social consciousness, in which sound heritage has not been given the same significance as the works of music, or the same rank as cultural artefacts as, for example, historical material items, protected in museums and in written law.

The memory of the sounds of the past, especially those important for the history or traditions of nations of local communities, as well as daily and private ones, connected with, among others, work, family life and fun, is an important aspect of the protection of the soundscape, restoring awareness of its importance as an inalienable element of our individual and community lives. Therefore, it becomes necessary to study the historical soundscape, as well as take various measures intended to preserve the memory about the auditory past, including the protection or restoration of audio artefacts, as well as recording sounds and creating sound archives, recording and documenting memories, reconstructing historical events while taking into account their audio aspects, and even restoring old fables and legends. The issue of caring about the past and the sound heritage concerns to a particular degree local and regional communities, residents of cities, towns and villages, who are restoring the memory of their sounds, regaining a greater degree of awareness of their own heritage, history and consequently, identity. The question of cultural identity, particularly in the conditions of the increasingly progressive process of globalisation and unification becomes a major challenge in which the aspect of the soundscape and sound heritage may play a significant role.

The Sound Heritage of the City – in the Context of Studies on the Soundscape of Wrocław

The project of studying the soundscape of Wrocław, carried out in 2011-2013, was largely inspired by the ideas and methodological concepts of Raymond Murray Schafer and the research on the soundscape of the city. Schafer’s research and teaching activities were an important step in changing the social consciousness, in which sound heritage has not been given the same significance as the works of music, or the same rank as cultural artefacts as, for example, historical material items, protected in museums and in written law.

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The city trumpet call is a sound phenomenon associated with tradition of European cities since the Middle Ages. Although the performance of the call has lost its utilitarian function a long time ago, in the recent years, the process of restoring the presence and importance of this sound signal in many Polish cities and towns can be observed. Some of the recently composed trumpet calls refer to the history or the contemporary specificity of the city in their layer of music and sound, while others are more universal, usually historically stylised signals, emphasising the status of the city and suggesting permanence and continuity of the local tradition. In Polish culture, a special place is occupied by the St. Mary’s Trumpet Call, which thanks to the centuries-old practice of being performed, as well as to being broadcast on the radio, has become a particular auditory emblem of national importance. In the case of Wroclaw, the documented history of the trumpet call dates back to early sixteenth century. Visual traces of trumpeters from this time have been preserved in the form of wall engravings on the walls of the town hall with the names of musicians and images of the instruments. The Wroclaw trumpet call was performed, according to documents, until the beginning of the 19th century. In the 1950s, with Wroclaw already a Polish city, a competition for a new trumpet call was announced. The chosen melody was based on the 19th-century song “We Wroclawiu na rynecku” (“In the market square in Wroclaw”), two independent records of which can be found in the collections of Polish folk songs. The choice of the song seems to be significant in the context of the unique post-war history of Wroclaw. Renewal of the trumpet call tradition was intended to build the cultural identity of the residents, strengthen their sense of connection with the city and confirm the Polishness of the so-called Recovered Territories. The new trumpet call was played during major city events from the tower of St Elizabeth’s Church. The regularity of the call was interrupted due to the outbreak of a fire in St Elizabeth’s Church in 1975. Since then, it has been occasionally played from the town hall tower. After the change of regime in Poland, efforts were made to restore the meaning of the trumpet call, including a City Council resolution entering it on the list of formal symbols of Wroclaw as well as the systematisation of its performances. Currently, it is played from the town hall tower every Sunday and on holidays, four times for each direction of the compass. Despite its now long and regular presence in the soundscape of the city, studies of the reception of the soundscape in Wroclaw have shown that the Wroclaw trumpet call is neither popular nor even recognisable among most residents of the city. Many participants of the research interviews appreciated the fact that Wroclaw has its own trumpet call and postulated its greater presence both in the everyday audiosphere of the city as well as in its media image. 

Church and clock bells are most certainly among the most common audio phenomena, established in the historical and cultural consciousness, connected for centuries with Christian Europe. This is primarily due to their religious significance, the relationship with the place and time of the sacrum, but also the space and time of daily life of the city and its residents. Murray Schafer devotes much attention to the significance of the sound of bells in culture, as well as writing about the feelings evoked by their sound on the level of the psychology of perception. He states that...
the focusing value of the sound of bells causes us to perceive them as attractive, "centering" – and consequently favourable to the building on interpersonal ties and community. It is in the context of the sound of bells that he uses the term "acoustic community". Even if the contemporary sounds of bells are not as clearly noticed and recognised in the soundscape of cities, as it was in past centuries, they still play the role of culturally important sound artefacts and inspire people's respect. What should be noted as a disturbing trend that causes objections, expressed for example, in interviews with Wrocław residents, is the practice of replacing traditional tower instruments with electronic bells or recorded sounds. Therefore, a recommendation should be made to ensure not only the preservation and protection of historical bells, but also the cultivation of memory and awareness of their significance as auditory witnesses of the past. One the more interesting examples could be the Wrocław town hall bell (hourly), cast in 1386, which is one of the oldest preserved and active bells in Europe. As confirmed by the research into the reception of the audiosphere, the sound of the bell is one of the most recognisable sounds of the city, identifiable with Wrocław. Its significance as a symbol of the persistence of the secular authorities and the continuity of the history of the city should be emphasised – it is a sound that constantly, every hour, for almost six and a half centuries, has rang out over Wrocław, symbolically linking the culturally different past with the present. One can only regret that, despite the identification of the sound, the awareness of the historical importance of the bell is not perpetuated among the residents, which could be remedied by educational and image-building activities. To a similar degree, attention and memory is also deserved by the now defunct 14th-century bell from the church of St. Mary Magdalene, called the Bell of Poor Sinners – for centuries the most important church bell of Wrocław and Silesia, which was destroyed immediately after the end of World War II – the legend of which, established in the German culture, is also being gradually adopted by the Polish residents of the city. In such a situation, when the objects no longer exist, but with existing preserved valuable intangible reports and testimonies to their existence and cultural significance – for example in the form of history or legend – they can serve the function of carriers of memory about sounds worthy of preservation and dissemination.

Street music is yet another interesting and important element of the soundscape of the cities, which can also be considered in the context of sound heritage. While in contemporary metropolises, street music is often subject to a process of certain standardisation, which is probably to a large extent the result of globalisation and migration processes and the development of tourism, some cities maintain their own distinct music-making tradition or at least the memory of it. We know, for example, that in the Polish culture, Warszawa and pre-war Lviv stood out with their specific urban music folklore. This was expressed in both the repertoire and the forms or street performance. In contemporary cities, one can sometimes encounter references to these traditions, as well as original examples of street music-making, recognisable, for example thanks to the characteristic figures of the performers, the specific performance locations, as well as the repertoire. Participants of interviews related to the soundscape of Wrocław recognised the diversity of street music in Polish cities, considering it an important element of the city audiosphere identity. This further obligates us to treat this issue as an important research problem. Describing street music in Wrocław, respondents

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noted the changes occurring in this area over the recent decades, which they explained by the social and political transformations of 1989. In the street music-making which has been noticeably growing in many Polish cities after the political transformation, there can be observed a symbolic sign of the new times, expressed in the freedom of lifestyle freedom manifested with sound. Street music has brought an atmosphere of celebration and recreation to the everyday space of the cities, enhancing their tourist attractiveness. However, so that the problem is not presented unilaterally, it is worth quoting an interesting statement, which indicates the presence of street music also in communist-era Poland, but in a form now largely forgotten, drawing on pre-war tradition:

[...] street musicians. They were also, you could say, part of the landscape back then [in the 1960s]. It was normal that at least once or twice a week, there’d be, I don’t know, a trio or a quartet, walking through the backyards especially, rather mainly through the backyards, and playing better or worse, and singing, well, these men made some money. [...] it was a pre-war repertoire, mostly. They sang Fogg’s songs, for sure. I remember “Ostatnia niedziela” [“This is the Last Sunday”] being sung for sure. I remember that I saw a banjo for the first time with these men, the instrument. Yeah, it was a banjo, a fiddle and of course an accordion. Mostly. [...] And what’s interesting, these weren’t Gypsies, just men who made some extra money like this. And I remember that maybe these men weren’t the best musically, but incredibly, they were also very neatly dressed. They weren’t, let’s say, as some people say today, bums, but men with combed hair, clean, wearing ties, wearing fairly worn suits, but still with class. Except for the music skills, but it was with class. Yeah, it was... some would say kitschy, but no, it had its charm. Sometimes it was like in a Fellini film, I’d say. Yes, when I look back on it now, it’s exactly like something out of a Fellini film, you could say, that’s what it looked like. And it was cool. [Electrical engineer, teacher in the trade, 48 y.o., interview conducted in 2013]

Perhaps in this statement, it is difficult to indicate a Wrocław street music specificity. However, its content most certainly deserves attention and recording as an interesting testimony to the sound history of the city.

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18 The concept of the “phonosphere” refers here to non-tonal sounds, hums.
cultural identity and economic growth is based on a relation to industry. Also important is the sentiment that some of the residents have for sounds of this kind. Some of the factory or traffic sounds, such as mine buzzers, alarm sirens, tram or mining lift bells, sound signals of trains or ships, are characterised by an original, intriguing and often also very pleasant sound. To date, Polish literature devotes the most attention to the soundscape of Upper Silesian cities, referring to the industrial sounds as expressions of the intangible heritage of the region with a significant cultural importance21. In the case of Wrocław, residents considered the sound of trams to be important, also in the context of the history of the city, and numerous respondents spoke about them in detail, noting the different sound of individual models in terms of drive, sound signals (bells) or the sounds of travel. Some respondents spoke critically about the sounds of old trams, which they considered very loud and unpleasant, while others considered them in a sympathetic way22. If the tram, as a means of locomotion, is nothing specifically connected to Wrocław, the attitude of Wroclawians to the tram sounds seems to be rather unique, and has some objective basis in the tram infrastructure – very extensive even before the war – and the important role of the vehicles in the daily life of the city for many decades. The changing sounds of the trams have become a frequent subject of discussion and reminiscence, which from this perspective may be considered as sound heritage of Wrocław, while the sounds of old rail vehicles should be considered as worth recording and describing.

The elements of the urban soundscape discussed above do not exhaust the list of phenomena worthy of recognition as sound heritage. Such a list would not be likely to end, since every city, with its history, economy, way of life and mentality of the residents, shapes the area of its tangible and intangible heritage differently. One can only mention that the Wrocław participants of the interviews also called attention to other expressions of the sounds of their city, which should therefore become the subject of research, documentation and even a kind of restoration. These included old trading calls (in markets and backyards), sound signals and spoken announcements in public space (the sounds of emergency vehicles, car alarms, signals and messages at pedestrian crossings and railway stations), as well as – which seems particularly interesting – songs about Wrocław, treated by respondents as an element of the soundscape of the city23.

The statements of residents, expressed in the interviews, as well as published memoirs, diaries and other documents, become an important problem in the context of sound heritage. They should be treated not only as a source material for research on the reception and history of the audiosphere24, but also as a transmission of human awareness and reflection on the soundscape of the city, which in itself becomes worthy of preservation and recognition as an element of this heritage. At the same time, in their recorded form that makes human voices permanent, interviews with residents are a real record of the sound of the city itself. Thus the idea of including them into the archive of sound recordings25.

Conclusion: Towards Restoring Sound Memory

The reflection on the issue of sound heritage would be complete if it was not guided by a kind of practical intent. Research on the soundscape, as well as various activities undertaken on behalf of the city, including artistic, education and exhibition projects, can promote the protection and restoration of historical sounds and past soundscapes, as well as documenting and presenting testimonies of human memory. It is impossible to list all the forms of such activities, which draw on various cultural practices. Among them are sound archives and maps26, exhibition

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22 “I’m thinking about the trams that once rang in such a specific way, like a bell being struck [the respondent hits a table, imitates the sound] and the tone of the crank. That’s something that used to exist, but doesn’t anymore. And something that I miss a bit” [Musicologist, library worker, 48 y.o., interview conducted in 2013].
25 Since 2011, the Department of Soundscape Studies at the Cultural Studies and Musicology of the University of Wrocław has been maintaining a sound archive, which collects recordings of the sounds of the Wrocław audiosphere, as well as full documentation of interviews with residents.
projects\textsuperscript{27}, artistic works and activities\textsuperscript{28}, street activities\textsuperscript{29} as well as promotional work on behalf of the city image\textsuperscript{30}. The most lasting and measurable expression of the care for the sound heritage, it may be assumed, are reconstructions and restorations of sound artefacts, such as bells, clock chimes and old music instruments (such as church organs)\textsuperscript{31}. However, the restoration of these sounds in the city space will not be fully effective in social and cultural terms if it is not linked to the awareness and need expressed through belief, that in protecting the sounds of the city, we work for the community of people that, after Murray Schafer, can be described as an acoustic community.

\textit{Text translated from Polish language}

\textsuperscript{27} Example: the international museum project “Work with Sounds”, which aims to record and make available (through the project website) sounds of work related with professions, technologies and equipment receding into the past. The project was carried out, among others, with the participation of the Museum of Municipal Engineering in Krakow, http://www.workwithsounds.eu/ [accessed 5.07.2016].

\textsuperscript{28} Example: the artistic installation Passage, carried out in 2016 as part of the European Capital of Culture Wrocław 2016, by French composed Pierre Jodlowski in the foyer of the National Forum of Music in Wrocław. It consists of an interactive sound tunnel, presenting fragments of historical recordings of sounds connected with Wrocław (sounds of daily life, radio broadcasts, songs about Wrocław, musical works by artists connected with the city). As the author writes in the programme brochure, “Passage is an interactive sound corridor dedicated to memory. [...] Memory is the basis of our roots and our knowledge, and in the dynamically developing city we live in, they are perhaps one of the most important values, most worthy of preservation. Through the artistic experience that is Passage, we have an opportunity to join with the past and for a brief moment get away from present time – to play with sounds, to appreciate them, and to try to find their meaning”.

\textsuperscript{29} Example: the work of Władysław Stefan Grzyb, a Lublin urban and social activist, who since 1990 has served as the honorary klikon (town crier), recalling the old practice of making public pronouncements and passing on information to residents of cities. Today, the profession has its representatives in only a few European cities, and they have established their own association.

\textsuperscript{30} Example: the 2003 recording project Hoerbild Stadt/Sound of Leipzig. This is a CD with a series of recordings of everyday sounds of the modern and historic Leipzig, as well as examples of musical works by composers, bands and performers connected with the city. The Leipzig project shows that the sound heritage of a city can cover very different phenomena, from artistic and popular music by composers connected with the city, to sound recordings of demonstrations and political speeches, sport events, industrial sounds, to sounds related to the daily life of the city, recreation and traffic.

\textsuperscript{31} A resolution of the City Council of Wrocław from 1996, on the adoption of a programme of tourism development in Wrocław, assumes the reconstruction of many destroyed sites with a symbolic significance for the city. The document also includes the reconstruction of clocks and tower bells, including the Bell of Poor Sinners.
What Is (Urban) Time?
Describing of the Research on Urban Time Phenomenon in the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków

Why Urban Time? From a Childhood Fascination to a Curator’s Mission

The radio was the most popular medium in my family home. We would most often listen to Polish Radio Program I. I can still remember the sounds of my mother bustle about in the kitchen, the soup bubble in a pot, and some peculiar sounds broadcast on the radio: the time signal, the sound of a bell and hejnał mariacki [a trumpet call from Saint Mary’s Church in Kraków] which was emitted every day at noon.

At this very moment, everything would come to a standstill, and the listeners would focus on one ritual only, namely the ritual of time. It was and still is accompanied by some characteristic ambient sounds that followed these peculiar beeps marking the arrival of the noon: the scrape of the band, the sound of the bell, the steps of the trumpeter, the creak of the window, the rustle of the wind and the pigeons’ wings, and finally the tune of trumpet call.

I felt as if I was literally transported to Kraków. This childhood experience of mine now provokes a question of what Kraków is, what it is defined with, and where Kraków’s boundaries are.

In the paper I would like to elaborate on time as a form of Kraków’s intangible heritage and a characteristic that is both far from obvious and defining of its place. I am going to describe the topic of exploring urban time with a particular focus on the sounds and signals marking its passage.

Urban Time: Kraków Time

In my study I use my own definition of urban time, which I understand as the daily time of the city and its residents, measured by clocks in public space and other time signals that are considered important in a given community.

The origins of urban time go back to mediaeval cities and the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries. The passage of time was made visible with mechanical clocks mounted on clock towers. The clock tower would soon rise to become the symbol of the city’s independence. Phrases such as “to live under one chime” were coined, which denoted a sense of belonging to one community, a sense of identity, and being subject to the same laws. One is tempted to argue that time, together with its manifestations, was one of the factors that brought a community together and gave it a sense of structure. Jan Jakub Dreścik would even go as far as to say that the urban atmosphere fosters freedom and punctuality.

Until the 1880s, each city had a time of its own, based on its geographical coordinates and local solar noon. For Kraków, it was Kraków local time, that is, mean solar time defined by the meridian 20° east of Greenwich, which runs across the city. At the end of the 19th century, with the global process of gradual time


unification (triggered by the development of the railway, telegraph, and telephone), the local authorities in Kraków made a decision to adopt Central European Time, which was executed on 6 December 1891.

The daily life of Kraków, according to the city’s location and its time zone, was measured with public clocks and two peculiar time signals. The city boasted several public clocks, or municipal clocks: in Saint Mary’s Church, in the Town Hall in the Main Market Square, and following the incorporation of the district of Kazimierz into Kraków, in the former Town Hall of Kazimierz. From the beginning of the 19th century, they measured time according to what was called the noon signal emitted by the Astronomical Observatory of the Jagiellonian University towards the tower of Saint Mary’s Church. The sign, which was marked with a gesture that at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries evolved into what we now know as the time signal, was sent to the hejnalica tower [the higher one of the two Saint Mary’s Church towers] initially by phone, and later by radio, in order to inform that noon was drawing near. As soon as the signal reached the tower, the trumpeter would ring the chime and play Saint Mary’s trumpet call. Since 1928, Saint Mary’s trumpet call has been broadcast on the nationwide radio. That is why the trumpet call from Saint Mary’s Church is one of Kraków’s defining characteristics.

For its residents, it serves as a tune that “creates” a space which is both safe and domesticated, a place that stands in contrast to a non-place, which in turn is uncertain, uncharted, and unknown.

The attempts at appropriating time as well as destroying or restricting it demonstrate how important time and time signals are for a given community and their identity. Three completely different examples come to mind. Firstly, in the directives of the Capital Royal City of Kraków from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries I have studied for this paper, a large number of regulations concerned the ways in which the daily life of the residents was structured according to particular times of day. There were specific hours for cleaning up the streets, beating dust out of the carpets, trade, and even bathing time in the River Vistula. Secondly, the attempts were made at obliterating time signals as symbols of the local community’s independence. The invaders of Kraków happened to ban Saint Mary’s Church trumpet call several times throughout its history, including the Revolutions of 1848 and World War II. Recently, a discussion and controversy comes to mind caused by the decision from Polish Radio Program I to abridge Saint Mary’s Church trumpet call broadcast at noon to one take only.

Time and Urban Audio Sphere. Senses and Sounds

The human has a sense of time; in other words, the consciousness of time. All of the human senses, sight and hearing in particular, are involved in exploring the phenomenon of time. However, kinaesthetic experience is also very important: the sounds produced by the trumpeter as he enters the tower, the gusts of winds, the cold and damp oozing from the walls, etc. For a long time now, they have accompanied those who perform the daily time service in Kraków as well as those who study it. In the classes we run at the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków [MHK], we go out of our way to help the participants to actually experience history with all the senses they have. Following Herodotus’s suggestions, we visit places to study and feel them at the same time.

Dorota Gut argues: “The sounds were used not only to mark the heterogeneous cityscape but also to signal time, which is the second fundamental category...
The soundscape of Kraków features three main time-related urban sounds (some of them historical, some still in existence): the sound of the chimes, the radio time signal, and Saint Mary’s Church trumpet call. The places in which they originated and were later produced, once marked on the city map, may give rise to the future sound map of Kraków.

Municipal Clocks and Their Chimes. Matter and Sound

The mechanical clocks in Saint Mary’s Church and the Town Hall no longer serve their purpose. Despite the fact that the last remains of the clock face from the hejnalica tower in Saint Mary’s Church have survived only in photographs from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the sound of the chime dated to 1530 still serves as the intangible evidence of the clock’s existence. The trumpeter strikes the chime before playing the call. This is an interesting example of how the intangible can testify to the existence of what used to be a tangible form.

The story of the Town Hall, which is now also one of the MHK departments, is completely different. Since 2013, the clock section of the tower has been housing a board exhibition called „Czas w mieście – miasto w czasie” [Time in the City: The City in Time], which was installed to celebrate the Night of the Museums. The exhibition showcases the chime hammer from the lower tower in Saint Mary’s Church. With only several cast-iron remains of the chime that have survived to this day, it seems impossible to reproduce its sound.

Dating back to the 17th century, the mechanical clock from the former Town Hall of Kazimierz is Kraków’s third municipal clock described in the records and the only one to survive unscathed. Despite necessary repairs and spare parts replacement, the same mechanism measures and signals the passage of time. The Kazimierz chime bears the date of 1620 and a Latin inscription reading that the clock was mounted for the city’s decoration and the benefit of its residents. In 1970, a competition for the tune to be played by a carillon bell mounted in the tower was announced on the initiative of the clock’s custodian Ludwik Ostroga. Ever since, the carillon bell in Kazimierz has been playing the song “Płynie Wisła, płynie” [Long Flows the Vistula], which was selected out of many proposals submitted for the competition.

For the needs of the exhibition, MHK contacted the Ethnographic Museum in Kraków with a request to make a joint recording to register the sounds of the clock in Kazimierz. The recording was intended for documentation (to register the sound of the one and only preserved municipal clock) and educational

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15 Gut Dorota, Dźwięki miasta..., op. cit., p. 139.
17 The photographic records at MHK contain photographs from Ignacy Krieger’s collection which represent the clock face holes. We use photograph MHK-1777/K from the collection to run classes at the Museum.
18 Dreścik Jan Jakub, Zegar wielki..., op. cit., p. 39.
19 A hammer from the MHK collection, inv. no. MHK 820/II.
20 The helmet of the Town Hall Tower conceals an old and dormant bell. Its history requires further research.
21 The former Town Hall building now houses the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków.
purposes (the sound was used in the exhibition featured at the Town Hall). Our goal was to record both the sounds of the sheer mechanism and the sound of the clock maker Jan Ostroga (climbing the stairs, huffing and puffing, winding up the clock manually). The recording has been used ever since during classes on urban time, including Kraków clock makers. Importantly, the sound recordings corroborate the accounts provided by written records in regard to a challenging job of the municipal clock maker, which involves the necessary to climb steep towers to wind up the clocks. It seems that little has changed in both the profession and the tradition of municipal clock maker.


From 1928, the time signal was emitted to the radio from the Astronomical Observatory in Warszawa, which was destroyed during World War II. In 1946, the astronomers from Kraków took on the task to continue the tradition and emit the daily time signal by phone to Polish Radio Kraków\textsuperscript{22}. That being said, the public service to emit time signals was nothing new in Kraków\textsuperscript{23}.

The peculiar beeps broadcast on the radio were in fact the final effect of the whole ritual: the officer on time duty\textsuperscript{24} would carefully listen into the music of the chronometers. With the wavering movement of the hand, just like an orchestra conductor, the officer would feel into the rhythm of the passing seconds to press the telegraph key and emit the signals: 24 long – break – 5 short\textsuperscript{25}. The last such signal was emitted from Kraków on 1 April 1984.

For many years, the Kraków time signal would mark the arrival of noon for the listeners. It was preceded by the following announcement: “This is Kraków speaking. Noon is drawing near. The Astronomical Observatory of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków is going to read time with a half-second accuracy. We will get through to Warszawa after the time signal and Saint Mary’s Church trumpet call”\textsuperscript{26}. We found it important to register the history of the Kraków time signal.

The Clock Room at the Śniadecki Collegium\textsuperscript{27} at 27 Kopernika Street in Kraków, from which the time signal was sent, features tell-tale holes in the top of a unit on which the telegraph key was once installed. It turns out, however, that the witnesses to this historical practice are still alive. We have been able to start collaboration with Piotr Pieczara from the Scientific Research Station of the Climatology Department, Jagiellonian University, located in Kraków’s Botanical Gardens, and Jan Mietelski, PhD, a retired employee of the Astronomical Observatory, Jagiellonian University, Kraków. The story is based on their accounts, which are corroborated by photographic and written records. The collection at MHK and the Jagiellonian University Museum hold astronomical regulators from the former Astronomical Observatory\textsuperscript{28}.

Apart from sheer documentation, we also organise educational tours in the Śniadecki Collegium. The participants have an opportunity to visit the site from which the Kraków time signal was emitted. They can also meet a witness to the story. It is usually Grzegorz Pieczara, Piotr Pieczara’s son, who watched his father on time duty throughout his childhood. The meetings would often provoke a realisation that a lot of unknown content may resurface with this brief radio signal.

Since the 180\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the first noon signal is going to be celebrated from the roof the Astronomical Observatory, Jagiellonian University, we are planning to organise a special museum event to promote this forgotten cultural practice. This is also a chance for the Kraków time signal to return on air again.

**Saint Mary’s Church Trumpet Call. The Sound as a City Brand**

As suggested by Jerzy Dobrzycki, Saint Mary’s Church trumpet call is Kraków’s “musical symbol and coat of arms”\textsuperscript{29}. The tradition bearers, namely fire men

\begin{footnotes}
\item[23] The first time signal, which is also known as the noon signal, was sent with a banner from the roof of the Astronomical Observatory towards the hejnalica tower as far back as 1838; see Karlikński Franciszek Ignacy, Rys dziejów Obserwatorium Astronomicznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 1864, p. 52.
\item[24] The officers on duty were either astronomers or staff at the Climatology Department, Jagiellonian University in Kraków.
\item[26] Ibidem.
\item[27] The former Astronomical Observatory building now houses the Institute of Botanics, Jagiellonian University, the Museum of the Botanical Gardens, and the Scientific Research Station of the Climatology Department, Jagiellonian University.
\item[29] Dobrzycki Jerzy, Hejnał..., op. cit., p. 18.
\end{footnotes}
trumpeters, perform a triple time duty: they prevent danger (on the look-out for natural disasters, mainly fire), signal religious celebrations (sacred tunes and occasional songs), and play a secular role (announce the arrival of each hour throughout the day).

On the one hand, the Museum is focused on the history of the call and its legend; on the other, we are also trying to explore how the meaning of it has evolved in the residents’ perceptions.

The educational offer of MHK branch, the Rynek Underground provides for a museum class designed for children aged 7–11 on “Mythbusters, or Between Truth and Imagination. The Verification of Historic Elements in Kraków Legends”. The class helps the children to find out more about the Kraków legends and identify the “grain of truth” in each of the tales. As we tell the legend on Tartar invasion and Saint Mary’s Church trumpet call, we explain each of the elements, beginning with the word *hejnał* [trumpet call], and ending with the explanation of the legend’s origin. We are assisted with one artefact from MHK collection, namely a trumpet that was used to perform the call at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, and a section of the exposition at the Rynek Underground on the Kraków settlement prior to obtaining the city charter and the Tartar Invasion of Poland in 1241. The class comes to an end as we enter the Main Market Square to see the *hejnalica* tower and listen to Saint Mary’s Church trumpet call if the clock strikes the hour.

The task to describe the fundamental role of Saint Mary’s Church trumpet call in building the identity of Kraków goes beyond the scope of this paper. Banal as it may seem, the call is one of the most easily recognisable symbols of the city. The tradition to play the call belongs the realm of the sacred (e.g. Kraków golden trumpet miracle) and the profane (the tune is used for the city’s promotion).

There is one important question, though, that is, when the trumpet call became the “tourist landmark of Kraków”. *Hejnał* has been the symbol of the city and Poland in general for centuries now. So when was it used for more utilitarian reasons to attract tourism. It was probably in the 1920s or 1930s. Interestingly, the legend about Saint Mary’s Church trumpet call was first publicised in the 1920s, which happened not in Poland but in the United States of America. The Kraków trumpet, which we now use in our classes, followed in the footsteps of the legend on a tour promoting Kraków in the USA. The Kraków Days in 1936 marked an important moment in the evolution of the call as the city’s trade mark.

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31 The word derives from Hungarian, and it denotes dawn, daybreak, or morning. In the past, the word *hejnał* described a morning wake-up call; see Dobrzycki Jerzy, *Hejnał…*, op. cit., p. 30.
32 Interestingly, historical sources fail to mention the Saint Mary’s trumpet call legend right into the 1920s. It was first recorded by Eric P. Kelly in his *The Trumpeter of Cracow*, published in New York in 1928. The version presented in the book describes the brutal Tartar invasion of Kraków in spring 1241. After a night full of blood-curdling scenes, came the morning and the time to play the call. Determined to fulfil his oath, the trumpeter from Saint Mary’s Church took no fright of the barbarian hordes surrounding the tower and intoned the call in tribute to his Homeland and the Virgin Mary. However, he was not destined to finish the tune, with a Tartar arrow piercing his breast. The young man’s soul flew to heavens with the burning tower. The call is interrupted in the middle to commemorate of the trumpeter’s heroic sacrifice. Cf. Zinkow Julian, *Krakowskie podania, legendy i zwyczaje*, Kraków 2007, p. 102-112.
33 Inv. no. 385/III.
36 Ibidem.
The festival was aimed at promoting the city as the tourist capital of Poland. While a multilingual poster with the trumpeter’s image invited to the festival, the first edition of Kraków Days also saw the illumination of the hejnalica tower. Interestingly, it was Lajkonik that came as a winner in a competition for the festival’s logo. Kraków Days, including the idea to harness local traditions for the city’s promotion, was showcased by the temporary exhibition “Jerzy Dobrzycki’s Recipe for Kraków” organised by MHK in 2014.

Hejnal is now a registered sound trade mark. To use Saint Mary’s Church trumpet call, a permit from the Kraków Mayor Office is required. One of the interesting ideas to emerge recently was to use the call for the city’s promotion with new technologies such as the “play hejnal” app. Once you have installed it, you can sound the trumpet with your phone to produce this instantly recognisable melody.

“There Was Once Time”. Three Towers Walk

The promotional activities described above resulted in a project with a contribution from MHK on the invitations from the Małopolska Culture Institute. On 18th April 2015, i.e. on the International Day for Monuments and Sites, the Three Towers walk was held. The event also heralded 17th edition of the Małopolska Days for Cultural Heritage. The walk led to the sites that are in one way or another related to time distribution in Kraków: the former Astronomical Observatory, Jagiellonian University, and the three towers: in Saint Mary’s Church, at the Town Hall, and in Kazimierz. The walk inaugurated a successful experiment in which a banner was used to signal the time from the former Astronomical Observatory building towards the hejnalica tower in Saint Mary’s Church. The participants were also successful at climbing the towers. A meeting was held with the trumpeter at the hejnalica tower. The participants had a unique opportunity not only listen to hejnal, but also to actually see its performance. They saw a peculiar microphone and tube combo, which is used to transmit the call to the radio. The tour also covered the exhibition Time in the City: The City in Time at the Town Hall. The participants then headed towards Kazimierz, and they made two stops on the way to watch the clocks in the General Post Office building and visit the Municipal Fire Service headquarters in Kraków. In Kazimierz, Jan Ostroga initialed them into the world of tower clocks and the tunes they play, including that of the carillon.

Time for Time! A summary

The experience derived from the activities described in the paper invites a conclusion that urban time demonstrates characteristics that are defining of Kraków’s intangible heritage. What is more, an interest attracted by the classes devoted to time allows me to argue that the residents of Kraków build their identity also with the sounds and signals marking the passage of time in their city, including the most characteristic tune of all, that is, Saint Mary’s Church trumpet call. Our primary focus in pursuing the mission of the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków and the objectives described in its strategy is on raising the awareness of what Kraków is and what it is defined with. Some of its defining characteristics include the sounds and signals of time.

Text translated from Polish language

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Katarzyna Ignas | The Palace-Park Complex
Museum in Przeworsk

The Memory of “Good Fame” of the Residents of Przeworsk and the Casting out of the Devil. A Traditional Holy Week Drumming Custom in Przeworsk

Introduction

The historical regionalism programme that entails systematic measures aimed at discovering and promoting regional characteristics such as customs, religious rituals, dialects, etc. is at the core of the activity carried out by the Department of the Urban and Regional History at the Museum in Przeworsk. The programme provides a definition of the characteristic “features of the region” which matches that of “intangible cultural heritage”. The town’s intangible cultural heritage can be exemplified by a drumming custom that is performed throughout Holy Week in Przeworsk and primarily linked to tangible heritage such as historic monuments. These tangible and material sites shaped human memory and imagination; their impressive presence encouraged the formation of oral tradition such as aetiological tales and folklore texts in a variety of written forms as well living oral forms that still function as legends. The matter of customs and related tales is currently reinforced by regular features that are published every season in regional journals and web sites.

The title of the article is concerned with two most powerful cognitive tropes that are linked to the custom and still exist among the contemporary residents of Przeworsk. One such trope is knowledge derived from tradition about the historical event (the successful defence of the town against the Tartar or Turkish invasion). The term “good fame”, or positive renown due to one’s talent, exquisite deeds, or a service, seems to be the most suitable word for commemorating those events. The heroic conduct of the Przeworsk residents in the 17th century can be considered such a service, as it eventually saved the town from numerous invasions. The role of the legend is to win fame for what happened in Przeworsk at the time. Each of the legend’s variants says that drumming takes place throughout Holy Week, at the turn of winter and spring, Lent and Easter, which links the drumming with apotropaic noise rituals. Another trope provides the aetiology of “casting out the devil”. The following explanation was provided during Holy Week 2016 by an informer residing in ulica Tatarska [Tartar Street], which is located at the route of the drummers: “they walk from one home to the other and cast out the devil with their drums; that’s why people want them to come, and they can make some money as well”.

Custom Description

A big, bass drum with a wooden stick topped with a sponge-covered head is stored by Andrzej Olchowy in his home in Przeworsk. A native of Przeworsk, Olchowy has devoted 35 years of his life to reviving the drumming custom in the town. His companion Krzysztof Kurek is using two sticks to play a kettledrum. They are both wearing formal fire-fighters’ uniforms. On Maundy Thursday from 4 pm they roam the town within the former city walls area, stop in the Market Square and at the Town Hall. They sometimes stop at the residential houses to drum at the windows. On Good Friday they go to the City Office to visit the Mayor. Then

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3 Account by Helena Cicholaz, born 1950, recorded on 25.04.2016.
they take the side-streets of the town and walk towards the Observant Church and Monastery. They conclude their visit in ulica Tatarska [Tartar Street], at the end of which a Tartar mound is located with a 17th-century pole shrine at the top.

The residents of the town entertain and offer gifts to the drummers. The custom has engendered a tale, which the locals refer to as a legend, in several different variants, which is generally known and passed on to others and usually associated with the Holy Week drumming custom.

Variants

Before I move on to describe, compare and contrast the individual variants of the story, I would like to briefly present a record from the collection of the Fire Fighting History Department at the Przeworsk Museum that contains a petition from 24 March 1948. The petition was submitted to the District Starost’s Office in Przeworsk. The Board of the Voluntary Fire Fighting Service (VFD), represented by President Tadeusz Romaniszyn and Secretary Stefan Piątek, “is making a plea on behalf of the members of the local firefighting brigade to join the drumming on 25 March, i.e. Maundy Thursday, in the evening, Good Friday and Easter Saturday until 28 March in the morning. With the long-standing town’s tradition in mind, we are presenting the plea for your kind consideration”. This is the earliest historical record to have reflected the drumming tradition and provides information on the custom performed on the four following days: Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter Saturday, and Easter Sunday morning.

In 1948, the ethnographer Franciszek Kotula surveyed secondary school students with the questionnaire Podania i legendy mojej miejscowości [Tales and Legends of My Town]. In 1981, Andrzej Karczmarzewski collected and interpreted the majority of the materials provided by the questionnaire for a publication commissioned by the District Museum in Rzeszów. The publication also furnished a variant of the legend in the chapter on Najazdy tatarskie [Tartar Invasions], which brings together 14 different tales. The legend, which Karczmarzewski called Przyjaciele [Friends], tells a story of two friends taken into Turkish captivity. One of them, successfully ransomed, became a guardian at the Observant Monastery, the other became a Tartar khan. They crossed their paths during the siege of Przeworsk. They devised the following stratagem: the residents of the town would climb to the walls and beat the drums for the khan to order a retreat. The Tartars killed their commander as soon as they realised his betrayal deprived them of loot. A mound topped with a shrine was founded in the east side of the town to commemorate the events.

Mieczysław Opalek, who visited Przeworsk in 1945–1946, added a chapter called Legenda [Legend] to his monograph. The chapter examines the Tartar theme common to the Przeworsk legends and the popular Kraków tales on the interrupted bugle call and Lajkonik Procession. In both legends, Opalek personalises the legend’s protagonist, who acts as the city’s saviour: “in Kraków,
Drumming in the streets of Przeworsk, ca. 1960, Przeworsk Museum Archive.

a nondescript rafter from Zwierzyniec; in Przeworsk, a soot-blackened master of chimney sweeping”. Opalak develops the legend: at the beginning he points out that when the Tartars were approaching Przeworsk no watchman was present at the town hall, and he provides the exact date: Holy Week 1624. A chimney-sweeper by the name of Niedziocha, as soon as he detected the fire, alarmed the residents with a drum discovered in a lumber room in the parish church belfry. Members of the guilds, common people, and the Jews climbed to the walls and successfully defended the town.

In 1961, a fictionalised version of the legend called Kopiec chana [Khan’s Mound] was created by the local history teacher Wanda Drylowa. In 1974, Józef Benbenek, a Przeworsk Museum custodian, published a legend in a retrospective version derived from the Observant Monastery chronicle. Another charming variant of this kind was written by Paweł Stepkiewicz, a notary and enthusiast of the region. Kotula in his feature published by “Wrocławski Tygodnik Katolików” [Wroclaw Catholics’ Weekly] described local legendary sites, events, or shrines, etc. He also describes the drumming custom performed by Przeworsk firefighters on Easter Saturday.

Another record on the subject was written by Alicja Szozda, a long-standing Head of the Municipal Library in Przeworsk. In her press article she recounts the version recorded by Stepkiewicz, which is extended with “Turkish” and laundry motifs:

Another legend says that the custom was fostered throughout the centuries by the residents of the city, who would put Turkish armour to roam the streets of Przeworsk and beat the drums abandoned by Turkish invaders. They made it to commemorate the abrupt and surprising siege of the city, which the Turkish army tried to take during Holy Week, when the residents were busy with Easter preparations, including spring cleaning and laundry. On hearing the news that the Turkish troops are approaching the city, which was circulated from the watchtower at the Observant Monastery, the women of Przeworsk beat their kettles, pails, and pots and pans with their ladles and made a terrible noise to gather in the city walls all the craftsmen and other people that were able to defend the city.

In this revisited version of the “custom known only in Przeworsk”, an important detail was provided concerning the very practice in which a gift was presented to the drummers: “the master chimney sweeper Julian Niedziocha was roaming the streets of Przeworsk and beat a large drum called tołombas. He would stop only at several burghers’ houses to enjoy the refreshments that their residents offered him every year.”

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The Turkish motif in the legend is well worth consideration. As I worked on recording the drumming custom in Przeworsk in 2009, I found out that random people would call both the drummers and the drumming custom turki [Turks]. At the end of the 19th century, Aleksander Saloni, a pioneer of ethnographic research in the Rzeszów and Przeworsk areas, provided a following piece of information in his description of the Easter custom to keep the turki perform guard duty at the graves. “On Easter Sunday, they beat the drum and visit and collect donations from the city authorities: mayor, deputy mayor, and several wealthy councillors, as well as other people”15. The ethnographer Stefan Lew also relates the drumming custom with the Easter custom to perform guard duty by turki troops16. Zbigniew Trześniowski, a regional enthusiast from Łańcut, collected the Przeworsk legend in three versions that present a detailed account of how residents usually organised the town’s defence17. Karczmarzewski provides a date and a detail concerning the mound – tumulus, which was reported to conceal the remains of a Tartar khan who died during the siege of the city in 167218.

