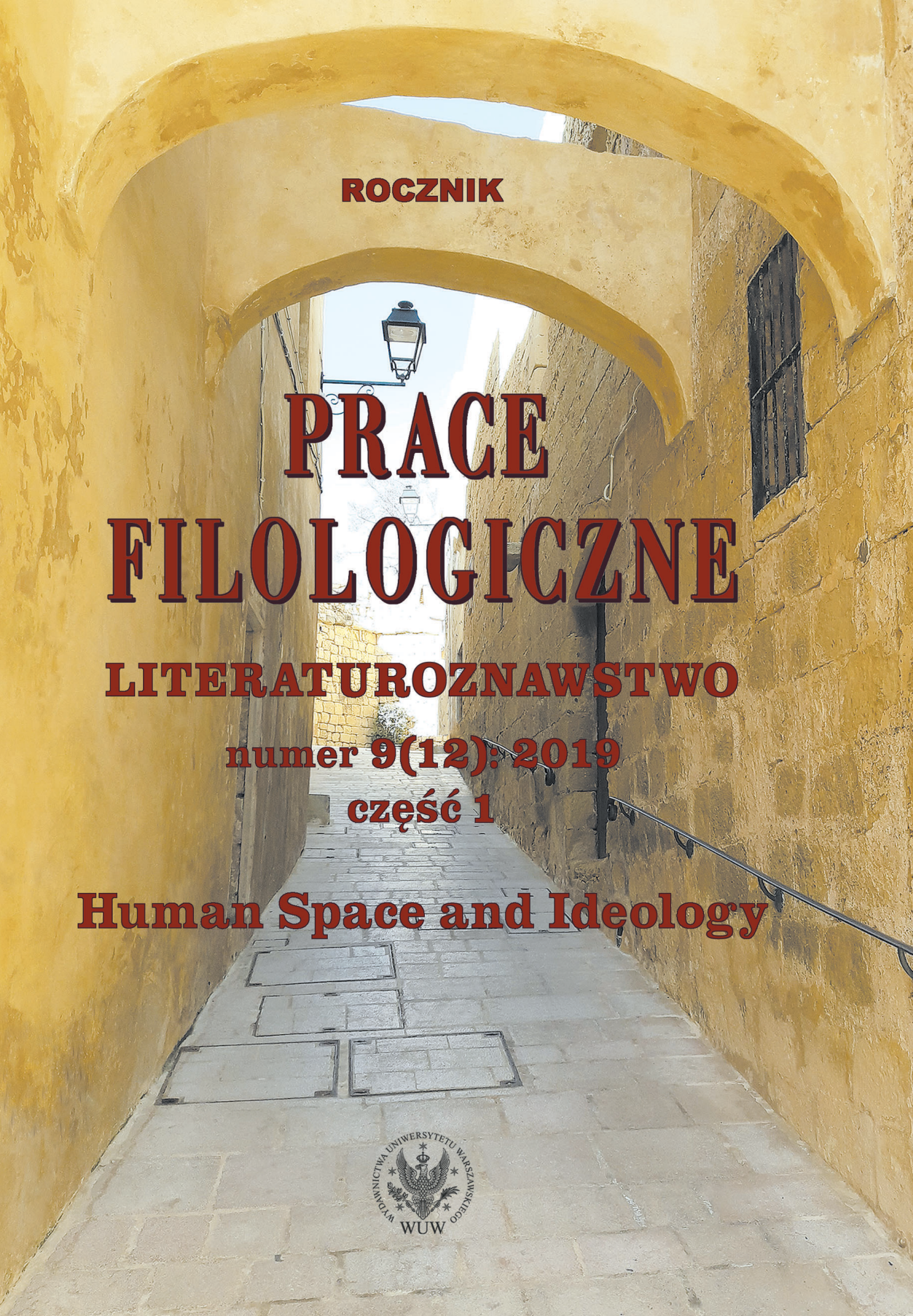

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Human Space and Ideology

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LITERARY RESEARCH

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Edited by
Danuta Sosnowska, Jagoda Wierzejska, Alina Molisak

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SPIS TREŚCI

Warszawa 2019 PFLIT, issue 9(12), part 1

HUMAN SPACE AND IDEOLOGY. INTRODUCTION

This issue of "Philological Studies. Literary Research" investigates the various presentations of space and its entanglement with ideology. Although every spatial form is ideological as its cultural representation always is a form of ideologization, we are interested in spaces defined by geographic and historical identity. We discuss the directions of changes and the character of processes that mostly occur in Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe in the twentieth and twenty-first century. We focus on the cultural representations of space, how they influence social emotions, and how they create and affect social imaginaria and national identifications. Our areas of interest include the spatial cases, which provoke controversies and disputes as even their interpretation undergo ideologization. Due to the multicultural past of Central Eastern Europe, its spaces show multiple identities that neither are petrified in a stable form nor described once for all; they change in time while politics and history influence their reinterpretations. The awareness that the spaces do not have a single identity is an important interpretative factor. Hence, the spaces are often subject to disagreement between different groups within one nation, divided by different worldviews, or they become an object of rivalry between two different nations. Different forms of space analysis along with various interpretations of the significance of space in social and political life appeared in numerous anthropological, sociological, and philosophical works; suffice to mention Marc Augé, Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault, Timothy Ingold, Bruno Latour, Doreen Massey, Peter Sloterdijk, and Bernhard Waldenfels. All those points of view are for us an important context for analyzing the human space subject: they sketch our "outside perspective." However, the authors who presented their texts in this issue, could choose freely what methodology they used. Most of them focused on the interdisciplinary approach, which enables them to discuss ideological narratives present in literary, cultural, and historical discourses.

The authors of the articles in this issue address symbolic disputes over space or antagonized forms of space representation associated with old and new national conflicts. They examine relationships between space representation and historical, memory, and education policies. They consider the ways of construction of spatial representations desired by a national community and,

on the other hand, the spatial representations eliminated from the dominant discourse for ideological reasons. The authors also follow traces of a complex multinational history of spaces, preserved or erased in the result of the twentieth- and twenty-first-century border shifts, not to mention touristified after political, social, and economic transformations.

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PHILOLOGICAL STUDIES. LITERARY RESEARCH [PFLIT]

Warszawa 2019 PFLIT, issue 9(12), part 1: 11–32

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A SACRAL AND MYTHICAL LANDSCAPE: THE CRIMEA IN THE EAST EUROPEAN CONTEXT[1]

Keywords: Crimea, myth, sacral spaces, collective identities
Słowa kluczowe: Krym, mit, przestrzenie sakralne, zbiorowe tożsamości

S u m m a r y

The Crimean peninsula plays a decisive role as a mythical place both in literature (e.g. by Goethe, Pushkin, Mickiewicz) and in many (pre-)national contexts and narratives: in the early modern period, for instance, the Polish nobility had developed the idea of its Sarmatian ancestry, an ethnos which in antiquity settled in the Black Sea area and the peninsula. German-speaking intellectuals in the 19th century developed an "enthusiasm for the Crimean Goths". They believed that they had discovered their ancestors in the Gothic Crimean inhabitants, who had been extinct since early modern times. But above all the National Socialists attempted to legitimize their political claims to the peninsula. The mythical and legendary narrations associated with the Crimea in Russian culture, however, were particularly effective: The alleged baptism of Grand Duke Vladimir in Chersones in 988, which is said to have brought Christianity to the Kievan Ruś, plays a central role here, as do the numerous writers who drew inspiration from the Crimea. These narratives were used also by Russian political agents to legitimize the annexation of the Crimea in 2014.

KRAJOBRAZ SAKRALNY I MITYCZNY. KRYM W KONTEKŚCIE WSCHODNIOEUROPEJSKIM

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Półwysep Krymski odgrywa ogromną rolę jako miejsce mityczne zarówno w utworach literackich (np. Goethego, Puszkina, Mickiewicza), jak i w wielu (przed)narodowych kontekstach i narracjach: np. we wczesnym okresie nowożytnym polska szlachta wypracowała koncept swego pochodzenia od Sarmatów, grupy etnicznej, która w starożytności osiadła nad Morzem Czarnym i na półwyspie. Niemieckojęzyczni intelektualiści w XIX wieku przejawiali „entuzjazm dla Gotów

[1] This chapter is based on a part of my book *Geschichte der Krim. Iphigenia und Putin in Tauris* (forthcoming).

Krymskich". Wierzyli, że odkryli swoich przodków w gockich mieszkańcach Krymu, którzy wymarli w czasach wczesnonowożytnych, ale przede wszystkim narodowi socjaliści próbowali legitymizować swoje polityczne pretensje do półwyspu. Mityczne i legendarne narracje związane z Krymem w kulturze rosyjskiej były jednak szczególnie efektywne: rzekomy chrzest wielkiego księcia Włodzimierza w Chersonez w 988 roku, który rzekomo przyniósł chrześcijaństwo Rusi Kijowskiej, odgrywał w tym kontekście bardzo ważną rolę, podobnie jak wielu pisarzy, którzy czerpali inspirację z Krymu. Te narracje były również wykorzystywane przez rosyjskie władze do legitymizacji aneksji Krymu w 2014 roku.

When thou [sic; *recte* thee], a deeply hid, mysterious fate
Brought to Diana's fane long years ago,
To greet thee as a treasure sent by Zeus
With reverence and awe did Thoas come;
To thee these shores, which every stranger's heart
Had long appalled, were gracious and were kind;
For none ere thee was cast upon this coast,
Who did not bleeding fall in sacrifice
At Dian's shrine, as willed the ancient law,
...
Say! since thy coming, has thou nothing done?
Who was it cheered the monarch's troubled mind?
Who was it that, with soft, persuasive words,
Moved him to waive the fearful law which willed
That every stranger in Diana's fane,
Year after year, should bleeding leave his life?
Who was it send to his dear fatherland
So oft the prisoners doomed to certain death?
Hath not Diana, far from giving sign
Of anger that her bloody offerings failed,
In richest measure granted all thy prayers?[2]

Lovers of German literature who have generally begun to consider the Crimean Peninsula and its geographical location only in the context of its annexation by the Russian Federation in the spring of 2014 probably know these lines. They were written by Germany's most renowned writer, Goethe, who, like other artists in the eighteenth century, repeatedly took up the then popular subject of Iphigenia.[3] Goethe too took his cue from the Hellenic tragedy written by Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* (414/412 BC). In Classical mythology, Taurica

[2] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Iphigenia in Tauris. From the German of Goethe with Original Poems* (Liverpool: Privately Printed, 1851), act I, scene the second: 5–6. Available at: https://www.stmarys-ca.edu/sites/default/files/attachments/files/Iphigenia_in_Tauris.pdf (acc. 19.04. 2018).

[3] E.g. Christoph Willibald (Ritter von) Gluck's (1714) *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1779) or Goethe's first version of his *Iphigenia*.

was the place where Agamemnon's daughter was abducted by the goddess Artemis/Diana to save her from sacrifice by her father, a military leader who thus sought to end the calm the gods had brought to the winds that prevented him from sailing to do battle with Troy. As a reward for her rescue, Iphigenia had to serve as a priestess that performs cruel human sacrifice in this land of barbarians, for anyone shipwrecked on the Tauric coast was doomed to death. In Iphigenia's homeland, her mother Clytamnestra murdered her husband to avenge her daughter's presumed death, whereupon Iphigenia's siblings, Orestes and Electra, then killed their own mother – the stuff of which tragedies are made. As if that were not enough, Orestes – a descendent of Tantalus – was now cursed and asked the Oracle how he could escape divine wrath and eternal torment. He was told to bring "the sister" from Tauris. Since he believed Iphigenia to be dead, he thought the Oracle meant Apollo's twin sister, the goddess Artemis/Diana, and assumed he was to steal her statue from the temple there. Together with his friend Pylades he set out for Tauris...

In the texts of the Ancient Greek authors, we encounter Tauris, today's Crimea, as the "Tauric Peninsula" (*Chersónesos Tauriké*) or the "land of the Tauri," located at the end of the inhabited world, the Ecumene. The Greeks believed life here to be less civilized than in Hellas, even barbaric.[4] This clearly uninviting counterworld was inhabited by the Tauri, after whom the peninsula received its Classical name and who were thought to have settled on the southern coast and in its mountainous region. Little is known about them, neither their origin nor their language; the only information we have stems from the narratives of Classical authors; Herodotus, for instance, writes of them:

> [T]hey sacrifice to the 'Maiden' both ship-wrecked persons and also those Hellenes whom they can capture by putting out to sea against them; and their manner of sacrifice is this: – when they have made the first offering from the victim they strike his head with a club: and some say that they push the body down from the top of the cliff (for it is upon a cliff that the temple is placed) and set the head up on a stake; but others, while agreeing as to the heads, say nevertheless that the body is not pushed down from the top of the cliff, but buried in the earth. This divinity to whom they sacrifice, the Tauroi themselves say is Iphigeneia the daughter of Agamemnon.[5]

In both Euripides and Goethe, Iphigenia is not a goddess, but someone who commits acts of cruelty against her will by order of Artemis/Diana. Even for the tragedian Euripides, the story ultimately ends well for the trio Iphigenia,

[4] Vide Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford: OUP 1989) on othering in Ancient times.

[5] Herodotus, *The History of Herodotus*, trans. George C. Macaulay, vol. 1, 2008 (E-Book), Book IV, Paragraph 103. Available at: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2707/2707-h/2707-h.htm#link42H_4_0001 (acc. 19.04.2018).

Orestes, and Pylades; they are able to leave Tauris. However, there are crucial differences reflecting the lifeworlds and worldviews of their authors that are rooted in their times, separated as they are by over two thousand years: Euripides' Tauri are ideal-typical barbarians, even if the Greek antithesis is not wholly portrayed as human and civilized. Euripides' Iphigenia herself feels no bond with the autochthonous inhabitants and only manages to flee from Tauris by a ruse, without permission from the Tauric King Toas. In Goethe, things are different, since he empathizes with his protagonist Toas. This relationship clearly has him soften the rough customs of the barbarians:

> Who was it cheered the monarch's troubled mind?
> Who was it that, with soft, persuasive words,
> Moved him to waive the fearful law which willed
> That every stranger in Diana's fane,
> Year after year, should bleeding leave his life?
> Who was it send to his dear fatherland
> So oft the prisoners doomed to certain death?[6]

Indeed, Goethe's Tauri are far less wild overall than those of Euripides.[7] However, in both variants, two poles collide. Despite a certain taming as a result of his affection for Iphigenia, King Thoas represents an archaic-mythic principle, and Iphigenia personifies civilization. In Tauris-Crimea both systems meet, periphery and metropolis interact, but regardless of a partial rapprochement, they remain ultimately irreconcilable.

And this holds not only for this Crimea myth, but also for a number of other mythic narratives that "revolve around a historical figure, an historical event, an historical fact, or an historical development" and whose content is only fixed in the center; these myths "are otherwise variably received and reproduced as uncomplex narration[s]."[8] It may be due to its location on the periphery – at least from the perspective of the center – that throughout the ages, across epoch boundaries, and through different cultures, the peninsula has become a prime space for myths and legends. After all, knowledge of far-off regions is often scarce, and where people lack facts, their imagination steps into the breach. The same applies in the case of the peninsula, where the events forming the original

[6] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, op. cit., 6.

[7] On Iphigenia, vide e.g. Rolf Engert, *Iphigenie. Dichtungen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Euripides – Jean Racine – Johann Wolfgang Goethe – Gerhardt Hauptmann. 2. um eine mit Personen- und Fremdwortregister erweiterte Auflage* (Leipzig: Max-Stirner-Archiv, 2007).

[8] Wolfgang Weber, "Historiographie und Mythographie. Oder: Wie kann und soll der Historiker mit Mythen umgehen?," in *Mythen Mächte. Mythen als Argument*, eds. Anette Völker-Rasor, Wolfgang Schmale (Berlin: Berlin-Verl. Spitz, 1998), 71. All translations from German scholarly texts by the author of the current article.

material of this Crimea myth are in part historically irrefutable, but in part hotly contested. Especially the myths simulated in the so-called Age of Nationalism were often "more convincing than historical research;"[9] and this is also the case in the Crimean context. This is clearly illustrated by the "inner relatedness" between the nation as the result of modernization and myths. One can even go so far as to say that the idea that "nations [are] ineluctable forms of societal organization or even form the aim of history itself is of mythic character."[10] This can be very well illustrated in the case of the Crimean Peninsula.

Crimea is not only the presumed setting for Classical myths but also assumes such a large space in the Russian national memory that one might almost speak of a Russian national Crimean myth. The special importance of Crimea became apparent again during the annexation of the Crimea by the Russian Federation in March 2014.[11] This might be self-explanatory, given the Russian rule over Crimea from the late eighteenth century onwards. However, what is more remarkable is the fact that the peninsula occupies a special place in Polish, German, and even English legends. This requires further explanation; we will see that Crimea, often termed exotic or even Asiatic, is part of Europe in both its past and present.

The Polish Sarmatian Myth

The nomadic Sarmatians, who spoke an Iranian language, penetrated into Crimea from the Volga and Don regions after the end of the fourth century AD. From there, they "rode in the Polish imagination to become appointed their ancestors," as Neal Ascherson vividly puts it.[12] The material reason for this statement, which at first glance seems somewhat astonishing, is mainly to be sought in the grave excavations discovered in today's Southern Poland, described in more detail by, among others, the Polish archaeologist Tadeusz Sulimirski (1898–1983) and indicating that the Sarmatian tribes settled there in the third century AD.[13] Further detail is beyond the scope of the present examination. However, we must recognize that – in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – Polish-Lithuanian aristocratic society (*szlachta*)

[9] Stefan Germer, "Retrovision. Die rückblickende Erfindung der Nationen durch die Kunst," in *Mythen der Nationen. Ein europäisches Panorama*, ed. Monika Flacke (Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 1998), 35.

[10] Ibidem, 33.

[11] Vide Kerstin S. Jobst, *Die Perle des Imperiums. Der russische Krim-Diskurs im Zarenreich* (Konstanz: Uvk Verlags Gmbh, 2007), esp. 131–176.

[12] Neal Ascherson, *Schwarzes Meer* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 1996), 24.

[13] Tadeusz Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians: Ancient Peoples and Places* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1970), 73. The first Polish version was published in 1979.

underwent a specific cultural transformation known in today's cultural history as "Sarmatism" and, nolens volens, established a connection between Eastern Central Europe and Crimea.[14] The multi-ethnic aristocracy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth thereby created for itself a common integrational construction of identity based on select Classical ancestors.[15] This construction rested

> primarily [on the] external appearance of a conservative landowner, anti-urban and anti-intellectual, characterized by artificially exaggerated religiosity, with a tendency for luxurious profligacy and class pride. In representative-cultural respect, this attitude was expressed in valuable robes, jewels, weapons and saddles plated with silver if not gold and decorated with precious stones, and valuable horses.[16]

These "Polish Sarmatians" perceived themselves as living on the periphery, not between civilization and barbarism, but between (Latin) Christianity and the confessional and religious Other. In the early modern period, these Others were the Orthodox Muscovite state or the Muslim Ottoman Empire, with which the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was in competition. The Viennese historian Christoph Augustynowicz quite correctly sees the central cultural motif of Polish Sarmatism in their topos of *Antemurale Christianitatis*, that is, the idea that the Commonwealth was the "barbican of Christianity."[17]

One function of Sarmatism was the ideological battle with the external enemy in which Polishness – synonymous with the aristocratic elites, for the peasantry was expressly considered not to be part of the nation – was increasingly identified with Roman Catholicism, to the increasing exclusion of the Protestant (predominantly Calvinist) and Orthodox aristocrats within the Polish-Lithuanian state. It might seem surprising that the Polish nobles (*szlachta*) sought (self-)confirmation of its own superiority in the Sarmatians, given that they came from Eurasia and in the perspective of the esteemed Classical authors were barbarian nomads. Positive appropriations of purportedly "uncivilized" groups are by no means rare, particularly in the East Central and Eastern European region. For instance, this form of self-orientalization appears among

[14] I follow Christoph Augustynowicz, *Kleine Kulturgeschichte Polens. Vom Mittelalter bis zum 21. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Promedia, 2017), 38–45. Vide *Sarmatismus versus Orientalismus in Mitteleuropa*, eds. Magdalena Długosz, Piotr O. Scholz (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2013).

[15] For the deployment of this myth in the context of the development of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and historiography, vide Norbert Kersken, "Geschichtsbild und Adelsrepublik. Zur Sarmatentheorie in der polnischen Geschichtsschreibung der frühen Neuzeit," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, vol. 52, no. 2 (2004): 235–260; Stanisław Cynarski, "Sarmatyzm – ideologia i styl życia," in *Polska XVII wieku. Państwo – społeczeństwo – kultura. Konfrontacje historyczne*, ed. Janusz Tazbir (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1974), 269–295.

[16] Christoph Augustynowicz, op. cit., 38.

[17] Ibidem, 39.

the Eurasians, a group of Russian intellectuals who were very active in exile in the interwar period and for whom Russianness was a mixture of the European and the Asian, hence superior to European.[18]

The Magyars and Crimea

The founding myth of the Hungarians is closer still to Polish Sarmatism and also related to Crimea: the brothers Hunor and Magor are considered the progenitors of the tribes of the Huns and the Magyars. Their father is said to have been Nimrod; at least according to a medieval chronicle, whereby it is not clear whether he is identical to the biblical figure. Other sources have it that Hunor and Magor were the sons of Magog and hence grandchildren of Noah, which lends (purported) Hungarian emanation particular distinction. Magog himself is said to be the forefather or, in some versions, the king of the Scythians.[19] There are several interesting things here. The assumed relationship between Magyars and Huns, who have something of a mixed reputation, being considered particularly wild and cruel. Just as the Scythians, the Huns also have a direct connection to Crimea. While the latter are believed to have arrived in Crimea during the Migration Period, the former had settled there as early as the seventh century BC. As if that were not enough, Hunor and Magor married the daughters of the Alan prince Dula – and the Alans themselves are considered a branch of the Sarmatians situated in Crimea – before heading westward with the Huns to today's Hungary.[20] These, then, are the national myths that cannot be verified...

If we choose to follow the USA anthropologists and myth researchers Littleton and Malcor, there is even a connection between the British Arthurian legends and the northern Black Sea region. They see a link between these legends and the Sarmatians, who arrived in the British Isles around the second century as Roman auxiliaries. That would mean that the ideal, heroic King Arthur, his knights of the Round Table and the Holy Grail did not originate in Celtic mythology, but were imported, as it were, from the Black Sea region.[21]

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[18] Vide e.g. Stefan Wiederkehr, *Die eurasische Bewegung. Wissenschaft und Politik in der russischen Emigration der Zwischenkriegszeit und im postsowjetischen Russland* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2007).

[19] Miklós Molnár, *A Concise History of Hungary*, trans. Anna Magyar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 6.

[20] Mindful of this myth, travelers in the nineteenth century made their way to the region also to discover traces of "Hungarian" life, vide e.g. Jean-Charles de Besse, *Voyage en Crimée, au Cavcase, en Géorgiè, en Arménie, en Asie-Mineure et à Constantinopel en 1829–1833. Pour servir à l'histoire de Hongrie* (Paris: Delaunay, 1838).

[21] Scott C. Littleton, Linda A. Malcor, *From Scythia to Camelot. A Radical Reassessment of the Legends of King Arthur, the Knights of the Round Table, and the Holy Grail* (New York et al.: Garland Publ., 1994).

A Germanic Crimea? From the Gothic Myth to the National Socialist "Gotengau"

The German-speaking lands also developed a special interest in the peninsula on the Black Sea, which became known to a European-wide public following its annexation by the Tsarist Empire in 1783, and accordingly also became a destination for travelers. From the nineteenth century onwards, German visitors were attracted not only by the beauty of the landscape or the mild climate, as indicated by the unusually high number of travel reports by German-speaking writers, including some female authors,[22] but also by its mythic past. Most of these reports are characterized by an enthusiastic search for traces of "Gothic life" that had long been hidden to modernity. However, in the First and Second World Wars, Germans arrived in Crimea with less peaceful intentions.

The real Goths, or the peoples termed as such, are believed to have appeared in Crimea from the second century AD onwards. Their provenance is the subject of a very lengthy controversy: the interpretation expressed in sources from as early as the sixth century, that the Goths were originally from Scandinavia, was and still is rejected by other researchers, inter alia in favor of the theory that they were an autochthonous group from the Vistula region that later migrated to the Black Sea.[23] However, German Crimea enthusiasts – especially the National Socialists with their racial fanaticism – insisted on the former version and preferred to refer to Germanic rather than Slavic provenance. While in the nineteenth century many authors' interest in the Crimean Goths was primarily historical, nationalist interest groups such as the Alldeutsche Verband (ADV, the All-German Association) expressed firm claims to this and other regions in Eastern Europe, pointing to a formerly Teutonic Crimea – for which there is no historical foundation whatsoever.[24]

The idea of a "German Crimea" principally referred to two elements. On the one hand, there was excitement at the thought that for some centuries, the mountain principality of Theodoro, which came to an end with the Ottoman invasion of Crimea in the late fifteenth century, had been a Crimean Gothic state and hence "somehow" German. Moreover, this view confirmed the assumption that the ancestors of the Germans had been capable of state-building

[22] Vide the references in Kerstin S. Jobst, *Die Perle des Imperiums*, 435–441.

[23] Vide Thorsten Anderson, "Der nordgermanische Sprachzweig," in *Altertumskunde – Altertumswissenschaft – Kulturwissenschaft. Erträge und Perspektiven nach 40 Jahren Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, eds. Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich, Heiko Steuer (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 224, 229.

[24] Vide Dietmar Neutatz, *Die "deutsche Frage" im Schwarzmeergebiet und in Wolhynien. Politik, Wirtschaft, Mentalität und Alltag im Spannungsfeld von Nationalismus und Modernisierung 1856–1914* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1993), 204–220.

on the Black Sea. It is true that Gothic inhabitants of Crimea had withdrawn to the safety of the inaccessible mountains in response to the Hun invasion, but as a result, the population of Theodoro was ethnically very mixed, comprising not only Goths but also Greeks, Alans, and others; their lingua franca was presumably Greek.

However, there exists a sixteenth-century source that has long been used to demonstrate that a Germanic dialect, Crimean Gothic, was long widespread in Crimea. Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522–1592), who served Emperor Ferdinand I in Istanbul between 1555 and 1562, not only made a name for himself by introducing the tulip bulb to Europe, but also left what for many years remained the only small corpus of the Crimean Gothic language, consisting of only 101 words.[25] At his own request, in the Ottoman capital he had been introduced to two inhabitants of Crimea, he wrote, with whom he communicated through an interpreter, writing down words such as "plut" (Blut, blood) or "thurn" (Tür, door) and identifying them as a Germanic language. His sources were somewhat problematic, consisting of only two people, but linguists generally do not doubt the existence of a Germanic-based language in Crimea, although that is no proof of a peninsula formerly inhabited by Germans.[26] However, in later times the idea of a "German Crimea" from the Middle Ages to modernity proved attractive. Only recently, Busbecq's small corpus of Gothic words incidentally was expanded by Russian researchers, who managed to decode stone slabs unearthed by an excavation in the 1930s: the authors date the artifacts to the ninth/tenth century, consider them sensational, and derive from them extensive knowledge of the history of Crimea, including the distribution of viticulture, the status of the Crimean Gothic language in comparison with Greek, and other aspects.[27]

Against this linguistic background, the National Socialist "Gotenland plans" seem less astounding. The main actors were the "Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Regions" under the leadership of the leading Nazi ideologist Alfred Rosenberg and Hitler himself. The former proposed various ideas concerning Crimea in the context of the criminal policy of creating "Lebensraum," i.e. settling occupied Eastern Europe with Germans while enslaving and exterminating the local population.[28] Hitler accorded Crimea a special role in the context of the

[25] Vide MacDonald Stearns Jr., "Das Krimgotische," in *Germanische Rest- und Trümmersprachen*, ed. Heinrich Beck (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1989), 175–194; with Busbecq's account in the original Latin and in German.

[26] Ibidem, 176–178.

[27] Andrey Iu. Vinogradov, Maksim I. Korobov, "Gotskie graffiti iz Mangupskoi baziliki" (Gothic Graffiti from the Mangup Basilica), *Srednie Veka*, vol. 76, no. 3–4 (2015): 57–75. Available at: http://www.gotica.de/boranicum.pdf (acc. 14.3.2017).

[28] Vide Norbert Kunz, *Die Krim unter deutscher Herrschaft 1941–1944. Germanisierungsutopie und Besatzungsrealität* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), esp. 41–73.

policies manifested in the "General Plan Ost" (General Eastern Plan). This is already evident in the fact that, as early as 1941, months before the peninsula was taken, he thought about the creation of a "Gotengau," the territory which would have extended beyond Crimea to include other areas along with the territory of Kherson region.[29] Hitler's "Gotenland" fantasies, as well as the renaming of Sevastopol' (Crimean Tatar Aqyar) as "Theoderichshafen" and Simferopol' as "Gotenburg," grew into "a pet project of the 'Führer'," reports the historian Kunz.[30] At its core was the Germanization of the area via a settlement with Germans from South Tyrol; only on the condition of the firm plan to exterminate or disenfranchise the local population. Fortunately, this did not happen, but it illustrates that the National Socialist policy on Crimea was not only influenced by military and economic considerations, but that myth also played a role.

Slavic-Russian Crimea Myths

The annexation of Crimea in February 2014 by the Russian Federation certainly showed one thing: the unshakable conviction of many Russians that Crimea is an elementary part of Russia. This was (and is) accompanied by close emotional ties to the beautiful peninsula on the Black Sea. This is one of the factors rendering it a prime mythic space in Russia, but also in Ukraine and many other parts of the former Soviet Union. Therefore, any attempt to outline all the legendary narratives connected to this place would be doomed to failure from the very outset. Hence, let us focus on two particularly representative examples from religion and literature: two fields that in different ways attempt to support the idea of the legitimacy of Russian rule that is so popular in Russia.

The idea that Crimea is an important Christian-Orthodox *lieu de mémoire* is widespread in collective Russian-Slavic imaginaries. This notion became popularized particularly from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards.[31] One reason for this was the growth of religiously charged national sentiment following defeat in the Crimean War. As in other parts of Europe, Russian elites increasingly debated what constituted the substance of their nation and most came to the conclusion that Orthodoxy played a large role in it. In this debate,

[29] Vide the critically edited and commented table talk in *Adolf Hitler. Monologe im Führerhauptquartier 1941–1944. Die Aufzeichnungen Heinrich Heims*, ed. Werner Jochmann (Hamburg: Knaus, 1980), esp. 39, 48, 90–91, 124.

[30] Norbert Kunz, op. cit., 234.

[31] Vide Kerstin S. Jobst, "Holy Ground. The (Re-)Construction of an Orthodox Crimea in 19th Century Russia," in *Bulwarks in a "Religious Triangle." Borderland Myths in East European Multiconfessional Societies in the Age of Nationalism*, eds. Liliya Berezhnaya, Heidi Hein-Kirchner (Oxford/New York: Routledge, forthcoming).

the Crimean War became stylized as a Holy War which the imagined Russian nation had lost to Muslims (i.e. the Ottoman Empire) and even to Anglican and Roman Catholic Christians (England, France, and Piedmont-Sardinia). And the fact that a large part of this battle was fought in Crimea imbued it with further significance since the place was already bound up with older legends and narratives. Christianity had come to the peninsula early, and this was also of great symbolic value to the Russian Empire because a centuries-old connection could be constructed between the Holy Land, Crimea, and what would later become a Russian state, even if in the eyes of most historians the link is tenuous. At the center of these narratives stands the ruined city of Chersonesos/Korsun', which became the largest excavation site in the Soviet Union,[32] and today is a suburb of Sevastopol'. The three narratives that form our focus here became especially popular from the 1850s onwards,[33] but are much older; while two of these 'stories' – like most myths – are based on a kind of true core of a real historical event, the third belongs to the realm of fantasy. However, all three helped reinforce the idea of a special, insoluble connection between Crimea and the Central Russian territories.

The oldest and least probable legend concerns the journey of Andrew the Apostle from the Holy Land to Lake Lagoda near today's St. Petersburg, during which he is said to have visited Crimea in 33 AD to preach among the Scythians. The story was presumably first written down by Eusebius of Caesarea (260/4–339/340), considered the father of Church history, before eventually reaching the Old Church Slavic Primary Chronicle (*Povest' vremmenykh let*), to this day the most important source on the history of the Old East Slavic state of the Kievan Rus'.[34] The apostle is said to have visited Crimea before heading north, where he marked the site of what would become Kyiv, the "mother of all East Slavic cities," by erecting a Saint Andrew's Cross; somewhat anachronistically, since the symbol only became associated with him upon his martyrdom. This is mentioned in a single sentence: "When Andrew was teaching in Sinope and came to Kherson (as has been recounted elsewhere), he observed that the

[32] *Crimean Chersonesos. City, Chora, Museum, and Environs*, ed. Joseph C. Carter (Austin: Inst. of Classical Archaeology, Univ. of Texas, 2003); Kerstin S. Jobst, "Chersones," in *Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa. Konstitution und Konkurrenz im nationen- und epochenübergreifenden Zugriff*, eds. Joachim Bahlcke, Stefan Rohdewald, Thomas Wünsch (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2013), 3–10.