The analysis provides for two variants and narrative themes: a stratagem developed by the two friends, the Tatar khan and the guardian, and the act of courage from the story’s protagonist (chimney sweeper). The two acts make an effect with a noise: the noise that drives away the enemy and the alert noise that wakes up the citizens to gather at the walls. The noise saves Przeworsk from destruction due to the enemy’s departure and retreat or successful defensive measures taken up the citizens. Tangible and intangible heritage have survived that commemorate the event. One such tangible trace is a mound with a votive shrine or, following a different version, a tumulus. Another are historic buildings (the late Gothic Observant Church and Monastery, defensive walls with a preserved tower – belfry, a town hall tower) that act as witnesses to history. The mound was built to commemorate the historical events linked to Tartar invasions. It is an earth construction designed as a monument or mound to memory that pays tribute to the important historical events or is devoted to people worthy of reverence and respect19. The intangible trace of the event has survived with the drumming custom and the related legend.

An Attempted Explanation of the Aetiology and Meaning of the Customs Against Similar Practices in Poland: Apotropaic Noise in the Rites of Passage and Sound Markers of the New Time Cycle

Noise serves as an apotropeion during foreboding and deadly silence: it casts away the evil spirits when in huge danger, during rituals and events that change the social standing of their participants, objects involved, and the world; during rites of initiations, summer and winter solstice and equinox when it is more likely to be haunted by the dead20. Ritual noise in the cult of the dead was aimed at spooking and casting away the demons, or the souls of the dead that died abruptly and for causes other than natural, without the necessary burial ritual21. The demons would become particularly active in the passage periods; they could put a human life at risk, cause disease, and bring bad luck. The beginning of spring marks one such period when the beginning of the vegetative year overlaps with Easter, which in turn is celebrated on a Sunday after the first full moon in spring.

Apotropaic noise is usually made with utensils that have little to do with music as were used it the past to cause produce signals or alerts to drive away wild animals22. „For all the objects that produce rattles, clatter, snaps, knocks, and rumble performed the apotropaic function”23. Apotropaic noise can thus be defined as a sound produced by an object that was hit against a surface or wall or

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15 Saloni Aleksander, _Lud wiejski w okolicach Przeworska_. „Wida” 1898, vol. 12, p. 56. Cf. a contemporary custom in which visits are paid by the turki guards; Ignas Katarzyna, _Nasze turki. Strzeże grobowe w powiecie przeworskim_, Rzeszów–Przeworsk 2012, p. 19.
23 Seweryn Tadeusz, _Polskie zabawki ludowe_, Warszawa 1960, p. 41. See also Udziela Seweryn, _Koleżki wielkanocne_. „Kuryer Literacko Naukowy” 1926, Year 3, no. 14, free supplement to „Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny”, no. 94 of 4.04.1926, p. VIII–IX.
with whistling or eruptions; barely sonorous, “blunt” and “unpleasant”\textsuperscript{24}, “short and dry”\textsuperscript{25} and yet loud and clear.

In the spring rituals of the past, both adults and children used many traditional ways to produce a special noise to drive away evil, both intangible and embodied by the devil\textsuperscript{26}.

The forms of ritual noise-making changed along the evolving civilisation. Wooden objects that are simple in design and easy to make, such as knockers and rattles have been used for many years as an element of Maundy Thursday and Good Friday liturgy. The rattles were in constant use from Maundy Thursday until Easter Sunday\textsuperscript{27}.

Modern apotropaic noise comes from different kinds of blasts such as hurling bangers or shooting a gun that are accompanied by sound and light effects. One such example is what is referred to as so-called rock cracks, which are practised in the evenings throughout the entire Easter Triduum and on Easter Sunday Morning in Leśniaki, Będzin District, where people set off carbide blasts\textsuperscript{28}. Shooting a cannon, which is performed by the turki guards (Dębów and Ujep.)\textsuperscript{29} is also used to make noise during an Easter Saturday Judas parade in Skoczów: Garstka Robert, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 18.

Noise also marks the beginning of a new time cycle. The new time cycle begins in spring after the lethal time of winter. In Christianity a similar cycle is marked by the Resurrection of Christ\textsuperscript{30}. One such noise is made to wake up the faithful to the early Sunday morning service, which is made by a brass band, the drumming of the turki guards or the bells that start ringing at the beginning of the service. The sound of bells is used to differentiate the time of Lent, silence, and Crucifixion from the time of Easer and Resurrection\textsuperscript{31}.

The drumming plays a double role: it acts as apotropaic noise and the liminal time marker. Kazimierz Moszyński mentions the role of the drums in agricultural spring rituals. The example he provides goes all the way to the 15\textsuperscript{th}-century Polabian Slavs, who performed gleeful sowing rituals with a procession made to the sound of a drum, which in turn was intended to safeguard their fields against tempest or hail\textsuperscript{32}. Józef Kantor describes the boys making rounds of a village with a drum at the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century near Jaroslaw\textsuperscript{33}. The drums used to or still do accompany folk customs in many Poland’s locations: in the vicinity of Kraków, Sieradz, Opoczno, Kurpie, Radom, Łowicz, Warszawa, Gdańsk\textsuperscript{34}, Krosno and Gorlice\textsuperscript{35}, and Janowiec (on the Vistula River)\textsuperscript{36}.

In Ilża, the drumming custom is practised from Easter Saturday midnight until Easter Sunday morning. Men spend several hours making a round of the town, visiting the residents, who entertain them and offer refreshments. The custom is linked with a legend that dates back to the time of the Swedish Deluge of Poland (1655–1660) and the sound of a drum as a signal to attack. The tradition is handed from one generation to another. Beata Bujakowska describes: “A candidate to join the drumming must be a resident of Ilża, command respect in other

\textsuperscript{28} Ibidem, p. 104.
\textsuperscript{29} Ignas Katarzyna, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{30} Cisza/Halas, encyclopaedia entry [in:] Kowalski Piotr, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 71-72.
\textsuperscript{32} Moszyński Kazimierz, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 622-623.
\textsuperscript{33} Kantor Józef, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 231.
\textsuperscript{35} Karczmarszewski Andrzej, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 214.
\textsuperscript{36} Niedziółka Jacek, \textit{Tradycja związana z „bębnem wielkanocnym” w Janowcu nad Wisłą [in:] Uniwersalizm i tradycja w kulturze. Aktualność kultury ludowej, part 3, eds. Agnieszka Roguska, Małgorzata Daniela-Czochań, Siedlce 2015, p. 224-235.
people, and be known for his integrity”. The custom is well grounded in the local community, and the drumming tradition is accepted by society. According to Marianna Rachudala, a long-standing drummer and soloist: “There is no such thing as Easter without drumming”.

The drumming custom, which is also referred to as chodzenie za tarabunami or chodzenie za bębnem [following the drum] is known in Iwaniska near Opatów and Wielopole Skrzyńskie near Ropczyce, where it goes by the name of meus. Based on the material collected in the Łowicz region parishes, Jacek Jackowski established that the drumming is performed in liturgy (e.g. during procession, Solemn Mass) and for other purposes, including drumming during Holy Week and making rounds in the fields. He identified the following functions of the drumming:

- onomatopoeic (sounds of rocks cracking and earthquake that followed the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ in Wielopole and Iwaniska);
- signal (sounds of Resurrection in Wielopole, a memento of the historic alert in Przeworsk and Iłża);
- adorative (drumming at the Holy Sepulchre in Iwaniska, singing Easter repertoire during the meus procession in Wielopole);
- aesthetic (celebrating the Resurrection Mass and Procession in Iwaniska and Wielopole). The above can also be extended with social functions: apotropaic (“casting out the devil” in Przeworsk; securing good fortune throughout the year in Wielopole); integrative (including match-making): visiting the residents in Przeworsk, Iłża, Iwaniska, Wielopole; a communal march with the drum in Wielopole; identity-related, which is also at the core of intangible heritage: a cognisance with the legend or tale, the awareness of the historical meaning of the ritual prop such as a music instrument, the drummers’ ethos and the related wish to preserve the tradition (all locations).

Conclusion

The drumming practices described in the paper are part and parcel of the heritage in their area, both towns (Ilż, Przeworsk) and villages that once enjoyed the city rights (Wielopole, Iwaniska). A preserved artefact (the drum) is a necessary requirement of the custom to survive. The custom is accompanied by folklore texts (more or less developed) such as aetiological tales recounting the historical events that occurred in the 17th century. The custom is fostered by a group of young men that reside in the town or an individual person (in Przeworsk it is a long-standing drumming enthusiast with his friend). The custom is practised at the liminal period at the end of Holy Week or at midnight between Easter Saturday and Easter Sunday.

Has the primary archaic spring ritual that involved making apotropaic noises or drumming, the latter initiated in the Middle Ages, been integrated with the practice to alert the citizens and how by making a reference to tangible buildings, the witnesses to history, to create one coherent whole? A comparative study in historical ethnography might answer the question. The paper opens an area for further research. In the history of the town, the drumming custom has acted as a sign: a sound signal to be heard in important and special moments, to encourage and incite heroic spirit in the residents, a noise intended at driving away the enemy, a recognizable harbinger of spring and Easter festivities.

Text translated from Polish language

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On the Essence of Dialogue Between the Matter and the Spirit of a City

The relationship between what is material and immaterial, tangible and ephemeral, universal and individual can be considered as a phenomenon of culture, as its almost essential feature. This duality of the human world, most clearly expressed in Plato’s theory of ideas, has occupied philosophers since ancient times, to be constantly tackled by subsequent generations of “lovers of knowledge”\(^1\). Marking out a border between the two has always caused many difficulties, just like the case is for separation of a man’s corporality from spirituality, his nature from culture\(^2\). It is so because opposing factors become connected, interrelated, one derives from another, it exists thanks to what it is not. The ranges of material and spi-


ritual reality constantly overlap and reflection on culture is full of disproportion in the understanding of the meaning of these two aspects. Based on the theory created by Aristocles, who went down in history under the name of Plato, a city can be treated as a reflection of an ideal being or, at least, of several such universal concepts: security, order, organisation, geometry, harmony and beauty. Indeed, the classical Greek city, known in a broader political formula as the city-state (polis), is an emanation of these ideal categories. It is worth underlining that it has become a symbol of civilisation and a model of European culture. Developing the Hellenic formula, with the same geometric precision, Roman, medieval, Renaissance, Baroque settlements were established, to be arranged, until the 19th and 20th century, after Vitruvius's architectural rules, where perfection was manifested in symmetry.

Not all cities, however, fulfilled this principle, which was confirmed in Plato's sentence that many distortions interfere with the process of materialisation of an idea. Thus, reality is an imperfect world, a reflection of human haughtiness, arrogance and chaos, and the translation of these pejorative terms seems to be even more precise.

Closing the topic of looking at the city through the prism of classical philosophy, it is worth mentioning that the system of Platonic reality, understood as a reflection of everlasting ideas, was criticised by Aristocles. He claimed that ideas are not beings in themselves, so they are not eternal or indestructible. Ideas are fictions, they do not exist independently and, arising from things, they become just their development. Thus, Aristotelian optics reverses the vector of emanation: matter, and there-

Aristotle's concept is most important, however, that these beings are noticed in the world, the dialogue of the new with the old. I would like to expand the notion of the city (civitas, urbs), as a great agglomeration of matter – space "ploughed out" of the "chaos" of nature and contoured with borders – with lost ideas and reality, petrified in the word and the landscape. I mean here names of buildings, streets and squares as well as visual sequences which constitute transmission belts of memory, that is, intangible beings *par excellence*. Thus established facts and phenomena and accompanying ideas may be defined, following St Thomas Aquinas, as universals emanating from things (*universale in re*), which is also a translation of Aristotle's concept. It is most important, however, that these beings are noticed and recognised as elements of intangible cultural heritage, worthy of protection. While is it true that the question of care for immaterial "things" is nothing new in the history of monument conservation science, the problem of protection of names and landscapes does not always meet with understanding. I do not mean here the circles of art restorers, museum curators and historians – although the topic is worth being discussed in this group as well – but low public awareness, shown also by officials and decision-makers. In the space surrounding us, we constantly witness many unwanted or ill-planned investments which lead to partial or complete degradation of the landscape. Numerous valuable records of historical value are erased, not only from urban nomenclature.

Looking at the plans of cities, allotments, squares and buildings, we can read the concept of order, proportion, and beauty preserved there. These images, often of medieval origin, along with the names of streets and buildings, represent precisely the other side of things; they form the spiritual tissue of the city, becoming its visiting card. In combination with the surrounding nature, we can talk about the *genius loci* of a place; we get an impression to be dealing with a work of art.
beginning of the 20th century, even though chaos appeared in urban development. A Roman environment of man. This idea was almost universally binding at least until the beginning of the 20th century, even though chaos appeared in urban development already during the industrial revolution. Over time, authorities managed to master it by way of planned spatial management; this did not, however, prevent many agglomerations of spontaneous urbanisation, errors and inconsistencies.

Staying on the concept of beauty, in this case beauty in architecture, it is the conviction of objective beauty – disavowed. This does not mean, however, that it has been eliminated from our experience, to become just a word. This category, although constantly changeable, is still a concept hard to do without in aesthetics.

For centuries, therefore, three basic characteristics: durability, purposefulness and beauty, had been the most important features of a building. A Roman treatise on architecture says that its perfection lies in symmetry. The principle respected for centuries is sometimes transgressed today. “New” elements are not in harmony with the “old” ones, they do not take into account its aesthetics or even presence, they lose themselves in exuberant freedom. Mondialisation of architecture gives priority to the global tone, what is local and particular counts less and less.

Dialogue, understood as a meeting of styles and philosophies, also in design, is a problem of ethics and culture. Only they guarantee an appropriate relation between what arises and what there is. Dialogic architecture takes into account the place, functions and the old order; it listens, watches, responds and co-creates. The modern formula draws on tradition, searches for identity, combines styles. It is therefore difficult to accept the obvious contrast, so characteristic of experimental architecture of recent decades, where references and relations are missing.

Architecture can therefore be assessed through the prism of ethics of dialogue, which should be the rule, at least in the historical urban space, requiring special treatment in terms of conservation. This applies especially to the location of new buildings, which requires reading of the surrounding. A project may not ignore the city’s identity, it should create a whole without damaging the surrounding or, much less, eliminating the existing beauty.

Activities aimed at the preservation of urban layout and historical naming have a long tradition in Poland. In the decree of the Council of Regency of 31 October 1918 we can read that “the layout of old towns and old-town districts with old, historical names of streets and squares” were under protection (Art. 12, point f). The most recent piece of legislation regulating this issue is the Law on the Protection and Conservation of Monuments of 23 July 2003 (Journal of Laws 2003 issue 162, item 1568), mentioning the protection of geographical names, historic or traditional names of buildings, squares, streets or settlement units.

We find in it a reference to the definition contained in the International Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas, announced in 1987 in Washington by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). We read in it that “groups of material and spiritual elements under which histor-
The UNESCO Convention on the protection of intangible cultural heritage, ratified by Poland in 2011 can therefore be considered as a reference to the above-mentioned legal acts. They refer to the “ensemble of spiritual elements”, i.e. to the intangible heritage of oral traditions. Point 1.4. of the application form for the national list of intangible heritage applies only to entries into the national list of intangible cultural heritage or into the register of historic monuments which are a prerequisite for its implementation.

It is also worthwhile to get back to the question of the above-mentioned communication. In the case of names, it is generally unreflective. Toponyms are transmitted mechanically in the process of enculturation, with no particular intention, besides the information role. Only when they can be found in maps, plans and registers, can they serve educational purposes and become a historical source. In fact, such communication is a trace stored in language, a medium of memory about facts, phenomena and events, most frequently not experienced by contemporaries. Those, in turn, when uttering them, evoke, reproduce and perpetuate these contents. The question of naming belongs therefore to the study of memory, and the idea of protecting it is an action for preservation of memory. It applies only to entries into the national list of intangible cultural heritage or into a register of historic monuments which are a prerequisite for its implementation. This is why it would be worthwhile to create local catalogues of urbanonyms requiring protection and deserving restoration. Otherwise, we expose them to the risk of removal or change, as demonstrated by numerous examples.

Getting back to the Convention, it is worthwhile to realise what it brings to the current view on the question of protection of intangible cultural heritage. The term “cultural heritage” or “heritage of culture” has been used in Poland for a long time and means “the entirety of material and spiritual achievements of humanity.” They consist of goods of culture and its constituent phenomena: art, science and knowledge, along with a wealth of processes and interactions on the line between heritage and society. UNESCO Convention of 2003, therefore, promotes the well-known theme, promoting, supporting and initiating activities aimed at the protection of intangible heritage. It encourages discussion and redefinition of the problem, pointing out needs, threats and areas of neglect. I also think it strengthens and sometimes inspires historical reflection in us which, besides, appears to be useful for understanding of the issues I have outlined.

Today, I will present some examples to illustrate the relationship between the matter and the spirit of the city, focusing on the problem of increasing perturbations occurring here. In my observations, I will limit myself to the space of Toruń or, in fact, its selected areas, where this issue can be seen more sharply.

The city of Toruń where, since the 1990s, I have been doing research as part of my work in the Ethnographic Museum, is an area well known to me, especially in the context of the relationship of the city with the river which had been performing the function of a waterway for centuries. My observations, therefore, apply to Toruń’s connection with the Vistula River, which is reflected in its urbanonomy.

In the area of the Old Town, we can find street names referring to ancient crafts (e.g. Browarna [Brewery St.], Wielkie Garbary [Great Tanners St.],...
Szczytna [Shield St.], Szewska [Shoemakers St.], churches and monasteries (e.g. Dominikańska [Dominicans St.], św. Ducha [Holy Ghost St.], Franciszkańska [Franciscans St.], św. Jakuba [St Jacob St.], św. Katarzyny [St Catherine St.]) or to the city gates (e.g. Chełmińska [the Chełmno Gate], Żeglarska [the Sailors Gate], Mostowa [the Bridge Gate])35. Those which relate to the role of Toruń as a port36 are relatively unnumerous today. Out of the three which had been functioning here until recently, only Żeglarska [Sailors] Street has been preserved. In the 1970s, it crossed Nadbrzeżna [Embankment] Street which led along the Vistula River, all the way down to Portowa [Port] Street. In 1977, the name of Nadbrzeżna St. was changed to Bulwar Filadelfijski [Philadelphia Boulevard]37. At the end of the 1980s, Portowa Street was replaced by Ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki St. The streets which emphasize Toruń’s connection with the river include further: Mostowa [Bridge St.], Fosa Staromiejska [Old Town Moat St.], Fosa Zamkowa [Castle Moat], Most Pauliński [Paulines Bridge], Strumykowa [Brook St.], Rybaki [Fishermen’s St.] This collection also includes the names of two bodies of water: the Winter Port and the Timber Port38.

The content they hold refers to the reality and places which perform other functions today39. What is important, however, is that these names indicate which was the essence of the development and prosperity of Toruń, the reason for its location and existence on the Vistula trail. The urbanonyms quoted, along with the removed names of Nadbrzeżna and Portowa, keep the Hanseatic spirit of the city, verbally maintaining the market- and port-related character of Toruń.

In the light of the UNESCO Convention, ratified by Poland, restoration of old names in the city entered in the UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage List40 seems very well-grounded. Taking into account the fact that they have been superseded by eponyms of a memorial nature, it must be admitted that the subject is complicated. It is also difficult to say whether the authorities of Toruń are aware of the resulting dilemma, primarily legal, and whether they are pondering it. Leaving the matter to jurists, let us say that a historian or museologist should call for the protection of place names, educate and influence those who manage this subtle resource.

Due to the lack of space for a wider presentation of this issue, I will focus on just a few examples. The issues pointed out are well illustrated by the “viewpoint” at Plac Artylerii [Artillery Square]. It offers us a view of the north-western fragment of the so-called ring: an ensemble of buildings from the early 20th century, which were erected in the place of medieval walls, gates and moats, demolished.

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35 Out of these gates, Brama Żeglarska [the Sailors Gate] and Brama Mostowa [the Bridge Gate], located in the southern section of the walls from the side of the Vistula River, have been preserved to this day.
36 At a certain stage, the medieval Toruń also had a sea port status; see Rymaszewski Bohdan, Nadbrzeże wiślane w Toruniu, „Rocznik Toruński” 1971, vol. 6, p. 113-114.
37 In honour of Philadelphia, Toruń’s sister city.
38 The Timber Port is located on the outskirts of the city.
39 The Winter Port still performs the function of the river port, though on a small scale.
40 The ensemble of Toruń Old Town was entered on the UNESCO list in 1997.
and levelled in the 19th century. The “ring” consists of a few impressive buildings along the streets Wały generała Sikorskiego [General Sikorski Ramparts] and Fosa Staromiejska [Old Town Moat]: the Industrial School (now, the Collegium Maius of the Nicolaus Copernicus University), the court, the prison (the so-called Rotunda [Okrąglak]) and the bank.

The style of these edifices refers to the Gothic architecture prevailing in Toruń, characteristic of the gates and towers of the demolished city walls. The neo-Gothic “ring”, with the exception of the Neo-Renaissance silhouette of the bank, can therefore be considered as a compensation for the lost views. The panorama of that ensemble, visible only in old photographs, evokes associations with history of Hanseatic and Teutonic Order times. The buildings stand at an appropriate distance, which only sharpens their majestic massif. In the distance appears a silhouette of a Gothic church, with its impressive roof and towers. The whole makes up a harmonious view, caressing the eye (Fig. 1).

That landscape underwent a change in the interwar period, under the influence of Modernism, breaking up with history. In Toruń, at least in the immediate vicinity of the Old Town, attempts were made to dialogue with the past. The building of the State Agricultural Bank, erected in front of the Collegium Maius building, was thus given a brick façade. The bank, despite being partially placed in the axis of the Collegium, did not overshadow it, which gave the opportunity to admire the building from the north.

It was different in the case of the court at Fosa Staromiejska [Old Town Moat St.], opposite which the building of the National District Office was erected. Its

41 The name of the street (until 1920, Wallstrasse), derived from its course along the former ramparts, was renamed as Wały generała Sikorskiego after World War II.
42 The building was erected as early as in the 1860s.
44 The Reichbank, currently a university building.
45 It is the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.
46 That was according to the assumptions of historical references in Polish Modernism; cf. Romaniak Wojciech, op. cit., p. 113; Pszczółkowski Michał, Toruńska architektura XX wieku, Toruń 2011, p. 18-20.
47 Designed by Marian Lalewicz in 1938.
48 In the interwar period, it housed the Office of the Pomeranian Voivodeship.
49 Today, the Collegium Minus, the so-called Harmonijka [Concertina] (designed by Jerzy Wierzbicki).

Modernist wall obscured not only the neo-Gothic façade of the court, but also the neo-Renaissance gable of the bank. The view, extending formerly from Plac Artystów [Artillery Square], lost its romantic charm. It was covered with a “form of modernity”, contrasting with the red hues of the Gothic. It was admittedly original, but why located in such an unfortunate way?

The situation changes here again after 1989. The prison, resembling a medieval dungeon, was unexpectedly hidden behind the annex of the court. Its high hipped roof covered the sophisticated shapes of the “Rotunda” which had performed, until then, the function of the dominant feature of the alley. Again, one of the most original views of Toruń was lost.

The history of the development of the Toruń “ring” enters the twenty-first century. In 2006, an impressive building of the Centre of Contemporary Art (CSW Znaki Czasu) is erected at Wały Generała Sikorskiego [General Sikorski Ramparts St.]. The building, situated opposite the Collegium Maius, obscured the northern façade of the latter. Instead of atmospheric neo-Gothic style, formerly
visible from a long perspective, we collide with a bunker-like monolith of the Centre (Fig. 2). Is it what the author of the project wanted to achieve?29

The examples presented illustrate the process of losing the idea of dialogue in architecture, understood as care for maintaining the material substance of the monument and the space which was reserved for it. Inconsiderate development – a proof of ignorance and arrogance of those who make investment decisions – disfigures the landscape, kills the spirit of history, deprives the landscape of atmosphere of ancientness and authenticity.30 Unfortunately, not only in Toruń.

In connection with losses in historical urbanonymy, the call for protection of what has not yet been lost thus becomes urgent. However, it depends on our awareness, willingness to act and ability to dialogue whether this “historical” demand will be fulfilled. At the same time, it depends on whether the spirit of the Convention on the protection of intangible cultural heritage will prevail over the spirit of indolence.

Text translated from Polish language

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Protection of the Intangible Heritage of the City in Belarus

Intangible cultural heritage in Belarus, especially over the past 10 years, has attracted the attention of government structures as well as the media and institutions related to education and tourism. This is due to several reasons, arising from the understanding of intangible heritage as a cultural phenomenon in a broad sense. Intangible heritage is conducive to the strengthening of cultural identity and memory in the context of the cultural landscape of Eastern Europe, to the shaping of a system of values and the education of younger generations associated with it – the successors who will sustain this heritage, as well as being supportive of cultural diversity and the sustainable development of society.

Intangible heritage is an important factor in shaping the identity of a local urban community. Its elements are unique in social, aesthetic and cultural terms of a given territory or region, as well as significant for the local residents. Intangible heritage, which is local by nature, accumulates within it the symbolic basics, norms and values of the local culture. Thanks to the vitality of intangible heritage, an awareness of belonging to the local community is shaped in the traditions bearers. The general axiological context, created on the basis of passing the heritage down from generation to generation influences the whole of the community, unites people in the general perception of the world and ensures the strengthening of local cultural identity.
The cultural space of Belarus, due to ethnic diversity, is divided into six regions – North, Eastern and Central Belarus, the North-Western Region, and West and East Polesia. Given such diversity, the intangible heritage is significant in the cultural identification of regions (as an external referent) and becomes a qualitative element in the structures of identification (as an internal referent). Intangible heritage is therefore a factor that determines the brand of the region and an object of interest from the perspective of tourism development.

Intangible heritage is of great importance for the overall national culture. Communities with undefined cultural roots and a low authority of national culture are often characterised by a weak sense of identity, an ambivalent national self-identification, as well as an indifference towards their own national and cultural affiliation.

Cultural heritage as a subject of preservation encounters threats that emerged at the beginning of the 21st century. These include increasing social mobility, transformations of the traditional social hierarchy, the lack of a sense of one’s own place, attachment to one’s birthplace or one’s place or residence. Among the threats, we can also count Weber’s “disenchantment of the world” by overcoming irrational existential practices through education and the creation of a new type of consciousness, in which individualism prevails.

Changing the significance of intangible heritage leads to the disappearance or internalisation of the sacral function and the coming to the fore of the recreational function. Along with the loss of existing functions, the local uniqueness of the heritage also disappears, which is caused by the popularisation of its generalised patterns or the introduction of atypical innovations among the elements of the intangible culture. Consequently, the economic value of intangible heritage may result in the loss of its viability, which is the consequence of increasing the long-term influence of commercial interests. Most often, this occurs in the field of traditional crafts in tourism, when the masters create only products that are popular with buyers and which ensure the greatest profit. This leads to a simplification of the technological elements of the craft.

Elements of heritage are pulled out of the traditional landscape, territory, and time limitations. Such de-contextualisation negatively affects the importance of heritage in society, reducing interest in its practice and continuation.

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According to the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, adopted in Paris on the 17th of October 2003, the generational continuity of intangible heritage constitutes the foundation of the identity of local communities. Continuity is designed to support the identity of, and provides for the need of preserving the local social process that determines the life of intangible culture. For this reason, it seems important to present the goal of preserving intangible cultural heritage, both as a value of every community as well as humanistic. Confirmation of this can be found in the creation of the UNESCO lists – the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, and the Register of Best Safeguarding Practices – intended to protect intangible cultural heritage.

The protection of intangible heritage in Belarus is developing in accordance with international standards and operates under the Law on Protection of Historical and Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Belarus, adopted in 2006, as well as the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which Belarus joined in 2004.

Protecting heritage is one of the priorities of the cultural policy of Belarus, and its preservation has become an important element of the economic development strategy of the country. Focusing on heritage assumes long-term cultural development strategies. Therefore, the state Culture of Belarus programme, adopted in early 2016 for five years, contains a sub-programme dedicated to heritage. The revival of the potential of heritage is part of the national strategy of sustainable socio-economic development of the Republic of Belarus until 2020.

The system of protection of intangible heritage in Belarus operates on the “bottom up” model – from the regions to the centre. At the regional level, committees work on the preservation of intangible heritage. They are composed of the representatives of local authorities, experts in the field of heritage, employees of district and regional methodology centres, craft centres and museums, tradition bearers and practitioners and representatives of local communities. The tasks of the committees consist of making an inventory of elements of intangible heritage and preparation of preliminary lists, aimed at establishing a National List of Historical and Cultural Resources. In 2007–2009, regional seminars and workshops were conducted, in which the methodology of this work was discussed in detail.

According to the Law of 2006, as a continuation of the principles of the previous Law of 1992, a National List of Historical and Cultural Resources of the Republic of Belarus is being created, which is primarily an instrument of protection.
and includes tangible and intangible heritage. The overall number of inventoried elements of the National List is 5525, most of them representing tangible heritage. The National List has been maintained since 1992, and intangible heritage was first added to it in 1995 (49 paintings of the coats of arms of Belarusian cities).

In addition to the coats of arms, the National List contains 27 other items, including rituals, songs and dance traditions, dishes and crafts, often occurring in small towns. They are divided according to districts: Brest – 4 elements, Vitebsk – 1, Gomel – 4, Grodno – 3, Mogilev – 9, Minsk – 5. Also considered as representations of intangible heritage are: the traditional art of painted carpets (Hlybokaye, Braslaŭ, Pastavy, Dokšycy, the Vitebsk district), the master work of Alena Shuneyka on weaving tapestries (Grodno), making Easter Palms (Grodno), and the tradition of making paper cut-outs – the so-called “cut-out-punch-out” (Navahrudak).

In 2013–2016, the Belarusian Republican Scientific and Methodological Council for historical and cultural heritage at the Ministry of Culture decided to include a further 33 elements on the National List, but the decision has not yet been officially approved by the Council of Ministers.

It is worth noting that the Belarusian legislation was changed towards implementation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention in national practices. Nevertheless, the still enforced Law of 2006, which is guided by experts, still contains some provisions contrary to the Convention of 2003. The first one concerns the recognition by Belarusian legislation as a subject of protection only for the elements of intangible heritage entered onto the National List. This is a fundamental legal loophole in the system of protection of intangible heritage, regardless of adding it to the list. In addition, language, according to the 2003 Convention, serves as a vehicle of intangible cultural heritage and a means of expressing it. Belarusian legislation refers language to a separate type of intangible heritage. In practice, however, such an approach is unreasonable.

Contradictions can also be seen in the criteria used to determine intangible manifestations of human creativity as intangible heritage, worthy of inclusion on the National List. In particular, this concerns the criterion of authenticity, which is used according to the Belarusian Law of 2006, both in reference to tangible and intangible heritage. According to this criterion, heritage on the National List is classified in two categories: category A is assigned to heritage with unquestionable and unchangeable authenticity, B – heritage that is being revitalised.

Authenticity is understood as matching the original source, which is typically remote in time. However, the match between intangible heritage and the source seems to be questionable, since heritage of this type is living, and thus undergoes constant changes under the influence of the environment. The principle of “presumption” of authenticity in the identification and preservation of intangible heritage does not have as significant a meaning as for tangible objects, in which authenticity is essential.

Within the framework of the Convention of 2003, a National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Belarus is being created. For the carrying out of this task, the country received a grant from the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Protection fund in 2011. The idea of the Inventory relies on the necessity of its constant updating, because it contains information on the current condition of cultural phenomena. The main goal of the Inventory is to ensure the protection of intangible cultural heritage, to support the tradition bearers and to include it in the scope of regional policies. The Inventory is an interactive database with text and audio-visual documentation. Not all the fields are available to external users, some of them are hidden and are only relevant to the Belarusian Cultural Institute, which compiles the inventory, or to the Ministry of Culture, which evaluates the quality of measures used for the preservation of intangible heritage using the inventory data. It is important to note that the inventory is methodologically different from the National List. While the National List includes

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1 http://livingheritage.by/en/nks/3341/ [accessed 17.08.2016].
8 Staškevîč Ala, Национальны інвентар нематэрыяльнай культурны спадчыны Беларусі [sic] Iдэнтыфікацыя і інвэntарызацый нематэрыяльнай культурны спадчыны Беларусі: Практычныя кіраваньня, eds. Святлана Рыбарова, Віктар Ігоўчыха, Мінск 2013, p. 29-35.
9 The list has not been published online. The printed version is from 2009: Dzіяршаюны спіс гісторык-культурных каляшчын Беларусі, Мінск 2009, p. 114, 298, 604, 674-676.
prominent examples of intangible heritage preserved most comprehensively, the inventory contains information about any manifestations of intangible culture in Belarus, based on the principles of the primary role of communities and openness for all concerned.

The database of the Inventory is located at the Living Heritage of Belarus website. The site collects information about intangible heritage of Belarus. It is constantly updated and, in addition to the Inventory, contains several other thematic chapters (news, event calendar, resources – documents, publications, photo and video galleries, and others).

Work is also being conducted in Belarus on including intangible heritage on UNESCO lists. In 2009, the Rite of the Kalyady Tsars – a carnival procession of young men in “tsar” costumes, which takes place annually during the so-called Old New Year in the agrotown of Semezhava (Minsk district) – was entered onto the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding. In 2015, an application was submitted for the inclusion on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of the feast day of the icon of Our Lady of Budslav, which is located in the agrotown of Budslav (Minsk district). In 2016, work began on adding Belarus to the application submitted by several countries on the traditional playing of bagpipes, which was initiated by Slovakia. The Representative List entry would include the skill of playing the bagpipes, which today exists mainly in the urban environment, as well as the art of making this musical instrument.

Abbreviations of Sources

- Inventory – The National Inventory of Intangible Heritage of Belarus
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OTHER SOURCES


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Bottom-Up Activities in the Scope of Protection of Intangible Heritage of Cieszyn Silesia. Opportunities and Threats

The UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003 – ratified in Poland in 2011 – states that it is manifested in such domains as “oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; performing arts and musical traditions; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; traditional craftsmanship”¹. As the convention emphasises, despite its fragility and impermanence, intangible heritage is significant in the process of shaping regional, ethnographic, ethnic or national identity – both on individuals and social groups. It is also perceived as a guarantee of maintaining diversity, which is contrasted with the processes of globalisation, which is intended to lead to global

unification. Because of this, intangible heritage is ascribed a particular value and its protection is postulated. This effort, it is assumed, should be joined by all institutions with a national or state reach, as well as international (supranational), which would cover not only various levels of authority (both the central state as well as local government), but also non-governmental social organisations.

This text will focus on selected examples of actions undertaken by people within non-governmental organisations in terms of protecting intangible heritage in urban spaces, mainly in the Polish part of Cieszyn Silesia. It is worth noting that similar activities are also undertaken in the Czech part of the region, and some of them are jointly carried out and have a cross-border character. In large part, the people involved are members of associations or societies of lovers of the region or individual towns, who carry out tasks within their organisations related to regional education, popularise knowledge about the region and important people, events and institutions, undertake protection and documentation of the traces of the past, author articles and papers, co-author popular scientific publications on the culture or history of the region or its individual towns. The people mentioned may be defined as local leaders who take on the roles of “memory bearers” or “guardians of tradition”, and through their actions within local communities are mediate in the development of development and popularisation of knowledge about the history, heritage or traditions of the region. They should be distinguished from “professional” activists working in this area as part of their duties – such as historians, archivists, academics or museum workers – who often work with the former. In other words, as part of their work, people connected with NGOs that have a regional character generate a network of – more or less official – social ties that encompass universities museums, educational, local government, state government and supranational organisations (e.g. in connection with distribution of funds from the European Union), media, as well as the private sector related to, among others, cultural tourism or manufacturing products associated with the region and co-creating its cultural distinction. It is worth noting that in this perspective, both the tangible and intangible heritage of the region, as well as narratives created about its past, are perceived as a kind of cultural capital or resource, which can become an important component of the regional/cultural identity of Cieszyn Silesia, as well as bring specific benefits in the social (e.g. as part of education leading to a civil society, the members of which are responsible for their socio-cultural surroundings) or commercial arena. Nevertheless, a process occurs in this type of practice, which is accompanied by the separation of certain elements of the past or the cultural universe of the region and defining them as “our” tradition. This is most often accompanied by the positive valuation of “familiarity” and the elements of one's own heritage, which are in turn contrasted with the “external” and things leading to the negatively perceived unification. This is also a process with which active or passive forgetting is linked, co-dependent on modernity. Activities of this type may also be perceived as a kind of “competition” with other regions located within Poland or Czech Republic, as well as those outside their borders.

Here, it is worth taking a look at the activities focused on the protection of intangible heritage undertaken by the Lovers of Skoczów Association [Towarzystwo Miłośników Skoczowa, TMS]. The first attempts to establish the organisation took place in relation with the 700th anniversary of the founding of Skoczów in 1967. In the end, the TMS was founded in 1976, becoming separate from the circle of the Lovers of the “Cieszyn School Complex” Region Society [Towarzystwo Miłośników Regionu “Macierzy Ziem Cieszyńskiej”, MZC], active in the city since 1970, which in turn referred to the School Complex of the Duchy of Cieszyn (after 1918 until 1970, the School Complex of the Cieszyn Region). It is worth noting that the Lovers of Ustroń [Towarzystwo Miłośników Ustrońia, TMU] took a similar path. The activities of the TMS were from the beginning aimed at popularising knowledge about the past, the traditions of Skoczów and its surroundings, as well as commemorating past events and people. This was done, among others, through the publication of Kroniki Skoczowskie [The Skoczów Chronicles] (since 1985) and Kalendär Miłośników Skoczowa [The Lovers of Skoczów Calendar] (since 1995), the organisation of exhibitions, competitions, etc. The subject matter of these publications oscillates around the fate of Skoczów families, the reminiscences of residents of the city, historical information about Skoczów or

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1 See Czym jest niematerialne dziedzictwo kulturowe?, http://tnij.org/xjxp01 [accessed 27.06.2016].

3 Grzegorz Studnicki, Śląsk Cieszyński: obrazy przeszłości a tożsamość miejsc i ludzi, Katowice 2015, p. 53.


individual elements of its topography, ethnic studies, social, entrepreneurial, cultural and religious activism, as well as presenting photographs documenting the changes in the city space, etc. It is worth noting that practices of this type – also taking into account the identity dimension – are not something isolated on the map of Cieszyn Silesia, and their beginnings date back to the 19th century and are partly – as in other regions of Central and Eastern Europe – a consequence of the Spring of Nations and the emergence of legal possibilities of implementing language rights (in schools, offices and courts) by the representatives of various nations belonging to the Habsburg state. Since then, documentation of folk culture, as well as the creation of museums, has become an element of identity politics built around the category of nation.

Focusing on the protection of local intangible heritage by the TMS, it is worth mentioning the parade that takes place in Skoczów on Good Friday and Holy Saturday, featuring a straw puppet called Judas. The parades, also known as wodzenie Judosa (“leading Judas”) were also found in other towns of Cieszyn Silesia, including Strumięń, Lutynia Górna and Lutynia Dolna near Orlová (in the Czech part of Cieszyn Silesia), Ochaby and Górdki Wielkie. Similar practices can be seen today outside of Cieszyn Silesia, e.g. in Pruchnik in Poland and in Straduni na Vysokomýtsku in Czech Republic. In the case of the Skoczów Judosz, the custom was practiced several years before World War I, in the interwar period and after 1945 until the second half of the 1960s. During this period, the parade was organised by the altar boys from the Skoczów parish of Saints Peter and Paul. One of the last occasions during which the Juda puppet appeared was, quite unusually, the procession that accompanied the celebrations of the 700th anniversary of Skoczów in 1967. The straw puppet returned to Skoczów in 1981 thanks to the efforts of several members of the local VFD, who had participated in the wodzenie Judosa as children; in 1985, the TMS joined the organisation of the parade.

The parade is led by the straw Judas, played by one of the VFD firefighters.

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fact that in the modern era of mechanical collection of grain, access to rye straw threshed with flails is significantly limited)\(^9\).

Until 2007, the route of the procession ran down Cieszyńska Street towards the Main Square, where the straw puppet bowed three times before the Skoczów town hall, each bow counted out loud, “One! Two! Three!” From the Main Square, it headed down Bielska Street towards the church of Saints Peter and Paul and the vicinity of the church hall at Kościelna Street. In this location, as at the town hall, the Judosz bowed three times to the parish priest coming to meet him, and then turned towards Cieszyńska street to make his way back to the VFD station (Judas bowed here again, this time to the children taking part in the parade)\(^10\). In 2007, a group opposed to the Judas parade separated from the local community (including people connected with political party the League of Polish Families), who claimed that practicing this custom insulted the religious feelings of the Catholic and Evangelical religious communities and disrupted the seriousness of Holy Week. The parish priest of the abovementioned church also took the side of the Judosz’s opponents. The organisers of the parade, wishing to preserve the custom that had become a landmark of the city, and at the same time to avoid inflaming the situation, made a small modification to the route in 2008. Currently, the parade proceeds from the VFD down Cieszyńska Street to the Main Square and the town hall, and then down Bielska Street, turning into Poprzeczna Street, which connects to Kościelna Street, and then proceeds towards Cieszyńska Street and back to the fire station. At the intersection of Poprzeczna and Kościelna Streets, Judas stops to bow three times from a distance towards the church and the parish hall. Despite the change in route, in 2015 and 2016, the wodzenie Judosza custom still caused some controversies among some residents and local politicians\(^11\).

It should be mentioned here that more or less since 2006, on Good Friday after the end of the Judas parade, the organisers invite adult participants to a tasting of the Skoczów tatarczówka (a tincture made with the root of sweet flag), which takes place at the office of ARTadres (an information and promotion office) in the Main Square. The practice is based on an old custom, common in Cieszyn Silesia, of drinking the tincture on Good Friday, which was supposed to protect the drinker from gastrointestinal pain and diseases\(^12\). Organizing wodzenie Judosza and the Good Friday’s mentioned tincture refreshments can be read as a deliberate action meant to remind and preserve old customs associated with the Holy Week. It also fits in with the symbolic cleansing in nearby rivers (e.g. the Vistula or the Bładnica) on the night of Holy Thursday, practiced by the members of the TMS for the past dozen or so years\(^13\). The practice refers to the old belief that on that night, water gains a special power – this is why it was recommended to head


\(^10\) In the 1960s, the course of the Judosz parade was somewhat different: “from the barn of the parish church property manager at the foot of the Kaplicówka […] to the vicarage, where he bowed to the parish priest […]. The parade then proceeded down Wałowa, Mickiewicza, Targowa and Ustrońska Streets. Then customarily to the town hall […]. Later the Main Square, Bielska Street and near the church, [the Judosz – G.S.] was thrown into the barn. The puppet was burned […] on Holy Saturday.


\(^12\) Kokotek Franciszek, Zwyczaje wielkanocne, „Zaranie Śląskie” 1908, vol. 3, p. 159; Szymik Jan, Doroczne zwyczaje i obrzędy na Śląsku Cieszyńskim, Czeski Cieszyn 2001, p. 90.

\(^13\) See Judosz przeszedł przez Skoczów, http://tnij.org/6g98rpm; Furtak Ewa, Czy to już koniec tatarczówki?, http://tnij.org/6bvpug3 [accessed 2.07.2016].
to a nearby potok (stream) or river before sunrise on Good Friday and bathe, accompanied by a prayer. Sometimes, horses were also led to the water, or the water was brought home to other family members. The activity was performed to commemorate Jesus crossing the Kidron Valley (Jn 18:1)\textsuperscript{14}.

On the occasion of citing of drinking the tatareczówka, it is worth noting that in 2006, members of the TMS and the then mayor of Skoczów turned to one of the local companies producing alcoholic beverages with a request for assistance in the production and popularisation of this tincture, which led to the launch of its production and distribution under the name “Tatareczówka skoczowska” to some stores in the vicinity of Skoczów\textsuperscript{15}. In 2008, the beverage was included on the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development list of traditional regional products in the “Beverages” category\textsuperscript{16}. The contemporary practice of the wodzenie Judosza and other activities related to the traditions of Holy Week should be seen not only as a testimony or a remnant of old Easter practices in Cieszyn Silesia, but also as part of the strategy undertaken by the TMS, aimed at producing and maintaining the identity of the location and its residents. These activities seem to express social desires to identify with certain aspects of the past and communicate the need to possess one’s “own” unique tradition, which can be used to build the cultural identity of Skoczów. Related to this is the creation of materials popularising knowledge about the custom and giving interviews in which the antiquity of the practices, their uniqueness and symbolism are emphasised. At the same time, it is made clear that the Judosz is important for the local community, that it is “interesting” and “our tradition”, “our custom that our ancestors established”, an “original curiosity”, and ceasing the organisation of such practices may lead to the “loss of one’s own identity”\textsuperscript{17}.

Among other initiatives undertaken by the TMS, focused on the protection of intangible heritage, were the Konkurs Znajomości Gwary na Śląsku Cieszyńskim [Knowlege of Dialect in Cieszyn Silesia Competition] events, organised every two years between 1994 and 2004. Taking part in their organisation were also such organisations as the Polish Cultural and Educational Union [Polski Związek Kulturalno-Oświatowy, PZKO] and the General Committee of the ZMC, while ethnographers, folklorists and linguists were invited to the competition jury. As a result of the competitions 4 volumes of Roztomili ludeckowie... were published, in which the winning and distinguished competition tales were published\textsuperscript{18}.

The documentation and preservation of the dialect were also the goal of the actions undertaken jointly by the TMU and the Lovers of Vistula Society – the creation and publication of the Słownik gwarowy Śląska Cieszyńskiego [Dictionary of the Cieszyn Silesia Dialect], edited by Jadwiga Wrónicz (Ustroń 1995). The aforementioned associations have also organised competitions of regional knowledge for many years, addressed to children and youth, during which participants must show a certain familiarity with the dialect and local toponomy, in addition to historical knowledge of the region. Another similar initiative is the dialect competition “Po cieszynsku po obu stronach Olzy” [“Speaking Cieszyn on both sides of the Olza”], organised since 2003, and aimed at “preschool-aged children and students of all types of schools living on both sides of the Olza in Poland and in Czech Republic (Zaolzie region)”. The event alternates locations between Poland and Czech Republic, and its main organiser is the Ethnic Studies Section at the PKZO, the Pedagogical Centre for Polish National Education in Český Těšín and the Upper Silesian Branch of the “Wspólnota Polska” Association in Katowice\textsuperscript{19}.

The procedures of protection of intangible heritage of the region also encompass certain areas of knowledge and skills evocative of the commonly understood traditional craftsmanship. An illustration of this type of activity is the cross-border initiative of 2014, undertaken by the Skoczów and Hradec municipalities, in Poland and Czech Republic, respectively, to organise the project On the Trail of Craftsman traditions, financed by the European Union through the Cieszyn Silesia Euroregion. One of its objectives was to recall the history and “promote craftsman traditions”, which was done through a tourist trail that


\textsuperscript{15} Zob. Orawski Robert, Firma TOORANK i skoczowskie zwyczaje wielkanocne, „Kronika Skoczowska” 2008, no. 22, p. 22.


\textsuperscript{18} See Roztomili ludeckowie... Zbiór opowiadań nagrodzony w IV konkursie Znajomości Gwary na Śląsku Cieszyńskim, Skoczów 2004 (the article also gives the names of the competition jury members).

included 24 sites associated with the past and present-day factories and craftsman workshops. The central location on the route in Skoczów is the building of the Gustaw Morcinek Museum, which was once the site of the Skoczów guild tavern, and where artefacts that speak of the craftsmen and manufacturers that once operated in the town are presented. In Hrádek, on the other hand, an old mill was renovated for the purposes of the project. The beginning of the project was held as an event accompanied by commemorative gadgets and a Polish-Czech publication by Rozalia Wawronowicz, On the Trail of Craftsman Traditions (Skoczów 2014)20. The project can be considered successful on the level of hard effects (such as information boards and a guide); while the soft effects are difficult to clearly evaluate positively. In this perspective, old craftsmanship becomes mainly an element of historical narrative (a remembrance), which co-creates a tourist attraction, while “living” craftsmanship is limited to two shoemaker shops (Bielska Street and Main Square) and two tailor shops (Bielska and Cieszyńska Streets), as well as a saddlery shop (Bielska Street), a leather working shop (Wałowa Street) and a watchmaker shop (Bielska Street)21. This demonstrates a sense of the progressive disappearance of intangible heritage in the form of craftsman knowledge, which appears to be correlated with the global trend of computerisation and automation of the production of disposable consumer goods.

The Trail of Traditions, created in 2010 and covering the area of Cieszyn Silesia in Poland and Czech Republic, has a similar character. It was initiated by the Castle Cieszyn Centre for Research and Documentation of Material Culture and Design and the Municipal PZKO Circle in Jablunkov (some of its members were personally associated with the Ethnic Studies Section). Its appearance is also connected with the realisation of the “Academy of Traditional Craftsmanship. The Development of the Tourist Offer of the Cieszyn Silesia Euroregion” project, which was co-financed by the EU. The trail consists mainly of workshops operated by people engaged in so-called traditional crafts. Its opening was accompanied by an excursion during which representatives of the media and people interested in the subject could meet with representatives of craftsmanship and traditional handicrafts. The “Academy of Traditional Craftsmanship” consisted of organising exhibitions, creating promotional materials (e.g. films), as well as a workshop series conducted by people who can be described as tradition bearers of intangible heritage. These included, among others,

21 Wawronowicz Rozalia, Szlakiem tradycji rzemieślniczych, Skoczów 2014, p. 16.

In conclusion, it may be said that the cultural changes that have taken place in the last several decades, as well as their acceleration, mean that more and more often, what is socially defined as a disappearing – due to civilisation transformations – “tradition” is subject to formalised and institutionalised procedure of documentation and transmission. Linked to this is also the question of promoting the results of such activities, their funding, use in promotion strategies of specific towns or regions, and finally as a manifestation of procedures characteristic of auto-ethnography associated with the dimension of cultural identity. Sometimes, the heritage/traditions that function in this way take on the form of events, theatricality and formalised and conventionalised shows (this may be an over-generalisation, but an example of this may be dialect competitions for children and youth, in which the participants increasingly often prepare their performance using dialect texts written a decade or several decades ago, and their content frequently does not refer to the context in which the participants live). Taking this into account, as well as the examples of actions cited in the text, one may put forth an argument about whether the present-day local “guardians of tradition”, institutions like associations of lovers of regions along with the entire system of funding this type of activity from

local or state government or international funds, treating it as a resource in the social and economic dimension, are not co-creating the modern context/environment in which what is defined as intangible heritage, the individual elements of which were created in a completely different social, political, historical, or - more generally - cultural context, functions or has a chance to survive. Another question that is worth considering is the degree to which guardians of tradition or heritage, and thus the process of their transmission is subject to conscious or spontaneous manipulations, is dependent on the current political context and the location of the operators in the social reality – i.e. their social, but also economic, capital.

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The names of two towns in Małopolska: Wieliczka and Bochnia, immediately bring to mind the salt mining heritage. The historic mines in Bochnia and Wieliczka are famous for their unique historical and natural virtues, which promoted them to the prestigious UNESCO List of World Heritage Sites. The development of the two settlements prior to obtaining the City Charter, and later as two cities, was strongly dependent on the production of salt, which was first made by evaporating brine and from the 13th century with mining methods. The beginning of the excavation of rock salt deposits (first in Bochnia and later in Wieliczka) brought the City Charter to both settlements, whose mining heritage was commemorated in their current coats of arms that feature mining equipment.

As aptly pointed out by Piotr Langer, PhD, what defines the cultural heritage in the two towns is their unique salt mining culture, deriving from the salt digging traditions and preserved in the urban space. Apart from tangible elements, this culture encompasses spiritual values that create the unique atmosphere of the towns (their genius loci). Wieliczka’s and Bochnia’s intangible cultural heritage includes symbols deriving from the past, visual and acoustic signs, language, terminology, and fostering mining traditions. As a profession, miners are defined by their abundant customs, including traditional uniforms, beliefs, and corporate and religious rituals. These customs are represented in music, sculpture, and oral traditions, etc. The paper makes an attempt at exploring the wealth of cultural contexts in the authentic values expressed through tradition and spirituality with a view to safeguarding these values and their subsequent promotion.

Symbols, Visual Signs and Audio Sphere

Connecting the underground with the world (in mining lingo: the surface above the excavations\(^1\)), the soaring shaft towers act as visible symbols of the past in the urban spaces of Wieliczka and Bochnia.

Abandoned and filled with rock material, numerous mine shafts have been signposted in the urban spaces of the towns. Information boards were used for the purpose in Wieliczka, while in Bochnia the former shaft locations were marked with mining wózek, i.e. little carriages in which the output was transferred from the underground excavations. Since 2005, the NaCl Bochnia - Saint Kinga’s Salt Route “in the world” has been available to the public. Marked with a characteristic sign on which the chemical composition of salt is represented, the route connects the most prominent salt work facilities with the former mining sites in Bochnia. The urban space of the two towns features a variety of the original salt mining heritage forms, e.g. street lamps in Wieliczka. Their cast iron trunks bear mining emblems and an inscription reading “Salt Mining Authority in Wieliczka 1906”, which only testifies to the fact that mining towns, with their salt deposits, were first in preference to develop a number of municipal facilities (waterworks, sewers, etc.). The cityscapes of Bochnia and Wieliczka abound in the mining emblems representing two crossed hammers and the already mentioned coats of arms featuring three mining tools in a vertical arrangement. They also have a

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\(^1\) Langer Piotr, Znaczenie specyfiki dziedzictwa kulturowego miast solnych dla ich współczesnego rozwoju i zachowania tożsamości, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Bochni, Kraków 2011, p. 187-193. In his PhD thesis presented and defended at the Faculty of Architecture, Kraków University of Technology.

\(^2\) Janicka-Krzywda Urszula, Legendy wielickiej kopalni, Kraków 1998, p. 73.
living tradition of using the historical emblem of the Wieliczka Diggers Fraternity, which apart from the two tools also features a horn (the emblem known from the earliest iconography preserved in the artefacts belonging to the Fraternity: a late Gothic chalice from Saint Clement’s Church in Wieliczka and a silver horn bequeathed to the Fraternity by Seweryn Boner in 1534, the latter being an exquisite example of the Nuremberg Renaissance and the symbol of wealth of the Kraków Salt Works in the past). Miners’ and diggers’ emblems are featured in many contemporary accessories used during mining celebrations, including parade weaponry. The logos featured in the coats of arms or the mining emblems are used officially by the Kraków Salt Works Museum and the Salt Mine in Wieliczka as well as the Salt Mine in Bochnia.

One intriguing element of Bochnia’s salt mining past has survived in the audio sphere of the town. The characteristic sound signal that marks the change of shift can be heard in the Campi shaft complex. The electrical buzzer is now replacing the original sound marking the beginning and end of the working day for the miners produced by a characteristic whistle of steam from the shaft lift. It is worth pointing out here that the authentic audio sphere of the mine features one more peculiar little bell, which has survived at some of the shafts and which signals [shaft personnel] used to signal the starting of the klatka [lift machinery]. The sound of a bell suspended at the top of the pit head would call the miners to work, which is represented in numerous mining songs. This kind of bell can be seen only at the Daniłowicz Shaft in Wieliczka, where it is suspended from the top of the pit head building.

Language and Onomastics

Apart from the peculiar and original language that for centuries has evolved in the local mining community (the examples provided above), the mining traditions exist in the numerous topographic names that mark former salt mine facilities. The general mining and salt mining past of Wieliczka and Bochnia has survived in at least 27 place names, including the names of the streets, squares, housing estates, and other locations, e.g. Zamek Zụpny [Salt Works Castle], Planty Salinarne [Salt Mine Park], and streets: Prasołów, Warzycka, Górnicza, Solna, Warzelnicza, Za Szybem. Created ad loc, a large number of descriptive names come to the fore that mark the shaft locations: (e.g. in Wieliczka: Janińska, Seraf, Boża Wola, Górsko; in Bochnia: Campi, Regis, Gazaris, Floris, Trinitatis). With the liquidation of the shafts, only street (or square) names have survived to testify to the town’s mining heritage, e.g. Janińska, Boża Wola, Seraf, Regis, Gazaris, or Floris streets. The street names also commemorate the important figures in the local salt mining history, e.g. Stanisław Kuczkiewicz (Wieliczka), Antoni Langer, Edward Windakiewicz (Bochnia); and the patron saints of the miners: Święta Barbara Street, Święta Kinga Street, Świętego Mikołaja Corner.

Religion and Beliefs

Faced with daily threats, the miners have always shared the need to secure protection and care from supernatural powers, especially in the workplace, i.e. the mines. The belief in Holy Providence and the saints and patrons is not unique in Polish religiousness, but the underground shrines and places of religious worship are nonetheless a very important part of the spiritual mining heritage in Wieliczka (40 sites) and Bochnia (20 sites). Both mines had their Guardian Angels chapels – patrons spirits that would take care of man and protect him from danger and misfortune. Dated to 1691, the image of the Guardian Angel from the Kraków Salt Works Museum collection is the earliest preserved example of painting in the mine. In the past, the miners could rely on a large number of holy advocates who served as the mediators of God, e.g. Saint Clement, Saint Anthony, Saint Nicholas. This tutelary role has been taken over by Saint Kinga and Saint Barbara, whose respective liturgies on 24th July and 4th December are celebrated with solemn masses held underground in the mines. Dating back to the Middle Ages, the cult of Saint Kunegunda, which according to the most popular legend is linked to the discovery of salt

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1 Langer Piotr, Znaczenie specyfiki... , op. cit., p. 189.
2 For example, “już się rozlega miły głos dzwoneczka z naszej wieży, więc spieszmy wraz, jak każe los, nad szyb każdy bieży” [The sound of a bell resonates from our tower, so let us hurry all, as it written in our fate, let us hurry all to the shaft]; Zbiór pieśni górniczych, collected and edited by Mieczysław Nigrin, Katowice 1959, p. 4.
3 Zabytkowa Kopalnia Soli Muzeum Ząp Krakowskich Wieliczka, Wieliczka 2015, p. 78.
4 Zabytkowa Kopalnia Soli Muzeum Ząp Krakowskich Wieliczka, Wieliczka 2015, p. 78.
deposits in Poland, continues to thrive as a tradition. The tradition among the miners to make an annual pilgrimage to the grave of Saint Kinga in Stary Sącz on 24th July derives from the ancient tradition of propitiatory expeditions that were made in the face of great danger (fire, water discharge in the mine). Historical sources testify to the existence of the daily prayers to be offered by the miners before starting a shift. The traces of pious songs performed in the underground chapels could be found as early as the 17th century, when the candle “lit for the singing” was recorded to start a dangerous fire in Saint Kunegunda’s Chapel at the Bocznice Chamber. The miners are also known to have sung the antiphon “Salve Regina” while going underground. “Szczęść Boże” [God Bless You] is a pious appeal to God that can be found in many mining songs. It is now also in use as an obligatory greeting to be exchanged by the miners on seeing one another or entering the cage inside the lift machinery and going deep underground.

The faith in the tutelary spirit of the underground existed regardless of religious worship, and sometimes in parallel with the belief in Holy Providence:

The spirit of the mountains lives deep inside the rocks
and guards a myriad of the earth’s treasures;
he gives the wealth of ore
to the miners for their toil
to feed their children and themselves.
He protects the miners,
and saves them from the evil floods,
the plague and the slumber of death;
he is your guardian and protector
the brotherhood of miners!
God bless you!

A belief in the underground king of the mine, who is known as Treasurer or simply referred to as He, which was uttered with respect and for fear of the
demon, is well reflected in oral tradition and the songs that are still sung by the miners. The belief gave rise to numerous superstitions, magical practices, and the unwritten code of conduct to be followed while underground. The gnomes (according to ancient beliefs, small and clumsy spirits guarding the underground treasures) seemed to be less dangerous; in Wieliczka they were represented as dwarfish figures in rock salt sculptures from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and featured in the ornament decorating the title card of the musical score Pląsypołomów.

Customs and Traditions

The uniform serves as a very important symbol of the mining tradition. As it makes the miners stand out as a social and professional group, it also serves as a marker of the respectable “mining occupation”. The black ceremonial uniform is often used in celebrations both sacred and secular and on both formal (e.g. public holidays) and informal (family get-togethers) occasions. The more modest steel-coloured business uniform is used by higher mining personnel in office. Both are differentiated by insignia and rank. Developed as a result of a long evolutionary process that started in the 18th century, the ceremonial uniform in particular abounds in traditional elements and ornaments and insignia (e.g. the colour of the plume on a miner’s headgear depends on the rank: black for the miners, white for the engineers and general directors, green for higher-rank general directors, and red for the mining orchestra members). They are complemented with parade weaponry such as mining swords awarded to distinguished miners, daggers, etc. Bart, i.e. large steel axes, mounted on ornamented, often encrusted pole, at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries served as symbols of bergmeisters’ powers, and

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9 Kalwajtys Elżbieta, Ostatnie „Szczęść Boże”..., op. cit., p. 82.
13 The score of Polonaise for Men’s Choir by Mieczysław Nigrin, ca. 1923, Kraków Salt Works Museum Special Collection, Wieliczka, no. 823.
later in the 19th and 20th centuries evolved into more modest, ceremonial foremen’s staves. Upon the inspection of the mine, the foremen still take their foreman’s pick axes, which serve as the symbol of power while remaining of practical use whenever it is necessary to examine the strength of the ceiling and the sidewalls.

The performances (concerts and parades) and long-standing mining orchestras, their musicians always formally and impeccably dressed, are the most striking embodiment of the intangible salt mining heritage in the urban space.

The Wieliczka mining orchestra boasts over 185 years of continuous activity (from ca. 1830). Initially, the orchestra was used to entertain the visitors to the mine and play live music in the parks around Wieliczka. The Bochnia orchestra was officially set up in 1880 by Antoni Langer (died in 1910), who was accepted as a patron to Miners’ Association “Sutoris”, set up in 2003 and designed to foster mining music and continue salt mining traditions. There is also a continuity of the excellent mining orchestra traditions such as attending church liturgy, traditional mining festivities, and national and public celebrations. “It was a done thing that on the vigil of public holidays and important anniversaries that commemorated Polish heroism, the orchestra would parade the main streets of the town to play the marches and patriotic songs”. Such performances are still held in Bochnia on Sunday mornings. Additionally, a tradition has been revived of giving free weekly concerts performed by the miners wearing ceremonial uniforms throughout the summer season in gazebos around salt mine parks (Planty Salinarne in Bochnia and Saint Kinga’s Park in Wieliczka). The atmosphere during the shows adds to the unique character of each town, and it is indicative of their history and continuous tradition. It must be pointed out that the orchestras’ repertoire contains songs with many years of tradition and history. They are similar to miners’ songs (often performed together with salt mining orchestras by the choirs and the Lutnia Singers’ Society, the latter active in Wieliczka since 1872) in that they date back to the 19th century. Lutnia Choir from Wieliczka is now known to perform the majority of the mining songs collected and published by Mieczysław Nigrin (1876–1963) in 1959. Employed in the mines of Bochnia and Wieliczka from the end of the 19th century, Nigrin was also a musician, a distinguished salt mining orchestra bandmaster, a conductor, and President of the Lutnia Singers’ Society. From 1906 he conducted Bochnia’s mining choir and throughout his long career he also composed songs and musical works. Almost all of the songs collected and edited by Nigrin were based on the songs performed at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries by the Polish students at various mining academies, mainly in Styria’s Loeben and Saxony’s Freiberg, Germany, and Příbram, Czech Republic. The Polish lyrics were either composed or translated from German by Polish students who would later, that is, prior to World War I, choose to pursue their careers in Wieliczka and Bochnia, e.g. Zdzisław Kamiński, Feliks Piastek, Windakiewicz.

The Loeben Academy also created a tradition which, together with the Polish language and musical setting, was promoted by the University of Science and Technology in Kraków [Akademia Górniczo-Hutnicza AGH] (formerly known

\[15\] Wojciechowski Teofil, Jubileusz stulecia orkiestry salinarnej bocheńskiej 1880–1980 (rys historyczny), Kraków 1980, p. 11.

\[16\] Kraków Salt Works Museum Special Collection, inv. no. 1203.

\[17\] Zbiór pieśni górniczych, op. cit., p. X–XV.
as the Mining University) to become one of the most prominent corporate ceremonies in the Polish mining industry: accepting novices to the “mining professions”, or “Jump over the Leather Apron”

The initiation ritual for the novices (the names used in the mining lingo is füks or lis) comes to a climax with a traditional “Jump over the Leather Apron”, which used to be a very important element of any miner’s equipment. Buckled on to the miner’s back, the leather apron was designed to facilitate the work, and it was used for sitting and for the protection of the knees.

The ritual of ceremonial and symbolic initiation to the mining profession is usually held during the mining holiday on the 4th December, which is also the day of Saint Barbara, the patroness of the miners. In the mines of Małopolska, Barbórka [Saint Barbara’s Day] invariably begins with a solemn mass held in an underground chapel or local parish church. The solemn atmosphere of the day is underlined by the ceremonial uniforms of the miners and the presence of an orchestra. The formal part of the celebration comes after the mass. First comes the discussion of the tasks and achievements of the company and a ceremony during which medals and mining swords are awarded to distinguished members of staff. The Bochnia mine continues the celebration in a less formal manner by feasting in what we know as the beer tavern. As the name suggests, the miners drink beer from commemorative tankards made specially for the occasion. The feast follows a scenario of its own and is combined with communal singing and a competition among the tables. While the competition is supervised by High Committee Infallible on Drinking Matters, the day also brings a rare opportunity to poke fun at management. In Wieliczka, Barbórka is mainly formal in character, as the beer tavern for the staff is held on a different date as a closed, internal celebration. No photographs are taken on the occasion so as not to spoil the miners’ entertainment.

It is worth noting that the feasting gatherings among the miners are not limited to Barbórka only. In Wieliczka, separate meetings are held of what is known as Stara Strzecha [Old Thatch], a non-formal miners’ organisation gathering staff with long seniority with the right to invite new people on board. The commemorative group photographs featuring the members of the committee and the invited participants who often use nicknames such as Kudłata Strzecha [Naughty Thatch] or Cycata Strzecha [Busty Thatch] speak volumes about the customs and the informal nature of these gatherings. For example, a group photograph from 1984 represents the Stara Strzecha members with the following tongue-in-cheek signatures: Cyrulik [Barber], Podskarbi [Treasurer], Starsza Strzecha [Older Thatch], Wielki Mistrz Kapituły [Grand Master of the Chapter], Góralska Strzecha [Mountain Thatch], Skryba [Scribe], Podpisek [Signature]. The then Director of the Wieliczka Salt Mine Ignacy Markowski Śpiewająca Strzecha [Singing Thatch], is featured among the ordinary members of the committee. There is also one Füks to the side, who was yet to earn the right to join the Stara Strzecha gathering. A number of different accessories with commemorative inscriptions, including mining melts and swords, and crystal antlers, are purchased as keepsakes of these meetings18.

Recreated in the 1970s, the Stara Strzecha corporate traditions draw on the already described customs of the mining academy students. The collection of the Kraków Salt Works Museum contains the 19th-century exhibit with signatures and commemorative watch chains used by Edward Windakiewicz in his fob watch from the time of his studies at the Mining Academy in Loeben. The
contemporary funerals and accompanied by the sounds of a mining orchestra.21. Even though the secular traditions presented above (Stara Strzecha, Jump over the Leather Apron) do not come originally from Wieliczka and are characteristic of various mining cities or towns, the local mining community stand out with their unique ritual known as Ostatnie „Szczęść Boże” [Funerary God Bless You]. The ritual is depicted in Piotr Stachiewicz’s painting (1892), which was re-produced under the same title in the album collecting the painting representations of the Wieliczka Salt Mine published in 1931.20. The Funerary God Bless You is a farewell to the deceased from his colleagues. When the coffin is lowered into the grave, the formally dressed miners in the cortège take off their hats and chant „Szczęść Boże” [God Bless You] while extinguishing their mining lamps (prior to World War II, they would drop to the ground their zicher lamps, which extinguished of their own accord). Performed by the miners attending their colleague’s burial, the ritual is an inherent part of the mining cityscape, and it is often seen at contemporary funerals and accompanied by the sounds of a mining orchestra.21. Fostered by subsequent generations, the ancient traditions and rituals play an important role in the process of creating social identification among the miners and the residents of the two towns. Together with other elements of the salt mining culture (described in the opening sections and present in the local places names, symbols, and visual and acoustic signs), they contribute to the miners’ and residents’ sense of identity and their local patriotism, which is reflected in their proud belief in their unique character. The original aspects of sacred and secular rituals such as the funerary “Szczęść Boże” and mining and religious celebrations as a tribute to the patron saints of the salt mining industry can be considered the most important elements of the intangible cultural heritage in the cityscape of Wieliczka and Bochnia. They both are worth safeguarding and promotion. Other elements of this kind include

19 Kraków Salt Works Museum Art Collection, inv. no. V/701/1.

underground places of worship, which should be both developed and used on a regular basis. Made in rock salt by the generations of skilled artisans. Their unique sculpture decorations are worthy of special emphasis. Fostering customs reflected in the uniforms, songs, and music contributes not only to the preservation of the local cultural heritage, but also provides a chance to bring out contemporary Wieliczka and Bochnia as attractive tourist destinations and to generate their growth in the post-industrial era.

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Since the 1960s, the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków (MEK) has been holding a plaque saying “MAGAZYN OBRZĘDÓW” [STORAGE OF RITUALS]. Seemingly, it is impossible to collect and store something as intangible as rituals.

In fact, the storage contains museum artefacts, which are perfectly tangible objects. The museum continues to keep the following scientific and storage departments in its structure, such as the departments of: Material Culture, Folk Costumes and Fabrics, Arts, Social Culture (formerly known as the Department of Rituals), which encompass both Polish folklore and non-European cultures. Hence STORAGE OF RITUALS is a mere abbreviation of “The Storage of the
Rituals Department. The division, which is also reflected in the historical exhibition created in the 1950s and 1960s, is based on a theory propounded by the Polish ethnographer Kazimierz Moszyński (1887–1959). He identified the following types of culture: material culture, which meets basic human needs; spiritual culture (or the culture of the mind), which uses various means, including art, to meet spiritual human needs; and social culture, which marks everything that organises the communal life of the humans, e.g. social institutions such as family. Moszyński himself admitted that his division was meant to merely organise the description of culture, which is why: “The division should not be taken at face value. All cultures are in fact spiritual and social. There is no such thing as non-social and non-spiritual culture”\(^1\). In the second and immanent part of his theory, Moszyński argues that material, social, and spiritual cultures produce artefacts that can be intangible, e.g. language, skills, customs, and rituals, and tangible in nature, that is, everything one can touch\(^2\).

Assuming that this is right, one can ask the following question: is there a boundary and where between the tangible and the intangible cultural heritage is it? How is it reflected in the museum activity?

Katarzyna Barańska quotes the ICOM definition of the museum:

> A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment [highlighted by the author].\(^3\)

As she elaborates on the division between the tangible and the intangible forms of culture and the importance and opportunities it offers to the museum practice, Barańska says:

> [...] running a radical division between the tangible and the intangible is as difficult as running a division between the realms of culture and nature. Both these spheres are intertwined and enmeshed with each other, which is well reflected in museum stores. [...] museum collections, which are called artefacts, museum items, or museum objects, belong in one category that abolishes the boundary between the tangible and the intangible [highlighted by the author].\(^4\)

A similar stance is furnished by Janusz Barański, who says that in the realm of things, museum collections included, it is impossible to deal with their tangible aspect, since “things always mean in a context”\(^5\). Similarly, Czesław Robotycki describes the museum in general, not only as an ethnographic museum, but as a “place for ideas and things”\(^6\).

Fully adopting this perspective, which is further corroborated by the comments provided below and my everyday practice as a museum curator, I would argue that museum collections belong in one and the same category of the forms that reflect human culture and human environment. Following Anna Wieczorkiewicz, they can also be defined as “a particular way to describe the world, a way that differs from language and yet is inextricably linked to it”\(^7\). Thus, it is a good idea to finally open the Storage of Rituals and see how one can interpret/describe/represent its contents.

The storage holds several important collections such as painted eggs, devotional items, ritual bread, and toys. The collection of toys is one of the largest in Poland, and certainly the earliest, holding toys produced in a variety of the sites that specialised in folklore wooden toys. A particularly important part of the collection holds toys that were sold in the Emmaus, the Rękawka and Saint Stanislaus’ spring church fairs, at a strictly specified place and time of year. The vast majority of them have no equivalent to be found in other museums or private collections. The collection is largely historical in nature, as it dates back to the end of the 19th century, which is why it is worth providing a little information on what Emmaus and Rękawka were at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

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centuries in “a peculiar snapshot, ethnographers favourite”8. Stanisław Cercha described it thus in 1896:

The church fair in Półwsie Zwierzynieckie, a village adjacent to Kraków, is the first spring fair to be frequented by the residents of Kraków each year. The fair is called Emmaus, and it attracts both the residents of the city and nearby villages. The people first attend a service at the Premonstratensian Convent, and then buy wooden axes and clay bells for their children.9

At the beginning of the 20th century, it was not necessarily obvious how important the then Emmaus was for the cultural heritage of Kraków. That being said, the power and continuity of the tradition was well known in the city. A weekly “Kurier Literacko-Naukowy” reported in 1926:

The historic custom of Emmaus is traditionally carried from one generation to the other. **Attended by almost all of the inhabitants of Kraków**, the gathering is held on a hill in the Zwierzyniec suburb […]. However, a strange force of tradition drives them for a walk, **all of them heading towards this patriotic or folkloric festival to keep it alive, the way their grandmothers and grandfathers, their mothers and their fathers did** [highlighted by the author].10

Another “snapshot from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries”11 comes from Rękawka attended by the majority if not all of the Kraków residents. Maria Estreicherówna thus described what was happening in 1848–1863:

Easter Tuesdays became a festivity with the Rękawka, which attracts as many visitors as Emmaus […], and so there was always a crowd of people on Tuesdays in front of Saint Benedict’s Church. People celebrated in Rękawka by throwing down eggs, rolls, nuts, and pieces of gingerbread, etc.; they would even throw little coins to the paupers standing at the foot of the hill. For this purpose, Artur Potocki would buy the entire stock from the stands at the top of the hill […].12

Rękawka is a name for a kind of folk festivity, as it were, which was derived from the location around Krakus Mound (so-called Rękawa), and from 1836 moved to nearby Lasota Hill next to Saint Benedict’s Church. At the end of the 19th century, the custom of throwing food to the paupers gathering at the foot of the hill was abolished. That being said, both the church fair, which featured the same array of products as that of the Emmaus market, and the custom to set up a merry-go-round there every Tuesday after Easter, has survived to this day.

“Everybody returns with such an axe and a clay bell to show they have been to the Emmaus”13. These texts testify to the enormous popularity of these objects at the end of the 19th century. The MEK collection holds 14 wooden axes, either carved or ornamented with burns, which in the 19th century were brought by wagonful to both the Emmaus and the Rękawka from nearby Trzemeśnia, and painted axes, which “bristled from the baskets like a forest”14 and were made by Kraków’s masons. These are miniatures of hatchets and axes were used by men not only in fighting or to display strength and agility; they also served as an attribute of masculinity, which made them particularly desirable by little boys.

Clay bells were produced by Kraków-based potters to sell during spring church fairs. The MEK collection holds one, and literally one, such bell. The day I joined the Museum staff I have been deeply compelled by the question why something, so popular in its time is present in one copy only in the collection. Or perhaps the question should be slightly reformulated: why the Emmaus bell has made its way to the museum collection in as many as one item — in other words, why has it made its way to the museum collection at all? The bell provides a single representation of a phenomenon, a specimen of toy souvenirs from Emmaus, and becomes a single sign-symbol. Can the bell exhibited in the museum, and as such taken out from its natural context of a stand in the church fair, reflect the whole of the Emmaus? Or is it a misrepresentation and an illusion of the adequate

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10 „Kurier Literacko-Naukowy”, supplement to „Iłustrowany Kuryer Codzienny”, no. 94 of 4 April 1926, p. 8-9.
14 Ulanowska Stefania, *Co to jest Rękawka?*, Kraków 1884, p. 6.
representation of the world, the way according to James Clifford the “Bambara mask” becomes an ethnographic metonymy of the entire Bambara culture15.

Silent as it is, the Emmaus bell can speak to us about its production methods, shape, and material. We cannot hear the sound it makes, and even if we were able to reproduce it, there is no guarantee we would be able to immerse ourselves in the audio sphere of the church fairs of old.

The manuscripts preserved in the archive records of the MEK provide relatively detailed accounts of Emmaus and Rękawka; they were made in 1905 by Antoni Mokstein, Jerzy Bielecki, and Władysław Krupiński, all of them teachers from the town of Podgórze (now a district in Kraków) and members of the Polish Ethnological Society, on a commission from Seweryn Udziela, the founder and Director of the Ethnographic Museum in Kraków. Let us try to hear into the story:

No sooner have you crossed the bridge on the River Rudawa, you are greeted with noise and commotion, the sound of paper trumpets, pipes, harmonicas, and hurdy-gurdies; the piercing sound of whistles and pipes; people calling one another; young people’s laughter and jokes commingle with tradesmen’s voices [...]; paper windmills hum as they spin relentlessly […]; frogs croak as they revolve on a string; blown up and set in motion, rubber balloons of various shapes and sizes whistle and squeak with different voices […].16

What a pity that we were not able to record these sounds. The account is nonetheless a good example of how Kraków’s intangible heritage is able to survive in museum archives.

Now, let us return to the museum items from Emmaus and Rękawka that are collected in the “Storage of the rituals”. What is important in inseparability of tangible matter to intangible entities is the fact that rephrasing Plato’s idea that each thing has a shadow, what stands behind things are people, the people who created those things, who used them.

Admittedly, the toys in the MEK collection are usually without any signatures, but many donors added the following information e.g. “made by a mason from Zwierzyniec”. Famous Kraków masons, unemployed in winter, would not only make Nativity Scenes for Christmas but also wooden toys they would later sell in large quantities at spring church fairs. Do these articles made by Kraków masons, preserved by the MEK, serve as evidence to traditional crafts or are they, as suggested already in 1957 by Tadeusz Seweryn, a reflection of the “customs, rituals, magic, and legends”17; in other words, are they story-tellers, as it were, that carry a variety of tales with them? Or maybe both?

Franciszek Kuthan, a mason from the Kraków suburb of Ludwinów, is one of the few toymakers whose name has been recorded. His static figures representing chimney sweepers in formal uniforms, kosynierzy [soldiers, often peasants, bearing war-scythes from the time of the Kościuszko Insurrection in 1794] in traditional Kraków outfits, and rafters in the boats they used to navigate their barges on the River Vistula are only a reminiscence of old-time Kraków. Each of these items is hand made and bearing an individual mark of its maker. That being said, it must be pointed out that they were all mass produced, on a scale that was characteristic of their time. This is evidenced by the identical figures that have been preserved in several copies in the collection, or as in Kuthan’s works, in the same carved black-bearded heads used to produce the figures of Lajkonik or Jews.

They went down in human memory, and the people who frequent the Emmaus still browse these figures at the stands. It is a fact that the largest proportion of the figures in the MEK collection that represent the typical inhabitants of Kraków, including men in traditional Kraków outfits, wandering tradesmen, and legendary figures, are the figures of the Jews. They represent Jewish hasidim wearing black coats and hats on their heads, with a variety of props, always in genre scenes from everyday life, as if taken out from archive photographs depicting the Kraków quarter of Kazimierz, which was inhabited by the Jewish population right into World War II. The figures are known to have been sold at the Emmaus and the Rękawka right up until 1939. However, there is no information on the functions they performed and their later history. No relevant research has been conducted. No traces exist that would suggest who bought them and for what reason.

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16 Emmaus and Rękawka in Kraków. Manuscripts and Notes from the Seweryn Udziela Collection, inv. no. I/324/RKP, Folklore Culture and Museum History Documentation Department, Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków.

17 Seweryn Tadeusz, Zabawki ludowe jako odbicie zwyczajów, obyczajów, magii i legend, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa” 1957, Year 11, no. 1, p. 3-20.
Jan Oprocha (the father, 1858–194?) was one of the best known toy and wooden figure makers in Kraków. He put his figures on springs, thus adding the element of movement, like other Kraków masons-craftsmen. Figurines of little birds were also mounted on springs on the tops of miniature trees of life or separately, on the stands, as well. One of the toys by Jan Oprocha (the father), purchased in the 1920s at the Emmaus, provides a perfect illustration of an annual custom from that time, in which Lajkonik paraded the streets of Kraków with a procession of rafters and a Mlaskot musical band surrounded by a variety of people in the crowd. There are middle-class men wearing suits and holding briefcases in their hands, men in traditional Kraków outfits, ladies and girls in colourful dresses, holding umbrellas and bags in their hands, a policeman guarding the order, and even a dog following the crowd. Mounted with springs on a wheeled platform, they sway to the movement of the trolley as if they themselves marched in a procession or even ran after it. In a toy, the same Jan Oprocha (the father) immortalized one of the most popular games to have been played at the Rękawka right into the 1950s. With a pull of a string, a wooden boy figure climbs to the top of a rod that imitates a large pole where his desired prize has been mounted: shoes, a ring of sausage, and a bottle.