[33] Mara Kozelsky, *Christianizing Crimea. Shaping Sacred Space in the Russian Empire and Beyond* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010).

[34] Adolf Stender-Petersen, *Geschichte der russischen Literatur* (Munich: Beck, 1986), 37–38; Andrey Iu. Vinogradov, "Apostol Andrej i Chjornoe More. Problemy istochnikovedenija" (Andrew the Apostle and the Black Sea. Problems of Source Study), in *Drevnejshie gosurdarstva Vostochnoj Evropy. 1996–1997 gg.* (The Oldest States in Eastern Europe. 1996–1997), ed. Aleksandr V. Podosinov (Moskva: "Vostochnaja literatura" RAN, 1999), 348–368.

mouth of the Dnieper was nearby."[35] However, this brief mention sufficed for the construction of a special connection between the Holy Land, Crimea, and the Rus' or Russia.

Of greater significance – and based on a "real" event – is another story, according to which the Slavic apostles Constantine and Methodios visited Crimea around 860. At the time, large parts of the peninsula were under the rule of the Khazars, whom the two priests sought to convert to Christianity.[36] This mission was ultimately unsuccessful since the Khazar elites later adopted the Jewish faith. Nevertheless, the Crimean sojourn of these missionaries, who are said to have given the East Slavs their alphabet and are revered for this reason alone, plays an important role in the construction of a link between the peninsula and Russia. The life of Constantine is particularly full of stories marking the role of Crimea as a holy site of Christianity that have entered the collective repertoire of legends of many Orthodox believers. Here there is only space to mention the miraculous rescue of relics of the exiled and later canonized Clemence of Rome, who was martyred in Crimea in 94 AD. The two apostles are said to have later taken his relics to Rome.[37] The following story is of even greater significance, even if it is bound up with the historically unlikely idea that Crimea was inhabited by a sizeable proportion of Slavic speakers or at least people who spoke a Slavic dialect:

> And he [Constantine] found here [in Crimea] a Bible and a psalter written in Old East Slavic letters [Russ. *ruskimi pis'menami*; Old Church Slavic *rus'sky pismeny*],[38] and he found a man who spoke this language. And he spoke with him and understood the meaning of this language

[35] *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, trans. and ed. by Samuel Hazzard Cross, Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953), 53–54. Available at: http://www.mgh-bibliothek.de/dokumente/a/a011458.pdf (acc. 20.04.2018).

[36] *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz. Leben und Wirken der Slavenapostel Kyrillos und Methodios nach den Pannonischen Legenden und der Klemensvita. Bericht von der Taufe Rußlands nach der Laurentiuschronik, 2. Auflage*, ed. Josef Bujnoch (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1972), 54–102.

[37] "Zhitie Konstantina-Kirilla. Pamjat i zhitie blazhennogo uchitelja nashego Konstantina Filosofa, pervogo nastavnika slavjanskogo naroda. Podgotovka teksta i perevod Ludmily V. Moshkovoi i Anatolija. A. Turilova, kommentarii Borisa N. Flori" (The Life of Constantine-Cyril. Memory and Life of Our Blessed Teacher Constantine the Philosopher, the First Mentor of the Slavic People. Ed. and trans. Ludmila V. Moshkovaia and Anatolij A. Turilov, commented by Boris N. Flori), in *Biblioteka literatury Drevnej Rusi. T. 2: XI–XII veka*, eds. Dmitrtii S. Likhachev, Lev A. Dmitriev, Anatolij A. Alekseev, Natalia V. Ponyrko (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1999), Chtenie 3. Available at: http://lib.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=2163#_edn61 (acc. 20.11.2017).

[38] "Rus'sky pismeny" should correctly be translated as "Old East Slavic" and not as "Old Russian," as it is often the case. On the complex field of translating these and similar terms see Ludolf Müller, Günther Schramm, Andrzej de Vincenz, "Vorschläge für eine einheitliche Terminologie des alten Ostslaventums," in *Russia mediaevalis*, no. 7 (1992): 5–8.

> and associated the difference between the vowels and consonants of his own language. And praying to God, he began to read and speak. Many were amazed and praised the Lord.[39]

Nineteenth-century Russian authors were excited that Constantine had discovered a Slavic language that had been invented "here in Korsun' as a lingua franca for various peoples; after all, Korsun' was a city in which the different tribes came together with their different languages."[40] The particular connection between the peninsula and Russia, going back far beyond the annexation of 1783 was constantly retold in its manifold variations. Able scholars received relatively little attention, such as the Russian historian Vasilii Kliuchevskii (1841–1911), who thought the "presence of Slavs ... among these old peoples" in the later South Russian region to be marginal.[41] But what is the *rus'sky pismeny* mentioned in the life of Constantine? Most medievalist working on the area agree "that it is a recording error, and that it was originally called 'surskie' (Syrian), and hence it must have been letters that were unfamiliar to the Greek."[42]

However, the most potent of the religious myths concerns the alleged baptism in Korsun' in 988 of the grand prince of the Kievan Rus', Vladimir/Volodymyr (ca. 958–1015), who – if the sources are to be believed – had hitherto lived a wholly un-Christian life. This preceded the mass baptism of Kyiv and with it the beginnings of the Christianization of the Old East Slavic Kievan Rus', although it is worth noting that Christianization processes were widespread in Eastern Europe in the tenth century, as demonstrated by parallel developments in Poland, Bohemia, or Hungary. Even if historians cannot relate the exact circumstances surrounding Vladimir's baptism,[43] it is beyond doubt that Vladimir and his troops besieged Chersonesos around 988, an event also noted in Arabic chronicles.[44] Ultimately, it cannot be established whether Vladimir had set out for Crimea in order to help the Byzantine emperors Constantine VII and Basileus II put down the rebellion in the city or whether he had other motivations.[45] The *Primary Chronicle* relates that as thanks for his military assistance, the two brother emperors promised the heathen Vladimir their sister, the purple-born Anna, on the condition that he be baptized, which he initially agreed to, before refusing

[39] "Zhitie Konstantina-Kirilla:" Chtenie 3.

[40] Volodimir Jastrebov, "Khersones Tavricheskij" (Tauric Chersonese), *Kievskaja Starina*, vol. 2, no. 5 (1883): 30–38, here 36–37.

[41] Wasilij O. Kljutschewskij (i.e. Vasilij O. Kljuchevskii), *Russische Geschichte von Peter dem Großen bis Nikolaus I.*, vol. 1 (Zurich: Artemis-Verlag, 1945), 99.

[42] Kerstin S. Jobst, *Die Perle des Imperiums*, 303, 74.

[43] Günther Stökl, *Russische Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1983), 59; Heiko Haumann, *Geschichte Rußlands* (Munich: R. Piper Verlag, 1996), 45–46.

[44] Vide Peter Kawerau, *Arabische Quellen zur Christianisierung Rußlands* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967).

[45] Kerstin S. Jobst, *Die Perle des Imperiums*, 296–298.

immediately before the wedding in Chersonesos. God's punishment swiftly followed, for Vladimir went blind. Anna convinced him that after he was baptized his sight would return, which indeed happened: after the local bishop had completed the act, Vladimir could see once again. The Chronicle continues: "Vladimir glorified God, saying, 'I have now perceived the one true God.' When his followers beheld this miracle, many of them were also baptized."[46] Upon returning to the Rus', Vladimir introduced Christianity. The fact that this undeniably important step originated in the peninsula has been repeatedly emphasized in Russian debates on the subject, especially in the nineteenth century, and used to legitimize the possession of Crimea. A recent example is the speech Russian president Vladimir Putin held before the Federal Assembly a few months after the annexation of Crimea in 2014. With reference to Vladimir's baptism, Putin stressed Crimea's significance for Russian religion and civilization as comparable to the importance of Jerusalem's Temple Mount for Jews and Muslims, for it was in Chersonesos/Korsun' that Vladimir had been baptized.[47]

Crimea – a Centre of Russian Culture?

In several of these myths, Crimea assumes the function of a contact zone between apparently competing spheres: the sacred and the heathen; the civilized (Christendom) and the uncivilized; Christianity and Islam. This image of the contact zone is also reflected in many literary works related to Crimea. Especially in Russian,[48] but also in Ukrainian or Crimean Tatar literature, the locus per se is of particular importance.[49] What for many Russians is Crimea's non-negotiable Russian character is often also "explained" by the fact that it enjoys a significance in Russian culture that can only be compared with that of Saint Petersburg or Moscow.[50]

[46] *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 113.

[47] "Putin: Dlja Rossii Krym imeet sakralnoe znachenie" (Putin: Crimea Possesses a Sacred Meaning for Russia), *Grani.Ru – ezhednevnaia internet-gazeta*, 4.12.2014. Available at: http://grani.ru/Politics/Russia/President/m.235628.html (acc. 9.08.2017).

[48] Vide e.g. Aleksandr N. Rudjakov, Vladimir P. Kazarin, *Krym. Poeticheskij atlas* (Crimea. A Poetic Atlas; Simferopol: Tavrija, 1989).

[49] In the Ukrainian context, Lesia Ukraïnka (1871–1913) is associated with Crimea; due to her lung disease, this important writer has repeatedly resided in the peninsula and poetically rendered her Crimean impressions. A museum in Yalta is dedicated to her. On the Crimean Tatar "negative myth" in literature on the deportation in 1944, vide Swetlana Czerwonnaja, Martin Malek, "Literarische Verarbeitungen der Deportation der krimtatarischen Bevölkerung. Eine 'vergessene' Quelle der Geschichtsforschung," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtsforschung (ÖZG)*, vol. 28, no. 1 (2017): 218–228.

[50] Vide e.g. Aleksandr P. Ljusyj, *Krymskij tekst v russkoj literature* (Crimean Text in Russian Culture; St. Petersburg: Aleteija, 2003).

Indeed, the list of authors who sought and found artistic inspiration in Crimea is impressive. Lev Tolstoy composed his famous *Sevastopol Sketches* there, vividly conveying the horrors of the Crimean War in a fashion that still speaks to readers today, and Anton Chekhov created a literary monument to Yalta with his novella "The Lady with the Lapdog." The house in Köktöbel (Crimean Tatar; Russian/Ukrainian Koktebel') owned by the painter and poet Maximilian A. Voloshin (1877–1932), credited with the Silver Age movement, attracted many other greats of Russian literature, especially in summer, including Marina Tsvetaeva, Osip Mandel'shtam, and Andrei Belyi. But the author admired most in Russia to this day is Alexander Pushkin;[51] and it was he in particular who helped establish Crimea as an eternal site of Russian culture. Remarkably, this "Russian" narrative centers on a Muslim – a Crimean Khan – and a Pole with the name Maria. It is perhaps even more surprising that the core of reality can be traced to a love affair between the Khan Qırım Geray (Crimean Tatar; Russian/Ukrainian Kyrym Gerai, Krym Girei; 1717–1769) and Dilâra Bikeç (Crimean Tatar; Russian/Ukrainian Diliara Bikech).[52] What is clearly visible here is the fluidity and flexibility of the mythic repertoire beyond linguistic and cultural boundaries; this myth can be considered Russian, Crimean Tatar, or Polish.

In 1820, Pushkin was banished from the capital due to some poems that ridiculed leading public figures. Instead of being forced into the much more unpleasant and more usual exile to Siberia, he was allowed to travel south, arriving in Crimea via the Caucasus. Like many travelers before and since, he was inspired by the unusual, "exotic" Crimea. Heavily influenced by Romanticism at the time, Pushkin had presumably already heard of the Tatar legend of the hopeless love of a Crimean Khan for a Christian captive,[53] out of which the poet developed a southern Oriental triangular story bearing the title "Bakhchisaraiskii fontan" (The Fountain of Bakhchisarai, 1823, Russian/Ukrainian; Crimean Tatar Bağçasaray). A nameless Khan – unclear whether the figure is modelled on Meñli Geray (Crimean Tatar; Russian/Ukrainian Mengli Gerai, Girei) or Qırım Geray (1717–1769)[54] – falls helplessly in love with a Polish captive by the name of Maria Potocka. However, as a Christian, it is impossible for her to love a Muslim. In the harem, this "swamp of sins," she seeks consolation in the effigy of Saint Mary. But this calm is deceitful as the chaste Maria has a bitter enemy,

[51] On the Pushkin cult in Russia and in the Soviet Union, vide Andrei Sinyavski (i.e. Abram Tertz), *Strolls with Pushkin*, trans. Catherine Thumer Nepomnyashchy, Slava I. Yastremski (New Haven/New York: Yale University Press, 1995).

[52] Kerstin S. Jobst, *Die Perle des Imperiums*, 256–257.

[53] Katya Hokanson, "Pushkin's Captive Crimea. Imperialism in The Fountain of Bakhchisarai," in *Russian Subjects. Empire, Nation, and the Culture of the Golden Age*, eds. Monika Greenleaf, Stephen Moeller-Sally (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1998), 127.

[54] Kerstin S. Jobst, *Die Perle des Imperiums*, 255–281.

the Khan's former concubine, a Georgian by the name of Zarema. Zarema can only vaguely remember her Christian origins and has become almost Oriental; hence "wild," in the common European perspective of the time:

> Not here beheld I first the light,
> Far hence my native land, but yet
> Alas! I never can forget
> Objects once precious to my sight.[55]

Zarema misses her undisturbed happiness with the Khan and issues her rival Maria with an unveiled death threat:

> But listen! the sad prey to scorn
> If I must live, Princess, have care,
> A dagger still doth Zarem wear, –
> I near the Caucasus was born![56]

The chaste Christian maiden Maria does indeed meet her end, although it is unclear whether it is at her own hand or that of Zarema, or from a broken heart due to what is perceived as a harsh fate to be alone among Muslims.

> Days passed away; Maria slept
> Peaceful, no cares disturbed her, now, –
> From earth the orphan maid was swept.
> But who knew when, or where, or how?
> If prey to grief or pain she fell,
> If slain or heaven-struck, who can tell?[57]

The Khan, himself unhappy due to Maria's death, has Zarema killed too and heads north to rob and pillage Russia or Poland-Lithuania again. But the poem has him appear less savage following his love for a Christian and he erects a fountain in the memory of Maria. The real fountain on which it is based can still be seen in the former Khan's palace in the former capital of the Khanate, Bakhchisarai. Water droplets from a marble lotus blossom fall via a series of basins until they meet only briefly before flowing apart again to disappear in a stylized snail. For many observers, including even Pushkin himself, the "former fountain" from which the water dripped like from "rusty iron pipes" was a disappointment.[58]

[55] Alexander Pushkin, *Bakchesarian Fountain. And Other Poems, by Various Authors*, trans. William D. Lewis (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1849), 23. Available at: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/8192/8192-h/8192-h.htm (acc. 23.04.2018).

[56] Ibidem, 26.

[57] Ibidem, 27.

[58] Pushkin to Anton Delvig, n.d. (1824), cited in Rolf-Dietrich Keil, *Alexander Puschkin. Ein Dichterleben* (Frankfurt a.M./Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 2001), 111.

At the same time, it is not least due to the national poet's text that the Khan's palace still stands at all. Following Crimea's recapture by the Soviet army in 1944, Stalin ordered the deportation of the Crimean Tatar population for alleged collaboration with the German occupiers but the palace survived the order to destroy Crimean Tatar cultural heritage since Pushkin had created a literary monument to it and hence "virtually beatified" it.[59]

The historicity of a Maria Potocka in the Khan's harem in Bakhchisarai cannot be verified. The renowned Austrian orientalist Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856) writes with some reservation: "the daughter of a Polish great (presumably Maria Potocka) stolen by the Tatars" is supposed to have existed and married a descendant of the Geray dynasty, which always provided the Crimean Khan.[60] The lady on which the easily infatuated Pushkin based his Maria has been sought by generations of literary scholars. They generally assume that the poet met Sofia Potocka in Saint Petersburg in 1818 or 1819, that is before his southern exile, and that she related to him the unhappy fate of her namesake. Her later marriage to a high-ranking military officer is said to have inspired the deeply saddened Pushkin to write the poem.[61] During his short life, ended by a duel, he repeatedly returned to the subject of Crimea, which had made a profound impression on him and countless other writers and fed the idea that the peninsula was a place in which the barely determinable "Russian culture" was firmly rooted.

However, non-Russian writers also drew inspiration from the beauty of the peninsula. Hence, if one wanted to, one could thereby justify other national claims to Crimea. Here we can point to Poland as it is not just via the above-mentioned Sarmatism that it cultivated a special bond with the peninsula. Its national poet and contemporary of Pushkin, Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855) wrote his famous cycle *Sonety krymskie* (Crimean Sonnets; 1826). Having been banished to the South by Tsar Alexander I (1777–1825) in 1824, Mickiewicz too wrote of the "Fountain of Tears." However, he placed the emphasis elsewhere, not on the alleged irreconcilability of Christianity and Islam. Instead, he was more interested in his partitioned Polish homeland under Prussian, Austrian, and indeed Russian rule, personified by his supposed countrywoman Maria in "The Grave of Countess Potocka:"

[59] *Die Krim entdecken. Unterwegs auf der Sonneninsel im Schwarzen Meer*, eds. Dagmar Köck et al. (Berlin: Trescher, 1995), 121.

[60] Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Chane der Krim unter osmanischer Herrschaft vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts. Als Anhang zur Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs zusammengetragen aus türkischen Quellen, mit Literatur-Übersetzungen und Anmerkungen, mit der Zugabe eines Gasels von Schahingerai, Türkisch und Deutsch, Neudruck der Ausgabe Vienna 1856* (St. Leonards/Amsterdam: Ad Orientem, 1970), 101–103.

[61] Vide Rolf-Dietrich Keil, op. cit., 183.

In Spring of love and life, My Polish Rose,
You faded and forgot the joy of youth;
Bright butterfly, it brushed you, then left ruth
Of bitter memory that stings and glows.

O Stars! that seek a path my northland knows,
How dare you now on Poland shine forsooth,
When she who loved you and lent you her youth
Sleeps where beneath the wind the long grass blows?

Alone, My Polish Rose, I die, like you.
Beside your grave a while pray let me rest
With other wanderers at some grief's behest.

The tongue of Poland by your grave rings true.
High-hearted, now a young boy past it goes,
Of you it is he sings, My Polish Rose.[62]

This hope was fulfilled, for Mickiewicz is to the Poles what Pushkin is to the Russians or Goethe to the Germans. The *Crimean Sonnets*, this commitment to paper of yearning for a lost love and homeland – "l'amour perdu dans la patrie perdue fait du séjour en Crimée un exil doublement douloureux," as the literary scholar Michel Cadot neatly puts it[63] – like Pushkin's "Fountain of Tears," were a great commercial success, albeit less so with Russian readers, who could not overlook the anti-Russian tone. The cycle remains popular in Poland to this day. However, they have not resulted in populist "claims" to Crimea.

Due to the course of political history, it was not until the 1950s that Crimea became Ukrainian. In the nineteenth century, the Ukrainian elites were too busy with their own nation-building project for the issue of a Ukrainian Crimea to emerge. Nevertheless, the Potocka motif also resonated in Ukrainian literature as a mythic Crimea narrative. The historian Mykola (Ukrainian; Russian Nikolai) Kostomarov (1817–1885), claimed by the Ukrainian national movement as one of their own, made the unhappy Polish prisoner a Ukrainian in his poem "To Maria Potocka:"

Mocking faith in God –
Stands the cross below the moon!
You hapless Ukrainian [Maria],
It tells of you![64]

[62] Adam Mickiewicz, *Sonnets from the Crimea*, trans. Edna Worthley Underwood (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company, 1917), 13. Available at: https://archive.org/details/sonnetsfromcrim00undegoog (acc. 23.04.2018).

[63] Michel Cadot, "Exil et poésie. La Crimée de Puškin et de Mickiewicz," *Revue Études Slaves*, no. 59 (1987): 149–150.

[64] Mikola I. Kostomarov, "Do Marï Pototskoï" (To Maria Potocka), in idem, *Tvory v dvokh tomakh.* T. 1 (Works in Two Volumes, vol. 1; Kyïv: Vyd. Chudozh. Lit. "Dnipro," 1967), 56.

Conclusion

As could be shown in this contribution not striving for completeness, the Crimea had played a decisive role in many temporal, national, and ideological contexts. It offers the stuff of which myths can be made. In literature, Crimea is often perceived as a space in which "civilization" and "barbarism" meet; it is dangerous, exotic, and beautiful at the same time. In the intellectual history of Poland, Hungary, Germany, and Russia, it is the place of the possible roots of one's own origins; whether Sarmatians or Goths, it is always a question of shifting an anticipated descent of a special social group, or the 'nation,' to distant times and places. Therefore – and as the references of the Russian administration in 2014 had shown – sometimes claims to the territory of the peninsula were derived, which however lacked historical and juridical legitimation. Hence, concrete political claims can arise from national myths, as we saw not only in the Russian but also the National Socialist case.

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A DOMESTIC SPACE: THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN CARPATHIANS IN THE POLISH TOURIST AND LOCAL LORE DISCOURSE, 1918–1939[1]

Keywords: domestic landscape, national landscape, regionalism, mass tourism, Carpathians
Słowa kluczowe: krajobraz rodzimy, krajobraz narodowy, regionalizm, turystyka masowa, Karpaty

Summary

The article presents various ways of ideologization of the Central (Boyko and Lemko regions) and Eastern (Hutsul region) Carpathians in interwar Poland. After the Polish-Ukrainian War (1918–1919), that part of the Carpathian mountain range was situated in the Second Polish Republic. In contrast to the Tatras, which played the role of Polish national landscape, the Carpathians were alien to Poles in terms of ethnicity and culture. Thus, the Polish authorities, as well as touristic and local lore organizations, sought and largely managed to transform these mountains into a domestic landscape, which was no center of national identity but constituted an important spot on the mental map of the Polish national community, recognized as an undeniable part of Polish statehood. The article shows how the exoticization of the Carpathians, state holidays, and the development of state-funded mass tourism resulted in the increased sense of familiarity between Polish lowlanders and highlanders and, consequently, the symbolic inscription of the Carpathians into the Polish domain and common imagination.

KRAJOBRAZ RODZIMY. ŚRODKOWE I WSCHODNIE KARPATY W POLSKIM DYSKURSIE TURYSTYCZNYM I KRAJOZNAWCZYM LAT 1918–1939

Streszczenie

Artykuł prezentuje różne sposoby ideologizacji przestrzeni Karpat Wschodnich (Huculszczyzny) i Środkowych (Bojkowszczyzny i Łemkowszczyzny) w międzywojennej Polsce. Po wojnie polsko-ukraińskiej (1918–1919) ta część łańcucha Karpackiego znalazła się w II Rzeczpospolitej. W odróżnieniu od Tatr, które odgrywały rolę krajobrazu narodowego dla Polaków, stanowiła

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jednak ziemię pod względem etnicznym i kulturowym obcą Polakom, co więcej, podatną na wpływy ukraińskiego ruchu narodowego. Polskie władze oraz organizacje krajoznawcze i turystyczne dokładały w związku z tym dużo starań, aby przekształcić Karpaty w krajobraz rodzimy, czyli przestrzeń, która wprawdzie nie była ośrodkiem identyfikacji narodowej Polaków, ale była im bliska i wpisywała się w ich wyobrażenie Polski jako integralnej całości. Wykład pokazuje, w jaki sposób egzotycyzacja Karpat, państwowe święta i imprezy, w końcu finansowany przez II RP rozwój masowej turystyki prowadziły do budowania poczucia swojskości między Polakami z nizin a góralami, a w konsekwencji – do symbolicznego wpisania Karpat w domenę polską i zbiorową wyobraźnię Polaków.

Introduction

The Carpathians constitute the largest mountain range in East-Central Europe. Nowadays, they run through territories of eight countries, from Austria and the Czech Republic in the northwest through Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Ukraine to Romania and Serbia in the southeast. Historically, the Carpathians had a typical borderland character. In the sixteenth century, their large stretch demarcated the border between the Crown of Hungary and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (after the Union of Lublin in 1569). In the wake of the partitions of the latter, in the last third of the eighteenth century, the Carpathians found itself in the Habsburg Empire. After the Austrian-Hungarian compromise of 1867, the Carpathians was an internal frontier of the Dual Monarchy, marking the border between Austria and Hungary; or, precisely speaking, the Austrian province of Galicia. As a consequence of the collapse of the Monarchy (1918) and the Polish-Ukrainian War (1918–1919), the former Galicia was included into the Second Polish Republic along with approximately six hundred kilometers of the Carpathians, from the Silesian Beskids to Chornohora. In the interwar period, that part of the mountains walled off the predominantly lowland Poland to the south and separated it from Czechoslovakia and Romania; after the Munich Agreement also from Hungary.

Despite the borderland and immensely peripheral character of the Carpathians, they started to attract representatives of different nations already in the late nineteenth century. The beauty of their wild alpine nature lured an increasing number of travelers, discoverers, and artists. Furthermore, the complexity of their ethnic composition provided offered work for intelligentsia engaged in nation-building projects. In this article, I will argue that, although the Low Beskids, Bieszczady, Gorgany, and Chornohora were never landscapes of particular importance for the national identification of Poles, the interwar Polish elites appropriated these mountains to Polish nation and state in hope of transforming them into a Polish "domestic landscape."

Although inhabitants of the Carpathians were generally known as highlanders, they were divided into disparate ethnic groups. For instance, those dwelling in the northern part of the Tatras were called Gorals; those inhabiting the Low Beskids, Bieszczady, and the mountain ranges located within the basin of the Prut and Cheremosh Rivers – Gorgany and Chornohora – were referred to as Lemkos, Boykos, and Hutsuls, respectively. Their complex ethnic origins are a subject of dispute until now, especially when it comes to the last three groups.[2] Their origins were additionally complicated by the mixing of people. The identity of highlanders in the second half of the nineteenth century was typically local, that is, tied to the specific alpine terrain that over the centuries had shaped their way of living. However, the "discovery" of the Carpathians at that time changed the situation and raised the national question with respect to the vernacular population. The aforementioned "discovery" is a term elaborated by Patrice M. Dabrowski that captures the process of inscribing the Carpathians into the mental map of people and associating them with nation-building in the region and, then, among the broad national masses.[3] According to Dabrowski, the first phenomenon of this kind occurred in the 1870s and referred to the Tatra Mountains, then located in the Habsburg Galicia. Doctor Tytus Chałubiński and the Polish positivists instilled interest in the Tatras and established the first region's alpine association, the Polish Tatra Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie; 1873), while the preoccupation of Polish elites with the Zakopane style helped Polish nationalists to recognize the Tatras as a national Polish territory and the Gorals as undeniably Polish people.[4] Moreover, the "discovery" of the Tatras strengthened the Polish identification of the Gorals themselves.

Such an appropriation of the Tatras and their inhabitants for the Polish nation was followed by the "discovery" of the Eastern Carpathians known as the Hutsul

[2] There are many theories concerning the ethnogeny of the Lemkos, Boykos, and Hutsuls. Perhaps, the one with the most supporters that argues that they originate from Vlachs. However, alternative conceptions appeared, even quite recently. E.g., in the 1970s Tadeusz Sulimirski sought to prove that the Lemkos and Boykos have Thracian origins, vide Tadeusz Sulimirski, "Trakowie w Północnych Karpatach i problem pochodzenia Wołochów," *Acta Archeologica Carpathica*, vol. 14 (1974): 79–105. Paul R. Magocsi fosters a conception on existence of the Carpatho-Rusyn nation which is to embrace the Lemkos, Boykos, and Hutsuls, vide Paul R. Magocsi, *Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848–1948* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1978), and his *The People From Nowhere: An Illustrated History of Carpatho-Rusyns* (Uzhorod: V. Padiak Publishers, 2006).

[3] Patrice M. Dabrowski, "'Discovering' the Borderlands: The Case of the Eastern Carpathians," *Slavic Review*, vol. 64, no. 2 (2005): 380–381.

[4] Patrice M. Dabrowski, "Constructing a Polish Landscape: The Example of the Carpathian Frontier," *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol. 39 (2008): 45–65; David Crowley, "Finding Poland in the Margins: The Case of the Zakopane Style," *Journal of Design History*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2001): 105–116.

region. Unlike the Tatras, this part of Galicia turned out to be a field of battle for influence between Poles and Ukrainians. The Poles established new branches of the Tatra Society in Eastern Galician towns, Stanisławów and Kołomyja, and took advantage of the first ethnographic exhibition in Kołomyja in 1880[5] to emphasize the Polish spirit and leadership in the Hutsul region. However, Dabrowski claims that they did not elevate the Hutsuls to the position of full--fledged members of the Polish nation, as they did with the Gorals.[6] At the beginning of the twentieth century, Ukrainian intelligentsia started to manifest a growing interest in the Eastern Carpathians, took inspiration from the Hutsul culture, and appeared more eager than the Poles to perceive the vernacular highlanders as a regional variant of their nation. Hereby, already in the period preceding the First World War, the Hutsul region and its dwellers became a bone of contention between Poland and Ukraine, both stateless and aspiring to represent and control this remote piece of the Habsburg lands as far as possible.

The First World War and, in particular, the Polish-Ukrainian War for Eastern Galicia opened a new chapter in the history of the formerly Habsburg part of the Carpathians. On the one hand, the Polish-Ukrainian war proved that Ukrainians laid rigid state-building claims toward the area that they regarded as their ethnic territory, including not only the Hutsul and Boyko regions but also the Lemko region situated west of the San River.[7] On the other hand, the Polish victory in the war, sealed by the Peace of Riga (1921) and the international recognition of the Polish sovereignty in Eastern Galicia (1923), entailed the incorporation of the whole province, along with its highlands and highlanders, into reborn Poland.

While the position of the Tatras on the mental map of Poles was clear at that time, the mountains already gained an honorable status of that what Alexander Maxwell calls a "national landscape," that is, a center of national identification;[8] thus, the position of the Central and Eastern Carpathians was ambiguous. The Low Beskids, Bieszczady, Gorgany, and Chornohora were regarded by Poles as part of a territorial heritage of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; a part that, after the epoch of partitions, should belong to the Second Polish Republic. However, in contrast to the Tatras, Poles hardly perceived these mountain ranges as their "national landscapes." Especially for the Poles from the former

[5] Patrice M. Dabrowski, "'Discovering' the Borderlands:" 385–402.

[6] Ibidem: 401.

[7] Vide Maciej Kozłowski, *Między Sanem a Zbruczem. Walki o Lwów i Galicję Wschodnią 1918–1919* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak, 1990), 110–111.

[8] Vide Alexander Maxwell, "From Wild Carpathians to the Puszta: The Evolution of Hungarian National Landscapes," in *Mythical Landscapes Then and Now: The Mystification of Landscapes in Search for National Identity*, eds. Ruth Büttner, Judith Peltz (Yerevan: Antares, 2006), 53–77.

Russian and Prussian partitions, the Carpathians were remote; they were also much less discovered (and "discovered") then the Tatras. Moreover, the highlanders from the Central and Eastern Carpathians – the Lemkos, Boykos, and Hutsuls – considerably varied from Roman Catholic Poles. Roman Reinfuss, a Polish ethnographer, called them generally "Rusyn highlanders" ("górale ruscy").[9] Reinfuss did not define the notion and he certainly did not anticipate the contemporary category of Carpatho-Rusyns proposed by Robert P. Magocsi and Paul Best as a separate nation.[10] However, "Rusyn highlanders" did reflect Reinfuss's sense of difference between the Poles and the Central and Eastern highlanders who were Eastern Slavs of Greek Catholic or Orthodox rite and close linguistic kinship with the Ukrainians.

As I mentioned, the Ukrainians tend to consider the Lemkos, Boykos, and Hutsuls as a part of the Ukrainian nation, so they continued nation-building among the highlanders after 1918 even though the authorities of the Second Polish Republic did much to suppress their attempts. On their part, and if politically active, the highlanders sympathized with miscellaneous orientations: the Ukrainians, the Moscophils, the Old Rus, and the pro-Polish regime.[11] However, the highlanders generally seemed scarcely bound to the idea of the region's Polishness and the more east of the Carpathians they dwelled, the more susceptible they were to Ukrainian influence. That complex situation made the issue of the highlanders' national allegiance and the precarious links between the Carpathian borderland and the rest of the Polish state into the burning problems of interwar Poland.

* * *

The article concerns the most problematic stretch of the Carpathians located within the borders of the Second Polish Republic, that is, the Low Beskids, Bieszczady, Gorgany, and Chornohora. The paper discusses the means used by the interwar Polish elites to connect these mountains with the lowland area of Poland and the ethnic minorities of Lemkos, Boykos, and Hutsuls with the Polish nation. I will focus on the interwar Polish discourse pertaining to the Central and Eastern Carpathians and the thematic fields of tourism and history

[9] Roman Reinfuss, "Łemkowie (opis etnograficzny)," *Wierchy*, vol. 14 (1936): 1.