The onlookers were thrilled and screamed a lot as the boy climbing the pole would almost reach the apex and was just about to reach for the flag to hand it over and collect his prize, but all of a sudden he descended down the pole like a ball and failed to reach the target.

The accounts from the collection of archive manuscripts demonstrate that Oprocha simplified the story a little as he placed both the flag and the prize right at the pinnacle, which only goes to show that museum items and archive accounts provide a more complementary picture.

The task of the museum is not only to collect, store and preserve, but also to provide access to the artefacts. Recently altered and called OD-NOWA [A-NEW], a section of the permanent exhibition at the MEK is also worth a mention. Placed in the centre, the green tree climbing to the top serves as an axis mundi in the world of spring regeneration, its shape modelled on the trees of life sold at the Emmaus in Kraków. The external layer of the display is intended to provoke emotional response from the viewer, who not only should be impressed aesthetically, but they should literally feel the breeze of the spring, and in the Emmaus and Rękawka case, they should “join a crowded communal walk”. The display features no prearranged scenes or mannequins, but only real exhibits, photographs, and textual materials. They are intended to showcase fleeting phenomena such as rituals and tell about them without adding any authoritarian comments from the curators, giving voice to real witnesses and participants, their images recorded in photographs, and finally and most importantly, the exhibits. The exhibits can thus be treated as mediators, as suggested by Krzysztof Pomian, who:

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19 Oleszkiewicz Małgorzata, Czar zabawek krakowskich, Kraków 2007, p. 124.
20 „Kurier Literacko-Naukowy”, op. cit.
...[...] led the contemporary museum away from the ancient funerary rituals and graves filled with precious items, while pointing out that the items share one particular characteristic: a special function they perform. They mediated between the realms of the tangible and the intangible, and as such between cultures and generations.21

This mediating function is also exhibited in the way they mediate between the realm of matter in which they are immersed and the realm of the invisible, or the sphere of the intangible heritage, which they are in fact witness to.

The insights furnished above refer to the past and the issue of collecting, preserving and providing access to the intangible heritage at the MEK in the historical aspect. Admittedly, all museums, as suggested by Katarzyna Barańska, since they serve as receptacles for tangible artefacts, are quintessentially historical. That being said, the museum collections of today are created for future generations with the awareness that time ruthlessly passes away.22

So, how the museums should approach the contemporary elements of the intangible heritage of Kraków such as the Emmaus and the Rękawka of today?

The Emmaus fair is held annually on each Easter Monday, not in the original location, however, but along Kościuszko Street, where stands featuring a variety of articles, mainly toys, are set up for sale. On the one hand, there are “traditional” articles available, e.g. sawdust balls, popguns or cap-pistols, but what grabs most of the boys’ attention are plastic rifles and pistols; in other words, contemporary firearm miniature replicas. Just like toy cars supplanted wooden horse-drawn carts, plastic rifles replaced wooden axes. The difference lies not only in their form and material but also in the fact that wooden axes were available only in the spring at the Emmaus and the Rękawka, whereas plastic rifles were up for grabs all year round in toy shops.

The Rękawka is held in Podgórze – a Kraków district, on each Tuesday immediately after Easter. For several years now, there have been two Rękawka’s organized. One Rękawka is held near Saint Benedict’s Church, where stands featuring toys or victuals are set up for sale, together with merry-go-rounds and swings or see-saws, like in the old days. The other, which is called the Rękawka Festival and organised by the Podgórze Community Centres is held on Krakus Mound. The latter has been inspired by the earliest accounts of the spring rituals which took place there. Hence the idea to re-enact warriors in combat, showcase everyday life from the past, or present the customs and rituals of ancient Slavs.23

As mentioned above, people attending the Emmaus would mostly seek the figures representing Jews. One of the stands bearing the text: “Kto nie ma z Emausu Źyda, tego spotka ciężka bida” [You’re doomed to terrible misfortune without a Jew from the Emmaus] sells figures that are similar to those dating from before 1939 and can be found in the MEK collection. The stand offers wooden figures of storks and horses, bird-whistles made of clay, pipes, and rattles, which only shows that the owner of the stand tries to merchandise items that are considered “folklore” or “traditional”, whatever the latter might mean. However, the Jew figures are different; they are more like small sculptures, some of them fitted with springs instead of legs that are nonetheless so stiff, that make them virtually motionless. The “lucky Jew”, as it is often referred to, is a new phenomenon that emerged at the beginning of the 21st century as images of figurines depicting a Jew in the pecuniary context as a souvenir for tourists visiting places that are linked to Jewish culture such as Kraków’s district of Kazimierz. These plastic and modelling clay figurines depicting a Jew with a coin travelled all the way to the Emmaus, where they fit in nicely with other “lucky charms” such as angels, frogs, and chimney sweepers.

A number of questions arise that are yet to be scrutinised. Since the MEK holds a collection of historic Jew figurines, should the collection be extended with the figurines that can be found in one stand only and are barely characteristic of the contemporary Emmaus? And what about figures depicting Jews with a coin? Should one buy other “lucky charms” such as little angels, frogs, and other articles of this kind? What should be done with the huge quantities of other mass produced plastic articles, which as a matter of fact are available all year round at toy or souvenir shops?

These colourful articles galore that are found at the stands in Emmaus and Rękawka and represent the figures from globalised and cosmopolitan imagination (e.g. Smurfs, Mickey Mouse, My Little Pony) are difficult to take in one gaze, let alone creating a consistent collection. Do we really need to preserve them as museum items? Or perhaps they may just as well be represented in

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22 Barańska Katarzyna, _Muzeum w sieci znaczeń.... op. cit.,_ p. 94.

photographs and audio and video recordings to preserve contemporary church fairs and their heritage. The stand from the 1970s, which was set up for the exhibition “Kraków zaczarowany w zabawkach” [Kraków Enchanted in Toys] only adds to these doubts. The stand featured plastic trumpets, celluloid windmills, aluminium watches, and sheriff’s badges, which attracted emotional response from the visitors as it brought back the memories of their childhood. The only item missing in the stand were little mirrors with black-and-white photographs of film celebrities on the back. Would the photograph of the stand provoke the same response?

A similar question arises when the size of the balloons is seen, since they virtually eclipse the human figures at Emmaus or Rękawka. Should they be included in the collection? And how to represent them: will several balloons do or maybe one item is just enough? And if so, which one to choose? It may, however, be sufficient enough to have photograph representations only, as there is no collection of the historic balloons, and they are featured only in vintage photographs or hundred-year-old accounts:

Crowds of people are flooding Rękawka Hill up the road leading from Rękawka Street and then slowly ebb away towards Krakus Mound, [...] so that the entire area between Saint Benedict’s Church and the embankment is brimming with several thousand people or more [...] the audience flying multicoloured balloons that hover above the crowd.24

Text translated from Polish language

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24 Emmaus and Rękawka in Kraków...*, op. cit.*
How to Preserve and Showcase the Art of Bell Founding

By way of brief introduction, it must be pointed out that the article arranges selected ideas, explores questions without answers, offers suggestions and arguments, and presents issues encountered during fieldwork and daily research.

Ludwisarstwo (bell founding), ludwisarnia (bell foundry), ludwisarz (bell founder) are rather rare in everyday Polish usage. These terms have evolved from the German rotgisser, or “bell founder”. Their meaning was not always clearly defined, however. Initially, they referred to bronzeware makers (which is in line with the contemporary definition); however, not exclusively, since bronzeware was also made by konwisarze (who also held exclusive rights to produce tinware). Ludwisarze produced a wide range of wares, including mortars, metal sheets, chandeliers, pans and, depending on the needs, bells during times of peace and cannon barrels during times of war. The evolution of the armaments industry and the ensuing growth in specialisation made ludwisarnie, or foundries, switch almost exclusively to bell production, which is going to be discussed in detail in the article.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of bells is their enormous value, both tangible and intangible. It is also important how they look and even more important

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1 Szydłowski Tadeusz, Dzwony starodawne z przed r. 1600 na obszarze b. Galicji, Kraków 1922, p. 4.
how they sound, which is a key property for any musical instrument. The sound of a bell is part of a larger soundscape. Urban spaces are now significantly compressed, its sounds and images creating an aggressive and sensual collage. The sound of a bell, however, happens to stand out in the hustle and bustle of the city. It is something different, unmodern-like, but still familiar. It is strictly related to the way urban spaces function, and it strikes with regularity and a clean tone. As it belongs in an audio sphere, it plays a role in building a sense of identity in the residents, and sense of attachment and belonging. A recognisable set of sounds that are distinctive to and characteristic of its location, the sound of a bell belongs in “urban music”, that is, a music that is part of the city, both culturally and historically. Its sound may be recognised by a sense of hearing, but any bell is also a tangible artefact. Its intangible properties can be described as follows: understood as a symbol; perceived as a force that binds local communities, perceived in a subjective manner or featuring in stories and legends.

According to tradition, bells are strictly connected to their location, and they carry information such as the date of its casting, the coat of arms of its town or city, and the names of the people who contributed to its creation (the amount of information engraved on the bell body grows over time). As tangible artefacts, bells emerge as a contribution of the people who obtain them. One such valuable example is “The Heart of Łódź”, a bell cast in 1911 for the Łódź Cathedral, created through the efforts and with the funds of the local craftsmen. This was highlighted by a number of ornaments on the bell body, including the emblem of labour, the coat of arms of the city and the coats of arms of the guilds that founded the bell (of particular importance is the representation of a cupola, i.e. a kiln for metal processing, that serves as a symbol of the Foundry Society, who contributed to many other areas in that it lacks basic monographs, complete inventories in particular. Challenges arise immediately when seeking a universal method to describe the bells or when discussing its heterogeneous terminology (parallel terms exist describing the same part. e.g. kryza or wieniec in Polish both refer to “sound rim”, a korona (crown) can be made of uszy (handles) or gałązki (twigs) and an inscription can be placed on a szypa or otok (waist). Historic bells are not always under suitable conservation maintenance. However, one should start by asking a question about what to inventory in the first place; what information to gather and how to do this? The primary goal of the inventorying process is to register objective and comparable data, and if possible this data should refer to real objects, i.e. bells, their size and visual properties. Challenges arise when registering the sound: bells sound differently in different interiors and in different weather conditions. It is possible to define the initial sound, but the sound that resonates after the first strike is perceived differently, and that is what defines the most prominent characteristic of a bell and what also differs depending on the setting. Each set of instruments is defined by a unique


of Kraków, which in turn invoked a variety of meanings the latter acquired and the legends in which it was shrouded. In the 19th century, the bell, which is located in the Wawel Cathedral, became a symbol of the struggle for independence, liberation, freedom and the united Polish state and its power. It was commemo-rated in poems and drawings. Reportedly, it was cast using cannons seized in the Battle of Orsha or the Battle of Obertyn (16th century). However unfounded, the legends conjured up victorious times in the history of the nation. Even today the bell is considered a national treasure and a symbol that brings the nation together.

Sigismund is a valuable and unique work. Most of the bells will never attract as much attention. This is because there is limited access to them or their definition is unclear, which is somewhere in between works of art and serially produced artefacts. Even though they are studied by academic researchers in musicology, technology, history, and art history, etc., there is still room for improvement in these areas. Studies on bell founding traditions in many of Poland’s regions are yet to be offered. Likewise, historical knowledge at the local level might be pursued in more detail.

**Challenges in the Inventorying Process**

Suitable inventorying practices are key for the study of bells. Bell founding is similar to many other areas in that it lacks basic monographs, complete inventories in particular. Challenges arise immediately when seeking a universal method to describe the bells or when discussing its heterogeneous terminology (parallel terms exist describing the same part. e.g. kryza or wieniec in Polish both refer to “sound rim”, a korona (crown) can be made of uszy (handles) or gałązki (twigs) and an inscription can be placed on a szypa or otok (waist). Historic bells are not always under suitable conservation maintenance. However, one should start by asking a question about what to inventory in the first place; what information to gather and how to do this? The primary goal of the inventorying process is to register objective and comparable data, and if possible this data should refer to real objects, i.e. bells, their size and visual properties. Challenges arise when registering the sound: bells sound differently in different interiors and in different weather conditions. It is possible to define the initial sound, but the sound that resonates after the first strike is perceived differently, and that is what defines the most prominent characteristic of a bell and what also differs depending on the setting. Each set of instruments is defined by a unique
sound. Thus, a question arises how to describe it. It would also be recommended that memory is preserved in such a way that it gives voice to individual stories, the way they are perceived by their local communities, local traditions and sometimes tempestuous history: bells often changed their locations, were lost during times of war, were buried for fear of confiscation and unearthed when danger had gone, sometimes they were found and are still being found in different locations, and returned to their owners (in this case the formerly completed inventorying process facilitates successful identification). Their individual stories would intersect with the histories of their villages, towns and cities, regions, states and individual people. The residents sometimes make a request to restore a voice in the belfry that, since World War II, they have been missing daily or during celebrations. These aspects can also be considered while designing the inventorying process.

When Bells Become Part of Museum Collections and Are in the Spotlight?

Admittedly, a primary focus should be put on those bells that for one reason or another are considered unique or gain in additional value, e.g. they serve as landmarks that exemplify the losses inflicted by warfare. In the Lübeck Cathedral, bells, which were heavily damaged in a fire caused by a 1942 air raid, have been preserved half-molten and thrust in the floor as a memento. In Poland, too, a bell called “Blessed Bogumił”, which fell off the belfry in 1945, is standing on a plinth in front of the Gniezno Cathedral. Some of these monuments have been preserved as bells of peace, cast to commemorate the end of military conflict, suspended very low, easily accessible and often found in parks and public gardens. Museum collections often contain bells that were discovered during archaeological excavations, and works created by eminent bell founders. They serve as tangible evidence to the history of the crafts and exemplify the art of bell founding in its historical aspects (together with chandeliers, mortars, etc.). Some of them are artworks in their own right or are important for historical or cultural reasons, e.g. ship's bells or bells as holy relics of the saints. Efforts are also made to preserve bells that are somehow atypical, e.g. they have openwork structure or are expansive clock bells, etc.

The above category fails to describe bells that are found in the belfries and yet cannot serve their purpose (they are fractured, damaged or some of their suspension components are no longer fit for use, e.g. the crown); it is nonetheless very difficult to estimate their age due to the absence of any distinctive characteristics, a date, or archive information. It can often be surmised that they may be of historic value, but they cannot be included in museum collections because they lack any distinctive properties. If they are not preserved by their communities, they will probably be lost forever.

Worthy of discussion are also historic bells that are still found in the belfries and can be used, which nonetheless requires that some of their historic fittings must be replaced. Otherwise, the bells will not be used safely and efficiently. The most prominent part of a bell is its body. For a bell to ring, it must be fitted with a clapper, which strikes the body, and a crown, which is used to suspend it. The body being the most durable component, the crown and the clapper often wear out and are replaced, which is why bells that are several hundred years of age hardly ever carry their original fittings. It is currently under discussion whether bells should be preserved with all their original fittings untouched, which may make the vessels unable to ring, or whether to replace some of the components and preserve them separately to prolong the bells’ longevity.

It is much easier to preserve relatively smaller bells in museums. Vessels that weigh several hundred kilos and more are challenging in transport and storage, and they also take up much space in exhibitions. Specialist museums strive to address the issue. They use permanent exhibition layouts and reinforced structures to suspend the bells in a way that showcases the vessels in their natural position, not only in cabinets or pedestals. However, it is very rare that a large number of bells would be exhibited in a small space and without a context. They are taken away from their natural environment (a foundry or a belfry), refused the ability to perform their function, that is, to ring, and are treated as objects of mere visual perception. These bells can neither be used nor touched, which nonetheless cannot deteriorate their physical condition or sound properties.

Bell Foundries and Museums

In 2015, the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage extended its List of Intangible Cultural Heritage with traditional bell founding technology. This only goes to show how evanescent this craft has become and how important and necessary it
The Role of Bells and Bell Founding in the Promotion and Development of Cities

The cooperation in the areas of culture and promotion looks much more promising. The process of casting a bell for the city, both in the past and today, can attract media coverage and be used for the promotion of the city. In the case of “The Heart of Łódź” from the beginning of the 20th century, the day of its consecration began with a procession and a solemn exportation of the bell from the foundry to the cathedral, which happened to the sound of fanfares and in the assistance of guild members, citizens, and guests representing other cities. All in all, from 60 to 100 thousand people attended the event. An occasional pamphlet was published. Today such occasions are commemorated with postcards and souvenirs. These events are also broadcast and covered by the press. Some cities have decided to turn their bell collections or bell foundries into tourist attractions or symbols they want to be associated with (Przemyśl, Poland, and Apolda, Germany). This generates business for the local souvenir industry. Other towns or cities organise festivals that showcase polyphonic instruments (Lutsk, Ukraine, and Supraśl and Gdańsk, Poland) or mobile carillons. These festivals often evolve into annual series that provide an opportunity to invite foreign guests and foster international cooperation. Some bells, such as Kraków’s Sigismund or Toruń’s Tuba Dei, are now considered household names. They have their own societies and are subject to detailed scrutiny. Each emerging discovery is treated as sensational and is widely commented. Bells that are suspended in belfries (e.g. openwork or open structures) become part of a wider cityscape; those in town halls often serve as urban landmarks; melodies played by carillons often draw upon local musical traditions.

Bells as bell founding products, the technology necessary to create them, and their distinctive sound can be an inherent part of tangible and intangible cultural heritage in urban spaces. They belong in a larger sound scape; they build local identities; they convey symbolic meanings. That being said, comprehensive efforts must be made to develop knowledge of the subject and to record evanescent and local histories. It must also be pointed out that it is the final moment to preserve the tradition of bell founding that uses a technology which, dating back to the Renaissance, still remains viable. The nature of the craft and the foundries should fit in well with efforts from museums, which are bound by legislation to preserve various forms of human activity, support tourism in their towns, cities and regions; and become a cultural and promotional factor.

Text translated from Polish language

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A Closer Look at Urban Life.
Exhibitions as Forums for Visualising the Present

Following its ratification of the UNESCO Convention for Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2008, Switzerland adopted a comprehensive policy designed to ensure the conservation, promotion and study of traditional cultural forms of expression. The creation and periodic update of an intangible cultural heritage inventory is the main focus of implementation efforts. In 2012 the Federal Office of Culture (FOC) published Switzerland's first inventory, entitled “List of Living Traditions in Switzerland” and featuring 165 entries. The use of ‘living traditions’ instead of ‘intangible cultural heritage’ was a deliberate one, as it better captures the push and pull that exists between the past, the present and the future. The term also encapsulates the notion of continual change and cultural mutability as an ongoing process. The inventory was a team effort, involving input from the federal authorities, the cantons and experts. However, the list should not be seen as an


end product informed by precise scholarly definitions. Nor should it be viewed as a state imposition. It is instead the preliminary results of a wide-ranging discussion on the (self-) perception and appreciation of living traditions within society⁴.

Intangible Cultural Heritage in an Urbanised Society

To lay the groundwork for the first update of the ‘List of Living Traditions,’ which was scheduled to begin in 2016, the FOC decided to review and assess the original inventory. Although most of the feedback we received was positive, we noted a certain unease with the fact that the 2012 List focused too much on traditional rural forms of expression and thus did not fully reflect the cosmopolitan nature of modern-day Switzerland. In response, the Federal Office of Culture set about encouraging greater debate on the perception and appreciation of Switzerland’s urban intangible cultural heritage, for example through the symposium “Living Traditions in the Urban Space” and its resulting publication “Living Traditions in an Urbanised Society”⁵.

The ‘Urban Traditions’ project of the Science et Cité Foundation – and supported by the Federal Office of Culture – opens up this expert discussion to the general public⁶ with a view to raising awareness of Switzerland’s urban intangible cultural heritage. 21st century Switzerland is a globally active country which has been, and continues to be, shaped by demographic change, mobility, digital communication and electronic media. The Science et Cité Foundation, which specialises in making science more accessible to the general public, set up “science cafés” in 11 towns and cities across Switzerland, with the aim of promoting low-threshold dialogue between the public and experts. At the same time, a specially designed mobile interactive video unit, or Tradiphone, was set up in the given town, at venues frequented by a highly diverse public, such as the public library, a shopping mall, a local government office and a hospital. This travelling, talking and eavesdropping tradiphones allowed the public to get up close and personal with the intangible cultural heritage to be found in their town or city.

When the Basel design agency groenlandbasel was pitching the tradiphone idea, they described it as “a mouthpiece, a resonator, a photo booth, the music of the future, a sound machine, a gramophone, a time machine, a mini-cinema, a megaphone, a sonic horn, an opinion-absorber, a voting booth, a transport container, a casket, a suitcase with fragile contents”⁷.

Through a collage of urban sounds and their enigmatic appearance, the two tradiphones attract the attention of the passing public. A short explanatory text about the Urban Traditions project appears on the screen, and the visitor is invited to watch one (or more) of 14 video clips. Eleven of these feature practitioners from one of the selected towns or cities, thereby encouraging the public to identify with the urban tradition they are watching. In the three remaining clips, researchers, museum professionals and members of the cultural affairs community share their thoughts on the subject. Once a month, a clip is also published on social media and made available online⁸.

The urban traditions shown in the videos include Le Parkour in Bern, the harvest festival in Neuchâtel, the tango dance scene in Aarau, May Day rallies in Zurich, Fumetto – the international comics festival – in Lucerne, the OLMA agricultural fair in St.Gallen, the reading benches in Chur, the fan culture of HC Fribourg-Gottéron ice hockey club, an urban artist from Basel, the Old Town Market in Sitten/Sion and the Père Fouettard parade in Geneva. While it was relatively easy to get the organisers of Sion’s old-town market involved, it took considerable time and effort to explain the project and convince the May Day rallies representatives and the urban artist to participate. Despite the “urban traditions” label, it was difficult to bring members of the youth culture scene into the discussion on traditions and cultural heritage.

As well as the possibility of watching video clips, the tradiphone lets users report their own urban practices. This information, gathered by a series of questions

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⁷ Non-published design competition documentation 2.6.2015, Groenlandbasel Architektur und Ausstellungen GmbH.

and recorded on an audio track, will then be evaluated for possible inclusion on the updated List of Living Traditions. Alternatively, the public can also submit a suggestion using a post-paid postcard issued by the FOC via the tradiphone and an extensive mail shot. There are three fold-out postcards to choose from: gardening, parades and swimming culture. To illustrate the deeper historical dimension, changing nature and continuity of these cultural practices, the cards are illustrated with images from both the present and the past. All of the photos were taken in one of the town or cities featured in the tradiphone video profiles. Senders who provide an email address receive a personalised email inviting them to post a description of their urban tradition on the FOC website and to add it to the list for inclusion in the updated inventory.

Exhibiting and Mediating Intangible Cultural Heritage

The Urban Traditions project, which includes science cafés and a travelling interactive video unit, is part of FOC efforts to raise public awareness of intangible cultural heritage. In some ways, the tradiphone ties into another programme developed and funded by the FOC: the “Exhibiting and mediating living traditions” project. It included a two-day symposium in 2014, which was organised by the Swiss Museums Association (VMS) and entitled “The Exhibition and Mediation of Living Traditions”. In presentations and workshops, museum professionals discussed the challenges – and the involvement of the funding bodies – in relation to the collection, preservation, study, exhibition and mediation of intangible cultural heritage. Two parallel exhibitions were cited by way of illustration: “Rituals. A Guidebook to Life” in the Museum of Communication and “Helvetia Club. Switzerland, the Mountains and the Swiss Alpine Club” at the Swiss Alpine Museum. Both were held in Bern.

The Museum of Communication staged its exhibition as a journey through the land of rituals, made up of four distinct regions: the “Peaks of Power”, the “Fields of Everyday Life”, the “Plains of Security”, and the “Valley of Tradition” which was devoted to intangible cultural heritage. To help them explore this land, visitors were given a guidebook and map. In the run-up to this temporary exhibition, the Museum sent a video booth on tour around Switzerland. This “ritual booth”, as it was known, was installed in a total of eight cultural institutions in German-speaking and Western Switzerland. Its purpose: to take the collective public pulse on the subject. The 250 statements, in which visitors described and defined their chosen ritual, were incorporated into the exhibition in the form of video loops. The exhibition also features a number of interactive elements, such as a winner’s podium, on which visitors could be photographed adopting the ritual victory pose and holding aloft the stylised requisites like a bouquet of flowers.
The conference papers published under the name of “Lebendige Traditionen ausstellen”13 (exhibiting living traditions) also feature articles on the intangible heritage–migration–museums issue and the importance of intangible cultural heritage for cultural tourism. Moreover, the VMS drew up a set of guidelines on the exhibition of living traditions, a move which was roundly lauded by smaller museums14. In 2015 the Swiss Museums Association organised International Museum Day around the theme of living traditions15, attracting record numbers in terms of both participating museums and visitors. To crown this success, the poster advertising the event in Switzerland won the Red Dot design award.

“Intangible Cultural Heritage” – an Absurdity

The inventorying of intangible cultural heritage is based on the provisions of the UNESCO Convention. However, there are good reasons to question the conceptual and theoretical foundations on which these have been based. The treaty contains an amalgam of extremely diverse notions of culture and, in some cases, draws on outdated aspects of cultural science. It evokes the long deconstructed image of a culture which has always existed, has been shaped by relatively stable and close communities, and is handed down, almost automatically, from generation to generation16. Modern-day phenomena like globalisation, digitalisation, migration and individualisation seem to have fallen off the UNESCO Convention’s radar. It is precisely here, in this lack of clarity, where the opportunity lies. Given that it is still in its infancy and has yet to be fully put to the test, the Convention remains open to interpretation. Exploring the issue of what intangible cultural heritage actually means, and the cultural practices that should be designated as such, provides us with an opportunity to improve our own understanding of cultural practices, and to rise above hierarchical classifications such as ‘highbrow versus lowbrow’, ‘elite versus everyday’, ‘trivial’, ‘entertainment’, ‘mass’, ‘pop’, ‘lay’,

13 Lebendige Traditionen..., op.cit., vol. 1, Baden 2015.
Visualising the Present Through the Prism of the Past

Well before the adoption of the UNESCO Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage, classic memory institutions such as archives, libraries, media libraries and museums had already begun to address the issue of the sociocultural perception and valorisation of living traditions. Indeed, the International Council of Museums made the protection, documentation and mediation of intangible cultural property one of its goals as far back as 200418. The UNESCO Convention recognises that inventories constitute a mechanism that not only excludes but also creates meaning and significance. To this end, it provides museums with an opportunity to contribute to and shape the sociocultural negotiating processes around intangible cultural heritage. The exhibition format can serve as a platform for addressing contentious issues and generating greater possibilities for participation in the valorisation of intangible cultural heritage.

The actual text of the UNESCO Convention is also fertile ground. The subject matter deals with call not only cultural-historical memory institutions into action but also craft, technical and natural history museums, collections and exhibition spaces. The wide-ranging nature of this legal text also opens up possibilities for greater cooperation with other partners from outside the museum community. Engagement with intangible cultural heritage leads to engagement with society, both present and future.

The Stapferhaus Lenzburg has made a name for itself in Switzerland thanks to its exhibitions that are always squarely focused on issues of everyday contemporary life19. This cultural institution was founded in 1960 in the small Swiss-German town of Lenzburg and set itself the mission of stimulating a “confrontation of ideas” in Switzerland. The exhibition format has provided the perfect medium for the Stapferhaus to accomplish this mission, and over the last 15 years has used this format to address modern-day concerns such as time, beliefs and money. Given that the Stapferhaus does not have its own collection of art or objects, the intangible is always the foundation stone upon which its exhibitions are built. Here, it is the visitors, not the objects, who take centre stage. Each one brings their own pool of experience with them and the Stapferhaus makes use of this expertise in myriad ways. The curator-as-knowledge mediator and the public-as-non-professionals therefore no longer exist here. The Stapferhaus does not explain the present but explores it from different angles.

In “Matter of Faith. An exhibition for believers and non-believers” (2006), visitors had to take a stance on the issue from the moment they arrived by deciding whether to enter the exhibition space through the “believers” or “non-believers” door.

“Nonstop. The Fast Pace of Life” (2009) was an exhibition that offered visitor an experience devoid of incessant clock-watching. Before entering the exhibition space, visitors were invited to place their watches and mobile phones in a safe. The back of the safe was transparent, thereby transforming it into an installation space, visitors were invited to place their watches and mobile phones in a safe. The Stapferhaus does not have its own collection of art or objects, the intangible is always the foundation stone upon which its exhibitions are built. Here, it is the visitors, not the objects, who take centre stage. Each one brings their own pool of experience with them and the Stapferhaus makes use of this expertise in myriad ways. The curator-as-knowledge mediator and the public-as-non-professionals therefore no longer exist here. The Stapferhaus does not explain the present but explores it from different angles.

The exhibition “Money. Beyond Good and Evil” (2014) bring visitors come face to face with Adam Smith and Milton Friedmann and together explore the

idea that greed drives humankind. Three-dimensional statistics make them think about the distribution of money in Switzerland and the world. Along the way, they encounter individuals with lots of money and those with little, and find themselves pondering whether wealth is a source of happiness. At the “cash machines” visitors revealed their views about and management of money, and in doing so added to the exhibition statistics on the significance of money in the contemporary age. Finally, they were given the opportunity to get their hands on real money: lying on a floor covered in five-centime pieces worth a total of CHF 200,000, they reflected on their own relationship with money. The final part of the exhibition featured a till where visitors were asked to pay in the amount they were willing to pay for the entry ticket.

By actively addressing the challenges of “the visualisation of the present through the prism of the past”20, museums will be able to carve out a position for themselves as platforms for public debate, create spaces for social and cultural exchange and participation, and ultimately strengthen their social and cultural legitimacy.

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The Migration Museum Project has been running since 2006, as an initiative of Barbara Roche (former UK immigration minister) and the Institute for Public Policy Research. The aim of the project is to create the first museum dedicated to wide and complex migration issue and to tell the story of movement into and out of the UK in a new engaging way.

The authors of the project underline the significance migration always presents for Islands, where nearly every habitant is a descendant of migration, more or less distant.

Over more than two millennia migration has continuously shaped and reshaped the people of the British Isles. The Celts, the Romans, the Vikings, the Normans, Huguenot craftsmen, Irish labourers, Jews escaping Nazism, Somali seamen, West Indian nurses, Indian textile workers, Kosovan refugees, Russian billionaires and Polish plumbers have all woven their way into our rich national tapestry.1

Yet, at the same time, there is an omission of the phenomenon in the national heritage sector, because such an important part of history and modern society is still waiting to be told. While museums of most aspects of the country life,  

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MUSEUM

devoted to various phenomena, from science and war to media and transport, find their place on the map of tourist routes of London, there is still no main museum of migration.

However, it is not a significant obstacle. The Migration Museum Project is an example of a situation where the lack of physical form of the museum institution, the building, does not mean however, the lack of representation; it has been done through activities popularising the subject: travelling exhibitions, and numerous accompanying events organised in spaces of other cultural institutions, research and educational work, debates and numerous publications in the form of interviews, articles and videos available on the project’s website. Such an approach in building representation of migration step-by-step in museums and the heritage sector seems to, step by step, work.

In the end, the important thing is not particular buildings, exhibitions or collections – it is taking steps to enhance this country’s ability to represent its migration story through its museums and heritage sites. This is the story of all of us, not just of minority groups or recent incomers. So while a better telling of the story would celebrate our diversity, it would also help to bind us together.

Because London is one of the most colourful and diverse capitals of the world, where everyone has some kind of migration history: individual, family related, environmental, reaching more or less back, this cultural diversity as a result of numerous migrations is common to all residents, and regardless of differences, awareness of this fact should, according to the creators of the initiative, unite. In the era of mass migration, including those forced ones, the attitudes of locals and development of integration programme for newcomers - the recent locals are extremely important, and this requires knowledge of the history of their own society - knowledge accessible to everyone and institution, a place for views exchange and discussion opened to everyone. The museum as an institution of high credibility, as a reliable source of information, could comply to this role. My intention is to present the ideas underlying the implementation of the project, the plan as well as the measures that has already been taken.

The Idea of the Migration Museum in London

The idea of the museum of migration is not new on the international scene - in European countries like Denmark, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Luxembourg, Serbia, and around the world: in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand there are museums devoted to the subject. There is also a network of institutions, such as that founded on the initiative of UNESCO Migration Museum Network and others. One of its members, in the UK, is the charity institution 19 Princelet Street Museum of Immigration and Diversity.

In the UK, although migration is almost as old as the islands themselves, in the common understanding of history, also passed through museums, this important aspect, however, is often overlooked or ignored. There are understandable historical reasons for it: the vision of Britain as a tightly integrated and self-sufficient place played a significant role in ensuring security and common defences. Not without significance is the fact that the period of formation of national museums in Europe coincided with the age of romantic nationalism. Another thing is that although the status of the island could promote the image of “fortress built by Nature” populated by “one happy race of people”, in fact the separating sea much more often acted as a magnet. The stories of migration, diaspora and cultural exchanges did not fit into this vision of Britain. Today we also rarely remember that long before the arrival of any peoples who we traditionally tend to think as “English” (such as the Saxons) in the United Kingdom were present, for example, Africans from the ranks of the Roman army and many of them have settled permanently.

I think that the words of the former Minister of Culture Margaret Hodge perfectly reflect the philosophy of the migration museum: “we have to understand that the essence of our cultural identity is not fixed or immutable – we have always been an open society, traditional importers and exporters of talent

\[1\] Ibidem.

\[2\] Ibidem, p. 7.

\[3\] Ibidem, p. 7.


\[5\] Ibidem.
and ideas”. Talents and ideas rarely travel alone, simply, people are their carriers. Foreigners were behind many of the most significant innovations in the technology and society of the United Kingdom.

Unfavourable attitude towards immigrants, according to the analysis of studies, is a result of concerns about the negative impact of new arrivals on the economy and, more importantly, the culture; the Brits usually less fear immigrants that are their immediate neighbours than “strangers”, which they do not have contact with every day. Of course, in London, the metropolis, concerns are much smaller. Studies show that contact between groups and intercultural dialogue generates more positive or less negative attitudes toward “others”. Relaying personal experience seems to be the most effective in teaching about migration - individual stories in presenting difficult subjects. Given that museums, as has already been mentioned here, enjoy high public confidence in the transfer of knowledge, museum collections and oral stories can play a key role in helping young people that examine their attitude towards migration. Active and participatory ways of teaching as the domain of the museum and a safe space where you can discuss your concerns, also reduce hostility to newcomers. Through telling the stories of migrants, the museum could transform these “others” in more familiar neighbours and at the same time illustrate how all citizens are woven into one social structure.

**Project Plan and Challenges**

The history of migration, although unquestionably well-told in various institutions across the country, is still patchy and incomplete – there is a lack of an institution dedicated to show the whole story. Undertaken initiatives are transient, relate to specific thematic areas, cover particular movement or particular geographic regions. Proponents of the museum declare their willingness to unite existing initiatives, encourage reinterpretation and filling the gaps. Museums can help in promoting a sense of belonging. They are also increasingly a place for debate. All those things museums implement “not by reinventing themselves as agents of social policy but by returning to their core activities: collecting and interpreting the material traces of our past”. It is supposed to act as a “new archaeology of our past to reveal buried meanings”.

In the meantime, the work focuses on creating a profile of the museum, developing its availability through establishing cooperation with museums interested in exploring the subject of migration, by exhibitions and accompanying events, as well as in schools and on the internet.

The museum project at this stage does not seek to acquire collections on its own but to develop a system of organising exhibitions based on borrowing materials from various communities, and by breathing new life into what is already available in museums’ collections and “resting” in their storages.

The long-term aspiration is to see Migration Museum in physical space – finding a permanent place in London and organising the mobile component in a form of lorry with a platform so the history of migration can be moved and displayed to an audience around the country. The auditorium will find it in public places of the city centres, the lorry can easily reach out to schools or community centres, join the local artistic programmes, festivals and events, and carry the exhibitions.

The concept is that the Migration Museum would be located in a large, prestigious building and be one of the London’s attractions; it would contain a permanent exhibition, a space for temporary exhibitions, which later would drive around the country, a space for other events and library or archive. It would also have gastronomic facilities which could include in the menu migrants’ contribution in national cuisine. The museum should be aimed at the widest possible audience, not a niche market. The principal reason for the choice of the city for the permanent museum is the fact that the number of visitors in museums, galleries, historical sites and heritage centres in London, both domestic and foreign, is overwhelmingly higher than in other major centres of Great Britain. London is also undeniably in every respect the most diverse – it is inhabited by the largest population of ethnic and religious minorities in the country.

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8 Ibidem.
9 Ibidem.
11 Ibidem, p. 11.
14 Migration Museum Project, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
17 Migration Museum Project, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
One of the most important factors in this project is community involvement at all stages of development: it is to be a museum created by and for people. The strategy is to share a sense of ownership of the project; individuals and communities should be active partners of the project. The colourful website as a vivid centre of discussion and learning, with a possibility of posting user-generated content should invite to the active participation. Online presence also supports searching for partners for future cooperation. The mobile component of the museum would enable the involvement of individuals and communities on a national scale, thereby adding to the narrative their own migration stories so as to generate new layers of meaning18.

The absence of such initiatives, in the opinion of initiators of the project, can be dangerous because if the group or individual’s heritage is ignored or remains overshadowed by dominant narrative, in the long run it can result with a social discontent and the following consequences. “It is like being rubbed out of history. Rather than fostering a more cohesive society, if the heritage sector continues to underrepresent migration histories it may find it is contributing unwittingly to its fragmentation”19.

Moreover, the project meets contemporary moods – it’s up to date – visiting museums enjoy great popularity, migration is continuously a story from headlines as well as a vivid and developing area of academic study. In addition, within the increasing popularity of television programmes about finding the ancestors of known media personas and the great interest in searching for own roots, where often indigenous and exotic are closely linked, the initiative to create the museum seems to be profoundly justified.

Realisation – What Has Already Been Done

Museum activities aim to expand awareness of Britain’s heritage as a migration nation. As the originators write themselves, the products of their activities strengthen the position of the migration museum in the cultural sector, improve the initiators’ skills, measure the impact of their undertaken activities and reach the audience and also examine the ideas that will later be incorporated into the museum20.

Exhibitions

100 Images of Migration

The first exhibition was held in June 2013, when the Migration Museum teamed up with Hackney Museum and displayed the photographs from the competition conducted by “The Guardian”. Participants were sending pictures of migration with a short description of their meaning. Together they tell the story of what migration is today. The exhibition travels around the country and the hosts add photographs to it from their immediate surrounding, bringing, ipso facto, local stories. The exhibition illustrates the direction of museum’s activities – cooperation with other organisations and open attitude towards active participation of communities21.

Germans in Britain

In September 2014, in the German Historical Institute, the second exhibition was organised, this time concerning the German migration. The exhibition takes the form of banners and is accompanied by a video featuring experience of being German in Britain. Like the previous one, this exhibition also travels around the country.

Hugenots

Boughton House, or “English Versailles” hosted in August 2015 an exhibition dedicated to three centuries of life of Hugenots in the United Kingdom – a story about how the influx of skilled Hugenot immigrants influenced cultural life of the country. The exhibition was displayed in sort of its natural surroundings, as Boughton House holds a part of collection from The Buccleuch Art Collection – a permanent exhibition of Hugenot craft.

Keepsakes

Keepsakes is an interactive exhibition of personal items and family relics that keep memories about migration and identity alive. The display visited the South-bank Centre within the Adopting Britain exposition, as a part of the Changing Britain festival, that was aiming to explore contribution of the migrant groups in
an artistic landscape of the UK and opened a discussion around one of the most sensitive and important subjects.

Call me by my name: stories from Calais and beyond
The exposition was open in June 2016 in Londonewcastle Project Space in Shoreditch. It is an installation of 150 life jackets with the stories of migrants that have arrived to Europe on the boat – the individual human stories behind the current migration crisis, told through the visual arts, photography, film, sound and performance. There was work presented by a group of artists, also the refugees staying in Calais camp.