[10] Vide Paul R. Magocsi, *Shaping of a National Identity*; *The People From Nowhere*; Paul J. Best, "The Carpatho-Rusyn Question in Poland," in *The Lemkos of Poland*, eds. Paul J. Best, Jarosław Moklak (Kraków–New Haven: Carpatho-Slavic Studies Group, 2000), 73–81.

[11] Jarosław Moklak, "Political Orientations Among the Lemkos in the Interwar Period (1918––1939): An Outline," in *The Lemkos of Poland*, 27–32; Jarosław Moklak, *The Lemko Region in the Second Polish Republic: Political and Interdenominational Issues 1918–1939*, trans. Timothy Williams (Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press, 2013), 11–119.

in the context of the local community. Moreover, I will analyze popular guidebooks of the time that presented the region and made it the subject of public discussion between the First and Second World Wars: *Karpaty i Podkarpacie* (The Carpathians and the Subcarpathia; 1939) devoted to the Low Beskids and Bieszczady, as well as *Huculszczyzna. Gorgany i Czarnohora* (The Hutsul Region. Gorgany and Chornohora; 1936), both written by the Polish writer and explorer Ferdynand Antoni Ossendowski and issued in the famous publishing series "Cuda Polski" (The Wonders of Poland).[12] Moreover, I consider the successful, in its time, guidebook *Krótki przewodnik po Huculszczyźnie* (A Short Guidebook of the Hutsul Region; 1933). Moreover, my investigation follows the monthly *Turysta w Polsce* (Tourist in Poland) jointly issued in 1935–1938 by the Tatra Society, the Polish Skiing Association (Polski Związek Narciarstwa) and the Polish Kayaking Association (Polski Związek Kajakarstwa), as well as selected articles from the yearbook *Wierchy* (Mountain Peaks), published by the Tatra Society since 1923. What comprises a supplementary field of my reflection are iconographical sources like the album *Województwo stanisławowskie i tarnopolskie* (Stanisławów and Tarnopol Voivodeship; 1930), included in the publishing project "Polska w krajobrazie i zabytkach" ("Poland: its landscape and monuments"),[13] and 1929–1938 photographs of the Lemko and Boyko regions by Reinfuss. On the basis of these materials, I will indicate the main threads of the Polish tourist and local lore discourse on the Central and Eastern Carpathians in 1918–1939: (1) exoticization; (2) regional distinctiveness; (3) past and current connections with Poland; (4) "touristification" as the connection to the Second Polish Republic. I will argue that, although the Low Beskids, Bieszczady, Gorgany, and Chornohora never played an equal role as the Tatras who were the "national landscape" for Poles, the interwar Polish elites sought and largely managed to transform these mountains into a "domestic landscape." Domestic landscape is not a center of national identity; yet, despite its local otherness, it constitutes an important spot on the mental map of a national community that recognizes it as an undeniable part of its statehood. Due to the systematic and consistent coverage of the Central and Eastern Carpathians with special meanings applied by creators of the Polish tourist and local lore discourse in the Second Polish Republic, the Carpathians mostly became such a landscape before 1939.

[12] Based on French models, the series appeared in 1928–1939. Each of the fourteen volumes presented a different part of the Second Polish Republic, with special consideration of its geography, history, and culture.

[13] The series consisted of fourteen short volumes compiled into two monumental books, the first was published in 1930, the second in 1931. Volumes were dedicated to a different region or city of the interwar Poland, gathering a few short articles but mostly beautiful photographs.

The Exoticization of the Localism

The alpine landscape, boasting an abundance of wildlife, was a feature of the Central and Eastern Carpathians emphasized by virtually all travelers, discoverers, and artists who visited the region. The south-eastern part of the Second Polish Republic, that is, Gorgany and Chornohora, were regarded by Poles as the wildest and most remote. Consequently, the wildness and seclusion of these mountain ranges became their hallmarks in the Polish tourist and local lore discourse.

Articles devoted to Gorgany, less known and popular than Chornohora in the 1920s and 1930s, usually began with depictions of the mountains' hardly accessible forests, cliffs, and endless stone run. For instance, a journalist of the monthly *Turysta w Polsce* ensures his readers and possible visitors to Gorgany that:

> You will be impressed by the lush green of giant stone pine clusters and the dark, impenetrable, sea of mugo pine, frozen into a unified green. Higher, there are only stone islands of rocks, i.e. stone run [*gorgan*].... Only thence, tens of kilometers of the wondrous landscape, the endless mountain lands, open like a fan.[14]

Another journalist, summing up the monthly's texts that promote the Carpathians among Polish lowlanders, admits that, "the 'alpine terrain of the Tatras,' the 'gorgeous Bieszczady, specifically for skiing,' the 'wild Chornohora,' we know them by heart from all the publications and propagandist articles."[15] This journalist aptly captures the tendency to attribute wildness to Gorgany and Chornohora. However, what he does not add is that the tendency manifested itself not only in journalism but also in different, semiotically-understood cultural texts.

In modeling the perspective on the south-eastern corner of Poland as extraordinary wilderness, the interwar Polish photography played at least as important role as journalism. The monthly *Turysta w Polsce* used this means to affect the awareness and imagination of its readers, who often lacked personal experience in the mountains. Apart from articles, the monthly published many photos of usually good artistic quality, by popular tourist activists and travelers, among others, Mieczysław Orłowicz, Zygmunt Klemensiewicz, and Maksymilian Dudryk. Their works displayed Gorgany and Chornohora in a similar way, most often as an unbroken view of hills and rocks stretching to the horizon, scarcely populated, and distant from the areas spoiled by modern civilization. The album *Województwo stanisławowskie i tarnopolskie* depicted the mountains analogously. According to the title of the series in which it appeared, the album presents images of monuments and works of art located in towns and villages of Stanisławów and Tarnopol Voivodeship along with photographs of the landscape,

[14] Władysław Krygowski, "Gorgany – góry czaru," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 7 (1936): 8.
[15] "Góry polskie – kraj narciarzy," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 12 (1937): 12.

that is, the Gorgany and Chornohora mountain ranges. Amid the latter group, there dominate monumental panoramas from mountaintops and romantic shots of secluded locations in the valleys of the Prut and Cheremosh Rivers. These images suggest that visitors may find there peace, quiet, and the most authentic nature, as well as a sense of adventure in the mountains.[16] Popular postcards from the interwar period followed this way of presentation. For instance, one of them shows a pair of skis and poles stuck in fresh snow on the backdrop of the Homuł peak in winter Chornohora.[17] The whole composition emanates tranquility and a seductive promise of escape from the city crowd and everyday life, a place of solitude, excitement, and a bit of hazardous experience. Some shots of Gorgany and Chornohora were so often reproduced that they became highly recognizable. The especially popular views were the winter peaks of Małe Kozły and Wielkie Kozły,[18] as well as the famous Chornohora rugged rocks called the "stone theatres" by Henryk Gąsiorowski, the author of guidebooks of the Eastern Beskids.[19]

Guidebooks, publications that combine narrative and photography, made a significant contribution to the establishment of the analyzed image of the Carpathians. The guidebook *Huculszczyzna* provides a telling testimony to this phenomenon. Its author, Ossendowski, was clearly captivated by the beauty of the Hutsul region and very eager to present it to readers as a wonder of nature. Not only did Ossendowski describe Gorgany and Chornohora as a region full of rare species of plants and animals but also – or especially – as a marvelous wilderness that offers visitors the freedom and possibility of unique adventures. Admiring the Eastern Carpathians' hunting conditions, "so appealing to the imagination of the hunter," Ossendowski boldly compares the Carpathians to Central Africa and India and states that the indigenous mountains surpass

[16] Vide e.g. the photographs by Henryk Gąsiorowski, J. Jaroszyński, and Stanisław Radomski in *Województwo stanisławowskie i tarnopolskie* (Rzeszów: Libra PL, 2012), 28–39. I use the contemporary reprint of the edition *Województwo stanisławowskie i tarnopolskie* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Tadeusza Złotnickiego, 1930), having compared it with the original version from the National Library in Warsaw (Poland). While the reprint is supplemented by additional materials, the item in the National Library is incomplete and lacks the introductory articles by Gąsiorowski and Tomasz Kunzek.

[17] Ibidem, 31.

[18] Vide e.g. the photograph by Zenobiusz Pręgowski in Andrzej Wielocha, *Przedwojenne Bieszczady, Gorgany i Czarnohora. Najpiękniejsze fotografie* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo RM, 2013), 82.

[19] Henryk Gąsiorowski, *Przewodnik po Beskidach Wschodnich*, vol. 1, part 1: *Bieszczady* (Warszawa: Książnica-Atlas, 1935); idem, *Przewodnik po Beskidach Wschodnich*, vol. 1, part 2: *Gorgany* (Warszawa: Książnica-Atlas, 1935); Henryk Gąsiorowski, *Przewodnik po Beskidach Wschodnich*, vol. 2: *Czarnohora* (Warszawa: Książnica-Atlas, [1933]). According to Gąsiorowski, the "stone theatres" was a popular folk name of Szpyci, "the most beautiful detail of Chornohora," Henryk Gąsiorowski, *Przewodnik po Beskidach Wschodnich*, vol. 2: *Czarnohora*, 109.

the overseas areas with regard to the quality of air, water, and forests, not to mention the number of wild animals.[20] Ossendowski's parallel suggests something less than an orientalization of Gorgany and Chornohora and more like an exoticization of the beautifully natural wild mountains. Simultaneously, his description brings about an evident appreciation of the region's localism. According to Ossendowski, the chains in south-eastern Poland are not only withstand comparison to the non-European lands but also successfully draw tourists away from those lands to the terrain that is domestic but not less original and exotic.

The notion of exoticization of the mountains' localism allows us to describe the general trend in presenting Gorgany and Chornohora, less frequently Bieszczady and the Low Beskids, in the Polish tourist and local lore discourse. Although the manifestation of this trend was very distinct in the form of Ossendowski's parallel between the south-eastern Polish borderland and the exotic lands, the trend in question did not have to involve such an open juxtaposition. Instead, it consisted in emphasizing attractiveness, originality, and sometimes even oddity of the mountains which, though domestic, did not give way to more distant and supposedly more alluring tourist destinations.

We find many various displays of this trend in the discourse of the time. Apart from the above, the guidebook by Ossendowski provides many others. For example, it depicts the Hutsul region as a captivating place, which "involuntarily births the thought about a fairy tale hidden there."[21] According to the writer, the Hutsuls live close to nature, at the crossroad of Christianity and fascinating "Slavic and non-Slavic paganism;"[22] thus, their culture and the region itself are penetrated by magic. Ossendowski apparently enjoyed describing Hutsuls' magical practices (especially those connected with love, fertility, and death) and supernatural forces allegedly active in the mountains.

> [witchcraft has nested here [in the Hutsul region] from time immemorial. In slits and fissures of Szpyci [a peak in Chornohora], there grow miraculous medicinal herbs, magic flowers, and fairy roots, and they receive power from "he" – the black spirit of the mountains who wonders in this grim and menacing place.[23]

This is only a sample of a broad picture but very representative of Ossendowski's book, which was to portray Gorgany and Chornohora as an amazing and deeply mysterious region. Stories about local heroic outlaws that appear on the pages of *Huculszczyzna* and *Karpaty i Podkarpacie* aim at the same representation.

[20] Antoni F. Ossendowski, *Huculszczyzna. Gorgany i Czarnohora* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Polskie R. Wegner, [1936]), 24–25.

[21] Ibidem, 197.

[22] Ibidem, 165.

[23] Ibidem, 155.

They suggest that the Carpathians are full of unusual people who deserve appreciation, even if they act against the law or morality, because they contribute to the good of the local people. What especially played such role was the legend of Ołeksa Dobosz, vivid amid the Hutsuls and appropriated by Polish culture in Eugeniusz Brocki's novel "Opryszki w Karpatach" (Robbers in the Carpathians; 1830).[24] Ossendowski depicts Dobosz as a robber like Robin Hood, who "melted plundered gold into joy, ... understood the language of forests, the howl of wind, and the thud of storm [*hodyna*] on the uplands, and drank the charm of life."[25] In this way, Ossendowski attributes the Hutsul hero Dobosz with such characteristics as the love of liberty and inner connection with nature and the archaic past, which Poles previously assigned mostly to the Tatra Gorals. Since Ossendowski treats the protagonist as the best synecdoche of the Hutsul population, he tacitly extends Dobosz's features of character to all vernacular highlanders: "[Dobosz was the] embodiment of all songs [*dumy*] and affections of the people."[26] Consequently, the readers could have received the Hutsuls much like the Gorals, who were regarded by Poles not only as undeniably Polish but also as the most attractive and appealing ethnic group who dwells on the Polish lands.

All these manners of exoticization of the Central and, especially, Eastern Carpathians had a persuasive function. By elevating the localism of Carpathians to the level of extraordinary attraction and creating the image of the mountains as a magic kingdom of nature and archaic past, the writers strongly appealed to sensibility and imagination of Poles unfamiliar with the region. Hence, they persuaded Polish lowlanders that the south-eastern borderland of the Second Polish Republic deserved attention and visit regardless of two facts. First, that the Carpathians were a periphery of Poland and not an appealing foreign territory. Second, that this periphery was hardly accessible and far away from such centers as the capital of the state, Warsaw.[27] The analyzed image of the Central and Eastern Carpathians offered a tempting vision of retreat, adventure and real exoticism in the domestic space. In this way, as *Krótki przewodnik po Huculszczyźnie* puts it, the texts were to "encourage tourists, skiers, holiday-makers, and amateurs of beautiful nature to explore this nook of the [Polish] Republic, by all means worth knowing."[28]

[24] Eugeniusz Brocki, "Opryszki w Karpatach. Powieść z podań gminnych," *Hałyczanin*, ed. Walenty Chłędowski, Lwów, vol. 2 (1830): 78–92.

[25] Antoni F. Ossendowski, *Huculszczyzna*, 135.

[26] Ibidem.

[27] *Turysta w Polsce* informed that, in the late 1930s, it took "only" twelve hours to get by train from Warsaw to Sławsko, the tourist center in Eastern Bieszczady, Jim Poker, "Cepry i turystyka," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 4–5 (1938): 10.

[28] *Krótki przewodnik po Huculszczyźnie od Hnitesy po Rogoze*, ed. komitet redakcyjny (Warszawa: Główna Księgarnia Wojskowa, 1933), n.p.

The Janus Face of Regionalism

Local and ethnic peculiarity of the Central and Eastern Carpathians and their dwellers constituted a highly valued property of the region, which the interwar tourist and local lore Polish discourse constantly reiterated. The authors of the album *Województwo stanisławowskie i tarnopolskie* devoted much space to display the Hutsul culture and customs, even though the volume focused on monuments and landscape of the Stanisławów and Tarnopol Voivodship, not ethnography. The album conveys pictures of a wedding in the center of the Hutsul region (Żabie), divinations after wedding, a Hutsul funeral, fishing in the Cheremosh River, trembita players, laundry in Kosów, and several Hutsul types, from children to old men and women, mostly by Mikołaj Seńkowski.[29]

The outstanding ethnographer, Reinfuss, dedicated the vast majority of his interwar travel and research projects to recording and analyzing the world of the Central and Eastern Carpathian highlanders. He immortalized life in the area between the Poprad and Cheremosh Rivers – the Lemkos region, the transition Lemko-Boyko terrain, the Boyko region, and the Boyko-Hutsul borderland – on photographs taken in the late 1920s and 1930s.[30] Moreover, Reinfuss commented on the disputed issues concerning the area of his interest (e.g. the borderline of the Lemko region) in articles, until 1936 published in the newspaper *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny* (*Illustrated Daily Courier*),[31] later in reputable journals about ethnography, local lore, and local history.[32]

In his both guidebooks, Ossendowski devotes many pages to describe the life patterns of pastoral people who live in the territory from the Low Beskids to Chornohora. Trained in and most famous for literary memoires,[33] Ossendowski embellished his local lore narrative with short stories about specific characters that familiarized readers with the Lemko, Boyko, and Hutsul mentality and lifestyle.

[29] Vide the photographs by Mikołaj Seńkowski and Henryk Gąsiorowski in *Województwo stanisławowskie i tarnopolskie*, 41–64.

[30] Photographs by Reinfuss are to be found in the archive of the Rural Architecture Museum of Sanok. His selected works are presented in Roman Reinfuss, *Fotografie. Karpacki świat Bojków i Łemków*, eds. Zbigniew Libera, Hubert Ossadnik (Olszanica: Wydawnictwo Bosz and Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Sanoku, 2016).