Education

Education about the heritage of migration remains in the centre of the project’s activities from the outset. “Communicating our messages to young people, and learning from them, is an ongoing priority.” One of the first activities was to get acquainted with what is already in order, to identify the curriculum and to determine where and what is missing in the teaching materials, and to fill the gaps. Details of the results of those steps are available on the website of the museum. Various kinds of activities engaging young people are the continuation. Here are a few examples of educational events:

– Learning activities, workshops and exploration in RE-THINK gallery at National Maritime Museum in Greenwich. Sessions included material from the beginning of the history of migration to the contemporary migration problems, students’ personal connections with migration and images of the migration crisis in the Mediterranean region.
– Discovering the experience of young refugees at the Southbank Centre, i.e. discussion session on forced migration and its impact on young people, as the part of WHY? What’s Happening for the Young festival.
– Moving Stories – a competition for design of the exhibition, co-organised with OCR (Oxford Cambridge and RSA). Student teams will develop plans of the project of exposition in the Migration Museum.

– Drama workshops in collaboration with Tamasha Theatre Company, in which the students of five schools create the play around personal experience of migration.
– Seminars and lecture series co-organised with the Council for At-Risk Academics, conducted by guests from the scientific world, about the influence of migrants on British intellectual life, among others: “Migrants and medicine”, “Migrants and philosophy”, “Languages of migration”, “Migration and fashion”.

The museum has teamed up with teachers and schools, and has organised a network of educators who incorporate migration related subjects to their teaching. The museum offers interactive workshops acquainting with the project and exhibitions in schools, as well as working with groups of young people from France, the United States, Germany and South Korea.

Conclusion

The project of opening the Migration Museum in the UK is, in my opinion, an extremely creative and important initiative. The circumstances in which the issue of migration is currently being discussed are very negative. The purpose of the project’s initiators is not to formulate statements that the last arrivals may be British but to teach the thinking that the ancestors of even the most deeply rooted locals, once, were also new to the land. Forgetting this fact favours the exclusive and hierarchical understanding of British identity and opens room for stigmatization of immigrants as “a threat to law and order, to job security and above all to some ill-defined but widely held notion of «Britishness».”

Our history is intimately bound up with the migration of people, in and out. We are the society we are today because of migration. Reggae and empire, chicken tikka masala and the monarchy, the dominance of the English language and the world-wide phenomenon of Premiere League: all could be said to be part of the common story of migration to and from these islands.
The ultimate objective remains the opening of British history to a wider range of influences and interpretations. This is an attempt to revise the dominant historical narrative. Not dictating a new orthodoxy, but stimulating a constructive debate; debate that isn’t an addition to the basic museum activity but is due to the nature of exhibiting and collections, of which the greatest asset is their accessibility to many interpretations. In the originators’ opinion, museums and the heritage sector are well prepared to take a greater role than is happening now.

The new museology also emphasized attempts to promote relationships between museums and source communities, where the source communities were positioned as authoritative and often controlling agents [...] One of the main ways in which museums understand their public role is the increasing practice of representing and collaborating with culturally and ethnically diverse groups.

I think that behind that project there are professionals who perfectly execute this new approach in museology, engaging various groups and individuals in cooperation but also inviting them to contribute to the museum space. I will never forget the impression of variety in British society from my first visit; people from many distant places and cultures, all gathered on the one small island where they live and create new stories. The museum is a place where they can meet, discover meanings and drive new ones. Cultural heritage is a process not a product – “[…] is «never given» to each individual, but, rather «gropingly discovered»” The Migration Museum is an interesting example of realisation of the changes in understanding museums as a dynamic zone, the museum that has become “a creative space, the space of active penetration of reality” Through its activities, it evokes an “active memory”, it allows, and even provokes these activities without yet having its own place.

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Enscoping the Chochoł. Between Folk and Literary Traditions

Bronowice Małe has become part of the history of Polish art and literature as the place of the famous wedding of poet Lucjan Rydel and Jadwiga Mikołajczyk, which Stanisław Wyspiański presented in his drama, The Wedding. The former village, once located near Kraków, is considered by literary scholars to be the cradle of Young Poland, where Polish national art emerged from folk traditions and customs. It is, however, worth asking, what is Bronowice presently, especially to its residents? Has the cultural identity of modern-day Bronovians been embalmed in Young Poland art and lost its folk character, becoming only the equivalent of the national identity of Poles?

The answer to this question may be sought in the specificity of the titular Enscoping the Chochoł (Straw-man). In the analysis of this performance, I will use the strategy used by Joseph Roach in his studies of Atlantic rim customs associated with the New Orleans celebrations of Mardi Gras, reaching not only for methodological tools of ethnology and anthropology, but above all performance.

Enscoping the Straw-man is a show that, over several dozen years, has transformed from an event accompanying the celebrations of the Rydlówka Regional Young Poland Museum into an annual performance, expressing the cultural identity of its participants. The initiators and first organisers of the event were the Rydel family and lovers of Young Poland associated with the Kraków Branch of the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society (PTTK). In the late 1960s, they took action to create a museum devoted to Young Poland and Stanisław Wyspiański’s The Wedding in the historical Rydlówka manor in Bronowice. The opening of the exhibition took place on the 21st of November 1969, on the anniversary of the famous wedding. Referring both to the historical event and literary tradition, a ceremonial covering of the rose bush growing in the manor garden with a straw sheaf was organised – the ceremony was called Enscoping the Straw-man.

The script for the ceremony on that day had not been planned in advance, and it underwent various transformations over the years. Among the most significant changes was moving the site of the Enscoping the Straw-man from the flower bed located under the windows of the wedding hall to the front courtyard of the manor. However, the performance taking place during the ceremony – covering the rose bush with a straw sheaf and a dance by children wearing Cracovian costumes – did not change. Barbara Miszczyk, a resident of Bronowice and a long-time participant of the Enscoping the Straw-man, wrote as follows about her own personal experience:

Enscoping the chochoł on the rose bush in front of the household is making contact with that other reality, in which the Rydel wedding took place, being the genesis of The Wedding and its quintessential reconstruction. The spectacle, repeated every year, gathers many visitors both from the city and from Bronowice. School children

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1 The chochoł (plural form: chochoły), roughly translated as “sheaf”, is a word describing the straw covering used to protect rosebushes from the frost. The word also has a deeper meaning in Polish culture as the “Straw-man”, an enigmatic figure from folklore. See Wyspiański Stanisław, The Wedding, trans. Noel Clark, intro. Jerzy Peterkiewicz, London 1998.


3 The marriage ceremony of Lucjan Rydel and Jadwiga Mikołajczyk took place on the 20th of November 1900, and the wedding reception in Rydlówka manor was held on the 21st of November.

4 My sincere thanks to Mrs. Barbara Miszczyk for her great kindness and support, sharing her works and source materials.

5 This is the original spelling used by the author of the text cited.
from the Bronowice primary schools, dressed in Cracovian folk costumes, accompanied by Cracovian melodies and the sound of folk songs places a straw covering on the rose bush, dancing around it, as is done in the last scene of the drama. In that moment, the great metaphor disappears [...] Later, there are performances by artists from Kraków theatres or school children. After the celebration, all the guests gathered eat kołacz cake. The magic of the November night, the second night of the Rydel wedding, flows down onto Rydlówka, illuminated by lamps and candles.

Broadly speaking, three groups take part in the Ensconcing the Straw-man. The first and most active are the Bronovians, who have lived here for generations – descendants of Bronowice peasants and wedding guests portrayed in Wyspiański’s drama. As part of the second group, I could the lovers of Young Poland and guests-audience members interested in the spectacle, visiting Rydlówka on the day of the ceremony. At the intersection of these two groups is the third – new residents of Bronowice, integrating with the local community, for whom Rydlówka and its heritage are only just beginning to permeate their identity. In my deliberations, I am interested mainly in the participants of the spectacle who belong to the first group, and it is to their cultural identity that I will refer.

“The picture of the world – my world – is changing, how do I keep event just the memory of it?” This nostalgic reflection was the opening of the memoirs of Maria Rydlowa, the senior of the Rydel family, the oldest resident of the Rydlówka manor and custodian of the museum it housed. The longing for the vanishing images of the older residents – before whose eyes the rural patches transformed into paved estates and wooden huts into concrete apartment blocks – is not surprising. The inevitable process of urbanisation of the area began with the incorporation of the villages into the administrative structures of the city. The village of Bronowice Małe officially ceased to exist – today, it is part of the Bronowice 6th District. The economic administrative and economic changes, and especially the collapse of the agricultural economy, contributed to changes in the needs and lifestyle of the residents of Bronowice. The resulting striving for modernity, increasing pace of life and the influx of new residents without roots in Bronowice pushed the rural traditions to the margins of collective memory. One of the last harvests took place here in 1997, but their significance for the local community was completely marginal. This agrarian culture, once so important to the sense of identity, and the customs, sayings and beliefs associated with it, began to lose their context and were in danger of completely disappearing from the life of the local population.

The customs and rituals that prevailed in Bronowice were similar to those practiced in other rural areas near Kraków. They were still well known here long after the incorporation of the area into the city. The knowledge was not affected

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6 A traditional ritual wedding cake.
7 Miszczyk Barbara, Geneza i powstanie Regionalnego Muzeum Młodej Polski Rydlówka w Bronowicach Małych, p. 12, unpublished material.
8 Rydlowa Maria, Moje Bronowice, mój Kraków, Kraków 2013, p. 7.
9 This happened in 1941 during the German Occupation. Later, on the 25th of October 1948, the Council of Ministers issued a regulation incorporating Bronowice Małe into Kraków.
10 The Bronowice 6th district includes the former village of Bronowice Małe. The neighbouring Bronowice Wielkie, which was a separate town, is part of the Prądnik Biały 4th District. In this text, using the name Bronowice, I will be referring only to Bronowice Małe.
by the closing of the "goose market"\textsuperscript{12}, the old tavern, the forge, or the wooden huts. Today, there are still a few of them left, but the question still stands: "what will be the fate [...] of the Bronowice monuments? Are they doomed to inevitable destruction, or can the interests of city development be reconciled with respect for tradition?"\textsuperscript{13}. Despite the lack of a programme of folk historical monument protection and care for the cultural space of Bronowice, their heritage has survived to this day and continues to provide the local community with a sense of identity and a continuity of existence.

The reason for this was certainly the linking of Bronowice with the art of Young Poland. The phenomenon of \textit{chłopomania} (peasant-mania) – a fascination with the countryside, the simple and happy life of its residents – contributed significantly to the consolidation of the local folklore. Ludwik de Laveaux, Włodzimierz Tetmajer, Tadeusz Noskowski, Aleksander Gierymski and other artists made the village near Kraków famous, painting portraits of its residents and the Bronowice landscapes. The genre scenes from the daily life of the Bronovians, captured on canvas – such as \textit{Harvest and Blessing of the Food in Bronowice} by Włodzimierz Tetmajer – stimulate the collective memory of the residents to this day. The painting \textit{Blessing of the Food in Bronowice}, painted in 1897, became the impulse to recreate the old custom of wearing Cracovian costumes for the blessing of the food on Holy Saturday. Relationships with Young Polish art and literary tradition provide an original aspect to the local traditions and for modern Bronovians, they are tangible proof of the value of their intangible heritage, the prestige of which raises and confirms its consolidation in the works of outstanding artists.

However, it is not the artistic activities that are the expression of the cultural identity of the Bronovians, but the intangible heritage, with only its colourful elements being moved into the realm of art. The most noteworthy examples are the Bronowice wedding customs, the observation of which led to the idea for \textit{The Wedding}. Wyspiański based his drama on an authentic place, event and its participants. He raised the meaning of the Bronowice traditions to the status of a symbol of Polishness and set the Bronowice peasant on the pedestal of art. His drama, showing the essence of the intangible heritage of Bronowice became the mainstay of national identity, but above all, it became a literary record of the traditions of the local community.

Literature and paintings have become a permanent, but deformed by the requirements of art, record of the Bronowice customs. In the above context, it does not seem surprising that the Bronovians, despite the change in the living conditions from rural to urban, have not forgotten their traditions. They have preserved the memory of them by passing them down through generations and by referring to the works of famous artists. In the 1960s, along with the opening of the museum in Rydlówka, efforts began to preserve the local folklore, searching for its traces mainly in the art of Young Poland. It is significant that the initiatives undertaken are mainly bottom-up and are based on the needs of the local community. Noteworthy is the large number of NGOs and completely informal groups currently operating in Bronowice, the purpose of which is the protection of the intangible heritage of Bronowice.

One of the oldest organisations is the Society of Friends of Bronowice [Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Bronowic], founded in 1995, the main objectives of which are: “spreading knowledge about Bronowice, cultivating traditions, care for the condition of and protection of historical monuments and memorabilia in Bronowice, inspiring and supporting of all initiatives of social and cultural use”\textsuperscript{14}. The Society publishes the \textit{Bronowice Historical and Literary Papers [Bronowickie Zeszyty Historyczno-Literackie]}, supports the organisation of local celebrations, integrates residents and cares for the preservation of collective memory. Since 2014, the Society has been carrying out the Bronowice Social Archive [Bronowickie Archiwum Społeczne] project, which collects old photographs, the recollections of the oldest residents, as well as local songs and stories\textsuperscript{15}. The basic and most effective form of protection of intangible heritage is to pass it on from generation to generation. This takes place in the family homes in Bronowice, while institutionally, the effort is undertaken primarily by the teachers of the Lucjan Rydel Primary School No. 50 and the Włodzimierz Tetmajer Primary School No. 97. Their students actively participate in the cultivation of Bronowice customs,

\textsuperscript{12} “Goose market” – the local name for the no longer extant pond located at the junction of Pod Strzęczą and Włodzimierza Tetmajera Streets.


\textsuperscript{15} Bronowice Social Archive, http://archiwumbronowickie.pl/ [accessed 28.06.2016].
especially during local celebrations like the Ensconcing the Straw-man, which they attend not only with their teachers but also their parents and grandparents.

The 21st of November is a local holiday for the Bronovians. They call the Ensconcing the Straw-man a celebration, a demonstration, a spectacle or finally a custom, or a tradition. From the perspective of performance studies, the Ensconcing the Straw-man is a type of performance art. It is a performative action which creates a new reality. The central figure is the Straw-man, which determines the dramatic course of the action of the show. The Straw-man has multiple connotations strictly associated with farming, with the change of the seasons and with the concern for Mother Earth, which provides food. In the early 20th century, many chocholy stood in the Bronowitz fields, and every peasant knew how to "weave" them. In literary tradition, the chochol is not only a bunch of straw that protects plants from rain and cold, but above all, it is the Straw-man – a key figure from a national drama and a not completely understood symbol. On the one hand, it can be regarded as the embodiment of death and infirmity, on the other hand, it can be a symbol of rebirth and regeneration, since it covered a rose bush that, although dead and dormant, will be reborn in the spring.

The Ensconcing the Straw-man consists of linked elements of folk and literary tradition. This combination creates an enormous amount of energy that permeates the spectacle. During the Ensconcing the Straw-man, the customs of the once suburban village are revived, the Bronowice kolacz cakes are baked, straw is woven, members of the local community put on their Cracovian costumes, and the children prepare an artistic programme composed of folk songs and scenes from Wyspiański’s The Wedding.

The nearly 50-year-old Bronowice tradition of celebrating the day of the Ensconcing the Straw-man has partly become a new Bronovian tradition. To some extent, it is what Eric Hobsbawm called “invented tradition.” This Bronowice tradition consists of actions of a symbolic nature, which refer to the past, suggesting its continuation, and serve to strengthen the collective identity of the participants16. These are, however, actions undertaken by the Bronovians on a voluntary basis, resulting from their inner need to express their actual cultural identity. Thus, the specificity of the Ensconcing the Straw-man as an invented tradition is more fully reflected in the definition of Wojciech Burszta, who uses this term to define


Once it gets dark, the celebration moves into the dance hall for dancing and conversations among the bustle of the Bronowice housewives.

The location where the Ensconcing the Straw-man takes place is the historical Rydlówka manor, built in 1897, which is a space of still living history, a specific part of the cultural area of Bronowice. It is at the same time a museum and the home of the descendants of Lucjan Rydel. It is, according to the theory of Diana Taylor, a place of the collision of the "archive" and "repertoire". The "repertoire" – "a treasury, an inventory" – is a kind of embodied memory, inscribed in movement, in speech, in everything that is intangible. Taylor uses the term "archive" to define the places connected with memory that exists in the form of artefacts and documents that allow for the storage of knowledge, but separate its source from the subject. The combination of these two forms of memory creates a place that allows for the storage and playback of specific needs, customs and traditions. The Rydlówka and the rose bush on which the chochoł is placed is such a space, in which Bronowice traditions can be legitimised, strengthened and celebrated. Rydlówka as a place for the depositing of collecting memory ensures the survival of the Bronowice heritage.

In turn, Ensconcing the Straw-man is the result of the described collision of embodied memory (repertoire) with source memory (archive). Every autumn, a unique performance takes place in front of the Rydlówka, which is defined by Richard Schechner as "twice-behaved behaviour". In this sense, the performance is a kind of social construct and something simultaneously real and imaginary. This does not preclude interpreting it as the aforementioned invented tradition. Ensconcing the Straw-man is real, because it is set in a place of memory, refers to the once important cycle of seasons and uses local traditions, but it is also imaginary, because it creates a completely new value – a spectacle that allows for the renewal of folk customs association with wearing the Cracovian costume, singing dialectal songs, weaving the chochoł and baking the kolacz cakes.

The Bronowice performance highlights the tensions between the past of the old village and the present-day modern district of Kraków. Visible are the mutual relationships and differences between literary tradition as the discourse being passed on and folk tradition, which is publicly performed by the participants of the spectacle. Ensconcing the Straw-man in its dramatized form allows for the preservation of memory and passing on of knowledge of intangible heritage connected with the Rydlówka. It is a constant, improvised game, in which memory and imagination merge and form one. The performance embodies the memory of the agrarian customs of the old village, wedding customs, singing folk songs together and wearing Cracovian costumes. It is an invented tradition, which functions as a form of social protection of intangible heritage, allows for the maintaining of Bronowice traditions and the preservation of the cultural identity of the local community, rooted in both folk and literary traditions, which is an important differentiator of the intangible cultural heritage of the Bronovians.

The Rydlówka museum has been closed since 2014, but despite this, the Ensconcing the Straw-man still takes place in front of the manor. During the last celebration, on the 21st of November 2015, the hope for once again revitalising the site emerged. An agreement of intent was signed between the Rydel family and the director of the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, Michał Niezabitowski, pertaining to the taking over the care for the manor. In the future, the basic goals and tasks of the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków will primarily include, in addition to conducting museum operations, ensuring the protection of the intangible heritage of Bronowice by maintaining the role of Rydlówka as a place for the culmination of social energy. This should be understood not only as implementing the rules contained in the UNESCO Convention, but also a mission of operating a modern museum institution, which will function both as "archive" and "repertoire".

Text translated from Polish language

REFERENCES


22 The only year the celebration did not take place was 1997, due to the mourning after the death of Anna Rydel.

23 Inauguration speech by the chairman of the Programme Committee Michał Niezabitowski during the 1st Congress of Polish Museum Workers, 23 April 10156 in Łódź.
• Miszczyk Barbara, *Geneza i powstanie Regionalnego Muzeum Młodej Polski “Rydlówka” w Bronowicach Małych*, unpublished material.
• Młodzianowski Stanisław, *Żniwa w Bronowicach*, „Bronowickie Zeszyty Historyczno-Literackie” 1998, no. 8, p. 3-5.
• Rydlowa Maria, *Moje Bronowice, mój Kraków*, Kraków 2013.

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BEARERS OF INTANGIBLE HERITAGE OF THE CITY
An Overview of the Slovene Register of the Intangible Cultural Heritage with Special Emphasis on the Elements in Slovene Urban Areas

From the Ratification of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) to the Establishment of the Register of Living Cultural Heritage

The Republic of Slovenia ratified the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) (hereinafter Convention) in 2008. The Convention requires the signatory states to put in place adequate measures to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage (hereinafter ICH) at the national level. The Republic of Slovenia implemented these measures in the Slovene legislation with the Cultural Heritage Protection Act (hereinafter CHPA) in 2008. The CHPA defines the intangible cultural heritage as intangible properties, such as practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills, and the related movable heritage and cultural spaces (where such heritage is presented or expressed), which are transmitted by communities, groups and in some cases individuals from generation to generation, by their continuous interpretation as a response to their environment and history.1

In 2008 Slovenia adopted the term “living cultural heritage” to refer to the ICH, but the term has proved inadequate, and has been misunderstood and misleading in some cases. The term indeed suggested to the bearers of the ICH that it also included elements like the natural heritage2. Since the term was introduced, the aspirations for changing it advocated in order to bring it in line with the internationally common terminology that is closer to the public. In April 2016 an amendment to the CHPA was adopted, which introduced terminology and some other changes (“intangible cultural heritage” instead of “living cultural heritage”), while the fundamental principles of the Act remained unchanged3.

The CHPA set up the public service of the national Coordinator for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereinafter Coordinator). The main tasks and duties of the Coordinator, as defined in the CHPA, are to identify, document, research, evaluate, and interpret the ICH; to coordinate and independently prepare the proposals of elements of the ICH for entry in the national Register; to advise the bearers of the ICH on its integral safeguarding; to coordinate the work of institutions working in the field of the ICH and to perform other tasks related to the safeguarding of the ICH as commissioned by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia4. Since 2011 the tasks of the national Coordinator are carried out by the Slovene Ethnographic Museum.

As with the movable and immovable heritage, the CHPA distinguishes between two categories of the ICH - heritage and monuments. For the purposes of keeping records a national register of the ICH was set up in 2008, which includes elements of the ICH in Slovenia. Initiatives for entry in the Register can be

2 Simonič mentions that the term “living heritage” was introduced to emphasize its association with people, not things or objects; Simonič Peter, Nesnovna dediščina varovanih območij narave, „Etnolog“ 2010, vol. 20, p. 105.
submitted by anyone (individuals, groups of interest, societies, institutions). The initiatives are collected by the Coordinator who for the purpose of the evaluating the initiatives established the Working Group of members of different institutions\(^5\), who meet three times a year.

Once the element is identified as suitable for entry, the Coordinator starts to prepare the proposal for inscription. The proposal for entry is prepared by the Coordinator in collaboration with experts from the individual fields and submitted to the Ministry of Culture, which formally concludes the process by entering the element in the Register. While the Coordinator has to manoeuvre between the bearers, the professional discipline, and the competent offices\(^6\), it constantly has to deal with issues that are mainly related to professionally assessing heritage and its bearers for the Register (whether an element is suitable for entry, which bearers are suitable for recording, etc.)\(^7\).

The Škofja Loka Passion Play was the first element listed in the Register, which was inscribed in 2008, and since then the list is regularly complemented with new entries. At the beginning of June 2016, the list included 52 elements and 151 identified bearers of the ICH\(^8\).

We refer to an element as a monument of the ICH when it has been professionally assessed as such, and proclaimed as “intangible cultural heritage of special local or national importance”\(^9\). The CHPA refers to the ICH as a monument in cases which involve an element that “represents an expressive achievement of creativity or a valuable contribution to cultural diversity, is a significant part of life within the territory in the Republic of Slovenia or its regions, represents a significant source for understanding historical processes, occurrences, and their connection with the present culture”\(^10\).

For the bearers of the ICH the proclamation means “official acknowledgment of expert evaluations and recognition of the social importance of the heritage for the state or local community”\(^11\). The proclamation procedure has proved to be complex and an unnecessary step; the principal questionable issue in terms of public perception are the listed protection measures, which are an integral part of the nomination procedure for inscription into the UNESCO Representative List.

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\(^1\) The Working Group is composed of representatives of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, regional museums, the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia.

\(^2\) In Lukić-Krstanović’s opinion the professional discipline has found itself in an ambivalent position where it is simultaneously, promoter and critic of the heritage, Management and Production of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Examples in Serbia, „Traditions“ 2012, vol. 41, no. 2, p. 230-231.


\(^4\) The Škofja Loka Passion Play, the first element listed in the Register, proclaimed ICH of special national importance and nominated for inclusion in the UNESCO Representative List, photo: Anja Jerin 2015.

\(^5\) The Working Group is composed of representatives of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, regional museums, the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia.

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\(^8\) The Škofja Loka Passion Play, the first element listed in the Register, proclaimed ICH of special national importance and nominated for inclusion in the UNESCO Representative List, photo: Anja Jerin 2015.


\(^11\) The Škofja Loka Passion Play, the first element listed in the Register, proclaimed ICH of special national importance and nominated for inclusion in the UNESCO Representative List, photo: Anja Jerin 2015.

\(^12\) According to the CHPA the monuments of ICH were proclaimed as a living masterpiece of national importance. CHPA, art. 3, http://www.pisrs.si/Pis.web/pregledPredpisa?id=ZAKO4144# [accessed 25.04.2016]. With the changes of the Act, the monuments of ICH are proclaimed as ICH of special local or national importance. CHPA-1D, art. 2, http://www.pisrs.si/Pis.web/pregledPredpisa?id=ZAK07072 [accessed 6.06.2016].
of the proclamation decree. Although well-meant and aimed at the integrated safeguarding of the ICH\textsuperscript{12}, they actually cause more harm than good, and this is particularly reflected in the determination of restrictive protection measures, which may lead to “freezing the heritage”\textsuperscript{13}. We must be aware that “the intangible cultural heritage is not something static or unchangeable, but living material”\textsuperscript{14} which is shaped and developed by its bearers.

The Škofja Loka Passion Play was the first element to be proclaimed as ICH of special national importance (2012). By the beginning of May 2016, a total of 8 elements had been proclaimed as such\textsuperscript{15}. Under Slovene legislation, the proclamation of elements of the ICH as ICH of special national importance is a necessary step before preparing nominations for inclusion in UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity\textsuperscript{16}.

Elements of the Slovene ICH from Urban Areas in the National Register

Ethnology is viewed in Slovenia as the discipline that most thoroughly and systematically classifies and explores cultural phenomena and universal ethnological issues with its systematics\textsuperscript{17}. In the past, it was considered a discipline, which mainly dealt with the material, social, and spiritual culture of the rural Slovene population\textsuperscript{18}. An important turn in the interest of the researchers occurred in

\textsuperscript{12} CHPA, art. 20, http://www.pisrs.si/Pis.web/pregledPredpisa?id=ZAKO4144# [accessed 25.04.2016].
\textsuperscript{13} See Židov Nena, Nesnovna kulturna dediščina Slovenije... op. cit., p. 156-157.
\textsuperscript{17} Hazler Vito, Nesnovna kulturna dediščina Slovenije... [in:] Nesnovna kulturna dediščina, eds. Damjana Prešeren, Nataša Gorenc, Ljubljana 2005, p. 5. Ethnological systematics classifies cultural phenomena in three sections: material, social and spiritual culture, see Slavec Gradišnik Ingrid, Etnološka sistematika [in:] Slovenski etnološki leksikon, ed. Angelos Baš, Ljubljana 2004, p. 121.
\textsuperscript{18} Repič Jaka, Paradigmatske usmeritve urbanske etnologije oziroma antro-

the 1960s\textsuperscript{19}, when the first studies on themes associated with living in cities appeared\textsuperscript{20}. In ethnology “urban researches /... / quickly proved to be an important element of understanding the historical and contemporary cultural forms and ways of life”\textsuperscript{21}.

According to the Slovene legislation, intangible cultural heritage is entered in the Register “together with the cultural environment which supports such heritage and provides for the realization thereof”\textsuperscript{22}. It is part of the way of life in urban\textsuperscript{23} (SSKJ=town), as well as rural\textsuperscript{24} (SSKJ=countryside) areas, while some elements appear in both environments. To date, the Register includes some elements which are present in urban areas, among others the Škofja Loka Passion Play, Making Palm Sunday bunches in Ljubno, Shovetide custom in Kostanjevica na Krki, Sava Valley stelovanje\textsuperscript{25} and Door-to-door rounds of Kurenti\textsuperscript{26}.

An example of an element of the ICH that occurs only in one location and has only one bearer is the event Walk on the Path of Remembrance and Comradeship, which was entered in the Register in May 2016. It is the ICH, defined

\textsuperscript{20} See e.g. Kremenšek Slavko, Ljudsko naselje Zelena jamá kot etnološki problem, Ljubljana 1970.
\textsuperscript{21} Repič Jaka, op. cit., p. 32.
\textsuperscript{22} Rules on the Cultural Heritage Register, art. 9, http://www.uradni-list.si/1/objava.jsp?urlid=200966stevilka=3056 [accessed 25.04.2016].
\textsuperscript{25} The Sava Valley stelovanje is an annual tournament in Savlje, a part of Ljubljana, which involves games in which horseback riders in motion have to break a small barrel fastened to a pole with a metal club; Židov Nena, Posavske stelovanje. Opis enote žive kulturne dediščine 2012, http://www.mk.gov.si/fileadmin/mizks.gov.si/pageuploads/Kulturna_dediscina/REGISTER/RZD/Rzd-02_00016.pdf [accessed 18.07.2016].
\textsuperscript{26} The Door-to-door rounds of the imposing masked figures known as Kurenti, which are the most numerous traditional Shovetide figures in Slovenia, is a Shovetide custom on the Pruji and Drava plains, in the Haloze hills and in the Slovenske gorice area. The Kurent is believed that it drives away winter and invites spring into the countryside; Pukl Adela, Brence Andrej, Obhodi kurentov. Opis enote žive kulturne dediščine 2014, http://www.mk.gov.si/fileadmin/mk.gov.si/pageuploads/Ministrstvo/Razvidi/RKD_Ziva/Rzd-02_00006.pdf [accessed 18.07.2016].
by the existence of a certain area that serves to preserve the city’s memory and strengthen its identity. Below are my views on this heritage in the light of the understanding of the historical development of the phenomenon and the issues we faced in preparing the proposal for entry in the national Register.

**Walk on the Path of Remembrance and Comradeship – ICH of the City of Ljubljana**

During the Second World War, specifically between the end of January and February 23, 1942, the Italian occupying forces surrounded the city of Ljubljana with a barbed wire fence, set up guardhouses and bunkers in several places, arranged 11 checkpoints, and divided the city into individual zones. The purpose of the fence was “to separate the city from /.../ the countryside, to disrupt the leadership of the Partisan Army, and prevent its provisioning and the influx of new fighters”.

The fence, which surrounded the city for a total of 1,170 days, until the 9th of May 1945, intruded into the life of individuals, families, and the city itself. In memory of life in occupied Ljubljana, its citizens, and the city’s liberation, walks have been held along the route of the former fence since 1946. The first fully organized walk, called the *Partisan Walk along the Fence of Occupied Ljubljana*, was held in the context of the First Slovenia festival of Physical Culture on the 23rd of June 1957. This first event had the character of a competition between teams of participants running with backpacks and guns.

Nowadays, the *Walk along the Fence*, as the event is formally called, is a much attended annual recreational and sports event with a deeper meaning of transmitting the knowledge about the past events to younger generations, which is organized by the City Municipality of Ljubljana; it has “the dimension of a mass festival” and is of “remarkable symbolic and memorial importance”. On the Thursday, Friday, and Saturday preceding May 9th, when the end of the Second World War is commemorated all over Europe, it takes the form of a recreational walk along the memorial path, also called the *Remembrance and Comradeship Path*, and a competition of teams of three runners. The path is 32.5 km long and passes through the neighbourhoods that surround the city centre, connecting 8 checkpoints. The participants can join the Walk wherever they want, walk the entire route of the former fence, or just a section of it. Thursday is reserved for the walk of children from Ljubljana’s kindergartens, Friday for the pupils of primary and secondary schools, and on Saturday, the walk is open to all recreational participants and runners. Along with the number of participants in the walk, which increases every year, the need to arrange the path also changed. In the 1980s, youths and many volunteers arranged the path, planted trees, and set up monuments. The present appearance of the path, featuring numerous signposts, information boards, and floor signs, dates from 1985 or the 40th anniversary of the city’s liberation, when it was also proclaimed a historical monument of local importance.

31 *Bogataj Janez, op. cit.*, p. 27.
32 At the time of the former Yugoslavia, participation in the recreation walk was “compulsory for the pupils, scholars and students of Ljubljana and for many employees; after Slovenia gained independence, the event lost its socio-political significance, which in Yugoslavia strengthened the country’s then ideological direction”; Židov Nena, *Nesnovna kulturna dediščina v Sloveniji*, op. cit. Nowadays the recreational walk is joined by people from Ljubljana and other parts of Slovenia. They join as individuals, groups, political groups, and societies.
33 In 1957 there were 370 participants (Jamnik Polona, *Pot ob žici*, unpublished graduation thesis, Faculty of Education, University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana 2014, p. 29) and their number has constantly increased. In 2015 over 30,000 people participated (http://www.pohod.si/Udelezeba.aspx [accessed 6.05.2016]), in 2016 over 42,000 (as reported by several media) people participated in the walk or competition. See more about the number of participants and the event from 1957 to 1992 in Jamnik Polona, *op. cit.*, p. 29-36.

23 *Ibidem*, p. 8-10.
We can certainly say that the importance of the Walk changed for its participants in accordance with their changing generations. In its first years, the event was heavily charged with shaping the identity of the city and its inhabitants, and an expression of respect for all those involved in the war events. Nowadays the focus is on safeguarding and passing on the memory of past events to the younger generation in the context of promoting a healthy lifestyle and care of the environment. The importance of the event is also reflected in that the public is informed about current events, an activity that has been part of the accompanying programme in recent years.

35 In 2016 Ljubljana is the Green Capital of Europe and this brings with it some obligations for the city, e.g. the organisation of Zero Waste events. The 60th Walk was dedicated to this theme: along the route many containers for waste separation were placed, as well as 8 mobile tap water stations for the participants where they were able to fill their water bottles.

36 This year the accompanying programme was organised for the fourth time by the Amnesty International. Under the slogan “Watch a refugee - see a human being” it included events and printed material intended for different generations of the public, informing them on the refugee crisis in Europe.

In September 2015, the Coordinator received an initiative for listing the Walk in the Register as ICH. It was prepared by Janez Polajnar, MA, curator for the intangible cultural heritage at the City Museum of Ljubljana and a member of the Working Group of the Coordinator. The initiative was discussed by the members of the Working Group in November 2015 and they identified it as suitable for listing in the Register. This was followed by the preparation of a proposal for entry and collecting the necessary documentation.

When entering elements in the Register it is necessary to classify the phenomenon of ICH in one of the domains defined by the legislation. In order to emphasize the importance of this heritage and its primary function - to safeguard the memory of the wartime events in Ljubljana – it was classified as Traditions and Customs, which can be defined as “fields of human cultures and ways of life that are closely linked with people's attitudes to the world, various forms of beliefs, emotions, and affiliation to their social environment or community”.

Continuing the preparation of the proposal, we were faced with the question who to define as the bearer(s) of the heritage that is to be listed in the Register as an individual, group, or community. It is important that the bearers themselves are aware of the importance of the heritage, that they live with it, and pass it on from generation to generation. With its active involvement each generation is responsible for passing on the elements. This is also the opinion of Simonič, who writes that “we live the intangible heritage and thus establish a permanent dialogue with the past, ourselves, and in fact the essence of our own culture.”

When it was necessary to enter the bearers of the element, which is only present in Ljubljana, it was decided to enter the heritage as present in one location and with a single identifiable bearer – the City Municipality of Ljubljana, as the stakeholder that connects all the citizens and has been the organizer and financier of the event from the beginning, and the main promoter of its transfer to the younger generations. As its identified bearer, the city can therefore be assigned the function of the manager of the heritage; in the future it will thus depend on the city whether the Walk will take place in an organised form, or whether the people of Ljubljana will walk the Remembrance and Comradeship Path in their own interest in the period prior to 9th of May.

37 Bogataj Janez, Šege in navade [in:] Nesnovna kulturna dediščina, op. cit., p. 17.
38 Simonič Peter, op. cit., p. 105.
This year, when the 60th Walk was held, the whole city of Ljubljana lived with the spirit of the expectation of the Event. Before the Walk several events were organised for its promotion. A number of institutions, which view the heritage from different points, were included in the creation of the accompanying programme. As the entry of the element in the Register coincided with the days of the accompanying opening events (the element was entered in the Register on May 3, 2016), it attracted much more exposure in the media compared to earlier entries, as the entry in the Register was reported by the Slovenian Press Agency, national television and radio, daily newspapers and numerous web portals.

Final Thoughts

Irrespective of whether an element of the ICH is present in urban or rural areas, it is essential that its bearers identify with it, because passing on the heritage to the younger generation, its further development and survival depend on them. As far as the here presented ICH of the city of Ljubljana is concerned, there is no fear that it may fall into oblivion, because the number of participants in the event increases from year to year; in innovative and entertaining ways new contents are added, as well as themes related to the city that are closer to the younger generations, thus safeguarding the memory of the historical events during the Second World War. This is an example of the ICH, which through its existence and transmission has become anchored in people’s awareness and contributed to shaping the identity of Ljubljana. From the perspective of different disciplines, the presented heritage element of the city of Ljubljana is often the theme of diverse researches and interest from experts, heritage lovers, and students of different directions.

We may then conclude that the interest in the ICH in Slovenia has constantly increased in recent years. This is mainly reflected in the increased number of applications received for entering elements and their bearers in the Register, the increased interest in the proclamation of individual elements as ICH of special importance, and the preparation of nominations for inclusion in the UNESCO Representative List. The principal task for us researchers in the course of safeguarding the ICH is to record its status at a chosen time, document it, follow its development, and treat it in accordance with the expectations and wishes of the bearers; this is also the primary objective of the activities of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in the role of the national Coordinator for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Slovenia.

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39 The Walk along the Fence was the theme of several exhibitions that opened in the beginning of 2016: “A Passion called the Walk” in the Kresija Gallery, a photographic exhibition Remembrance and Comradeship Path in Krakovski nasip, “Ljubljana surrounded by the barbed wire fence (1942-1945)” in the atrium of the City Museum of Ljubljana; many events were organised (discussions at the Vodnik Homestead, where a photographic exhibition was installed), http://www.zelenipestan.si/pohod.html [accessed 6.05.2016], brochures, leaflets and other printed material were published; the Kamra web portal published a collection of photographs entitled “The Path along the Fence”, http://www.kamra.si/digitalne-zbirke/item/pot-ob-zici.html [accessed 8.05.2016].

40 The organisers included the Green Ring Society, Department of Culture of the City Municipality of Ljubljana, Museums and Galleries of the City of Ljubljana, Timing Ljubljana, Public Institute Ljubljana Tourism, Ljubljana City Library, Vodnik Homestead.

41 See e.g. Jamnik Polona, op. cit.; Magajna Ana, PST – Pot spominov in tovarništv: zgodovinski spomenik, spomenik oblikovane narave in največja javna zelena površina v Ljubljani, unpublished seminar paper, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana 2010.
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Nena Židov | Slovene Ethnographic Museum, Ljubljana

Sava Valley Štehvanje.
Intangible Cultural Heritage of Ljubljana

Introduction

Sava Valley štehvanje is a tournament involving game in which horseback riders in full gallop try to break a small wooden barrel, fastened to a pole, with a metal club. štehvanje is organized each year in Savlje, a part of Ljubljana. The preparations for the game, which is played according to written rules, begin about two weeks before the event, when the lads of Savlje, Kleče and Ježica prepare the course and practice; a couple of days before the event they set up maypoles. They began to issue a bulletin in 2004, publishing the annual programme of events, rules of the game, scoring system, plan of the course, and list of participants. Every year they also print posters inviting people to attend the event.

As the game is organized by the settlements of Savlje, Kleče, and Ježica, which are now part of Ljubljana – before the Second World War they were suburban villages along the Sava River – the organizers called the event the Sava Valley štehvanje. The game was entered under this name in the national Register of intangible cultural heritage in 2012.1 The initiative for entry that was submitted

to the commission which decides on entries in the register raised a number of questions. These concerned above all the issue of the transfer of the heritage element to a new environment and its folklorisation. As the criteria for entry provide, among others, that elements, which have been preserved by their bearers for at least fifty years, are suitable for entry, the proposal for entry was accepted.

Štehvanje is a custom that came to Ljubljana from the Slovene minority in the Gail Valley in Austria. They demonstrated it in Ljubljana for the first time during the Congress of Ljubljana in 1821; lads from Ježica performed it for the first time in Trnovo in Ljubljana at the Folklore Festival in 1937. After the Second World War villagers from neighbouring Savlje and Kleče joined in the game and today they consider štehvanje part of their local traditions and identity as much as Ježica. In this article I will explain how the game became part of the intangible cultural heritage of Ljubljana, its significance for its bearers, and who is responsible for its safeguarding, research, documentation, and presentation.