[31] E.g., Roman Reinfuss, "W sprawie granicy łemkowsko-boykowskiej," *Kurier Literacko-Naukowy*, no. 7, appendix to *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, no. 48 (17 February 1936): xiv–xv; Roman Reinfuss, "Wschodnia granica Łemkowszczyzny," *Kurier Literacko-Naukowy*, no. 28, appendix to *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, no. 193 (13 July 1936): ix–x.

[32] E.g., Roman Reinfuss, "Etnograficzne granice Łemkowszczyzny," *Ziemia*, vol. 26, no. 10/11 (1936): 240–254; Roman Reinfuss, "Łemkowie:" 1–24; Roman Reinfuss, "Ze studiów nad kulturą materialną Bojków," *Rocznik Ziem Górskich* (Warszawa: Zakłady Drukarskie W. Piekarniaka, 1939): 238–279.

[33] Vide Antoni F. Ossendowski, *Beasts, Men and Gods* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1922).

In the guidebook *Karpaty i Podkarpacie*, there is a story about an old Lemko shepherd, Atanas, who at the dusk of life reminisces on his experiences, all connected with the unforgiving but sublime Low Beskids.[34] In *Huculszczyzna*, there is a story that depicts the funeral of an old farmer (*gazda*) in Żabie.[35] Ossendowski highly appreciates authentic manifestations of the local culture and customs – even unsophisticated – which is how he perceives the Lemko art. He wishes that the regional distinctiveness had not been contaminated with external influences and writes with a sense of regret about the "historical necessity" for civilization to encroach upon the uplands.[36] However, in the light of our reflections in the present article, we clearly see that these wishes and regrets did not deter Ossendowski from attracting visitors and paying special attention to the issue of tourism development in the Carpathians.

According to Ossendowski,[37] a "serious organization" with a statutory objective to maintain the local specifics of the Eastern Carpathians was the Society of Friends of the Hutsul Region (Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Huculszczyzny) founded in 1933. Its charter promulgated that the Society aimed at (1) cooperation in the methodical economic and cultural development of the region, (2) protection of the region's properties that comprised its distinctiveness and constitutes a "valuable component in the sum of natural and spiritual resources of the Polish Republic," (3) utilization of the climatic values of the region to improve the "social hygiene of the State," (4) supervision of the methodical development of tourism, summer resorts, and health spas in the region.[38] At first glance, the Society seems a typical local lore institution in the type of an alpine club. However, the rhetoric of its charter and its activities (to which I will return) were marked by a sort of antinomy, which one could already detect in Ossendowski's thinking. On the one hand, the Society was devoted to preserving the culture of the Eastern Carpathian highlanders and improving their territory. On the other hand, it emphasizes the special role of the south-eastern periphery – a "valuable component ... of the Polish Republic" – for Poland. The Society sought increasing the active presence of Poles in the area; therefore, it strengthened links between the Hutsul region and the rest of the Polish state. Officially, the Society was a non-governmental institution. However, the fact that it was headed by general Tadeusz Kasprzycki, a high official in the Ministry of Military Affairs and, in 1935–1939, the Minister of Military Affairs, linked it to the political circle

[34] Antoni F. Ossendowski, *Karpaty i Podkarpacie* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Polskie R. Wegnera, [1939]), 64–73.

[35] Antoni F. Ossendowski, *Huculszczyzna*, 109–120.

[36] Antoni F. Ossendowski, *Karpaty i Podkarpacie*, 62.

[37] Antoni F. Ossendowski, *Huculszczyzna*, 145.

[38] *Statut Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Huculszczyzny* (Warszawa: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Huculszczyzny, 1934), 4.

in power after Józef Piłsudski's May 1926 coup d'état. The financial and organizational support that the Society received from the Polish authorities and army made it a "serious organization" with influence exceeding the Carpathians.

As the Society's charter suggested, preserving the highlanders' culture was at least as important in interwar Poland as promoting it amid the lowlanders. In the 1930s, the Society organized several events to meet both of these aims. One of the most important was the Mountain Holiday (*Święto Gór*), planned already in 1933 and eventually organized in August 1935 in Zakopane. For five days, groups of highlanders from throughout the Polish Carpathians – from the Silesian Beskids to Chornohora – displayed their cultural and artistic achievements, partaking in disparate competitions, especially folk song and dance. Walery Goetel, a Polish geologist, longtime editor-in-chief of the yearbook *Wierchy*, and author writing for the monthly *Turysta w Polsce*, defines the main goal of those performances as follows: "they give an impulse to maintain and develop the most valuable characteristics of the highland tribes of Poland and their cooperation."[39] Indeed, the folk competition form of the Mountain Holiday elevated regional traditions to the rank of high value and encouraged highlanders to cultivate their cultural heritage. However, the organizational frameworks and Goetel's supplementary comments reveal additional goals of the Mountain Holiday. The event was organized by the Tatra Society, the Society of Friends of the Hutsul Region, and the Association of Highlanders (Związek Podhalan) under the leadership of Kasprzycki and honorable patronage of the President of Poland, Ignacy Mościcki, and Marshal Piłsudski, with considerable support from the Polish army. The touristic dimension of the Mountain Holiday was as essential as the local lore one. Goetel expresses satisfaction with the fact that it turned out to be a great touristic success: "Tens of thousands of people arrived at Zakopane by tens of special trains."[40] What was particularly meaningful for the scholar was that the vast majority of those people constituted lowlanders, unfamiliar with the mountains, who yet immediately realize in Zakopane that "the life of contemporary Poland received enrichment from a new, invaluable element."[41] "Hence," Goetel concludes elsewhere, "the great propagandistic and social importance of the rally."[42] The great importance of the Mountain Holiday consisted in the popularization of the southern and south-eastern borderlands among the Poles from other parts of the Second Polish Republic and the development of their awareness of the borderlands as an integral part of the country. Not less important was another goal of the event: affecting the awareness

[39] Walery Goetel, "Święto Gór," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 7 (1935): 7.
[40] Ibidem.
[41] Walery Goetel, "Zagadnienia regionalizmu górskiego w Polsce," *Wierchy*, vol. 16 (1938): 132.
[42] Walery Goetel, "Święto Gór:" 7.

of the highlanders. Common performances during one huge Mountain Holiday "reinforced a sense of community of all Polish highland tribes,"[43] states Goetel. Moreover, vivid public interest in the event, presence of the state authorities, including the President, and funding from Polish organizations encouraged the highlanders to regard themselves as full-fledged and valuable citizens of the Second Polish Republic. Fostering the highlanders' sense of brotherhood and belonging to Poland was crucial for the organizers, which found a telling testimony in the following facts. Originally, a highland group that would win folk competitions was supposed to win a free trip around Poland. However, all highlander participants in the Holiday were eventually sent for such a trip so as to have the possibility to recognize their homeland as more than only private and regional.[44] Moreover, the leaders of regional groups along with tourist and local lore activists jointly decided to establish an organization that would work for "the unification and elevation – ideological, cultural, and economic – of all highland terrains of Poland."[45]

Ultimately, the organization was initiated as the Union of Highland Terrains (Związek Ziem Górskich) during the Highland Congress in Sanok, August 15–17, 1936, and started its proceedings in Warsaw, in November of the same year.[46] The Union comprised tourist and local lore organizations who dealt with mountain issues along with some state institutions like the Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Izba Przemysłowo-Handlowa). Activists of the Union underlined its engagement in the co-organization of works of lower level units and the preservation of regional specifics of the southern and south-eastern parts of Poland. However, the ideological goals of the Union went further. Goetel probably declares them most aptly, when during a discussion in Sanok, he explains that the organization should seek to "connect the Carpathians with the rest of Poland economically and culturally."[47]

The objectives of the next Mountain Holiday in Wisła, August 1937, seemed convergent with the goals of the Union, which obviously was involved in its organization. For Goetel, the Mountain Holiday again was "revue of the original culture of highland people for thousands of their compatriots from lowlands,

[43] Ibidem.

[44] Ibidem.

[45] Ibidem.

[46] Walery Goetel, "Zjazd Górski w Sanoku i Związek Ziem Górskich," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 8 (1936): 2; Walery Goetel, "Góry polskie skarbnicą regionalizmu," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 8 (1937): 8; Walery Goetel, "Zjazd Górski w Sanoku," *Wierchy*, vol. 14 (1936): 232–233; w. mil., "Powstanie Związku Ziem Górskich," ibidem: 233.

[47] Quoted after Patrice M. Dabrowski, "Borderland Encounters in the Carpathian Mountains and Their Impact on Identity Formation," in *Shatterzone of Empires Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*, eds. Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (Bloomington–Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 203.

which occurs in an appropriate staffage of the upland world."[48] Among others, it means that participants of the event, like two years ago, included the highlanders form the whole mountain territory of Poland. An abundance of attractions made the program very entertaining and drew even more visitors to Wisła than the previous Mountain Holiday to Zakopane. The organizers sought to instill in the highlanders' an awareness that their culture constituted a highlight for the newcomers. On the other hand, the organizers did a lot to arouse lowlanders' interest in the culture of the highlanders and to get the former group closer to the latter. Not only did the organizers arrange lectures about the mountains and trips to the most beautiful viewpoints but they also put a funfair in Wisła,[49] similar to the amusement popular in bigger towns and cities in lowland Poland. One can say that the organizers indeed endeavored to create "compatriots" – as Goetel suggested it – or, as contemporary scholars call it, a sense of belonging to the same "imagined community,"[50] shared by the highlanders and lowlanders alike. Commentators of the event willingly expanded that sense of community into different spheres of life, especially social and economic ones. For instance, Kazimierz Pawlewski in the article "After the 'Mountain Week' in Wisła" states that the Holiday paved way for the development of highlanders' welfare "in accordance with the common interest of Poland.... The uplands must become, at all costs, not only a wall of breasts of brave and sacrificial highland people but also a wall of economic prosperity of the state."[51]

Such projects as the Society of Friends of the Hutsul Region, the Union of Highlands, and the Holidays of Mountains along with the approach represented by Ossendowski, Goetel, and Pawlewski, agreed with the ideology of regionalism as understood in interwar Poland. While the geographer Stanisław Pawłowski generally states that regionalism is a trend aiming at "examining objects and phenomena on the earth, according to their native regions,"[52] Goetel develops his thought with regard to the mountains. The latter writes that "geographical and natural circumstances create the common basis of life" in the Carpathians,[53] even though "their local characteristics vary distinctively."[54] Simultaneously, Goetel emphasizes the state dimension of regionalism, that is, the fact that

[48] Walery Goetel, "Zjazd górski w Sanoku i Związek Ziem Górskich:" 2.

[49] Vide the program of the event: "'Tydzień Gór' w Wiśle," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 8 (1937): 2–3.

[50] Vide Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991 [revised and extended ed.; first ed. 1983]).

[51] Kazimierz Pawlewski, "Po 'Tygodniu Gór' w Wiśle," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 9 (1937): 2.

[52] Stanisław Pawłowski, "Regionalizm geograficzny i jego rozwój w Polsce," in *Ruch regionalistyczny w Europie*, vol. 2, ed. Aleksander Patkowski (Warszawa: Sekcja Regjonalistyczno-Krajoznawcza Związku Nauczycielstwa Polskiego, 1934): 3.

[53] Walery Goetel, "Zagadnienia regionalizmu górskiego w Polsce:" 133.

[54] Ibidem: 140.

"mountain matters must be subordinated to the matters of the country as a whole, which lies in the well-understood interest of the mountain area."[55] To that end, Goetel lists the "slogans" of regionalisms:

> Treating the issue of the Carpathians as a great mountain unit of particular importance for our lowland motherland [of Poland]; combating separatism and provincialism while simultaneously cultivating regional distinctiveness ... showing an appropriate way of improvement of life to the local people; in this way, realizing the idea of unity in diversity; delivering values of the mountain lands and mountain people to Poland for the sake of interest of the Carpathian area and the whole State.[56]

Goetel's enumeration lets us infer that the ideology of "unity in diversity" had a Janus-faced nature. The ideology in question insisted on maintaining regional otherness as long as it remained secondary to the idea of the centralized Polish state. In fact, the slogan "unity in diversity" meant connecting the mountain province with the lowland heart of the Second Polish Republic and simultaneously subjecting the former to the latter. While the analyzed manifestations of tourist and local lore discourse constituted the particular means to achieve this goal, the general means can be defined in the following way. First, persuading lowlanders that the mountain province was an inherent part of their homeland, that is, the placement of the region's position on their mental maps. Second, turning the highlanders into loyal Polish citizens while keeping or even increasing their local and ethnic individuality. Both of these means were important and effective, but the latter was especially crucial and complex with respect to the Lemkos, Boykos, and Hutsuls.

As I mentioned, these highlanders not only differed from Poles in denomination and language but also constituted an easy target for Ukrainian activists' nation-building efforts in the Central and Eastern Carpathians. To counterbalance Ukrainian influences, the Polish state and intellectual elites did their best to show that cultural and economic development of the region was fueled by the Polish, not Ukrainian power. Moreover, they tried to persuade the Polish society and the highlanders that the latter benefited from and appreciated the Polish endeavor. For instance, Goetel convinces the readers of *Wierchy* that – after the 1935 Mountain Holiday – the leaders of Silesian, Lemko, Boyko, and Hutsul groups unanimously expressed their "gratitude to the [Polish] government and army for the protection of the mountain area."[57] In turn, Ossendowski argues that an intensive influx of tourists and bathers to the Low Beskids would raise it out of poverty and "bond this frantically, artificially, obtrusively Ukrainized Lemko region

[55] Ibidem: 149.
[56] Ibidem: 164.
[57] Ibidem: 165.

to Poland."[58] According to Ossendowski, only if such bonds were strengthened could the Lemko culture survive under the aegis of the Second Polish Republic, which would enhance the Lemko's devotion to the state even more. Otherwise, the highlanders who "penetrated by disparate social theories" – as Ossendowski periphrastically calls Ukrainian nation-building – would "forget archaic customs and even turn away from the Greek Orthodox Church."[59] Obviously, Ossendowski's argumentation is marked by contradiction. There was no reason why links with Poland were to preserve the Lemko legacy while those with Ukraine – the existing Soviet one or the imagined united one – were to destroy it. Regardless of this fact, Ossendowski's statement reveals that merging the Central and Eastern Carpathians with the Second Polish Republic primarily entailed the bringing of the Lemkos, Boykos, and Hutsuls – with all their cultural diversity – closer to the predominantly Polish society. Apart from building lowlanders' relationship with the highlands, what constituted an indispensable aspect of that process was the appreciation of the highlanders' uniqueness. Since establishing the national Polish identity of the dwellers of the Central and Eastern Carpathians seemed precarious, such appreciation could establish their civic Polish identity and contribute to their assimilation with the state – instead of the nation – as postulated by Marshal Piłsudski after the 1926 coup d'état.[60] Consequently, this might deter the Lemkos, Boykos, and Hutsuls from becoming nationally-conscious Ukrainians, and perhaps motivate them to join the opposition to Polish regime.

The Framework of Polishness

Bringing closer the highlanders and lowlanders – not to mention fostering state assimilation of the Lemkos, Boykos, and Hutsuls – can be regarded as Polish state-building projects in the mountain periphery. Such manifestations of state-oriented regionalism as the Mountain Holidays constituted soft state-building projects. However, other threads of the tourist and local lore discourse emerged over time in interwar Poland. They emerged from the exacerbation

[58] Antoni F. Ossendowski, *Karpaty i Podkarpacie*, 63. Ossendowski does not elaborate the issue of Ukrainization of the Lemko region in a way that would explain his rigid adverbs. However, Ukrainian intelligentsia indeed intensified their nation-building there. The Prosvita society, which spread Ukrainian culture and education, was very active in the Low Beskids. Prosvita issued the newspaper *Nasz Łemko* (*Our Lemko*), which initially had had the title *Ukrajinskyj Łemko* (*Ukrainian Lemko*). In 1933, the Lemko Committee (*Komisja Łemkowska*) was established; it aimed at developing full national awareness of the Lemkos. Vide Jarosław Moklak, *The Lemko Region in the Second Polish Republic*, 102–117.

[59] Antoni F. Ossendowski, *Karpaty i Podkarpacie*, 101.

[60] Czesław Madajczyk, "Dokumenty w sprawie polityki narodowościowej władz polskich po przewrocie majowym," *Dzieje Najnowsze*, no. 3 (1972): 138.

of Polish politics toward national minorities in the mid-1930s. Already in March 1934 the Committee for Nationality Matters (Komitet do Spraw Narodowościowych) was established at the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Second Polish Republic. In the course of the following two years, they created organizational structures that served the exacerbated minority politics. The Prime Minister, Marian Zyndram-Kościałkowski, promulgated the principles of minority politics at the beginning of 1936, that is, after the death of Marshal Piłsudski, when rigid political tendencies became conspicuous. According to Kościałkowski, minority politics should seek to reinforce the inner coherence of Poland by combining state and national assimilation of minorities. The new threads of the tourist and local lore discourse agreed with these processes and phenomena. In general, these threads constituted state-building projects of harder character than those analyzed above. With respect to the Central and Eastern Carpathians, they consisted in three discursive fields: underscoring putative old Polish tradition of the mountains, inscribing the mountains into Polish history, and connecting them with Polish contemporaneity.

In their work to underscore Polish tradition, the interwar guidebooks provided an expanded, if not comprehensive, outline of the history of the region, hence offering the largest range of analytical material. The guidebook *Karpaty i Podkarpacie* by Ossendowski is particularly rich in this regard. Ossendowski willingly presents the Carpathians located within the Polish borders – regardless of whether Western, Central, or Eastern ones – as one consistent chain of mountain ranges deeply and evenly imbued with Polish heritage.

> Ruins of castles stretch out from Cracow to Sniatyn, while the everlasting mainstays of Polishness, Subcarpathian towns, are united in the form of a powerful chain, ... and in old churches there are yellowed, rotten graves of Carpathian sons who frightfully defended the frontiers and matters of the motherland.... All this land and its people are penetrated and fulfilled by Polishness, our [Polish] culture, our thought, and the idea of the state that directs the whole life of the nation.[61]

As the quotation suggests, Ossendowski perceived Polish presence in the Carpathians as persistent and dating back to very old days. This way of his thinking is particularly pronounced with respect to the Low Beskids. In Ossendowski's opinion, the Lemko region was seriously threatened by "tumultuous propaganda," which presented it as "'genuinely Ruthenian territory,' in which we [Poles] were the 'subsequent newcomers.'"[62] This is why he repeatedly advocated for Polish antecedence in the area predating the settlement of "Ruthenianized Vlachs" ("zruszczeni Kucowołosi"),[63] as he called the predecessors of the Lemkos.

[61] Antoni F. Ossendowski, *Karpaty i Podkarpacie*, 22–25.
[62] Ibidem, 52.
[63] Ibidem.

If the region was now predominantly inhabited by the Lemkos, it was because – Ossendowski assumes – the native Poles adjusted to them or resettled to different areas of Poland.[64] The theory of the originally Polish settlement in the Low Beskids found no scientific proof. Instead, it brought to mind a similarly dubious conception popular in interwar Poland, but not acknowledged by ethnographers, about the Polish origins of the Lemkos.[65] Regardless of that state of affairs, Ossendowski drew the following conclusion from his assumptions about the Lemko region: "This is our, eternal, ancient Polish [land], and it will remain Polish."[66] Although when writing about the Eastern Carpathians, Ossendowski is more cautious than when writing about the Lemko region, he does indulge in describing a "Polish element"[67] in the Boyko and Hutsul territory as well. He identifies this "element" with the Boykos and Hutsuls who allegedly have Polish lineage (e.g., a "Hutsul-Pole of Sarmatian countenance,"[68] mentioned in *Huculszczyzna*) and, in particular, with minor gentry who dwells in the mountains. According to Ossendowski, the latter is imbued with "old Polish tradition ... that links it ... with the motherland," even though it was partly Ruthenianized and much akin to local peasantry. Ossendowski's apology of the minor gentry was grandiloquent: he did not refrain from such exclamations as "The Poles, you are the salt of this earth and its only rulers!"[69] However, his local lore narrative tacitly reflects an action of "activization" of the minor gentry, that is Polonization, run in the Central and Eastern Carpathians by the Polish authorities and army since 1930.[70] Moreover, Ossendowski focuses on great Polish nobles who held estates in the Subcarpathia, supposedly spread Polishness in the region as and raised it from cultural and economic backwardness. Fostering such a national perspective among this social group, he imbues the local nobles' power with a sense of Polish civilizing mission. Ossendowski claims

[64] Ibidem, 51–59, 69, 99–101.

[65] Vide *Łemkowie – zapomniani Polacy. Województwo krakowskie, Łemkowszczyzna zachodnia: materiały onomastyczne*, ed. Aleksander Bartoszuk (Warszawa: Sekcja Naukowa Komitetu do Spraw Szlachty Zagrodowej na Wschodzie Polski, 1939).

[66] Antoni F. Ossendowski, *Karpaty i Podkarpacie*, 48.

[67] Ibidem, 183.

[68] Antoni F. Ossendowski, *Huculszczyzna*, 44.

[69] Antoni F. Ossendowski, *Karpaty i Podkarpacie*, 183.

[70] Vide propagandistic materials pertaining to the action: Roman Horoszkiewicz, *Szlachta zaściankowa na ziemiach wschodnich* (Warszawa–Pińsk: Polskie Towarzystwo Turystyczno-Krajoznawcze. Oddział Piński, 1936); Władysław Pulnarowicz, *Rycerstwo polskie Podkarpacia (dawne dzieje i obecne obowiązki szlachty zagrodowej na Podkarpaciu)* (Przemyśl: "Pobudki," 1937); Stanisław Jastrzębski, *Kim jesteśmy? O szlachcie zagrodowej w Małopolsce Wschodniej* (Przemyśl: "Pobudki," 1939). For further investigation of the issue vide Waldemar Paruch, "Mniejszości narodowe w myśli politycznej obozu piłsudczykowskiego (1935–1939)," in *Polityka narodowościowa państw Europy Środkowowschodniej*, eds. Jacek Ziemowit Pietraś, Andrzej Czarnocki (Lublin: IEŚ-W, 1993), 99–100.

that the "civilizing" dimension of the nobles' authority was so valuable that it even warranted abuse of their subjects. However, he does not actually mention that the matter is controversial for Polish and Ukrainian historians who discussed it since the 1830s. The former simultaneously argued for the belonging of Eastern Galicia to the territory of the Polish nation.[71]

The inscribing of the Central and Eastern Carpathians into Polish history found its most telling manifestation in the main annual event of the Hutsul region, the three-day cross-country ski competition known as the March along the Hutsul Route of the Second Legionnaire Brigade. The first March was organized on February 16–18, 1934. At that time, the route led from the village Rajfałowa to Worochta, a famous spa resort. Two years later, it was extended so as to include other villages – Słoboda, Ranguska, Kosmacz, and Żabie – in order to intensify their tourist traffic. Indeed, the March had a great potential: it was rightly called by commentators the biggest sport event in the Eastern Carpathians, which annually drew to the region "a few thousand people."[72] However, it was also the biggest state event in the mountains. The circle of organizers of the March comprised not only tourist and local lore institutions – the Society of Friends of the Hutsul Region and the Polish Ski Association – but also the Polish army; the aforementioned official of the Ministry of Military Affairs, Kasprzycki, was its initiator while Marshal Piłsudski was its patron sponsor of the awards in his honor. According to the information brochure about the event,[73] the March had two goals. The first was to commemorate the achievements of the Second Legionnaire Brigade that consisted of forces that fought with Russian ranks in the Eastern Carpathians in the winter of 1914/1915. The organizers tried very hard to underline the "historical coloring"[74] of the competition, that is, to foreground a correspondence between it and the past deeds of the Polish soldiers. The event occurred at the heart of the Hutsul region, in February, because the Second Brigade was especially famous for its wintertime fights in this area. The March had a team-building character – skiers competed in groups, not individually – as the soldiers did to survive in extremely hard conditions. The March also included many military elements like participation of a military team with former Legionnaires and a shooting competition. Hence, the March actualized Legionnaire legacy – highly appreciated in interwar Poland, especially in Piłsudski circle – and shortly turned into a well-established tradition.

[71] Vide Burkhard Wöller, "Misja 'cywilizacyjna' czy 'okupacyjna'? Aneksja Rusi Czerwonej w czasach Kazimierza III w kolonialistycznym dyskursie polskich i rusińskich historyków w habsburskiej Galicji," *Historyka*, vol. 42 (2012), 133–145.

[72] Az, "Marsz Szlakiem II Brygady Legionów," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 1–2 (1936): 6.

[73] *Huculskim szlakiem II Brygady Legjonów Polskich* (Warszawa: Wyd. Tow. Przyjaciół Huculszczyzny, 1934).

[74] Ibidem, 8.

The second goal was to strengthen the relationship between the Hutsul region and the rest of Poland in the image of the past relationship between the Hutsuls and the Legionnaires during the First World War. This objective was probably even more important than the first one. This is why the civilian team who partook in the competition always included Hutsul representatives. This is also why so many publications that accompanied the March, from guidebooks to propagandistic articles, sought to spread the knowledge about a "beautiful tradition of military cooperation" between Polish soldiers and the Hutsul population.[75] Indeed, some Hutsuls fought in Polish ranks, including the Second Brigade. Interwar Poles were very eager to interpret that fact as evidence of all Hutsuls' engagement in the fight for Polish independence. They neglected other facts, that some Hutsuls joined Ukrainian units of Sich Riflemen and that the majority of Hutsuls in Polish and Ukrainian forces most probably fought for Emperor Franz Joseph I, not for the independence of a Polish or Ukrainian state. The persistence of the above interpretation ensued from the fact that cooperation of some Hutsuls with the Legionnaires during the First World War constituted a convenient narrative to connect the inhabitants of the Eastern Carpathians with the matter of great importance for Poles. Due to this interpretation, the Hutsuls entered the most heroic page of Poland's history en masse: the rebirth of the Polish state. In turn, this narrative enabled Poles to clearly distinguishing the Hutsuls from Ukrainians, presenting the Hutsuls as Polish citizens loyal to the Poles from the lowlands and indeed persuading the Hutsuls that they were such citizens. The playful competition that gathered the highlanders and lowlanders along with the Polish authorities and army was a promising means to impose the Polish national perspective on the Hutsuls. The finish line of the March was decorated with Polish national colors and was the place in which all competitors ultimately met – military personnel and civilians, including Hutsuls – which constituted a meaningful symbol of the reactivation of the alleged Polish-Hutsul partnership of the recent past.

The connecting of the mountains with Polish contemporaneity was confirmed by the creation of the Main Carpathian Trail, today known as the Main Beskid Trail. As its first name suggests, this long-distance trail ran through all the Carpathians of interwar Poland. The western route, designed by the Polish geographer Kazimierz Sosnowski, was finished in 1929 and joined two spa resorts, Ustroń and Krynica. The eastern route was built according to the project by Mieczysław Orłowicz, a lawyer, local lore activist, and the head of the Tourism

[75] Ibidem. Vide also Az, "Marsz Szlakiem II Brygady Legionów;" "Marsz Narciarski Huculskim Szlakiem Drugiej Brygady," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 3 (1936); Władysław Krygowski, "Gorgany – góry czaru:" 8; Star., "Wśród gorgańskich szczytów i dolin," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 8 (1937): 7; Walery Goetel, "Zagadnienia regionalizmu górskiego w Polsce:" 133; Antoni F. Ossendowski, *Huculszczyzna*, 20, 29–38, 86; *Krótki przewodnik po Huculszczyźnie*, 41–44.

Department of the Ministry of Communication. The easter route was finished in 1935 and led eastward to Żabie in Chornohora. A journalist who wrote for the monthly *Turysta w Polsce*, in the first half of 1936, considered the newly created part of the Trail one of the most important tourist undertakings of the previous year.[76] However, its significance did not confine to the field of tourism, which seemed clear for the vast majority of the Polish society, including the journalist. The Trail met the need for the unification of the Polish Carpathians, whose Western, Central, and Eastern parts were to be equally well studied, developed, and tethered to the Second Polish Republic. It was particularly relevant for the Lemko, Boyko, and Hutsul regions, less consolidated with Poland than the Western Carpathians. Therefore, when its eastern part was completed, the Trail openly started to combine the function of tourist facility and a symbol of Polish rule over the Carpathians, especially Central and Eastern. In 1935, the Trail was named "the mountain trail of Marshal Józef Piłsudski," which was intended as an "homage paid to the memory of the Great Man and the first protector of physical culture in Poland."[77] Additionally, on the day of Piłsudski's funeral on May 18, 1935, there were big candles lit on the main peaks along the Trail.[78] Such gestures – anything but ideologically neutral – literally left an imprint of Polish power in the landscape of the mountains and, symbolically, emphasized its belonging to the domain of the Second Polish Republic. The fact found a telling expression in another article by the same journalist who appreciates the accomplishment of the eastern part of the Trail, "the Main Carpathian Trail – sanctified by the name of Piłsudski, every Pole's dearest – bonded the Polish mountains from Cieszyn to Żabie with the white-red color."[79] Indeed, connecting the mountain borderland with the current political context of the country made the Polish flag, "the white-red color," fully extend over the Central and Eastern Carpathians.

Underscoring Polish heritage of the mountains, inscribing them into Polish history, and connecting them with Polish contemporaneity constituted separate interpretative devices which all applied a distinctive meaning to the mountains. The first device, commonly used in guidebooks, confirms the thesis of David Lowenthal that "the past is a foreign country,"[80] as it based on a recreation of representations of the past so that they suited the political interest of the Second Polish Republic. The second device, manifested itself in the March as an

[76] Władysław Krygowski, "Polskie Towarzystwo Tatrzańskie w roku 1935," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 5 (1936): 10.

[77] Ibidem.

[78] Ibidem.

[79] Władysław Krygowski, "Gorgany – góry czaru:" 8.

[80] Vide David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

"invented tradition," as understood by Eric Hobsbawm.[81] It responded to a novel situation of interwar Poland in the form of reference to an old situation or, more precisely, in the establishment of a desirable past by quasi-obligatory repetition. Finally, the third device surfaced in the concept of the Main Carpathian Trail as a symbolic power, the phenomenon first defined by Pierre Bourdieu.[82] The latter means exerting such symbolic pressure on the mountain borderland that corroborates Polish sovereignty in the region by means of a widely understood discourse. However, regardless of differences, all three devices had a common denominator: they effectively inscribed the Carpathians, especially the Lemko, Boyko, and Hutsul territory, into the cognitive framework of Polishness. In other words, they imposed such meanings on the mountains that strongly identified them with Poland and turned state assimilation of the highlanders, especially the Hutsuls, in the direction of national assimilation.

Touristification of the Mountains

An important concern and challenge for the interwar Polish elites constituted the elicitation of tourist traffic in the Central and Eastern Carpathians. This issue was closely connected with all three phenomena above, the exoticization of the mountains, and both soft and hard state-building in the region.

As I mentioned above, the presentation of Carpathians as an exotic attraction in the domestic space of the Second Polish Republic was to lure Polish tourists to the south-eastern corner of the country. Ossendowski tried hard to transfer his fascination for the mountains' exoticism to readers, so he expressed it overtly. He emphasized the need for turning the mass movement of tourists toward the Carpathians, especially the Central Carpathians, because it was the most impoverished highland with precarious links to Poland. According to Ossendowski's opinion, the irresistible charm of wild nature and its spa qualities transform the Lemko and Boyko regions into "an important outpost of state and private entrepreneurship, which must bring profits if only there happened indispensable investments, roads, hotels, sanatoriums, sports facilities, medical, and bathing centers etc."[83] Ossendowski foresees profits: a "wave of people searching for health for the body and the soul, who would populate the Subcarpathia in the summer and winter season" enrich local population and, consequently, "its return to old trust and friendship for the only heir of this

[81] Vide Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1–14.

[82] Vide Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).

[83] Antoni F. Ossendowski, *Karpaty i Podkarpacie*, 200.

land – Poland."[84] Therefore, Ossendowski clearly applies national importance to touristic development of the Lemko and Boyko area, as it was to reinforce the Polish influences in the mountains due to the influx of Polish lowlanders and fostering of Polish affiliation of the highlanders.

As I also mentioned above, the soft and hard state-building projects in the mountain province had an inseparable touristic dimension, because they aimed at merging the province and its population with the center of the state and the rest of the Polish society. A lot of efforts were always put into making the programs of Mountain Holidays, Highland Congresses, and competitions in the uplands as attractive as possible. However, it was not all that was to draw visitors to the Carpathians. An organization that especially contributed to the increase of tourist traffic during the aforementioned shows was the League of Support for Tourism (Liga Popierania Turystyki), founded in 1935 by the Minister of Communication, Michał Budkiewicz. Since the League had large state funds for the development of mass tourism, it could offer considerable discounts to the visitors of mountain events. For instance, in 1936, before the March along the Hutsul Route of the Second Legionnaire Brigade, the League distributed "participation cards" at a low price, which entitled to a fifty percent discount on the train trip to Worochta, free return trip to the place of residence, free entrance to the finish line of the March, and accompanying events.[85] Before the Mountain Holidays of 1935 and 1937, the League offered similar "cards" that entitled to a thirty-three percent discount for a train trip to Zakopane and Wisła and free return trip.[86] Clearly, such conditions of participation in mountain events were very appealing, especially for less wealthy Poles like the Polish workers, the main target of the League.