The Transfer of Štehvanje From the Gail Valley to Ježica, Ljubljana

In the Slovene ethnic territory štehvanje has a long tradition in the Slovene villages of the Gail Valley in Carinthia, Austria, where it also associated with the dance under the lime tree (visoki rej – high dance). The first detailed description of štehvanje was published in the Klagenfurt journal Carinthia in 1813 by a native from the Gail Valley, the Slovene linguist and poet Urban Jarnik. In the Gail Valley the custom is connected with the local church’s Patron Saint’s Day or Pentecost in some villages, while in others it has turned into a tourist event. In Bistrica na Zilji/Freistritz and der Gail, for instance, štehvanje is organised on Pentecost and has become the most famous folklore event in this part of Carinthia. The origin of štehvanje is not quite clear; according to Carinthian folk tradition it is connected with the Turkish incursions and the barrel on the pole represents the heads of Turks, while others see štehvanje as a rural version of quintain, a knights game.

In 1934 the Institute for Musical Folklore (today the Institute of Ethnomusicology), was founded in Ljubljana, headed by France Marolt (1891–1951). In 1935 Marolt started to organize folklore festivals in Ljubljana, in which he wanted to present reconstructions of various customs. For the first year he decided to present “three customs from the Gail Valley: a wedding, štehvanje, and visoki rej (high dance)”, to which he also dedicated his study. To perform štehvanje in Ljubljana he needed horses and skilled horsemen, and therefore invited young men from Ježica to participate. In 1935, led by France Marolt and Janko Zwitter from Zahomec in the Gail Valley, the lads prepared for the game for a week, but did...
not participate in the folklore festival because it coincided with the crop harvest. Marolt thus presented štehvanje with military horses from Ljubljana and six horsemen from Carinthia. The lads from Ježica were apparently so enthused by the preparations for the game that they performed it in Gorenjska national costumes in Ježica in 1936. They imitated the Gail Valley štehvanje, but separated the event from church celebrations, and wrote their own rules for the game. The focus was much more on the competitive aspect, and they also changed the roles of some participants and introduced new elements. A year later, the Ježica lads demonstrated the game as part of the 20th anniversary of the Educational Society of Trnovo in Ljubljana in front of the local church, and were enthusiastically cheered by many visitors from Ljubljana.

Štehvanje in Ljubljana After the Second World War

Janko Snoj from Ježica, a pre-war participant in the game, and the Savlje-Kleče Cultural Society deserve most credit for the restart of štehvanje after the Second World War. The society had a folklore group, which began practicing for the first štehvanje after the war, and the game was performed in Savlje in 1953. The lads from Ježica were joined by their peers from neighbouring Savlje and Kleče. Despite tendencies to adopt introduce costumes, ritual songs, and dances from the Gail Valley in order to make the game a faithful copy of the Gail Valley štehvanje, the lads adhered to their own rules, but they were complemented, changed, and adapted to the evolving social, economic, political, and cultural circumstances where necessary.

From 1953 to 2015 the štehvanje game was held almost every year, and the group participated with presentations of the game in various events in Ljubljana. In 1959, for instance, the game was held in Tivoli Park as part of the Ljubljana Festival; their performance was commented by a presenter, who also provided information on the game’s origin and its course, in 1969 they performed štehvanje in Ljubljana as part of the annual “Peasant wedding” event; in 2001 they participated in the Erasmus Knights’ Tournament in Predjama Castle. In 1960, the game was presented opposite the Ljubljana Stadium for the first time to celebrate the holiday of the Municipality of Ljubljana-Bežigrad, and this was repeated in the following years, but the game was then staged in Kleče or Savlje. In 1984, their performance of štehvanje was honoured with the Award of the Tourist Association of Slovenia.

The Present Course of štehvanje

Since 1991, štehvanje has been organized by the Savlje-Kleče Farmers’ Society, joined by the volunteer fire brigade of Ježica and many residents of different generations from Savlje, Kleče, and Ježica. The organising committee is responsible for the event’s “wider context”, i.e. finding sponsors, obtaining the necessary permits, insuring the horses, competitors and visitors, the event’s security, the presence of a physician and veterinarian, the organisation of the party, etc. The participating lads are responsible for the preparation and performance of the game.

Before the start of the event there is a procession of decorated carts and the competitors in Gorenjska national costumes on horseback through Savlje, Kleče, and Ježica that ends at the course in Savlje. Here, a barrel made of wooden staves is mounted on a pole and tied to it with dogwood hoops. The event is led by a presenter who informs the visitors on the history of štehvanje and its rules, and who comments the game’s course. The participating lads from Savlje, Kleče and Ježica must be single. They ride working or sport horses without a saddle and only a blanket is permitted, fastened with leather straps. The horsemen do not wear...
spurs. They ride in circles past the barrel and hit it with a metal club until it is smashed. During the game the competitors are cheered by their girls (decve) and every barrel hit is judged by a commission. The game is led by a štehvanje master and his companion (lady) announces the winner to the audience by slipping a floral wreath over his pole. At the end of the game all participants receive prizes and commemorative gifts, and since 2004 the winner also receives a transitional golden pole. The game is followed by a party with a raffle; the first dance of the party is for the winner and his girl. The Vili Petrič popular folk music ensemble which often performs at the štehvanje party has set to music a composition entitled Na štehvanje.

The game and party are attended by numerous residents from Ježica, Savlje and Kleče, the nearby apartment complexes, and other inhabitants of Ljubljana.

**Posavje Štehvanje – Intangible Cultural Heritage of Ljubljana**

**Štehvanje as Part of the Local Identity**

The Sava Valley štehvanje has become the most important local event and festivity in Ježica, Savlje, and Kleče. “This is the most important thing. Quite a few people really live with štehvanje” (statement of an informer from Savlje in 2006). People are aware that the štehvanje game was adopted from the Gail Valley, but today nevertheless feel it as their own “tradition”, and that it is understandable, considering the fact that it was organized for the 62nd time in 2016. The connection with the Gail Valley and its štehvanje is also suggested by the name of a street in Savlje – Ziljska ulica (Gaill Valley street). In 2014 the locals celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of štehvanje and erected a life-size statue of a competitor on horseback and a barrel in the centre of Savlje. Naturally, the question arises how it is possible that štehvanje has become so deeply rooted in Ježica, Savlje, and Kleče, and how it has survived to the present day in an environment, which largely lost its rural character after the Second World War, and is just a stone’s throw away from an area with the highest population density in Ljubljana (the Bratovševa and Glinškova ploščad), and only a few kilometres from the centre of Ljubljana. It seems that people’s engagement in laying down the rules of the local štehvanje game is one of the principal factors that have contributed to the game’s survival and to people considering it their own local “tradition”. “We have somewhat changed štehvanje over the years so that it has become our very own and we can rightly call it Sava Valley štehvanje” (statement of an informer from Savlje in 2006).

The inhabitants of Ježica, Savlje, and Kleče are keen to maintain their štehvanje tradition. If they had strictly adhered to the rules laid down in 1936, however, it would not be possible to perform the game today. Originally, only working horses were allowed to be used and until the Second World War working horses were common on every large farm (223 horses were registered in the Municipality of Ježica in 1933). Today there are no farms left in Ježica because the former peasant settlement has been urbanized and built up with individual houses with gardens after the Second World War. Nowadays only lads from Savlje and Kleče compete in the game as some farms have survived there. In the area of

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23 Ibidem.
24 Markovič Kocen Blanka, 60 let štehvanja v Posavju, „Rodna gruda” 2014, p. 63.
26 Turk Niskač Barbara, Klaus Simona, Starec Saša, Urbano življenje ob kmetijah ali ruralno življenje
Savlje and Kleče the number of working horses declined after the Second World War due to the introduction of tractors and the urbanization of the settlements. In 1983 only 18 horses were left\(^{27}\). When there was an insufficient number of working horses to perform štehvanje, sport horses (Lipizzaner) were introduced. Lads, who do not have a domestic horse, rent one for the competition. In recent years a few lads from Savlje and Kleče have acquired their own horses and they use them to excel at the game.

As a rule, the competitors must be single, but on a couple of occasions and due to the lack of single lads married men have competed. The number of competitors has also decreased. While they were up to twelve in the 1960s, recent years have seen only six to eight in the competition, and the experienced competitors pass on their skills to the younger lads.

The efforts to preserve štehvanje are shared by the older inhabitants of Savlje, Kleče, and Ježica, especially those who participated in the game when they were young, as well as the young, who have created a Facebook page, where they post information on the game and collect old photographs of its performances. In 2015 they opened in Savlje a permanent exhibition of photographs of štehvanje, collected among the locals.

Research, Presentation and Evaluation of Štehvanje by Experts

Štehvanje, brought to Ljubljana by the folklorist France Marolt, is the subject of diverse research, in particular by ethnologists\(^{28}\), and by students of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, in their seminar papers and graduation theses\(^{29}\). In research started in 2001 and conducted by the Slovene Ethnographic Museum štehvanje has been documented with photo and video cameras, interviews have been conducted out with the organizers and competitors, and several objects related to the game have been collected (memorial plates, a pole used in the game, bulletins, posters). To promote štehvanje as one of the elements of the Register of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Slovenia is among others the responsibility of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in the role of the Coordinator for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage in Slovenia\(^{30}\).

In 2012 the National Museum of Slovenia opened an exhibition entitled “Knight, lady and dragon”. The section that presented knights’ tournaments included objects from the collections of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum and a film\(^{31}\) also drew attention to Sava Valley štehvanje as a preserved version of the quintain knights’ game. A metal pole, poster and memorial plate were published in the exhibition catalogue\(^{32}\). The City Municipality of Ljubljana also strives to safeguard the game and event and subsidizes it as one of Ljubljana’s tourist attractions.

Conclusions

Sava Valley štehvanje has many faces today since its practitioners, visitors and the professional discipline view it different ways. Given that the event was staged for the 62\(^{\text{nd}}\) time in 2016, it is not surprising that the bearers consider it “their own” and “traditional”. For the inhabitants of Ježica, Savlje, and Kleče štehvanje is part of their local identity, and the day of the event is the principal festivity in these settlements. The annual preparations for the event contribute to connecting people and their sense of belonging. For visitors who are not from the area, štehvanje is a public folklore event.

Ethnologists and cultural anthropologists view Sava Valley štehvanje as a typical example of folklorism. For various reasons its “new bearers” changed and


\(^{29}\) E.g. Špiček Miha, Posavsko štehvanje – “tradicija” v Savljah; diplomsko delo, Ljubljana 2006; Čemažar Marta, Posavsko štehvanje: seminarška nalog, Ljubljana 2012; Čemažar Marta, Možnosti razvoja dediščinske turizma v vseh ljubljanskega Posavja: diplomsko delo, Ljubljana 2015.

\(^{30}\) In 2015 we staged, for instance, the exhibition The intangible cultural heritage of Slovenia in photographs that was on view at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana and in the Sokol Home in Škofja Loka. All the elements entered in the register have also been presented in a publication: Jerin Anja, Židov Nena (eds.), Register žive kulturne dediščine Slovenije: (2008–2015). Register of the intangible cultural heritage of Slovenia: (2008–2015), Ljubljana 2015.

\(^{31}\) Author: Igor Dolinar.

adapted the game in the course of time to the contemporary social, economic and political (local) conditions and štehvanje in its new environment has become part of local recognisability\(^3\). In the process of defining and creating new rules the locals have increasingly adopted it as their own, and the event has gained an important role in shaping local awareness, and it has been preserved even after the local environment changed considerably in social and economic terms.

Sava Valley štehvanje is also connected with the question about the relationship between tradition and folklorism, or whether and when folklorism can become tradition\(^3\). In the case of Sava Valley štehvanje, which can be seen as both folklorism and tradition, there is a transition from folklorism to tradition\(^3\). In doing so, however, we should not be burdened with the question of “authenticity” in the staging of “folklore”, and look for the “original” forms of the cultural content. It is more important to understand the social, political, geographical, economic, and other contexts, which influenced the changes and the safeguarding of the cultural element, and to look for the reasons why someone organizes certain events at all\(^3\).

For the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage the most important are its bearers. Local communities safeguard their heritage for the future generations, because it gives them a sense of identity and belonging, connects them with the ancestors of the community, and because they differ from the “others” due to their “specific features”\(^3\). Undoubtedly, the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage is also influenced by the experts. By recording, documenting, researching, presenting, and entering the element in the national registers and UNESCO’s lists, we as experts increase the awareness of the bearers of their heritage, and additionally motivate them to safeguard it. In my opinion dealing with the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage in the light of the UNESCO Convention (2003) is very complex and responsible activity for all involved.

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\(^{34}\) See Špicek Miha, *Posavsko štehvanje*, op. cit.


Jože Štukl | Škofja Loka Museum

The Škofja Loka Passion
Play - Processio Locopolitana

Škofja Loka and the Loka Feudal Estate

Škofja Loka is a small town of 12,000 inhabitants, situated in Gorenjska region, 20 km northwest of Ljubljana, the capital city of the Republic of Slovenia.

In medieval and post medieval times, Škofja Loka was the centre of the Loka Feudal Estate, which was the property of the Bishops of Freising from 973 till the year 1803. The beginnings of medieval town, which was formed at the confluence of the Šelska and the Poljanska Sora Rivers date back to the 12th century. Its oldest part is the Town Square or »Plac«, which dates back to the 12th century. With the expansion of the settlement, on the lower terrace, parallel to the Upper Square, The Lower Square or »Lontrg« was formed, from the 14th century on also called the New Square. The houses on both, Upper and Lower Squares were built densely to each other so as to allow as many of them as possible to be placed next to the market place. They were long and narrow in shape, with their fronts facing the square and their gardens and outbuildings behind.

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1 Avguštin Cene, Škofja Loka. Kulturni in naravni spomeniki Slovenije, Maribor 1988, p. 5.
According to the standard data, the town was first mentioned a market in 1248, while it was granted city rights in 1274.

**Poor Clares and Ursuline Sisters in Škofja Loka**

In medieval and post medieval times, Škofja Loka was a rich and flourishing trading settlement whose economic prosperity attracted also different Catholic monastic communities. The first were Poor Clares who settled here as early as 1358 in a convent in the very centre of the old town. Apart from noble girls, there were also many city girls that joined them. They carried out their spiritual mission based primarily on contemplation and prayer, partly also on raising noble girls, until the Josephine reforms. Namely, Austrian Emperor Joseph II. dismissed by patent dated of 12th January 1782 all those orders, especially the contemplative ones, which did not directly benefit the education and social assistance. However, the convent did not stay vacant long: Ursulines inhabited it already in October of the same year, starting their mission of educating young girls.

**Capuchins, Their Activity and Arrival in Škofja Loka**

Capuchins were the only male monastic community to arrive in Škofja Loka. As the youngest of the Friars Minor of Francis of Assisi, their order was founded in Italy in 1528. The rules of their order were initially focused primarily on poverty, extensive prayer and contemplation; however, in subsequent years they emphasised also biblical studies, preaching and hearing confessions. After Pope Gregory XII. abolished the prohibition on their spreading outside Italy in 1575, Capuchins rapidly spread all over Europe. That was in the late 16th and early 17th century, in the period of Reformation and Catholic Revival. The Catholic authorities requested Capuchins to make their sermons as well as their exemplary life affect the heretics to return to the truth of Catholic faith and that the religious life of the remaining Catholic population would prosper again. In Slovenian area, Capuchins first settled in Gorica / Gorizia in 1591 and afterwards as follows: in Ljubljana 1606, in Celje 1609, in Maribor 1613, in Ptuj 1615, in Radgona, in Trieste and Krmn 1617, in Beljak / Villach 1629, in Viapavski križ 1637, in Kranj and Krško 1640, in Celovec / Klagenfurt 1646, in Gradinišče ob Soči 1650 and in Novo mesto 1658. Capuchins were the most numerous monastic community on the territory of Slovenia in the 18th century. They arrived in Škofja Loka relatively late, in 1706. However, they had already been well known here prior to their settling in the town. The reason for this was that Capuchins' activities were not limited merely to the place where they lived, but they offered support to a wider area. It was precisely due to their preaching activities in the surrounding parishes that they eventually became a true people's order in a broader sense of rapprochement and coexistence with the people of all strata. Thus they also came occasionally to preach in Škofja Loka, first from Ljubljana and after the year 1640 from Kranj. Excitement over them by the Loka people eventually reached such proportions that they wanted to build them a monastery in the town so as to always have them in their midst. To this end, a Loka trader Sebastijan Lukanič as early as 1647 left in his will a garden in front of the Šelška town gates and a considerable sum of money to Capuchins, with the intention that they would build a monastery there if possible. Capuchins finally arrived in Škofja Loka on September 7, 1706. The building of their monastery was not completed yet, which is why they settled temporarily in a house next to the Holy Trinity Chapel at the Town Square. The building of the monastery began with the laying of the foundation stone in 1707 and was, together with the church, largely finished until 1709. In the church, which was dedicated to St. Anne in 1713, there had been 1300 masses already in 1710.

Apart from hearing confessions and preaching, there were various other forms of their activity through which Capuchins influenced the spiritual image of the Baroque man. Here belong in particular organising various folk observances, among them being Passion processions which developed from medieval liturgical...
processions, known practically all over Europe already in High Middle Ages. A big role in the development of processions had the introduction of the feast of Corpus Christi (Festum Corporis Christi), which in the late 14th century started to be celebrated with a procession. In such processions, amidst flowers, flags and banners, religious pictures and sculptures were being carried along, later also consolidated sculptures and finally live scenes with people were added, which were gaining an increasingly theatrical character in the Baroque period. Some people, however, see the beginnings of Passion processions in the Easter plays, commemorating Christ’s Ressurection, to which gradually other subject matters such as the scenes from the Passion of Christ were added10.

The Škofja Loka Passion Play

The Škofja Loka Passion Play (hereafter ŠLPP) is a Good Friday penitential procession which was performed in Škofja Loka. Its text, composed of rhymed verse (863 altogether), arranged in 13 scenes, was written in the Škofja Loka Capuchin Monastery by a Capuchin monk - Friar Romuald (Lovrenc Marušič 1676–1748) while he was active in Škofja Loka as a preacher and a procession leader (1715–1727). There is very little data about Friar Romuald. The reason lies in that Capuchins did not use to extensively write about themselves in chronicles or elsewhere, which is why we also know so little about the personal lives of many other famous ones. We know that he was born in Štandrež / Sant’ Andrea near Gorica / Gorizia and died in his home village at the age of 72. He entered the Capuchin order in 1699. He spent his novice year in Celje. He took his religious vows on March 13, 1700. He completed his studies of philosophy in Celje and Maribor, and theology in Ljubljana. He spent 49 years in the order11.

ŠLPP is considered the oldest extant dramatic text in Slovenian language with some additions in Latin and German language and with director remarks. It is a unique testimony of the medieval – Baroque dramatisation and of the standard language of the day. The ŠLPP was initially untitled. It was only the piety which has a name – the Good Friday procession. It was this folk piety that inspired the dramatic text and its name. The name ŠLPP was written down for the first time in Koblar’s edition of the Škofja Loka Passion Play facsimile in 197212.

History of Research

The ŠLPP has so far been published in four book editions. The first to publish the entire transcription of the ŠLPP together with an introductory review of the history of Passion processions was Josip Mantuani. His work was published in the journal Carniola VII–VIII, 1916/17.

The second scholar dealing with the ŠLPP was France Koblar. He published the ŠLPP facsimile together with an accompanying study in 1972. The edition was

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12 Ogrin Matija, Oče Romuald, Škofelški pasijon, Znanstvenokritična izdaja, Celje 2009, introduction.
intended to celebrate the 250th anniversary of the first performance, wherein the author took the year 1721 as the year of the occurrence of the ŠLPP.

The third edition of the ŠLPP was prepared by Jože Faganel and Primož Simoniti. It was published in the Kondor collection in 1987 and reprinted and published again in 199913.

The fourth and so far the most comprehensive and extensive scholarly critical edition of the ŠLPP, consisting of 431 pages was prepared by dr. Matija Ogrin with colleagues from the Institute for Slovenian Literature and Literary Studies at ZRC SAZU in 2009. This edition has another special feature: in addition to the printed version it is also published electronically, and is available free of charge at the web address http://nl.ijs.si/e-zrc.

Appearance

The ŠLPP is a handwritten book or codex in the size of 19.7 cm x 28.4 cm and contains 51 sheets / folios. Its binding is covered in parchment previously used for a rent roll of the Loka Estate. The folios are made of several kinds of fine, light and thin paper, produced in north Italian paper mills14. The text analysis shows that the ŠLPP was written by 6 different hands.

The main part of the ŠLPP from Folio 3r to 40v is a uniform work, written by a hand that we ascribe to Friar Romuald. Due to the fact that just the introductory and accompanying guidelines on the staging of the ŠLPP were written by other hands, the text in a paleographic sense can be perceived as completely uniform. It was recorded in a single, perhaps intermittent but unvarying process of writing. Given that the entire text practically does not contain any errors, which could be ascribed to the process of recording, we conclude that it was transcribed from different templates or versions of the Passion play. It was only later that there appeared a certain fragmentation in the initially uniform manuscript, mainly in the form of some later-hand additions and other interventions such as pasted or cut / torn out sheets and similar15.

The Date of the ŠLPP and the Beginning of the Procession in Škofja Loka

The creation of the ŠLPP and the beginning of its staging has until recently been dated to 1721, a year recorded in Folio 2r. New analyses have revealed that the Folio 2r was written separately from the main text and was only subsequently pasted into the Codex, which is why its date cannot be applied to the entire manuscript. The analysis of the introductory legal provisions and of the text as a whole reveals that the ŠLPP was neither composed nor premiered in the year 1721, but was being annually staged prior to this. The extant documents, especially the letters of invitation, with which the procession leader invited people to participate in the procession, is clear evidence that Friar Romuald was staging the Passion procession already in 1715.

The oldest surviving letter of invitation to the Passion procession in Škofja Loka was written by Romuald’s predecessor and dates to 1713. This is clear evidence that the Passion procession in Škofja Loka was at that time already an established event, having been performed in Škofja Loka in the Slovenian language even before the arrival of Friar Romuald. The beginnings of the Passion play tradition are unknown and lost in the darkness of the preceding decades. The letter mentions as many as 16 scenes, which were very picturesque and baroque or even earlier medieval in character. The high number of scenes, particularly their picturesque and symbolic nature that incorporates medieval and Biblical motifs, are characteristics of the early Passion plays of the 17th and early 18th centuries. However, after 1720 the Capuchin authorities demanded that the Passion plays should be limited to the scenes of the Passion of Christ according to the Gospels. The Passion plays were accordingly made shorter.

Friar Romuald wrote the main text of the ŠLPP in 1715 and later added to it. It is not possible to reconstruct the original 1715 version. It must in places have been similar if not the same as the surviving text, but most certainly it was more picturesque and contained even more scenes. The time span in which Romuald wrote, re-wrote, added and finally concluded his Passion play, extends from 1715 to 1727. The version surviving to this day, with 13 scenes, was presumably created as late as 1727 when Romuald last edited the text. Friar Romuald that year either left Škofja Loka or transferred his role of a procession leader to someone else. On that occasion, he meticulously transcribed the manuscript and added instructions for future performances so as to help his successor. Thus the public announcement of the procession for the following year, 1728, was already written

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13 Ibidem, p. 325-326.
15 Ogrin Matija, Oče Romuald... op. cit., p. 333-334.
by a different hand, most certainly by a new procession leader whose name is unknown. It must have been him who had all the texts bound into a codex sometime between 1728 and 1730. Afterwards, up to the mid-18th century, several different hands added to the Codex and these later insertions already respected the newly cut edges of the book\textsuperscript{16}.

Staging of the ŠLPP in the Past and in Present Days

In the 18th century, the Loka Passion procession was performed annually. Along with similar processions of that kind, it was part of the penitential observance of Good Friday, thus representing an important part of spiritual preparation of people for Easter. By featuring Christ’s suffering in a very dramatic way, they clearly aimed at people’s recognition of the fatality of sin, their repentance and final betterment. However, after 1767 the Passion procession in Škofja Loka ceased to be performed, being abolished by Karel Mihael Attems, the Archbishop of Gorizia (1752–1774) for its inappropriateness and “almost obscene scenes”\textsuperscript{17}.

From 1767 until the first quarter of the 20th century, there were no performances of the Passion play. It was staged again more than a century and a half later, on the occasion of the Craft-Industrial Exhibition in Škofja Loka in 1936, by Tine Debeljak, with the assistance of the director Pavel Okorn. However, it was not performed in the form of a procession along the streets and squares of the medieval town, but as a theatrical performance in the courtyard of the Škofja Loka town school. Here a mighty stage, with an area of 200 square metres was set up, surrounded by a backdrop representing the medieval town which was created


\textsuperscript{17} Benedik Metod, Izhodišča Škofjeloškega pasijona, „Pasijonski doneski” 2006, no. 1, p. 28, 35.
by Bara Remec. The performances, which took place successively from July 12 to 16 and in which 165 amateur actors from Škofja Loka and the surrounding villages took part, were attended by more than 5000 spectators.

The second world war prevented further stagings of the ŠLPP. After the war, staging was absolutely impossible due to the then communist regime in our country. The conditions changed after 1991 when Slovenia became an independent state and embarked on the path of gradual democratization. Nevertheless, it took several years before the conditions for its staging were ripe. Thus, the entire ŠLPP in its original form was re-staged in 1999, and then again in 2000, 2009 and 2015.

Due to the complexity of its staging, it has been determined that the event should take place only every six years. Modern performances closely follow the script written by Friar Romuald, though the number of the scenes increased from 13 to 20. Romuald’s Passion play contained 13 scenes: 1 Paradise, 2 Death, 3 The Last Supper, 4 Samson, 5 Sweating Blood, 6 Flagellation, 7 Coronation, 8 Hieronymus, 9 Ecce Homo, 10 Christ on the Cross, 11 Mother of Sorrows / Seven Sorrows of Mary, 12 The Arc of the Covenant, 13 The Holy Sepulchre. At the re-staging in 1999, the then director Marjan Kokalj, due to the practical feasibility on the platforms and in order to improve the understanding of the Play by the modern spectator, added a foreplay and made some cuts in the scenes. The result was 20 (out of 13) scenes: 1 Paradise, 2 Death, 3 Hell, 4 Guilds, 5 Entering Jerusalem, 6 The Last Supper, 7 Samson and Sweating Blood, 8 Judas and the Judgement, 9 Herod, 10 Flagellation, 11 Coronation, 12 Hieronymus, 13 Ecce Homo, 14 Two Robbers, 15 Stations of the Cross, 16 Crucifixion, 17 Mother of Sorrows, 18 The Arc of the Covenant, 19 The Holy Sepulchre, 20 Music Band. All the subsequent stagings have followed this classification.

The founder and preserver of the ŠLPP used to be the Fraternity of the Holy Corpus Christi which was founded at St. Jacob church in Škofja Loka in 1634. It was their initiative that Capuchins in Škofja Loka accepted the task of regularly organising the Passion procession on Good Friday. As an order bound to poverty, the Capucins did not have the means of their own to prepare a procession. Thus the Fraternity of the Holy Corpus Christi provided the necessary funds, while Capuchins took over the entire organisation of the procession and made sure that the event was carried out in an appropriate and decent manner.

In accordance with an agreement of successor rights between the Capuchin Monastery and the Municipality of Škofja Loka, the production role that once belonged to the Fraternity of the Holy Corpus Christi (abolished due to the Josephine Reforms in the late 18th century) was transferred on the Škofja Loka Municipality. The Municipality as the producer of the ŠLPP today, apart from providing a formal, legal and financial framework, is also responsible for establishing a technical committee which appoints a director and a production manager and monitors the preparations for the project. The bearers and practitioners of the ŠLPP are the residents of Škofja Loka and the nearby villages who are preserving the Passion play heritage as individuals, families, local communities, associations, groups and cultural institutions. The most important role belongs to the heads of amateur theatre groups who as a rule are the most respected persons in their local communities. During preparations for the project they cooperate closely with the each-time director and in the non-Passion period they are in charge of maintaining permanent ties between the actors and the other participants in a particular village.

Today the ŠLPP, similarly as in Romuald’s time, is still performed during Lent and Easter time and takes place along the streets and squares of the medieval town of Škofja Loka whose architecture provides the best theatrical backdrop. The only illumination are lamps and torches, the only artificial scenery are stationary platforms with the seats for spectators, portable platforms carried by the bearers on which the scenes are enacted and similar platforms pulled by horses. The order of the scenes remained the same as it was in Romuald’s time, either. The scenes follow each other with a few minutes’ delay. Each scene is enacted at each of the four different locations of the town where there are the platforms with the seats for the spectators. Accordingly, at each of those four venues the entire Passion play can be seen, as one scene after another is being enacted in front of the audience and then proceeds to the next one. Spoken texts are accompanied by music and singing as

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21 Benedik Metod, Izhodišča..., op.cit., p. 33.
well as by the sound effects produced by the Flagellants and Cross Bearers, while the accompanying meditations explain the forthcoming scenes\footnote{Kokalj Marjan, Uprizoritev Škofjeloškega pasijona v letu 1999 [in:] Škofjeloški pasijon. Diplomatični prepis, op. cit., p. 242.}.

Last year’s (2015) staging involved 958 performers, of them 369 women and 589 men. The actors had 106 spoken and 8 prominent silent roles; there were 64 horsemen, 41 horse guides, 100 Adam’s children, 53 hermits, 55 penitents, 12 grenadiers, 10 dragoons, 58 members of guilds and fraternies, 234 choral singers, 9 solo singers, 17 band musicians, 10 drummers, 171 bearers of the platforms etc. However, the residents of the entire town centre regularly participate in the event, by putting lit candles on the windows of their houses.

**Keeping “Passion Vitality” During “Non-Passion” Years**

There are several associations as well as individuals in Škofja Loka who are concerned with preserving the ŠLPP heritage also during «non-Passion» years. They prepare activities, important for keeping «Passion vitality». Here belong the ŠLPP Days, organised annually during Lent / Easter time and which, besides other events, are primarily characterized by expert meetings and lectures on the topic of the ŠLPP; the Škofja Loka Museum Society annually publishes a comprehensive periodical publication Passion Journal; there are several photographic exhibitions at home and abroad; throughout the year, there are numerous evenings and concerts of Passion music; in the Capuchin Monastery there is a permanent exhibition of the ŠLPP with a possibility of seeing the original manuscript, which is kept in the Capuchin library.

**Legal and Formal Framework of Protection the Living Heritage of the ŠLPP**


In 2012, The Government of the RS declared the ŠLPP Intangible Cultural Heritage of National Importance, with a view to ensuring its public accessibility and its transmission from generation to generation as well as to maintain the protected elements in accordance with the promulgation decree\footnote{Uradni list Republike Slovenije, no. 56, 23.7.2012, p. 5800.}. In 2016 we are in the midst of a complex task of putting the ŠLPP on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage at UNESCO. The process of nomination is currently in the final stages of evaluation. The results will have been known by November 2016.

**Last and Future Performances**

The last staging of the ŠLPP was in 2015. There were eight performances, from March 21 to April 12, and it was visited by 23,000 spectators altogether. The next staging will be in 2021 and it will coincide with the Europassion Association Congress which will be held in Škofja Loka at that time.

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In 2014, the Lajkonik Procession was included in the Polish List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. The application described the Lajkonik Procession in line with the existing Kraków tradition recorded in 2013. The List is one of the ways to implement the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of 17 October 2003. The solution seems to be ideal when compared with suggestions to add to the duties of the Provincial Heritage Monuments Protection Office and the General Heritage Monuments Protection Office the tasks concerned with recording and safeguarding the phenomena defined as the intangible cultural heritage. Yet to be carried out, the project could benefit a lot from the practices used for the safeguarding of tangible monuments. That being said, the UNESCO Convention of 2003 defines the forms of the intangible cultural heritage as rooted in the past and yet evolving and gradually adjusting to the changing environment and needs of the subsequent generations they belong to.

Accordingly, the application of the same legal framework that helps to safeguard, say, Gothic churches, to the intangible cultural heritage can deprive the phenomenon of its vigour while contributing to its gradual petrification. For tangible monuments, it is down to the Heritage Monuments Protection Office to decide which of the stages in their development should be safeguarded, and which eliminated. Similarly, the forms of the intangible cultural heritage have their history and stages in their development. None of the above stages can be considered solely acceptable or ideal. However, the Convention is contradictory in this respect, which was aptly pointed out by Wojciech Burszta. The Convention is aimed at safeguarding cultural phenomena which due to their very nature do not need such support, as they are recreated from one generation to the other. At the same time, the Convention elaborates on the need for safeguarding, recreating, recording, and reviving the intangible heritage, which means its primary focus is on the past and tradition. Burszta argues that by making attempts at safeguarding the intangible heritage in the spirit of the Convention, one can only perpetuate the illusion of preserving the real thing or authentic traditions, since there is no way one can restore the long gone reality. However, the experts consider the gradual loss of authenticity, which occurs through commingling the still living traditions with stagings enactments, altered forms, and reconstructions that are made to attract tourists and increase their marketing value, to be a threat to the longevity of the intangible cultural heritage.

Not even once does the term “authenticity” appear in the Convention. This is due to the fact that UNESCO, as pointed out by Chiara Bortolotto, revised its perspective on the heritage as compared to the celebrated document of 1972, which extolled the value of authentic artefacts or objects and distinguished it from their copies according to historical criteria. From this perspective,

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3 Adamowski Jan, Smyk Katarzyna, Niematerialne dziedzictwo kulturowe – teoria i praktyka [in:] Niematerialne dziedzictwo kulturowe..., op. cit., p. 15; Skaldawski Bartosz, op. cit., p. 112.
everything that was tangible was also static and past oriented. The new approach allows a perception whereby the living heritage is described as a creative process that is susceptible to transformation from one generation to the other. Thus, the contemporary approaches to the intangible heritage focus on their dynamic and ever-evolving nature. The Convention stipulates that safeguarding consists in educating local communities and raising their awareness of the value represented by the elements of the intangible cultural heritage. Accordingly, the National Heritage Institute monitors the already inventoried traditions by contacting their bearers, whose task is to periodically report the potential threats to the tradition's longevity.

In theory, the onus to preserve the elements of the intangible heritage is on the bearers of the heritage themselves, who are supported by the National Heritage Institute at a national level. In practice, it is the experts who play a key role at a local level. This function is usually performed by the representative of local associations and individual researchers and enthusiasts as well as personnel at cultural institutions, including the museums. It is the experts who take on the task to raise the awareness in local communities of the value represented by a particular tradition in their area, mobilise the bearers to safeguard their traditions, and help them identify the emerging threats. They can also tape up projects to promote local traditions and customs. The role of the experts is thus to stimulate the activity. A question arises concerning its boundaries. Richard Kurin points to a particular challenge that the museums have to face. The museums can agree with the tradition bearers to act as representatives of the local community and inspire key initiatives that sometimes can alter the local environment, stop cultural change, and recreate the former ways of life. This kind of project obviously provokes the question of whether the museums have the right to intervene and create; and whether the museums should remain neutral when the heritage was deliberately annihilated in the past?

Legal Factors

The legal framework takes two forms: secular and clerical. The earliest preserved records from the mid-18th century link the Lajkonik Procession with the Corpus Christi Octave celebrations. It is likely that the representatives of the Kraków Rafters’ Guild joined the procession with their [Horse]figure as far back as 1738. The role of Konik in the celebrations remains unclear until today. It is possible that it was used in a quasi-theatrical religious staging on Biblical or patriotic themes. As an element of the Corpus Christi procession, Konik was subject to the regulations issued by the city and Church authorities that were aimed at safeguarding the order and solemnity of the celebrations. The date of the procession in Zwierzyniec was stipulated by the Orders of the Bishops of Kraków. In 1749 and 1758, the procession was held on the Wednesday, whereas in 1762 the festivities were held on the Wednesday. The problems presented above can be examined in detail on the example of the Lajkonik Procession. Since the tradition is closely linked to Kraków, a strong centre for literature, arts, science, and museums, its evolution has been reflected relatively well in the archive sources since the beginning of the 19th century. By examining the history of the Lajkonik Procession, one can provide an insight into the selected factors that determine the evolution of the intangible cultural heritage. I have made an attempt to identify these factors, many of which occurred at the early stages of the tradition's development, as the tradition emerged in a relatively large city. I have divided these factors into three categories: legal, political, and artistic.

10 Biskupów krakowskich Pisma nad Dyecezią [Kraków Diocese Papers], p. 335-338.
13 Załuski Andrzej Stanisław (Bishop), Utrzymanie klasztoru – rozliczenie (rachunki) przychodu i rozchodu pieniędzy [Upkeep of the Convent – profit and loss calculation (bills)], AZN, manuscript 260.
were organised on the Sunday\textsuperscript{14}. None of the records mentions the procession to have fallen on the Thursday, the day that is now customarily linked to the Łajkonik Procession. The Church authorities in Kraków tried to eliminate the phenomenon, which in their opinion was incompatible with the solemn character of the Corpus Christi celebrations. The Order of Bishop Józef Olechowski (1735–1806) of 30 May 1787 strictly prohibited the participants in the procession to dress in strange attire that would provoke laughter instead of the solemn atmosphere\textsuperscript{15}. The Łajkonik Procession was separated from the religious ceremony at the time and probably due to the deliberate attempts from the Church. The same process whereby religious practices created during the Counter-Reformation were abandoned could be observed in several other Catholic countries, which is well exemplified by the Škofja Loka Passion Play tradition also described in this book\textsuperscript{16}. By contrast to the Škofja Loka celebrations, the Łajkonik Procession has survived while transforming into an independent spectacle that is still linked to the date and location of its original Corpus Christi procession\textsuperscript{17}. The Łajkonik Procession was also shaped by the regulations issued by the city authorities and the police. The problem affected the intangible urban heritage at the early stages of its development. The turn of the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries in Kraków marked the formation of the permanent police forces. One of their duties was to protect and control public celebrations and spectacles, including the Łajkonik Procession and its organisers’ activity. In 1814, the rafters were denied by the police to continue the celebrations until late at night\textsuperscript{18}. In 1843, for fear of possible unrest, the police prohibited Łajkonik to frolic in the streets of the Kraków district of Nowy Świat\textsuperscript{19}. As early as 1820, the police began to protect the festival\textsuperscript{20}. Their presence had an impact on the course of the celebrations, which is evidenced by a press release about the warning Łajkonik received from police officers in 1900 for causing unrest among the citizens\textsuperscript{21}. These days the city authorities and the police can also significantly shape the course of the Łajkonik Procession, and their decisions are not always easily accepted by the participants.

Thus, a conclusion can be made that the existing legal framework shaped the Łajkonik Procession throughout its recorded history. The organisers of the procession had to comply with the regulations that were in force in Kraków. Other local customs, e.g. the Rękawka church fair and the Babski Comber festivities (Fat

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} Sołtyk Kajetan Ignacy (Bishop), Ordynacja Processyi w Oktawy Bożego Ciała [The Order of the Corpus Christi Octave Procession], AKMK, Xiążąt Biskupów krakowskich Pisma nad Dyecezią [Kraków Diocese Papers], p. 391-394.
\item \textsuperscript{15} See Grabowski Ambroży, Starożytnicze wiadomości o Krakowie, Kraków 1852, p. 297.
\item \textsuperscript{16} The staging was prohibited in 1768 by the local bishop, see Florjančič Alojzij Pavel, Kronologija Uprizarjanj. Nastajanje in uprizarjanje Škofjeloškega pasijona [in:] Škofjeloški pasijon 2009, ed. Alojzij Pavel Florjančič, Škofja Loka 2014, p. 188-190.
\item \textsuperscript{17} See Kwiecińska Magdalena, Konik zwierzyniecki jako obrzęd lokalny i uniwersalny. Społeczna pamięć, ludowe wierzenia i miejskie obrzędy [in:] Świat Łajkonika..., op. cit., p. 183-184.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Grabowski Ambroży, Wspomnienia, ed. Karol Estreicher, vol. 1, Kraków 1909, p. 269.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Majeranowski Konstanty [„Pielgrzym z Tenczyna”], Konik, „Pszczółka Krakowska” 1820, vol. 2, no. 47, p. 193-194.
\item \textsuperscript{21} „Czas” 1900, no. 159, p. 1.
\end{itemize}
Thursday, or the last Thursday of Carnival), faced similar challenges, as they were either prohibited or severely reduced. The traditions continued in the country were not under strict control from the state authorities at the time.

**Political Factors**

The intangible heritage is also shaped by the political context. The latter often has a damaging effect on the heritage. Wars annihilate both tangible monuments and the traditions bearers and practitioners and so intangible heritage. The intangible heritage is also used in politics as a propaganda tool. The Lajkonik Procession was exposed to such forces. Poland’s loss of independence in 1795 brought the decline of state rafters’ congregations. This led to the disappearance of the professional guild responsible for the celebration. However, its former members made a fortunate decision to continue their ancestors’ tradition. With no institutional support (apart from the donations by the Premonstratensian Convent, which were nonetheless abandoned in 1864), the celebration was less spectacular than expected.

In 1872, the city authorities of Kraków provided their first subsidy to restore the Lajkonik costume and the banners used in the procession. The subsidy was obtained with an application from the Półwsie Zwierzynieckie community, which was founded following the administrative reform in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Propaganda campaigns also made a significant impact on the course of the Lajkonik Procession celebrations.

Until the mid-19th century, the procession came as close to the Bishop’s Palace in Kraków. In 1849, the Austrian authorities came up with an idea to present the merry celebration to Tsar Nicolas I (1796–1855), who was visiting Kraków at the time. A permit was issued for Lajkonik and his procession to frolic in the Main Market Square. From 1947–1974, the handing of the tribute and the toast to the city’s prosperity were held in front of the Municipal People’s Council in Wiosny Ludów Square (today’s Wszystkich Świętych Square). Thus, the route of the procession changed over time according to the authorities wishes. In 1950, Lajkonik flew a white dove in the Market Square as a propaganda symbol for peace. In 1964, the authorities went even further in their attempts to interfere with the tradition, as they rescheduled the Lajkonik Procession to 12 May in order to celebrate the sixth centenary of the Jagiellonian University.

Promiński, Kraków 1957, p. 51. Lajkonik’s frolics in the presence of the Austrian Emperor were also mentioned by Maria Estreicherówna, op. cit., p. 140, 199.

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"Illustrowany Kurier Codzienny" 1939, no. 165, p. 16.


to political tensions in Poland, the procession was denied the right of entry to the Market Square by the police. The Communist authorities interfered heavily with the tradition by denying the Miciński family, who continued the tradition from the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, the right to contribute to the procession’s organisation. Despite all their efforts, the Communist authorities failed to break the bond between the Lajkonik tradition and the Catholic faith. The attempts at moving the date of the procession from Thursday to Sunday in the Corpus Christi Octave was met with resistance from the residents. Lajkonik would always frolic at the Premonstratensian Convent, even though 1967 the point was nowhere to be found in the official programme of the procession.

The political context undoubtedly shaped the Lajkonik Procession tradition. Kraków was fortunate, however, as wars and upheaval that affected it caused only short interruptions in the tradition’s continuity. The transmission from one generation to the other was not disturbed.

Artistic Factors

Some of the researchers placed the origins of the Lajkonik Procession in pre-Christian or mediaeval times. In fact, no description of the Lajkonik tradition has survived prior to 1820, when Konstanty Majeranowski (1787–1851) contributed a report from the celebrations in the article Konik published by the periodical “Pszczółka Krakowska”. Also in 1820, the Kraków guild painter Michał Stachowicz (1768–1825) created a painting depicting the capering Konik and the rafters’ procession. It is possible that the Lajkonik Procession prior to this date was a spontaneous and traditional celebration gathering the rafters and the inhabitants of Zwierzyniec. It is likewise possible that it may have been the element of the purposefully arranged religious staging, which throughout the Counter-Reformation often accompanied Corpus Christi processions and was organised by the Jesuit Order. The celebrations may have undergone further transformation in the first decades of the 19th century. The Miciński family, who descended directly from the local rafters, took over as the procession’s organisers. Little attention has been paid so far to the fact that the Miciński family from Półwsie Zwierzynieckie were educated actors and musicians. With their background and professional practice, they may have reshaped the Lajkonik Procession. Thus, the question arises whether it has really survived in its original form derived from folklore. The spectacle’s organiser Teofil Miciński (1828–1895) is known to have extended it deliberately with new elements, such as new figures in the procession or new costumes.

Previously, i.e. in 1840, an unsuccessful attempt was made to perform the Lajkonik Procession according to a fixed scenario. The instructions were provided as part of the restoration blueprint recorded in a manuscript known as “Xięga Włóczków” [Rafters’ Book], written by the Senator of the Free city of Kraków Teodor Soccini-Soczyński (1781–1862). Soczyński recorded an exact number of the people in the procession and the band, together with the functions and tasks they were expected to perform during the celebrations. That being said, a large number of elements in Soczyński’s account sound rather mysterious and are unknown from other sources. These elements may have been invented by the author, who wanted to make the procession more attractive.

The artist who undoubtedly left an indelible mark on the Lajkonik Procession was Stanisław Wyspiański (1869–1907), who from 1901–1904 designed and

29 A piece of information obtained from the standard-bearer Stefan Marcinkowski.
31 Obchód Lajkonika [Lajkonik Parade] (1968), MHK Archive, sign. 1/120.
33 For an overview of the hypotheses on Konik Zwierzyniecki’s origins, see Bujak Józef, Pilichowska Bogdana, Lajkonik w oczach badaczy, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa – Konteksty” 1980, Year 24, no. 1–2, p. 4–7; Szoka Andrzej Iwo, Tajemnica pochodzenia Lajkonika. Konik Zwierzyniecki w oczach badań [in:] Świat Lajkonika..., op. cit., p. 20–30.
35 Stachowicz Michał, Konik zwierzyniecki, 1820, oil on canvas 63 x 92 cm, possession of MHK, inv. no. MHK-253/III; ibidem, Konik zwierzyniecki, 1820, oil on canvas, 67 x 100,5 cm, possession of National Museum in Warszawa, inv. no. MP4499.
36 Szoka Andrzej Iwo, op. cit., p. 41-43.
39 Xięga włóczków krakowskich [Kraków Rafters’ Book], ANK, sign. 3163, see Lang Elżbieta, op. cit., p. 79-85.
supervised the creation of a new costume for the central figure in the procession. The design was inspired by the Łajkonik costume from the previous years, but Wyspiański’s idea stood out as a coherent whole combining Oriental elements, especially Turkish, with fashionable Art Nouveau elements inspired by folklore, especially from the Kraków area. Leszek Ludwikowski hypothesised that Wyspiański was planning to add significant changes to the visual aspect of the procession and design costumes for other figures in the procession. A question arises whether Wyspiański had the right as an artist to alter the central figure in the procession. According to Adam Chmiele (1865–1934), Wyspiański, who was a member of the Society for the Lovers of the History and Monuments of Kraków and a distant relative of the Miciński family, was deeply moved whenever he saw Łajkonik and its procession. Cannot Wyspiański, as a native of Kraków, be defined as a bearer of the intangible heritage in his area? Did it not give him the right to transform his own heritage? Or perhaps, when Wyspiański’s design was introduced, the procession itself ceased to belong in Kraków’s authentic folklore and became an artificially arranged spectacle that is far from spontaneity and more akin to what is known as fakelore? The opinion of the participants in the procession is known to have been ignored by the designers of new costumes introduced in 1950 (Witold Chomicz (1910–1984) and 1997 (Krystyna Zachwatowicz). In case of the latter, the views of the participants verged on the critical. Paradoxically, this openly expressed criticism can testify to the longevity of the Łajkonik Procession, whose bearers want to make a good impression on their audience.

I have discussed three types of determining factors that undoubtedly shaped the evolution of the Łajkonik Procession throughout the last three centuries. I do realise that other factors also came into play. That being said, I am of the opinion that legal, political, and artistic impact, especially in the past, are characteristic of a large city. The history of Łajkonik Procession and the related customs exemplifies the forces that come into play whenever the intangible cultural heritage undergoes dynamic and evolutionary change. At the same time, they can reinforce the stance of the researchers who abandoned the outdated understanding of “authenticity”.

Text translated from Polish language

ACRONYMS

AKMK – Archiwum Kurii Metropolitarnej w Krakowie [Archdiocezja Curia Archive in Kraków]
ANK – Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie [National State Archive in Kraków]
AZN – Archiwum Klasztoru Sióstr Norbertanek na Zwierzyncu [Premonstratensian Convent Archive in Zwierzyniec, Kraków]
MHK – Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa [Historical Museum of the City of Kraków]

ARCHIVE RECORDS

• Akta cechu włóczków [Kraków Rafters’ Guild Records], ANK, sign. 3163.
• Akta dotyczące obchodu Konika zwierzynieckiego [Konik Zwierzyniecki Festival Records], ANK, sign. 3164.
• Obchód Łajkonika [Łajkonik Festival] (1968), MHK Archive, sign. 1/120.
• Oświadczenie ks. Jana Pietrzykowskiego o przyjęciu przez Prokuraturę Kapituły Katedralnej Krakowskiej rezygnacji Teofila Micińskiego z posady kustosza katedry i posady w orkiestrze katedralnym [Statement by Father Jan Pietrzykowski on the Resignation Filed by Teofil Miciński as Cathedral Custodian and Member of the Cathedral Orchestra, Accepted by the Kraków Cathedral Chapter Solicitors’ Office on 31 March 1866], Kraków, Jacek Golatowski’s family archive.
• Sołtyk, Kajetan Ignacy (Bishop). Ordynacja Processyi w Oktawy Bożego Ciała [The Order of the Corpus Christi Octave Procession], AKMK, Xiążąt Biskupów Krakowskich Pisma nad Dyecezją [Kraków Diocese Papers], p. 391–394.

40 Ibidem, p. 95-98.
44 A piece of information provided by Director Wacław Passowicz, who worked at MHK from 1963–2009.
• Utrzymanie klasztoru – rozliczenie (rachunki) przychodu i rozchodu pieniędzy [Upkeep of the Convent – profit and loss calculation (bills)], AZN, manuscript 260.
• Wykaz wydanych pieniędzy z kasy konwenciey i wyexppensowanych od dnia 18 listopada 1859 roku [Inventory of the Expenses Registered and Incurred by the Convention’s Budget as of 18 November 1859], AZN, manuscript 433.
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• Estreicherówna Maria, Życie towarzyskie i obyczajowe Krakowa w latach 1848–1863, Kraków 1963.
The paper takes as its point of departure the space of what used to be Moscopole, Albania, one of the largest and most excellent cities in the 18th-century Balkans. Currently, what once was a thriving city can be defined as an empty space, as it were, or one of the few sites, now in ruin, that reflected the former glory of the Aromanian (Vlach) culture. The homes and workshops of the Aromanians were

1 The article makes a consistent use of the term Aromanie (Aromanians) instead of Arumuni (Aromanians), the latter being dominant in the Polish literature on the subject and deriving from ideological attempts to change traditional names used by this ethnic community that have been undertaken since the 19th century by the intellectuals who wanted to demonstrate the Romanian origins of the community. The term Aromanie (Aromanians) is used interchangeably with the term Wołosi (Vlachs), as the latter was used by the Aromanians themselves and is the earliest historical
pilled and burnt to the ground; the Orthodox churches and monasteries, together with their post-Byzantine polychrome paintings and opulent furnishings, went into ruin; a variety of professions, once popular in the city, sank into oblivion. The bygone era has survived in only several churches, each in varying condition; the remains of an old route that connected Moscopole with other large cities in the Balkans and elsewhere in Europe; and the stones set in the houses and homesteads of their Albanian residents, who are now living in the area. Osten- sibly, the resulting situation allows a conclusion that there is little to nothing to research in Moscopole, or the non-existent city in the Balkans.

One more point of departure for the paper is also a piece of information that I came across during a study on the intangible cultural heritage of the Aromanians. While browsing for resources on the internet, I found several brief references and short videos about the Aromanians who visit church ruins in what once used to be Moscopole. Annually, small groups of Vlach people visit the city to celebrate religious holidays according to the Orthodox calendar; they gather around the church ruins and perform a ritual that symbolically bridges the contemporary with the remembrance of the past, and their life here and now with their ancestors’ tradition. The ritual gestures of the Aromanians remain the same every year. If possible, they join a liturgy or prayer in the church, and then burn a fire in the vicinity of the existing church or its ruins, slay an animal (usually a lamb), roast it, pray, discuss, and feast together. The tradition of ritual feasting, which derives from the ancient cult of home fire that underwent transformation in all the religions of the Book, where it symbolises the covenant between God and man, allows one to recognise continuity, axis mundi, religious holidays, and related feasting in the Aromanian community. Since 2010, the communal gatherings that the Aromanians perform in Moscopole to celebrate the Assumption (15 August) with feasts that centre around the ritual communal dance of corlu mare (Greek: tranós chorós) have grown to become a prominent symbol for their community. The dance, which men and women, both young and old, join in a circle, is performed in only several Aromanian towns or villages, and it dates back to the arcaic rites of passage for men or the cult of dead ancestors. The dance, as it is performed today, takes on a new meaning and symbolises the remembrance of the past and their ancestors and the unity of the Aromanian people.

For me, the search for the traces of the past and contemporary Aromanian culture became an anchor, or Ariadne’s thread, as it were, that allowed me to discover a relationship between the invisible city and the tangible and intangible Aromanian heritage inherent in the space of what once used to be Moscopole, and as such the world of virtually unknown history and collective memory. This thread led me all the way to Moscopole, Albania, to examine the artefacts and rituals that still reflect its former glory. The journey, which for me transformed into the symbol of real and mythical fates of the historic cities that were afflicted by hatred, violence, and totalitarianism, allowed me to discover what Moscopole is and used to be, and open the field of the imaginary to picture (if we only had any strategic plan or sufficient funds in place to manage the heritage of the Aromanians and Vlachs in Europe, or more broadly, any heritage that is unsettling or difficult) what the City of the Shepherds and its history might offer to contemporary Europe. It also inspired me to examine the question of how to safeguard the cultural heritage of ethnic minorities or stateless communities that share a daunting historical memory and were afflicted by totalitarian repressions. Likewise, it also made me consider why, a large number of totalitarian artefacts in Europe notwithstanding, only few such places are present on the prestigious UNESCO list of cultural heritage. Why do we still commemorate them so little?

Moscopole. A Brief History of the City

Moscopole is now a village in south-eastern Albania, located near the city of Korçë district. It is difficult to recreate a consistent history of the city due to the absence of historical and ethnographic resources. The stories that recount the very origins of the city confuse fact with legend. This in turn adds to the image


\[2\] Kocój Ewa, Pamięć starych wieków, Kraków 2013, p. 321-322.
of a mythical city, as it were, that is exposed to historical and political ideology throughout its history. Moscopole is known to have been inhabited by the Aromanian majority at least from the 17th century. The inhabitants were divided into three social stratum: a wealthy merchant community, who used their trading connections to become the direct subjects to the Turkish authorities; craftsmen, who produced articles for sale that were carried by caravans; and shepherds, who grazed their sheep and cattle not only in the local mountains but also, seasonally, at the vast grazing lands of the Balkans. This unique and well organised community contributed to the rapid development of the city in the 17th and 18th centuries, when it became a large cultural hub and one of the most important cities in the Balkans. This only strengthened the local Aromanian community, who earned the name of the Moscopolitans and, in mythological accounts, began to symbolise the highest point in the Aromanian history.

In the 18th century, Moscopole was an important cultural hub for the Aromanians. A large number of cultural and educational institutions were present in the city (a library from 1710, the first printing press in the Balkans from 1720, a school from 1744). The city also ran a hospital and a poorhouse. Additionally, prominent religious figures were active in the city in the 18th century, including Gregory of Durrës (died in 1770), an Orthodox monk and translator of the Bible, and David of Selenica, a fresco and icon painter, polychrome painter in many of the churches in the Balkans, who brought the revival of the Palaiologos style of Byzantine painting in what is today’s Albania.

The city also boasted many religious sites, but their number and exact names remain unknown. The mythical accounts mention 20, 30, or even 70 churches which, houses, outhouses, shops, and workshops aside, reportedly created the urban space of Moscopole. Preserved to this day, the artefacts of Vlach history and culture that act as symbols of “today’s invisible city” can’t nonetheless confirm these stories. A larger number of the monuments dates to the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries: six churches and church ruins have survived to this day.

The traces of Aromanian cultural heritage allow a set of conclusions on the multicultural nature of the region. The area was inhabited not only by the Aromanians, but also by the Greeks, Albanians, Bulgarians, Turks, Jews and Slavic people, all of whom created the multiethnic landscape of the Balkans. So many ethnicities in one area had to find a way to live peacefully, but this also bred disagreement and conflict. For the Aromanians, Moscopole became the symbol of conflict and their never-ending exile, as it sustained repeated damage at the hands Osman and Muslim Albanian invaders in the latter part of the 18th century. The final blow came in 1788 from Ali Pasha’s troops, which burnt the city and drove away its inhabitants. Despite repeated attempts to the contrary, Moscopole would never regain its former glory. In 1916, the cultural landmarks of Moscopole were pillaged by the gangs of Albanian looters, who destroyed much of the Orthodox churches and their unique polychrome paintings that reflected the city’s former splendour. The act of destruction was completed in 1943, when the remaining architecture, four churches aside, was levelled to the ground during a guerilla war waged by Balli Kombëtar’s nationalist organisation. The City of the Shepherds, repeatedly damaged and abandoned, has never regained its former glory and is now a small village of ca. 1 thousand inhabitants that boasts only some of the traces of its splendid past.

The driving away of the Aromanians from Moscopole gave rise to its myth, which in contemporary accounts presents the city as the Balkans’ Arcadia, as it were, or New Jerusalem or New Athens. The driving away of the Vlach community from the city was also recorded in the texts of culture: legends, songs, forms of family oral history that have been passed on from generation to generation, documents, and multimedia presentations uploaded by the Aromanians themselves on the internet. This adds several new layers to the local intangible heritage.

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1 The following excerpts were used: Kocić Iwa, Artefakty przeszłości jako ślady pamięci. Dziedzictwo kulturowe Aromonów na Bałkanach, „Prace Etnograficzne” 2015, vol. 4; Eadem, Artefacts of the past as traces of memory. The Aromanian cultural heritage in the Balkans, „Res Historica” 2016, vol. 41.


which is circulated in the European public space and increasingly referenced in academic research and interpretations.

Real and Invisible Cities. Material and Mental Degradation vs. Urban Regeneration

There is no deluding oneself that in the long term the Aromanian rituals in Moscopole are doomed to oblivion. Such stories are determined by time and collective memory. When the community is dispersed and its members are surrounded by alien majorities, time acts against their memory. When there are no carriers of tradition, the passage of time makes the rituals fade away, as they no longer legitimise the existing social order. They can also become commercialised by those who see it as a means to achieve financial ends or unwittingly judge their value by placing them in one way or another in the public space (e.g. on the lists of cultural heritage). That is why the history of Moscopole sets a number of questions to contemporary researchers. These questions concern how to preserve the artefacts, beliefs, rites, and rituals of small European communities, especially those whose history is ridden with conflict and contradictory political and historical interests that affect their identity and those whose members are dropping in numbers or are dispersed. Can the Aromanian City of the Shepherds, the history and identity of which in some sense a number of different ethnicities are trying to claim as their own, can be saved from oblivion, considering that several ruins and rituals still performed in its space have survived to this day?

The problem of Moscopole and its unsettling cultural heritage must be examined from at least two perspectives, namely the angles of ethnography and cultural space management. Admittedly, there is little one can do from the ethnographic perspective. The phenomenon of Moscopole can be described and the forms of intangible beliefs and rituals centred around particular artefacts and the urban space can be registered. Researchers can focus on the local community by showing what meanings, narratives, and changes have occurred in the area. In my opinion, however, the city needs a customised strategy to manage the phenomena centred around its still invisible space, which draws these considerations closer to the regeneration perspective and related strategic management (or rather its remote plans).

The contemporary measures aimed at preserving what can be broadly defined as the Vlach cultural heritage in Moscopole allows a conclusion that they champion “revitalisation” in the original sense of the word, the budding reality of Aromanian culture is being revived by the Vlach community themselves (through i.e. visits, rituals, stories, and legends) and the representatives of cultural, social, academic, and government institutions. Derived from architecture, the term is primarily concerned with spatial planning aimed at lending a new lease of life to previously degraded areas in three different aspects: architecture, society, and the economy. In the light of the above definition, Moscopole is yet to develop such a plan. However, the Moscopole of today shows that contemporary culture and the movements championing unsettling and difficult cultural heritage need a different and broader definition of the term. It seems that the “regeneration of degraded areas (spaces)” must be related not only to the areas actually degraded by industry (physically degraded urban space, a phenomenon less frequently seen in the village), but also to mental spaces that are invisible, difficult, unsettling, and often of symbolic and imaginary import to a particular community. The phrase “mentally degraded space” may evoke a deeply unjust course of history that has been experienced by the inhabitants of a given area. Such degradation can be brought about by a variety of causes: wars, riots, repressions, stereotypes, and neighbourly conflict that inflict tangible and intangible damage to the area. This results in the destruction and abandonment of homes and churches, which are now turned into overgrown ruins or blank spaces that conceal an invisible history told through sheer ritual or even through their tangible and intangible emptiness.

The term “mentally degraded” evokes a symbolic fissure in reality that divides it into two parts: visible and invisible. The words often conjure up invisible history or cultural reality that have survived only in fragments as symbols and signs of the world/culture of a given ethnicity in the memory of its carriers or — if they are missing or prone to oblivion — in the memory of the others. This context lends a whole new meaning to the term “revitalisation”. In my view, it is concerned with bringing back the memory to a place even if no physical traces or living carriers (those who created the culture of a given area, both the fellow men and the strangers) of a given culture exist. Human beings are able to preserve and recover the memory of material and spiritual reality, that is, to drive revitalisation processes

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in places where only minute fragments of the lost world have survived or where no artefacts, beliefs, rites, and rituals have been saved from oblivion. The revitalisation process thus affects both physically and mentally (spiritually) degraded areas and reverts the process of material and spiritual destruction. It does not begin with creating ideas for new spatial and social organisation but with bringing back the memory that is at the core of (marks the initial stage in) the process of driving particular revitalisation measures.

Cultural Memory and Space Management

The problem of Moscopole's heritage provokes yet another question, namely that of memory management in cultural space\textsuperscript{13}. Even though I find the issue of memory management slightly disturbing due to manipulation that memory is susceptible to at the hands of local authorities whose initiatives tend to repress the memory of the heritage's rightful carriers. In the case of Moscopole, the problem lies elsewhere, as it involves memory management at the institutional level. The example of Moscopole demonstrates that the city is struggling to preserve its cultural heritage (mainly intangible), which is going to survive so long as the Aromanian community visits the area. It also shows that despite many projects aimed at preserving cultural heritage in the contemporary world, no well-conceived, comprehensive, and top-down ways exist to manage unsettling or unwanted heritage and bring it back to Europe's memory. Europeans still seem to be lacking in shared ideas on how to take care of the places affected by conflict, unwanted memory, and mentally degraded areas.

What to do with Moscopole then? Several remarks must be made before one ventures to answer the question. The cultural heritage of today's Moscopole is faced with a variety of paradoxes. They exemplify the problems and paradoxes characteristic of contemporary Europe, not only the Balkans. The first such paradox is concerned with bottom-up city management policies and the related clash of cultures and civilisations. Although institutional management by the state or world-leading organisations is still non-existent in Moscopole, the town is in a sense managed by its contemporary Albanian inhabitants. The paradox comes to the fore when one realises that at the very core of Moscopole's cultural heritage are world famous Orthodox monuments: churches and monasteries with opulent interior polychrome paintings and rituals that date back to the antiquity. Contemporary Muslims mainly recognise their economic value, as they are capable of drawing tourists and improve the material standing of Moscopole's residents\textsuperscript{14}.

The second of Moscopole's paradoxes is institutional space and heritage management in a city that no longer exists and a community that dispersed throughout the world and whose Ancient Roman (or perhaps Ancient Greek) identity remains unwanted by many (identity conflicts that the Aromanians experienced in Greece, Macedonia, Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria). Financially, the measures aimed at managing Moscopole's heritage are supported by an international community that gathers several enthusiasts who sometimes represent non-profit organisations. After the fall of Communism and the resulting opening of Albania's borders, the community started to speak up for the cultural heritage of Moscopole. In 2004, Beatrice de Dufort, President of the Heritage Without Frontiers Association, gained the support of the European Commission and World Monuments Fund to restore Moscopole's historic sites. From 2004–2010, the existing Orthodox churches and monasteries and their frescoes were gradually restored. An information hub was established to promote Moscopole's history. Several tourist information boards were placed in front of the churches. Following the measures, the Albanian community turned out to be the most resourceful again as they set up a few B&Bs and restaurants for the tourists. There is nothing bad about it. This natural course of things poses a set of new questions, including the future development of the area in the light of the undergoing processes (commercialisation, the appropriation of the heritage by the Albanian majority, uncontrolled tourism, and sustainable development). It must also be pointed out that the measures had a significant effect on Moscopole's intangible cultural heritage: in 2010, after 200 years of absence, a communal gathering in the city from the end of the 18th century.

Considering the above paradoxes, only briefly described, it is worth considering what can be done for Moscopole to preserve its memory and “regain” both the urban space that is both Aromanian and multicultural in nature. It seems necessary to develop a strategic plan to manage the tangible and intangible space of


\textsuperscript{14} Fieldwork, observation, Moscopole, August 2015.
Moscopole that follows the suggestions below. One such suggestion is to recognise the City of the Shepherds as a historical space and the symbol of the former glory of Aromanian culture, its multicultural nature, conflict, the Holocaust, exile and wandering of the ethnos. This should be done by the state authorities in each of the Balkan countries, the international organisations that drive the cause of cultural heritage preservation, and the citizens who participate in the drama on both sides on the conflict.

Another suggestion is to carry out the material regeneration process in Moscopole. This entails the restoration of its historic space to turn the site into a living “open-air museum”. The goal is not to recreate the historic city of Moscopole in every detail but to bring it back to life in line with contemporary ideas. The measures require shared commitment from the local community, the Aromanian diaspora, and the interdisciplinary group of international academic experts.

One more idea is a revitalisation of the intangible heritage of Moscopole by both the experts and Aromanians based on the idea of the living city-museum, including the recreation of historic Aromanian professions at institutional and educational (not folklore-oriented) levels: wool-weaving workshops, leather production, tailoring, pasturing (still in existence), shelter making, shepherd’s products, and caravanning on the existing historic routes. Additionally, the Aromanian route might be marked out in Albania as part of a larger European Vlach route that connects Albania with the northern Carpathians. Considering the above, it might also be a good idea to establish a separate Vlach museum in Moscopole to document and showcase a variety of aspects inherent in Aromanian culture (artefacts, clothing, photographs, documentaries) and run educational and publishing activity. One section of the museum could be available online (digital resources); yet another would be responsible for organising academic symposia and conferences to bring together an international scientific community interested in researching the Aromanians and other marginalised or stateless societies; yet another would conduct academic research on tangible and intangible heritage in areas inhabited by the Aromanians. The suggestions should be considered with respect to the sustainable development of the city as a living open-air museum that is aimed at defending it against uncontrolled commercialisation while safeguarding the memory of the City of the Shepherds, which once created a multicultural public space of the Balkans and represented the Aromanians themselves.

Text translated from Polish language

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Active Methods of Museum-Based Education. Teaching About Intangible Cultural Heritage

Gregory Ashworth in his text, *True potential hidden problems. Tales of the five Central European cities and their heritage*, notes that the city should be looked at "through the spectrum of time - from the past, the present and the forecasts for the future." He further points out that "the present can be understood only if the past is seen as its inseparable part, and similarly the future is shaped by the projections of the past in the present". Such a perception of the past enables better understanding, and interpreting of heritage, which the author defines as the conscious creation on the basis of the stored and recorded past. Ashworth therefore, understands heritage as a process of usage of the past, the use of "media history" in order to meet diverse today’s social, cultural, political, needs etc. As Ashworth writes in his article *Protection, maintenance and inheritance. The past in the present, on the example of the built environment*, it the past manifests in the present

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2 Ibidem, p. 61.
through various forms of remembering, stories, traditions, artifacts and monuments of the past. It transforms the experience lived here and now, creating images of the past in the present. Heritage describes the present, which testifies to the continuity, origin and existence of the past. And it concerns itself on how the city presents the past in such a perceived manner. It is steeped in history, places of memory and remembrance, all of which should be subjectified. To quote Henri Lefebvre, it is a place to meet people, but also to merge the past with the present. And according to the author of The Urban Revolution, it becomes an element that combines contemporary urban discourse. As Florian Znaniecki wrote, the city is a whole humanistic unit, realizing the experiences and actions of its people or, as mentioned Lefebvre, a perception of space, understanding and life. Furthermore this space, which is created in order to build membership and communitas, with their building blocks not only refer to specific places and monuments, but also behavior, traditions and practices of everyday life. It is important to remember and cultivate the cultural elements of the city that seem the most fleeting - fading handicrafts and crafts, vintage instruments, songs, narrated stories, local traditions, night vigils, processions, any ceremonial practices: religious and secular, dialects, customs-related leisure services, feasting, celebration of religious holidays and state etc. Thus, these cultural, social and spiritual elements are involved in the process of building, defining and translating local identity. All these elements are classified as intangible cultural heritage, which include the practices, ideas, messages, knowledge and skills - as well as the associated instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural space - that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. Is transmitted from generation to generation, constantly being reproduced. It provides a sense of identity and continuity, thus contributing in this way to promote respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. It exists within the community. Authors of a study published by the National Heritage Institute stressed that “the transmission of such heritage often includes communicating the meaning, history, related values, and even the recognition and appreciation of the word culture”. The need for protection of such heritage involves the next generations to identify and define, strengthen and promote. “Protection – they wrote- is understood here as a fixation, preservation and transfer of heritage to the next generation, thus keeping it alive, and at the same time changing and adapting it. This mainly concerns the transfer of skills and knowledge”. Moreover, the best form of protection is perceived as education.

Piotr Zuchowski, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage in the aforesaid introduction stresses that

[...] there is no doubt that the effective protection of what is dearest to man, requires education. Man’s relationship with the heritage of the region is a value that young people should realize, what will certainly lead to the evolution of their sense of self-identity, and hence - the attitude of involvement in matters related to the everyday life of the community, in which they grow up in, as well as opening up towards other communities and cultures.

And further:

Realizing what the cultural heritage of their region, town, village is the starting point to cultivate, revival or reactivation of local traditions. One of the ways for the ability to see the value and potential of the local cultural heritage is the realization of the broader education in this field. Protecting and learning about intangible cultural heritage is one of the tasks facing the museums. After all, the 1996 law on museums clearly states that the purpose of the museum is “to collect and ensure durable protection of natural and cultural heritage of humanity of a tangible and intangible, information about

\(^1\) Ibidem, p. 21, 22.
\(^2\) Ibidem, p. 32.
\(^3\) Lefebvre Henri, The urban revolution, Minneapolis-London 2003.
\(^4\) Znaniecki Florian, Aliasto w świadomości jego obywateli, Poznań 1931, p. 9-10.
\(^6\) The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), art. 2 – definitions.

\(^10\) Ibidem, p. 21.
\(^11\) Ibidem, p. 6.
\(^12\) Ibidem.
values and content (…), the formation of cognitive and aesthetic sensitivity13. The aim of the museum-based education is, among other things, the formation of identity and local memory by allowing visitors to commune with intangible heritage. Learning about intangible heritage fosters its commemoration and protection, but it also assists in countering intolerance, degradation, extinction. It aims to foster among students a duty to respect the heritage of other communities, groups and individuals, cities. Furthermore, it helps to increase awareness on the importance of this heritage, ensuring its appreciation. It is much easier, however, to illustrate and teach about tangible heritage presented in the museum, than to refer to ephemeral cultural elements. For this purpose, educators together with the students decided to go beyond the museum walls and treat the city as an extension of museum space, paying attention not only to infrastructure but to the behavior of people, traditions, race, which had and still have a significant impact on the contemporary perception of reality. It proves that the city space is an active space of experience; intangible cultural heritage is considered to be a source of cultural diversity and a guarantee of sustainable development and protection of traditional culture and folk. And in an effort, to further promote museum-based education, the Częstochowa Museum14, for example, organizes themed bike tours during which participants address issues of historic trees and parks, ancient suburbs of Częstochowa, monuments, historic railway, as well as hiking. Meanwhile, the Galicia Jewish Museum began recurring event organizing thematic walks in Kraków’s Kazimierz district. The walks correspond with forgotten events of the life of the Jewish community and involve many areas of Jewish culture, including history and biographies of rabbis, sacred and secular buildings, cemeteries and tombstone symbolism, or touching upon sporting events such as the commemoration of the 94th anniversary of the first goal for the Polish national football team shot by Joseph Klotz, a Jewish player from Jutrzenka. Kraków and the International Cultural Centre organizes themed walks around the theme of Polish-Lithuanian relations in the cultural and artistic exchange as well as trails documenting vanishing professions or visiting traditional craft workshops and services. During one of those trails, the National Museum in Kraków in connection with an exhibition entitled Ottomania. The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Art tells the story of Kraków in the face of the Turkish power. During other events remnants of the Wyspiański heritage is presented in the form of thematic paths across the city. A Historical Museum of Kraków invites people to participate in educational walks through the grounds of the former Jewish ghetto in Kraków, in order to learn about its history. A Historical Museum in Bielsko-Biała organizes similar walks around the city, thematically addressing the city’s religious heritage and the (multi) cultural center, national movements, the history of colonization, as well as focusing on existing industry and technology. Authors of the touristic trails write: “The city tells its story incoherently, jumping from subject to subject. The historical routes (…) help to organize it so that the story is divided in to thematic chapters”15. As the organizers of the walks of Historical Museum of Kraków note, “the purpose of each of these walks is to encourage participants to independently explore its history”16.

Such walks and themed trails of course, are only some of the numerous teaching models of museum-based education. Apart from the models already discussed, it is worth mentioning the organization of urban games, fairs, festivals, and staging of major historical events. These methods rely on learning by actively engaging participants, with the museum, and treating them as equal participants’ co-creating the event. The city becomes a visited site, and walking becomes a fact, as wrote Lefebvre- a meeting place for participants, educators and students, merging the past and present. Walking around the city, participants can experience and visually check how the past intervenes in the present, and how much has been forgotten and must be reconstructed. Furthermore, participants can learn

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15 Ustawa o muzeach z dnia 21 listopada 1996, rodz.1. art.1.
16 Museum-based models of teaching were selected from several methods of museum education, which are described in the frame of the Research financed by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage called Regional or trans-regional cultural education using the example of museums. The aim of the project is to show how changing the culture of education through integrating in formal education aspects of informal education using visual culture over the last five years. The European Commission sees combined formal education with informal opportunity to improve the quality of education. To informal education we may include museum lessons that use visual culture. We will examine in what ways has the approach to visual culture in education undergone changes, and what educational range do institution offer schools. The project will prepare a report illustrating the relationships between museums as cultural institutions and schools at all three levels of education in the province of Malopolska and Silesian, as well as recommendations for Marshals of Southern Poland Macro-region on inter-provincial cooperation, and a website devoted to cultural observatory in education. The research will be supplemented with new elements of visual culture and the region (project’s details on the website: http://www.obserwatoriumkultury.edu.pl/index.php?lang=en).
about the point of contact of two perspectives of time and discourses, as well as learn what the intangible heritage is based upon, and how through performative play it must be protected from oblivion and non-existence. Walking across the city space, visiting new places according to a particular route theme is a physical operation, but also a cultural one - visiting places and sometimes not-places, meeting with relics of the past. Today, there are still few people left who can still talk about a dying profession or tradition, giving new meaning to the past, by making it part of the present. This joint action is precisely the goal here, but also a model of teaching. This is action-oriented pedagogy and experience. The essence of education is in fact an adventure. This model is closely related to a postmodern treatment of teaching. Therefore, it refers to the use of the “eye friendly” method as an educational practice, which is aims to find opportunities to share experiences of participation inheritance among the participants, but also between the recipient and the exhibit. This method is based on a conscious performing of a dialogue, by the participant and his empowerment as well as his subjective perspective and acceptance. Such a dialogic relationship between the recipient and the exhibit (in this case, a relic of the past) is stimulated by the educator. A museum lesson does not become merely a dry lecture, but incarnate embodiment of the past; the past living in the streets, memories, people and being once again spoken of. Thus, walking becomes a multi-narrative story of participants, actors, events, and sometimes silent witnesses disappearing rituals and traditions. It is an unearthing of history and discovery of local places. A common story of heritage becomes, as noted in Charlotte Linde's article, The acquisition of a speaker by a story: How history becomes memory and identity\textsuperscript{17}, an act of building a sense of belonging to the past and local identity. Because in order to be a member of the community, one should tell his or her story. According to Linde, formal and informal learning, should therefore be learning how to tell a coherent story of a group. It should illustrate how contemporary group of judges interprets and relates to the past. The educators during such walks not only transmit specific knowledge, but they also create local community, protect heritage and increase the competence of students – mutually constructing with them the story of the past. The aim of the walk is in fact to accompany the independent discovery of history.

Nature trails used by museums as a model to protect and educate about the intangible cultural heritage of the city are, to paraphrase the title of the article written by Krystyna Kaminska\textsuperscript{18}, the new strategy of the past made present. The author devotes her text to cultural trails, which in a micro version become urban walks and educational trails. It shows that walking is a kind of approximation and appeal to tradition - the search for authenticity supported by the reconstruction of the past. It combining locality with tradition. It is therefore inextricably linked with the legacy understood by Gregory Ashworth. Kaminska defined this type of trail as a form of narrative presentation of cultural exploration, dissemination and promotion, as well as the protection of its resources, which shows the “human development as a multidimensional and continuous exchange of goods, ideas, knowledge and values”\textsuperscript{19}. She further notes that “cultural trail is a kind of breaking of prism of a standard museum presentation of cultural heritage”\textsuperscript{20}.

It was this last remark that seems to be most relevant in these considerations. It argues for a new perception of museum-based education. The new understanding of the customer as co-founder along with a new discourse on the museum having a performative impact on the recipient, and not only faith in the self-contained power of content within the exhibit, entailed the need for development of new models for museum-based education. This new model is based on learning through direct participation, experience, or action. New concepts were eventually formulated, such as the concept of Ecomuseum, closely associated with the self-education- models of intensive cooperation with local schools. Thus, the museum-based education is being increasingly implemented referring to the interdisciplinary and modern methods of communication.

Guichard\textsuperscript{21} wrote that the aim of museum-based education is the transition from informal discoveries to a search for elements constructing knowledge in relation to the object of scientific study. As noted by Irena Wojnar, museums\textsuperscript{22}, in addition to the function of being a collector, focus their efforts on conservation,


\textsuperscript{19} Ibidem, p. 320.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibidem, p. 321.


research-based acquisition of knowledge, popularization and education, but also aim to fulfill their role as a communicator. She further wrote that the museum as a cultural focus has grown to the size of a model of art which is both stimulating and educational. Museum-based pedagogy created by Alfred Lichtwarka is thus education and development of children and youth in the museum, and through the museum. It is related to education through art and new concepts of education, which imply education on the basis of daily experience (John Dewey), the development of abstract thinking (Jean Piaget) and creative and self-discovering the world around us (Maria Montessori). Educational activities of a museum are intentional and are run separately from information activities, and they not only transmit knowledge, but also educate as to the ability to read visual culture. It corresponds with the concept of lifelong education. An important voice in this debate also seems to be that of Leszek Sosnowski, who notes that everyone should be entitled to the so-called, right to culture. He defines it as the universal knowledge of culture. It emphasizes that culture must be inoculated from the earliest years, along with a commitment to culture that should span a lifetime. The ability to participate in culture is seen as soft skills.

Such walks are an active meeting not only with one’s past and heritage, but also with other people. When incorporated in the museum setting, it makes a visit to the museum a journey aimed at “processing of meanings present location”.

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25 The importance of the modern university and the right to culture – the lead lecture during panel Academic Culture in the frame of conference organised by Jagiellonian University called The ideal of the University and social needs (21.01.20015).
26 Kamińska Krystyna, op. cit., p. 326.
**Kamil Stasiak | Historical Museum of the City of Kraków**

**Intangible Heritage in Formal Education. Conditions and Perspectives**

The intangible cultural heritage had been waiting for a possibly comprehensive regulation until 2003, when the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was passed. The solutions offered in the Convention were similar to those regarding the tangible heritage in that they were primarily concerned with identification and inventorying. However, the safeguarding of the "social practices, ideas, traditions, knowledge, and skills" that are important for a given community also required new methods that can be put under one umbrella term of "promotion". Due to its very nature, the intangible heritage is particularly prone to fading away. As it loses its value in a community, heritage of this kind often disappears in silence and in ways that are far less spectacular than its tangible forms. Polish legislators still seem to be favouring the latter. The emphasis on safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage must rely on general legislation, including the Constitution¹. Poland was the 135th country to ratify the UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage, the procedure being completed in 2011. Some of the provisions referred directly or indirectly to education as one of the most prominent means of safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage. The direct reference was made in the following sections:

"Safeguarding" means measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the [...] enhancement and transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage.²

Each State Party shall [...]endeavour to ensure recognition of, respect for, and enhancement of the intangible cultural heritage in society, in particular through: (i) educational, awareness-raising, and information programmes, aimed at the general public, in particular young people [...].³

As pointed out by Jerzy Bartmiński: “the definition provided by the Convention is cumulative (Art. 2), enumerative, and suggestive of a compromise between the parties that initiated its creation”⁴. Bartmiński’s remark on the definition can be extended to the entire document. It is used for guidance only without imposing any particular solutions. For example, it refrains from defining the proportion between non-formal and formal education. Practice suggests that the emphasis on the intangible cultural heritage is more deeply rooted in measures that go beyond the school system and are initiated by museums, NGOs, and community centres. As a term, the intangible cultural heritage is nowhere to be found in the Common Core, which is a central document defining the content to be covered by formal education. That being said, the Common Core contains references that offer an opportunity for the teachers to touch on a number of subjects related to the intangible cultural heritage. It is possible and often desirable to transfer good practices tested in non-formal settings to the classroom.

The nature of the intangible cultural heritage slightly favours the peripheries, both globally and within individual countries. As a result, the intangible

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¹ The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), art. 2 – Definitions.
The intangible heritage and its forms are shaped down to different causes and lead to the emergence of “social prisons,” as it is considered attractive to join their native communities, as this may accelerate the process of social integration, and where the rooted traditions, where it is considered attractive to join their native communities, as this may accelerate the process of social integration, and where the forms of the intangible heritage are provided with institutional support. Threats to the intangible heritage also stem from global processes: the allure of popular culture or the dying exchange of thought between the generations, which is down to different causes and leads to the emergence of “social prisons,” as it were. This entails a one-sided view of culture and a critical approach towards the intangible heritage and its forms. This negative publicity can also be shaped by the mass media. At the same time, folk culture is often pitted against high culture. As pointed out by Barbara Fatyga:

(...) these cultures [folk cultures, annotation by KS] often preserve socially prized values that can be safeguarded and developed through culture management rather than traditional practices of cultural education, the latter being primarily aimed at “elevating” people to high culture, and as such directly and indirectly deprecating the culture they belong to.¹

In as much as it is legitimate to agree that culture management plays an instrumental role in safeguarding the intangible heritage, the emphasis on “elevating” people to high culture constitutes an exaggeration. Both high culture and folk culture can exist in parallel, even within the realm of formal education. What is more, the classes should be designed in such a way that the discussion of high culture does not undermine the importance of folk traditions. This can be achieved by demonstrating the relationship between the two. Fatyga also points to another threat, which is typical of urban communities, namely focusing the needs on high-quality infrastructure: “In general, it can be concluded that the needs of this type have a tendency to fall into a «loophole», as it were, which means that we need more of the same instead of something different or new”⁶.

Jerzy Bartmiński points to another factor responsible for negative attitudes toward folk culture and its forms in society: “We live in a society that en masse descended from agrarian, rural, or peasant traditions; the society that at the same time desperately (and morbidly) represses their own origins and mimics aristocratic or grandiose gestures⁷. Much of what is now considered the intangible heritage of the city derives from the suburbs or rural areas, and as such falls victim to the same set of stereotypes.

There are institutions that collaborate with the intangible heritage bearers to eliminate these phenomena. Schools would be able to offer massive support, but they touch upon the subject only incidentally, without considering a broader context. What important values can the intangible cultural heritage bring to the education system? The process of exploring and raising the awareness of the values safeguarded by the communities in the regions and worldwide serves as a basis for learning the acceptance towards the other. This goal is very difficult to achieve without anchoring oneself in knowledge and tradition. It is difficult to expect that a society deprecating their own roots would be able to show their respect to other cultures. One of the defining features of the intangible cultural heritage is that it is largely determined by the ties between the generations, which:

(...) foster the sense of responsibility and belonging, just as respect to family memoria-bilia encourages a reflection on a responsibility of one’s own towards the generation of one’s parents and a responsibility for the life of the future generations.¹⁰

These traits are universal. They often overlap with the tasks performed by regional education. It is pointed out that learning more about one’s immediate

¹ Ratalski Sławomir, Contribution to the debate Bogactwo kulturowe Polski – identyfikacja dziedzictwa niematerialnego, „Biuletyn Forum Debaty Publicznej” 2012, no. 11, p. 40.
² „Złoty piasek”, czyli o praktykowaniu archeologii wspomnień [in:] Niematerialne dziedzictwo..., op. cit., p. 36.
⁴ Bartmiński Jerzy, op. cit., p. 22.
⁵ Ratalski Sławomir, Koncepcja ochrony dziedzictwa niematerialnego [in:] Niematerialne dziedzictwo..., op. cit., p. 22.
⁶ Ibidem, p. 12.
environment and the correct recognition of the values inherent in its landscape, architecture, history, arts, but also language and traditions, plays a fundamental role in promoting open attitudes towards other cultures\textsuperscript{11}. Having this in mind, the decision to abolish the educational path known as Regional Education: Cultural Heritage in the Region and distribute some of its components among the subjects included in the Common Core was made at the expense of the intangible heritage education and its development. Some of the researchers argue that it is desirable to return to the abandoned idea of educational paths\textsuperscript{12}. Despite all this, there is one regulation that can compensate for this absence. As part of Physical Education, schools can organise elective courses, which are generally known as the “fourth PE hour”. They can be arranged into periods that span no longer than 4 weeks. “Active tourism” is one of the suggested topics. This allows schools to plan longer trips with a focus on the topics related to the intangible cultural heritage.

The Common Core provides for a discussion of the content related to the intangible cultural heritage. The best perspectives of this kind are offered in Stages I and II in the schooling process\textsuperscript{13}. They both abound in general references that can be related to the intangible heritage.

Key Elements in the Common Core for General Education in Regard to Promoting the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Primary Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Core component</th>
<th>Content</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage 1. Teaching objectives (general requirements)</td>
<td>For society to develop, it is very important that civil attitudes are shaped, together with respect towards the tradition and culture of one’s own as well as respect towards other cultures and traditions. The school takes suitable measures to prevent discrimination in any shape or form.</td>
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\textsuperscript{11} Józefowicz Anna, Region oraz edukacja regionalna w podstawach programowych wychowania przedszkolnego i szkoły podstawowej, „Ars inter Culturas” 2013, no. 3, p. 105-117; Petrykowski Piotr, Edukacja regionalna problemy podstawowe i otwarte, Toruń 2003, p. 52.

\textsuperscript{12} Wronicz Jadwiga, Gwara jako element regionalnego dziedzictwa kulturowego [in:] Niematerialne dziedzictwo,..., op. cit., p. 234-235.

\textsuperscript{13} Primary school, Form 1–3 and 4–6, respectively.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage 1. Teaching content (detailed requirements)</th>
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<tr>
<td>4.1 a defines his or her cultural affiliation by engaging with [...] tradition in family, school, or local environments; participates in cultural life of these environments; knows the cultural centres promoting it</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.3 a can distinguish between various forms of human creative activity: [...] craftsmanship and folk art</td>
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<td>7 knows his or her immediate vicinity: local landmarks and traditions; can define the administrative status of his or her town or village; knows which region his or her town or village belongs to; takes part in the events organised by the local community</td>
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<tr>
<th>Stage 2. Music. Teaching content (detailed requirements)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.5 can define the characteristic traits of traditional Polish dances (Polonaise, Krakowiak, Mazur, Kujawiak, and Oberek)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.5 can recreate simple rhythms and rhythmical schemes with movement, sounds, and gestures; performs steps, figures, and choreographies characteristic of traditional Polish dances such as Polonaise or Krakowiak, folk dances (especially from the region), and basic steps of selected ballroom dances</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.1 can appreciate music: listens (analytical listening, focused by the teacher on the selected features of the work) to the selected works of classical music (...), Polish patriotic songs, and folk repertoire...</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.4 can recognise the characteristic traits of traditional Polish dances (Polonaise, Krakowiak, Mazur, Kujawiak, and Oberek)</td>
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<tr>
<th>Stage 2. Visual Arts. Teaching content (detailed requirements)</th>
<th>Content</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 defines his or her cultural identity by engaging with selected artworks, landmarks, and tradition in his or her local or regional environments; participates in cultural life of these environments (knows the cultural centres promoting it)</td>
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<th>Stage 2. History and Society Teaching content (detailed requirements)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.4 can express his or her opinion on transmission the tradition and collect family memorabilia</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.3 is able to name ethnic minorities in Poland and describe their culture and tradition on selected examples</td>
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</table>
The table provides for key components only, which require no further clarification as to how they are related to the intangible heritage. As presented in the table, there are many such components, many of them unambiguous. That being said, their presence in formal education is far from powerful. As pointed out by Hanna Schreiber, one can observe a "regression in education, including teaching musical folklore, as a result of which future generations can lose the awareness of the heritage’s value". The phenomenon is all the more understandable as regional dances are directly present in the Common Core. And again, dance classes could be provided as part of the “fourth PE hour”. It might be a good idea to pass on the classes of this kind to local community centres and their instructors, who are usually much better prepared than the teachers. However, Jerzy Chmiel suggests that institutional challenges may occur: “The instructors from community centres, which respond to the Ministry of Culture, could not be sent to schools, which respond to the Ministry of Education”. The issue might be resolved by the two Ministries.

Middle schools furnish one more way for bringing forth the intangible cultural heritage, namely the educational project. While in middle school (three years), each student must contribute to at least one project of this kind. Carried out in groups, in principle they are aimed at resolving one particular problem. A note on the project is included in the school-leaving certificate. The students can exercise much freedom in choosing the topic and the form of the project. This may encourage them to focus more on the intangible cultural heritage. There is a wide array of possibilities: including the presentation of the local tradition by the members of the group or small inventoring projects based on the interviews with the tradition bearers.

At Stages III and IV in the schooling process (middle and secondary education) offer direct references to the elements of the intangible cultural heritage, especially in Politics and Society (both stages) and Cultural Studies (Stage IV only).

Key Elements in the Common Core for General Education in Regard to Promoting the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Primary Schools

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<th>Common Core component</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Stage II. Family Life Education. Teaching content (detailed requirements)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Transmission of values and tradition in the family, joint celebrating, spending time together</td>
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14 Schreiber Hanna, Contribution to the debate Bogactwo kulturowe..., op. cit., p. 43.
15 Chmiel Jerzy, Contribution to the debate Bogactwo kulturowe..., op. cit., p. 43.
Those secondary school students who choose Basic History are also offered a course in Politics and Society in Year 2. General Requirements stipulate that: “The aim of the course is to show the students with a more mathematical or naturalistic cast of mind that the humanities can offer a key to understanding the contemporary world and fosters the process of self-identification in the world”.[17] The subject has been designed in such a way that it allows the teacher to run the class using chronological or topical themes (four themes should be addressed in the class). The teacher can choose from nine suggested topics or formulate a topic of his or her own. Some of the provided topics are: Man, Woman, and Family or Familiarity and Strangeness. The former calls for a stronger emphasis on the role of the intergenerational transmission of tradition, which is nonetheless missing in the curriculum. The absence of more powerful references to the intangible cultural heritage proves even more surprising in the latter. Point E.5.2 can hardly pass as sufficient: “can use selected examples to analyse contemporary multicultural societies”.[18] One good idea is that the teachers formulate a topic of their own to bring out the role of regional history and the intangible heritage components. However, this requires a lot of work, which to some extent might be performed by the institutions responsible for safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage (instead of the teachers) with a view to creating and developing the materials reflecting the topic.

Information related to the intangible cultural heritage of the city can also appear as an element of particular classes. The table below presents the examples of only few local Kraków practices and how they are related to detailed teaching content in History and the History and Society classroom:

### Selected Kraków Traditions and the Common Core Content for Teaching History and History and Society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Custom</th>
<th>Education stage</th>
<th>Common Core component</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kraków Nativity scenes making</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>II.1.2</td>
<td>can describe Saint Francis of Assisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lajkonik Procession</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>II.3.4</td>
<td>can describe the directions, nature, and outcomes of the Mongol invasion of Central and Eastern Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Stanislaus Procession</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>V.14.4</td>
<td>can describe the state and Church dynamics and assess the role of the Church in social life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enthronement of Król Kurkowy</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>can describe a mediaeval city with the words such as merchant, craftsman, guild, mayor, municipal government, market square, city walls</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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In their majority, formal settings and the ways they handle a given tradition offer a potential for teaching the heritage. It seems, however, that less emphasis is made on teaching for the heritage, i.e. encouraging students to respect and foster their tradition. Both these components are interrelated, and the latter has no chance to develop without pursuing the former. At the moment, teaching for the heritage is primarily conducted in non-formal settings such as ethnographic, regional, or municipal museums. Their classes often call for active participation from the learners. They are usually too short to inculcate the values and skills in the learners, but they nonetheless allow the educators to build positive motivation, which in the future may encourage original ideas on how to continue the tradition. Developed in non-formal settings, these good practices should be harnessed to develop measures aimed at bringing forth the intangible cultural heritage in formal education.

Nationwide regulations concerning the elements of the intangible cultural heritage in the curriculum should be general and adjustable to the local needs. The issue is particularly delicate in large cities, where a large number of children are learning from the area; these local areas can be remote sometimes and differ in their traditions. The regulations should make sure that teaching the intangible heritage of the city does not undermine their local identities. Providing information on particular customs aside, the higher stages in education should be more devoted more to raising the awareness of the threats to the intangible cultural heritage. Some of these threats are generated in the classroom. Luckily, passing on the knowledge of history has increasingly less to do with perpetuating dogmas. This reduces the risk that passing on the knowledge of the intangible heritage will create the homogeneity effect, which in turn might lead to its petrification. Students should be made aware of the fact that the intangible cultural heritage must be important in their community; it cannot be treated as one more way to make money or provide snobbish entertainment. The measures such as these can entail decontextualisation19, which precludes the natural evolution of the heritage. In order to be more effective, the intangible heritage education should raise the awareness of the role of the heritage, for example, among teachers and educators. They should develop their heritage-related skills. Poorly selected teaching aids or indifference towards the subject can become yet another factor that breeds aversion to the forms of the intangible cultural heritage. Again, there is significant potential in non-formal educational institutions, whose staff might be offered to pass on their experience and know-how during specially designed workshops. However, the process of raising the awareness of the intangible cultural heritage should begin with teachers and their professional and academic training.

Some countries have decided to launch top-down nationwide programmes to include the intangible cultural heritage in their curricula. Such measures were put in place in Cuba (teaching the dance and music known as Tumba Francesca), Vanuatu (sand drawings practice) and Georgia (teaching traditional polyphonic singing)20. The countries in question are relatively small, and the traditions they promote are known in their entire territories. The methods used in these countries cannot be directly transferred to a country the size of Poland. One example that can be more representative comes from Indonesia, where the Batik Museum in Pekalongan came up with an initiative aimed at all types of schools to pass on a painting technique used in dying the fabrics. The element of the artisan heritage was largely implemented by the tradition bearers themselves. The batik producers acted as both the instructors and the sponsors in the programme21. The project was showcased in the UNESCO Register of Best Safeguarding Practices for Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage. It serves as an example of how the collaboration between the institutions providing formal and non-formal education and the communities fostering the traditions can harness the endeavours aimed at promoting the intangible heritage while minimising the threats described above.

Text translated from Polish language

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Considerations on the Essence of Intangible Heritage - Contemporary Educational Contexts. Place-Based Education and Introduction to Culture as an Opportunity to Discover Identity

In present times, the issues of cultural heritage are very important for a teacher or museum educator. Getting to know even the most cursory definition of the word “heritage” demonstrates that the word itself came from three separate terms, that is tradition, history and memory, and currently competes with them. Heritage draws upon these words; however, it is not just a simple synonym. Heritage is also connected with terms such as “cultural object” and “monument”. According to

Kowalski Krzysztof, O istocie dziedzictwa europejskiego – rozważania, Kraków 2013, p. 5.
David Lowenthal, an outstanding heritage researcher, at the beginning of the 21st century heritage is omnipresent, some may say it is even intrusive.

The beginning of the 21st century brought about the broadening of the notion of heritage with intangible heritage, which is treated, along with tangible heritage, as the second component of cultural heritage. The notion encompasses customs, rites, myths, legends, languages, dance, traditional knowledge and practices.

Here it is worth noting the notion of tradition in the 19th century pedagogy, when the traditional school was created. One of the most exceptional representatives of the New Education Movement, John Dewey (1859–1952) believed that

[...] a child was to be introduced to the social heritage of human kind by appropriate methods. Therefore, his school workshops held many simple tools (looms, spindles) in order for children to learn about the work of their predecessors. The best teaching traditions of 19th and 20th century Europe [...] were sadly under-used in Poland, primarily because of the Partitions. However, after regaining of the independence, the interest in the developments of the Western pedagogy in the Second Polish Republic grew significantly.

In the years of the Polish People's Republic, Polish educational institutions used the European and global pedagogical thought of the interwar period. However, the great achievements of John Dewey were not used to a sufficient extent in Poland, even though his works were an important source of inspiration in the works of many teachers.

Andrzej Tomaszewski (1934–2010), an outstanding expert in the field of monument preservation and conservation, tried to define the essence of intangible values, by describing them as "internal meanings and messages, understandable by enlightened contemporaries, read by us with difficulty today".

It is worth noting that the Polish concept of aesthetic education before and after World War II always put literary education as one of its priorities, connecting it with native language education.

Myths and legends hold a special place in the definition of intangible heritage. It is worth recalling the thought of Mircea Eliade (1907–1986), an outstanding Romanian historian of religion, cultural philosopher and researcher of myths who wrote that the foremost function of the myth is to reveal the exemplary models for all human rites and all significant activities. “To know the myths is to learn the secrets of the origin of things. In other words, one learns not only how things came into existence, but also where to find them and how to make them reappear when they disappear”.

Myth is a narrative resurrection of a primeval reality, told in satisfaction of deep religious wants, moral cravings, social submissions, assertions, even practical requirements. “Myth [...] is not an idle tale, but a hard-worked, active force”.

It is also worth taking a closer look at social practices connected with the tangible and intangible heritage. Educational activities in museums, publications for children and youth, reports about the state of museum education, as well as various conferences and seminars related to this wide-ranging issue have been conducted for several years now. However, the special dimension of heritage, such as its intangibility, is very rarely taken into consideration, and the activities are thus directed mainly towards tangible heritage.

Workshops and museum lessons are conducted on a regular basis, with cooperation with foreign institutions in that regard becoming an increasingly common trend. Moreover, field activities for kindergarteners and primary school students are also developed, employing the concept of learning outside the classroom.

Coming back to the general considerations, it is worth remembering that even Aristotle wrote that theory is the strongest side of practice, or every activity. It is therefore worth recalling the theoretical deliberations related to the area of education in contact with the intangible heritage.

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2 In the conventional definition of intangible heritage, it was pointed out that it is expressed through: oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; traditional craftsmanship.
4 Tomaszewski Andrzej, Ku nowej filozofii dziedzictwa, Kraków 2012, p. 65.
5 What is important, the definition of artistic and cultural education from the Eurydice network reports does not include mother tongue education.
7 Ibidem, p. 19.
8 Ibidem, p. 25.
The theoretical basis of these activities is place-based education\textsuperscript{10}, since every human being builds their identity upon place, regardless of skin colour, as well as geographical or cultural context. The place is always the first space, in which the human being exists.

Attachment to a place, as proposed by traditional anthropology, is one of the primary characteristics of humans. Since the dawn of time, human beings have distinguished their own, safe and incontestable image - their place, their home - in the boundless and infinite space. Right behind it, there is a smaller or broader area of familiarity, the physical boundaries of which are consolidated by cultural signs, marking their symbolic belonging to a given community. However, existential philosophy proves that the sheltered safety of a home is not enough for human being to accomplish something, which could be called “living to the fullest”. The unsettled space, spreading out beyond their own borders seduces them with its sense of freedom. On the one hand, the need for establishment and becoming rooted, on the other - the striving for independence and freedom of choice are the two aspects of human thought about the world. Yi-Fu Tuan, an expert on the matters of place uses it as a basis to distinguish between the “place” and “space”\textsuperscript{11}.

He assigns place the characteristics of attachment to the mythically certain and permanent harbour of home and its surroundings, comprising notions such as the “family nest”, “home areas” and so on, which serve as a point of reference for individual and cultural identity. On the contrary, he describes space as a chaotic and uncertain area, but at the same time a symbol of freedom and adventure, the sense of which is missed by many human beings\textsuperscript{12}.

...[in the correlation between a human being and space is not about the physical contact with a given territory more than it is about revealing constructive reflection in the course of building and living. The reflexivity leads to understanding place as a phenomenon, which constitutes being (in the words of Martin Heidegger “being in the world”); however, it does that in a complex way.\textsuperscript{13}

Human beings can also define themselves through place, while not living in it permanently. The opposite is also possible - living somewhere does not have to result in identification. Thanks to the place, in which the human being lives, they do not attain a stable and certain form of existence, it is rather that through the place the person constantly becomes themselves, by participating in the complex interplay of meanings. By “significant”, we consider not only human activities, but also notable properties of the place itself, equipped with power to influence its inhabitants.\textsuperscript{14}

According to Maria Mendel,

probably the most significant characteristic of a place, worthy of particular scientific attention, is its dual character of being both open and closed at the same time. It means that the place should be perceived as having two seemingly mutually exclusive features - of the residence and of open space. Being between these two dimensions of human existence - the place and the space - seems to be not only the key aspect of existence described in the language of philosophy, but also an urgent need and requirement of the increasingly multicultural and hybrid contemporary world. On the one hand, it is endangered by the expansive unifying forces of globalisation, on the other it is in constant fear of all forms of xenophobia, chauvinism and particularism.\textsuperscript{15}

The phenomenology of the place assumes a relational and dialogic character of a place. Thus, it can be said that

...[we can make places exactly like we want them to be, but they also can do the same to us. We create their meanings, and they create us. [In order to] translate this into theories of upbringing, we would have to once again refer to metaphors and assume that

\textsuperscript{14} Copik Ilona, op. cit., p. 181.
\textsuperscript{15} Mendel Maria, Kategoria miejsca w pedagogice [in:] Pedagogika miejsca, ed. Maria Mendel, Wrocław 2006, p. 25.
the place bears significance not only because we raise in/for/through it, but by using the collection of values present in it, but it is also significant because it raises us.16

This reciprocity means that, first of all, we have to forgo the tendency of assuming ownership right and supremacy in our contact with places. Then, we also have to assume that the place is a phenomenon that offers a wide range of interpretation abilities to everyone; however, it commands our respect. It is therefore imperative to recognise that in every moment of our existence the place “exceeds” us and we are not able to “command” it, to tame it or to understand it fully. As persons living in a given place, we are never there alone. We coexist in places with material items and other people, living there on equal rights, and above all, it is an area equipped with historical marks of the “others”, living there “in another time”; and their spiritual and material traces, which command our respect.

In relation to this context, it is worth thinking about the wealth of traditions, customs, habits, songs and names brought by intangible heritage. Separating the notion of intangible heritage opens a wealth of opportunities for educator/teacher, in particular with regards to the disconnect between the traditional educational environment - the family - and the transfer of cultural tradition, which is visible in particular in urban environments.

The issue of intangible heritage is connected with participation in intangible culture. Cultural teaching, one of the leading movements in Polish pedagogy, which developed in the interwar period focused on the issue of heritage in times of regaining national identity by the Poles. It was said that the frequent and deepened contact with cultural objects has a significant effect on the personality. Patriotic songs, as well as songs for children and youth, legends, as well as various games and activities were said to play a most significant role, along with the living word, or the ability to express oneself, tell tales and thus influence the imagination of the pupils.

As Sergiusz Hessen (1887–1950), an exceptional cultural philosopher and cultural educator of Russian descent, wrote in the 1st half of the 20th century, the social function of education is to “ensure the continuity of cultural tradition, and the goal of education should be to introduce the individual to the tradition. [...] Tradition can be preserved only if it is creatively transformed”. He wrote about the so-called combined education, defined as “education about our fatherland”: “the whole of regional environment”; something called Heimatkunde by Germans, rodinový výdělenie or krayevy výdělenie by Russians - in some regions of Poland it was called “education about the native matters”. Hessen postulated that education in public schools should start with the local environment and ethnography, archaeology, hagiography, local dialects, art, songs and customs. According to many of the leading theoreticians of the contemporary public school, the “constant juxtaposition of the dialect used by the child with literary language allows them to broaden their linguistic experiences, gather the material of their own observation and experience the issues, which will be later clarified by the systematic course in the language. [...] «the child is supposed to learn grammar from the native language and not language from grammar”.

Hessen wanted every elementary school teacher to complete a course in knowledge about the country, and according to him, regional studies should be the centre point of the supplementary courses for teachers working in primary schools. He also wrote about the process of acquisition of expressive skills in children (speech, drawing, handiwork).

Contemporary cultural scholars assume that the world has a meta-cultural dimension. Every single object or phenomenon created today has a simultaneous character. There is an increasing tendency to treat some phenomena which do not conform to the media standards as niche, and the focus on the future and

16 Ibidem, p. 32.
present times replaces the cultural memory. There are people who promote the de-consumption model and strive for satisfying their longing for things that are authentic, closer to the roots and their own identity.

While working with individuals of all ages, in direct contact with the objects of intangible heritage (as well as the tangible one), it is necessary to focus on the development of digital heritage in the museums and in the region, of course in accordance to the principle saying that all multimedia and interactive methods of transmission of intangible heritage, as well as other digital tools should never dominate over the exhibits, but only encourage to further activities or studies.

Therefore, the role of the transmission of intangible heritage is invaluable. The role of a museum educator is to shape the perception abilities of the specific groups of recipients, teaching understanding of the world and presenting its complexity depending on age and individual predispositions.

The specifics of intangible heritage are especially liked by younger recipients. We should not, however, diminish the role of cultural literacy, or introducing the youngest recipients to culture. Folk songs for children with proper and common names of objects are especially important during that period, for example, for Poland and Kraków: “Wyleciał ptaszek z Łobzowa”, “Płynie Wisła płynie, po polskiej krainie, zobaczyła Kraków, pewnie go nie minie”, as well as other nursery rhymes and poems. There is a need to introduce more music, dancing and crafting classes - in other words, teaching children expression from the youngest age as part of the talent development and discovering passion through meetings and workshops with folk artists, observation and participation in artistic activities, as well as other methods.

On the other hand, the research by Wieslaw Theiss has resulted in an inspiring and important thought regarding educational and animation potential of the places, which are full of human history, accumulated throughout the ages. It seems that it is enough to carefully observe and listen to the places, and the tasks related to the shaping of coherent community and intercultural condition will be carried out by “themselves”. Such a function is perfectly fulfilled by legends, stories and poetry connected with various places, such as the poem Smok by Julian Tuwim (“Na Wawelu, proszę Pana, mieszkał smok, co zawsze z rana zjadał prosię lub barana”) as well as others. It is also worth mentioning that the cultural memory of a place is an infinite, however poorly exposed, resource - locus educandi.

The past in the present is visible in the history, memory, tradition and heritage. Those are retrospective strategies. They are distinguished by the way in which the continuity between the present times and the past is ensured in each of them. The basis of the distinction is not what we remember, but rather how do we remember it; therefore, the distinction between history, memory, tradition and heritage is decided by the method of creating narratives around the traces of the past, combined into a meaningful whole.

The considerations presented above result in several basic conclusions.

There is an urgent need, or even necessity to undertake dynamic systemic efforts in order to bring about reorientation of the teachers’ training at all levels, so that they may become experts regarding their direct surroundings and region. The teachers’ training should be re-profiled from psychological and pedagogical into philosophical, historical and cultural, and it should also include knowledge about the country and the environment.

It is also important to prepare materials related to intangible heritage, with the participation of well-prepared museum workers (ethnographers, anthropologists and other experts), as well as regional studies centres and educators. The living word plays a very significant role in education design; therefore, it is vital that teachers and schoolchildren alike learn rhetoric and narration building, which should be incorporated in the curriculum.


25 Mobile applications used in museums expand the opportunities for taking advantage of the collections, both in the museums themselves, as well as outside. Various video and audio recordings, multimedia presentations, audio guides, portals, proximity technologies, QR codes, 3D reconstructions, audio-visual recordings, digital tools - individual devices or parts of larger exhibitions, info booths (and touch-enabled devices) and digitalisation of archive materials are an attractive form of presenting not only digital information, but also multimedia activities, as they expand the opportunities offered by the tour with various senses, such as hearing, touch, smell etc.

26 For more, cf. Dziedzictwo kulturowe w dobie nowych mediów. Materials from a scientific symposium, Kraków 19 May 2016.


28 Kowalski Krzysztof, op. cit., chapter IV.
Drawing upon proven educational concepts (such as Jordan's concept, regional education, clubs of country lovers etc.), combined with the inclusion of subjects pertaining to intangible heritage and modern forms of broadly understood artistic and cultural teaching, or education on a high level, using new technologies may help create the basis of an education appropriate for the 21st century.

Text translated from Polish language

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29 That is, comprising plastic arts (two-dimensional, such as drawings and paintings, as well as three-dimensional, such as sculptures), music (performances, composing and critical interpretation of music), theatre (performance, dramatic writing, theatre interpretation), dance (performance, choreography, dance interpretation), media arts (artistic and expressive elements of media such as photography, film, films, computer animation), crafts (artistic and cultural elements of crafts, such as fabrics, weaving and goldsmithing), or architecture (building design, observation, planning, area construction). Ci. *Arts and Cultural Education at School in Europe*, Warszawa 2010.
Common Geographical Names in the Katowice Area.
Their Functioning and Proposals for Their Protection.

Definitions

A geographical name\(^1\) is a name comprising one or more words that allows for the identification of a specific location - object or area, within a given community\(^2\). For the purpose of this article, the common name will be understood as every name used by the defined communities, which is not an official or standardized name.

The matter of official names is outlined in a set of laws, especially the Act on Names of Places and Physiographical Objects of 29 August 2003, the Act on Local Government of 8 March 1990, and the Act on Nature Conservation of 16 April 2004. They define what objects can have an official name, what authorities are authorised to assign official names, and outline the procedures for that process. Official names are assigned to towns and parts thereof, physiographical objects (mountains, rivers, lakes, islands, forests), forms of nature protection,

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voivodeships, districts, municipalities, administrative areas, streets and squares. Standardised names are names assigned to public utility sites (such as bus and railway stations, airports, ports), or additional (secondary) names in languages used by minorities.

Characteristics of the Area

The examples of common names discussed in this article were collected in the area within the administrative territory of the present city of Katowice. In the 19th century, the city underwent a thorough social and urban transformation. The period of industrialisation caused large displacements of the local population, as well as a huge influx of settlers from outside of the city. The landscape of settlements also changed - new settlements, estates and worker colonies were established at an astounding pace, very often replacing old village buildings. The residents’ occupational structure also changed, along with technologies used in the industry. These factors combined caused an irrecoverable loss or distortion of the common names functioning in the area of Katowice, used by rural communities in the past. For historical reasons, the German language was the official - de facto and de jure - as well as the technical language in the area of Katowice. It significantly influenced many of the common geographical names in the area, coming directly from the German language, such as Neubau (from German: new buildings/new construction). Moreover, a large percentage of common names in the general Katowice area was based on the Silesian ethnolect (dialect). It is hard to determine the number of residents of Katowice who understand the Silesian ethnolect. Based on a survey conducted among schoolchildren, the number may be estimated to be around 40-50%. The current state of research among the adult population is insufficient to provide the exact number; however, the percentage of adult residents with passive knowledge of the Silesian ethnolect is probably higher than among the youth.

Systematisation

The functioning names, referring to places in the general area of Katowice, were grouped into three categories for the purpose of educational activities, based on the etymology of the name. The largest group comprises names based on a common name or word, such as: Na górze [On the Hill], Pod lipą [Under the Lime Tree], Pod krzyżem [Under the Cross], Bagno [Swamp], etc. The second group is a derivative of the first. It was separated due to the number of such names observed in the Katowice area and comprises names which were created due to the characteristics - the shape or the appearance - of a location: Gwiazdy [Stars], Czarna studnia [Black Well], Trzy garby [Three Hunchs], Głęboki [Deep]. Common names based on proper names, such as Manhattan, Na Singerze, willa Brachta, U Zaler, are another category.

Functioning

The urban character of Katowice, as well as dynamic and constant changes are not conducive to widespread use of common geographical names. Based on the current state of the research, their use is less common than in the neighbouring urban-rural areas and smaller towns.

There is a large number of defunct common names connected with Katowice, the majority of which is related to the old lifestyle and agro-forestry economy, such as forest areas: Straszno, Czorno, Niedzwiedziąt, Wilczy wnyk; or to agriculture: Skotnica, Karczowisko. The awareness of their existence is limited to a small group of scholars or enthusiasts and regionalists.

Another reason for the names no longer being used is the liquidation of the place or characteristics thereof. Felling of a characteristic tree or forest complex or changes in the communication structure result in the disappearance of the common name. Such names are remembered by the local community for some time, and their further use increases the closeness of the terms used, since an “outsider” will not be able to deduce the location of the place denoted by such a name. The so-called dęby Sobieskiego [Oak Trees of Sobieski] are a perfect example of such a phenomenon occurring in Katowice. Legend has it that the trees were planted by the Polish king en route to Vienna. Despite the fact that the trees can no longer be found in their original location, they are still present in the consciousness of

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local communities and still function as a geographical name, allowing them to denote a certain place.

Currently, the functioning (and first and foremost understanding) of the majority of common names used in Katowice depends on the knowledge of the Silesian ethnolect or, to a smaller extent, the English language among the residents of the city.

The most commonly occurring common names are descriptions of a characteristic feature of a given location. Names such as Przy krzyżu, Krojczok (German: Kreuzung – intersection), Pod dębem [Under the Oak Tree], Za szlogami [Behind the Barriers], Sośnina, Na górze [On the Hill] fulfil their task and are understandable only within the local community, while at the same time they have the largest potential for creating identity. The community tends to be aware of the fact that such names create a kind of a code, which can be understood only by the intended recipient. In Katowice, such names are very common; however, due to the processes taking place in the city, they quickly become outdated. The ordinary common names undergo transformations, combinations, inflection simplifications, as well as other processes occurring in the language: Zaopusta (Formerly: Za upustem), Sztawajwery (Formerly: German Staueweiher – reservoir), Roździeń (from the word rozdział, rozdzielenie - division). The Katowice History Museum has documented over 70 names based on ordinary names, however, the list is still incomplete, and the number of common names in use is still growing, in the majority of cases they are being borrowed from the urban slang.

Another kind of names created on the basis of ordinary words are those based on the appearance or shape of the geographical location: Czarny las, Kukurydze, Drajob (from German drei Ecken – three corners, tripoint), Stroma. Very often they turn out to be far more intuitive for bystanders, since they are based on a characteristic feature of a given location, which is unique for the neighbourhood. Over a dozen names of this kind were logged in Katowice, with those denoting architectonic objects being part of common knowledge and widely used.

Yet another group of common names observed in Katowice are those based on a proper name. Very often they are based on the name of the former (or current) owner of the area, for example Bugłowina (based on the “Bugla/ Bugiel” surname), U Zalera (the area around a defunct bar, formerly owned by Sauer, Czekaj (based on the name). Other names come from the former owners of a given place: willa Brachta, Kolonia amerykańska. Also many names were based on companies, which existed in a given place in the past: Grünfeld (a reservoir in the place of former clay excavation near the brickyard, owned by Grünfeld), Bata (an exclusive shoe store, operating during the period of German occupation), Oszaucht (German Ost Schacht – Eastern Shaft). Other interesting examples of geographical names in Katowice are ironic or even sarcastic names: Helgoland (from the name of a popular German health resort, in Katowice the location was considered to be polluted and degraded), Maroko (a neighbourhood considered by many to be a slum), Sing Sing (from the name of the American high security prison, in Katowice, it is associated with a dysfunctional community), Na Balkanie (near the former narrow-gauge railway station, known as Balkan, from the name Balkan Ekspress – an exclusive, long-range railway), Najberlin (New Berlin, a neighbourhood with dull and scarce buildings). There are some examples of names which commemorate various events and historical processes: Korea (an estate built during the Korean War of 1950–1953), Tauzen (from the official name “Estate of the 1000th Anniversary of the Creation of Polish State”, built to commemorate this occasion). Common names based on acronyms are another interesting example - such as Haaperowice (based on HPR – Hutnicze Przedsiębiorstwo Remontowe - Steelworks Repair Company).

Common names based on proper names are characterised by the fact that they are more commonly known and tend to be more recognisable. It is connected with the fact that the knowledge of the name can be tied to the knowledge and memory of a person or company, which were the basis for the name. Very often, importance and stability were the main criteria for selecting a proper name for creating a geographical name.

Protection

In section 6, article 2 of the Act on the Protection and Guardianship of Historical Monuments of 23 July 2003, we can read that “geographical, historical and traditional names of a building, square, street or settlement can be subject to protection”6. However, these names are not present in the definition of a monument; therefore, it is to be assumed that they can be protected only in connection to the monument denoted by them. This is further confirmed by section 9, article 2 of said act, which says that “the surroundings of a monument listed in the register of objects of cultural heritage may also be entered into the register, along with its

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geographical, historical or traditional name of said monument. In the light of the act, the name - as an example of intangible cultural heritage - cannot be protected on its own, but only together with an object of tangible cultural heritage.

This situation significantly limits the possibilities for using the provisions of the act to protect all common geographical names; however, in the cases where the name denotes a place, which is considered a monument subject to protection, it can also be subject to this kind of protection. Sadly, the details of such protection are unknown, since the act does not provide any guidelines regarding the protection of intangible heritage. The register of objects of cultural heritage for the Silesian voivodeship lists several examples of using common names in the description of objects subject to protection in the Katowice area, such as “Willa, so-called Korfantówka”, “Dawna willa Gerdesa” etc. In practice, it does not translate into any protection of such names.

The lawmakers have charged the museums with the protection of intangible cultural heritage. Section 1 of the Museum Act of 21 November 1996 explains that “A museum is an organisation [...] the goal of which is to collect and protect the objects of natural and cultural heritage of the human kind of a tangible and intangible character”. This task is fulfilled by Polish museums with increasing reliability. The Katowice History Museum identifies and documents common geographical names in the city, promotes them and makes them a part of its educational offer as part of its activities. In the case of intangible heritage, promotion and education are possibly the only real and efficient form of protection. As far as education is concerned, the knowledge of the name itself, and the knowledge of its meaning and origin should be distinguished. The issue of common names is raised during museum classes regarding the history of the specific districts in the city, as well as during permanent and temporary exhibitions, by introducing the common name next to the official one (in parentheses). Also the lectures, readings and workshops, as well as promotion of local poetry and art are perfect opportunities for popularisation of common names. The museum pays close attention to the school teachers, who during training courses and educational conferences obtain comprehensive knowledge necessary for conducting classes on regional education.

The schools are the most important link in the chain of formal education; however, the subject of common names is very rarely undertaken, mostly in primary schools.

Another very good method of protecting (here understood as popularising) common names is adopting them as official names by authorities. Examples of good practices can be found in Katowice, such as Uniczkowska Street, the name of which refers to the village of Uniczowy, which was located there in the Middle Ages, or naming the administrative districts with respect to their historical names, such as in the case of Piotrowice - Ochojec. Also the owners of venues and objects popularise their common names by giving them official names, as in the case of the “Spodek” sports and entertainment arena.

Conclusion

In the general area of Katowice, a wealth of common geographical names can be found. Using them is an important factor, building the identity of local communities. In an urban environment, the names refer to man-made creations more often than the places shaped by the forces of nature, moreover, the names based on a proper name are used more often, because of their uniqueness.

This very specific and sensitive aspect of intangible culture is currently undergoing significant transformations, and its popularisation and education are the best method for its preservation. The existing provisions of the law do not ensure proper protection of intangible heritage, including common names. However, the process of adopting such names as official plays an important role, since it allows for the preservation and promotion of the traditional names. Cultural institutions, such as cultural centres, museums, associations and informal groups, committed to the cause of preservation of local culture, play the most important role in the process of identification, documentation and education, since their work serves as the basis, which the teachers, educators, cultural animators and the residents of the city can use to expand their knowledge. The awareness of the need for the cultivation of common names as cultural heritage is still low,

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10 Czerny Andrzej, Teoria nazw geograficznych, Warszawa 2011, p. 245.
despite the fact that their use does not fluctuate significantly, and the depositaries subconsciously take advantage of them on a regular basis.

The work related to the lost common names in Katowice area needs to be intensified, it is also recommended that the importance of this issue in both formal and informal education be increased.

Text translated from Polish language

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