Except for the periods of the biggest mountain events, the Polish authorities along with tourist and local lore organizations sought to intensify the influx of tourists to the mountains, especially in winter- and summertime. A widely-advertised annual project that aroused the interest of skiers from all over Poland (and abroad) was the Railway-Ski Rally, organized since 1932 by the Society for Promoting Skiing (Towarzystwo Krzewienia Narciarstwa) with the support of the Ministry of Communication. The Rally lasted ten days and nights. Its participants started in Cracow, then moved across the Polish Carpathians, from Jaremcze in Chornohora to Wisła in the Silesian Beskids, to finally return to Cracow. During the day, they skied in various ski resorts and, during the night, they had fun in the cars of an exclusive train, equipped with luxury restaurants, bedrooms, and bathrooms, and commonly referred to as the "Skiing-Dancing-Bridge." Although the Rally had an entertaining character, it also met some propagandistic

[84] Ibidem.

[85] Az, "Marsz Szlakiem II Brygady Legjonów:" 6.

[86] "'Tydzień Gór' w Wiśle:" 3.

goals of the Second Polish Republic: as a journalist from the monthly *Turysta w Polsce* puts it, the Rally promoted skiing together with "the beauty of our country,"[87] that is, the country of Poles, which seamlessly joined Lesser Poland with Cracow (the historic center of Polishness), Silesia and the Hutsul region.

While the Rally was dedicated to well-off skiers – it cost 200 zlotys per person (now approximately 500 euro)[88] – there also was a broad and interesting tourist offer prepared for the less demanding and less wealthy visitors to the mountains. For instance, the League of Support for Tourism organized low-budget winter holidays in Worochta and the surrounding Hutsul villages. "Participation cards" sold by the League via, among others, the Orbis Travel Agency included a thirty--three percent discount for a train trip to Chornohora, a free return trip to the place of residence, a lump sum for stay in a guesthouse of third category with full board, a trip from Worochta to the village Foreszczenka by a narrow-gauge railway train, and a ski trip with an instructor.[89] Except for paying a small fee, the only condition for obtaining the "card" for such an attractive holiday, was a minimum three-night stay in Chornohora. The League was interested in maximum tourist revival of the region. Thus, it tried to prevent very short, especially one-day, stays and strongly encouraged visitors to enjoy the mountains as long as possible.

All those projects would have misfired if there was no appropriate mountain infrastructure. In the 1920s, the shortage of such infrastructure still disturbed the development of tourism in the Eastern and Central Carpathians. However, during the course of the next decade, state, tourist and local lore institutions considerably improved the situation, especially in Bieszczady, Gorgany, and Chornohora. They built a new railway and narrow-gauge railway lines allowed tourists access to remote Boyko and Hutsul villages; new mountain trails paved the way to the most impenetrable and breathtaking viewpoints; new mountain shelters, hostels, and hotels provided accommodation for newcomers ranging from lower to upper social class. As a deficiency of lodgings was especially believed to deter lowland (particularly the affluent) vacationists from visiting the mountains, commentators of tourist life in the Second Polish Republic considered the latter achievement to be notably significant. For instance, the journalist Jim Poker admits that revenues brought to mountain enterprises by the "lucrative tourists" greatly surpass those brought by one-day "tourists-sportsmen."[90] This is why he highly praises the creation of a new hotel of the League of Support for Tourism in Sławsko, Eastern Bieszczady, finished in December 1936. According to Poker, the comfortable hotel will draw "lucrative" Polish visitors

[87] Adam Zieliński, "Rajd jedzie...," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 2 (1935): 12.

[88] Maja Łozińska, Jan Łoziński, *W kurortach przedwojennej Polski. Narty – Dancing – Brydż* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2010), 9.

[89] "Zimowe wczasy na Huculszczyźnie," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 2 (1938): 15.

[90] Jim Poker, "Cepry i turystyka:" 10.

to the mountains while their spending in local villages will strengthen highlanders' friendly attitude toward Poles and Poland.

Due to the aforementioned projects and investments, tourist traffic in the Central and Eastern Carpathians undoubtedly increased in the interwar period. The journalist Adam Zieliński seemed to be right when he writes in *Turysta w Polsce* (1936) that, currently, "a trip to these mountains does not pose much more difficulty than that to the best-organized areas of the Western Beskids."[91] He does not neglect the fact that the influx of tourists to the south-eastern corner of Poland resulted from deliberate actions by tourist organizations with the large support of the Polish authorities. Zieliński also admits that this influx "fulfilled a serious state mission." What was the mission? The mission was to constantly stimulate state assimilation of the highlanders, which he only alludes, and the popularization of the Central and Eastern Carpathians among Poles, which he expresses openly: "Today the notion of Pop Iwan or Tarkuł is as clear for skiers as the notion of Hala Gąsienicowa or Babia Góra."[92] Despite the present tense used in the sentence, it presents a goal rather than an accomplished action.[93] However, the juxtaposition of Pop Iwan and Tarkuł, two Chornohora peaks, with the extremely popular spots in the Tatras (Hala Gąsienicowa) and the Żywiec Beskids (Babia Góra) was meaningful enough to suggest that the state mission in the Central and Eastern Carpathians was very advanced.

Conclusions

The tourist and local lore discourse in the Second Polish Republic changed the face of the Central and Eastern Carpathians, symbolically and literally. The exoticization of the mountains' localism, the development of regionalism, and the realization of many regionalism-inspired projects, from the Mountain

[91] Adam Zieliński, "Nowe możliwości turystyczne na Huculszczyźnie," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 1–2 (1936): 11.

[92] Ibidem.

[93] In the late 1930s, the "holiday and touristic action" in the Central and Eastern Carpathians was still regarded as needed or even "underestimated," as stated the letter by the Lviv Voivodship Office that informs about the establishment of a new touristic organization "Bieszczady," vide *Derzhavnyj Arkhiv Lvivskoi Oblasti* (DALO), found (f.) 2, opis (op.) 26, sprava (spr.) 198, p. 10. The "Bieszczady" Vacation and Tourist Association of Poviats and Municipalities of the Lviv Voivodship (Związek Letniskowo-Turystyczny "Bieszczady" Powiatów i Gmin Województwa Lwowskiego) was set up in 1938 (vide its status, DALO, f. 2, op. 26, spr. 198, p. 1–9) and it supported the activities of two already existing organizations, the Intermunicipal Association of Resorts and Spas of Stanisławów Voivodship "Eastern Carpathians" (Międzykomunalny Związek Letnisk i Uzdrowisk Województwa Stanisławowskiego "Karpaty Wschodnie") and the Summer Commission of Poviats and Municipalities of the Ternopil Voivodship (Komisja Letniskowa Powiatów i Gmin Województwa Tarnopolskiego), vide DALO, f. 2, op. 26, spr. 198, p. 17.

Holiday to the Main Carpathian Trail, not to mention the intensification of tourist traffic in the Carpathians – all these phenomena initially appear as manifestations of a tendency to promote the diversity of the mountain borderland of interwar Poland. However, their overt or covert state-building made the discourse under investigation more complex and ambiguous. This very aspect transforms the simple focus on the Central and Eastern Carpathians into a strongly ideologized pursuit of modeling them into a Polish domestic landscape.

As reads the subtitle of *Mythical Landscapes Then and Now. The Mystification of Landscapes in Search for National Identity*, we may say that the real geographical landscape of the Central and Eastern Carpathians was "mystified," that is, covered with meanings that made it cognitive or imagined.[94] Precisely speaking, the disposers of the tourist and local lore discourse – the Polish elites – imbued the Carpathians with ideological meanings of "ourness" which suggested that "we," Poles, were always there, marking the mountains with monuments of "old" glory and present domination. Consequently, the Lemko, Boyko, and Hutsul regions became appropriated by the Polish state and nation or, in other words, they were made into an imagined landscape, which I call domestic. Unlike the "national landscape" of the Tatras, the domestic landscape of the Central and Eastern Carpathians was not a geographical-cognitive space, with which Polish national identification solidified the most effectively. As I emphasized, the reason for such state of affairs was that before the First World War the Carpathians were less "discovered" than the Tatras and they were inhabited by ethnic groups dissimilar to Poles.

However, the domestic landscape of the Central and Eastern Carpathians was a geographical-cognitive space which, during the course of the interwar period, started appearing as securely tethered to Poland and integrated with a properly run modern state. According to the ideology that converted the Carpathians into a domestic landscape, links between this mountain periphery and the center of Poland had a bilateral character. On the one hand, the Lemkos, Boykos, and Hutsuls were supported by the Polish authorities and institutions to become loyal Polish citizens. On the other hand, Polish lowlanders were to become captivated by the south-eastern borderland of Poland. Hence the crux of the analyzed ideology: in the eyes of both groups the mountains turned into an indigenous part of the Second Polish Republic, regardless of their local and ethnic peculiarity.

Such an ideologization of the region was very effective and brought measurable results. The Lemkos, Boykos, and Hutsuls saw that it was no one else but the Poles who developed their territory after the First World War. Although many highland circles sympathized with political options other than the Polish regime, most frequently with Ukrainians, the highlanders mostly partook in Polish

[94] "Preface," in *Mythical Landscapes Then and Now*, 5.

mountain events willingly. Moreover, the highlanders undoubtedly profited from the increase of tourist traffic in the region. In turn, Polish lowlanders increasingly eagerly traveled to the south-eastern periphery of the state. It found its significant testimony in the fact that, in 1937, the monthly *Turysta w Polsce* lists the Hutsul region among the most attractive and most visited areas of Poland, next to the Baltic coast, the Silesian Beskids, and the Tatra Mountains.[95] The Central and Eastern Carpathians became replete with visible signs of Polish concern about the region and, simultaneously, of Polish rule over it, from the shortest mountain trails to the Marshal Piłsudski Main Carpathian Trail, from the smallest mountain shelter to the great hotel of the League of Support for Tourism in Sławsko. All these signs made the Carpathians into a familiar place for Poles, a conspicuous position on their mental maps.

One of the most significant, and last, signs of this kind was the location of the Polish Astronomical and Meteorological Observatory on the peak of Pop Iwan in Chornohora. The total cost of the undertaking exceeded one million zlotys (now two and a half million euro) while the initiative was supported by the Ministry of Military Affairs and honored by Marshal Piłsudski's name; thus, it constituted a strong symbol of Polish knowledge of – and power over – the Eastern Carpathians. The plans for the extension of the National Park of Chornohora,[96] prepared in the late 1930s, confirmed that the Polish elites did not relinquish the project of the mountains' transformation into a domestic landscape even in the face of the Second World War. Had the war not interfered, the project would have surely continued. Although history developed in a different direction, we cannot exclude the possibility that the domestic landscape of the Central and Eastern Carpathians would have finally transformed into another Polish "national landscape."

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[95] "Tani urlop jesienią," *Turysta w Polsce*, no. 9 (1937): 4–5.

[96] The Nature Reserve of Chornohora, of limited area, was set up in 1932 but it was to be transformed into a national park and considerably extended, vide Józef Kostyrko, "Czarnohorski Park Narodowy," *Wierchy*, vol. 11 (1933): 131–146.

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GONZO, IRONIC NOSTALGIA, MAGICAL REALISM, OR, HOW TO RE-NARRATE TRAUMATIC TRANSNATIONAL BORDERLAND STORIES. EXAMPLES FROM THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY POLISH(-GERMAN) LITERATURE

Keywords: Tomasz Różycki, Sabrina Janesch, Ziemowit Szczerek, gonzo, nostalgia, magical realism, postmemory, Austrian Galicia
Słowa kluczowe: Tomasz Różycki, Sabrina Janesch, Ziemowit Szczerek, gonzo, nostalgia, realizm magiczny, postmemory, Austriacka Galicja

S u m m a r y

This paper focuses on the former Austrian crown land of Galicia and Lodomeria and its return in literary texts of a new generation that can recall it only from collective and family memory. Spaces like Galicia are situated in shifting political borders and often marked by (fragmented) memories connected to traumas caused by migration, forced resettlements, expulsions, or violence. The rediscovery of these spaces, often from nostalgia for a lost home and bygone times, is the starting point of many narratives of the postmemory generations in contemporary literature. Authors use new rhetorical strategies when dealing with adversarial nationalistic and traumatic topics: ironic nostalgia, gonzo, and magical realism. These narratives do not verify "truths," instead they play with different myths, possibilities, and "alternative futures." The analysis includes Tomasz Różycki's *Dwanaście stacji* (2004), Sabrina Janesch's *Katzenberge* (2010), and Ziemowit Szczerek's *Przyjdzie Mordor i nas zje* (2013).

GONZO, IRONICZNA NOSTALGIA, MAGICZNY REALIZM, CZYLI JAK OPOWIEDZIEĆ TRAUMATYCZNE, TRANSNARODOWE HISTORIE Z POGRANICZA. PRZYKŁADY Z LITERATURY POLSKIEJ XXI WIEKU

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Artykuł koncentruje się na dawnej austriackiej prowincji „Królestwie Galicji i Lodomerii" oraz jej powrocie w tekstach literackich młodego pokolenia, które może się odnieść do tej przestrzeni jedynie poprzez zasoby pamięci zbiorowej i rodzinnej. Obszary takie jak Galicja wytyczane

przez zmieniające się granice polityczne często są naznaczone (fragmentarycznymi) wspomnieniami związanymi z traumami spowodowanymi migracją, przymusowym wysiedleniem, wypędzeniem lub przemocą. Ponowne odkrycie tych przestrzeni, często spowodowane nostalgią za utraconym domem i minionymi czasami, jest punktem wyjścia wielu narracji postpamięci we współczesnej literaturze. Autorzy wykorzystują nowe strategie retoryczne odnosząc się do nacjonalistycznych i traumatycznych tematów: ironiczną nostalgię, gonzo i magiczny realizm. Te narracje nie weryfikują „prawd", zamiast tego bawią się różnymi mitami, możliwościami i „alternatywną przyszłością". Analiza dotyczy tekstów: *Dwanaście stacji* (2004) Tomasza Różyckiego, *Katzenberge* (2010) Sabriny Janesch i *Przyjdzie Mordor i nas zje* (2013) Ziemowita Szczerka.

Introduction

Spaces situated in shifting political borders are not only marked by multicultural heritage but also by (often fragmented) memories connected to traumas from migration, forced resettlement, expulsion, or violence between neighbors, as well as different nationalistic instrumentalizations. The rediscovery of these spaces, often from nostalgia for a lost home and bygone times, is the starting point of many narratives in contemporary literature. These recent texts are narrated by the postmemory generation, which re-tells traumatic stories of their ancestors or even nations to overcome the trauma.[1] At the same time, the individual family stories link to politics and history revealed in ethnic and national conflicts. Contemporary authors develop new poetics for dealing with these topics: be it ironic nostalgia, gonzo, or magical realism. Through rhetorical strategies, these narratives do not verify "truths," instead they play with different myths, possibilities, and "alternative futures."

My analysis will focus on three books and authors: (1) Tomasz Różycki (born 1970) uses ironic nostalgia in his postmodern epic poem *Dwanaście stacji* (Twelve Stations; 2004),[2] (2) Sabrina Janesch (born 1985) employs magical realism to tell the story of her family in the novel *Katzenberge* (Cat Mountains; 2010),[3] and (3) Ziemowit Szczerek (born 1978) uses gonzo in his novel *Przyjdzie Mordor i nas zje, czyli tajna historia Słowian* (Mordor Will Come and Eat Us, or the Secret History of the Slavs; 2013).[4] While Różycki and Janesch

[1] Other examples of texts that deal with the space of Galicia are Rebecca Goldstein's *Mazel* (1995), Jonathan Safran Foer's *Everything is Illuminated* (2002), Dara Horn's *In the Image* (2002), and Jenny Erpenbeck's *Aller Tage Abend* (The End of Days, 2012). For an analysis of the Jewish-American narratives, vide Marianne Windsperger, "Generation 3.0: Narrative der dritten Generation. Eine Bestandsaufnahme," in *Drei Generationen*, eds. Martha Keil, Philipp Mettauer (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2016), 89–100.

[2] Tomasz Różycki, *Dwanaście stacji* (Kraków: Znak, 2004).

[3] Sabrina Janesch, *Katzenberge* (Berlin: Aufbau, 2010).

[4] Ziemowit Szczerek, *Przyjdzie Mordor i nas zje, czyli tajna historia Słowian* (Kraków: Ha!art, 2013).

tell stories based on their private family experience by focusing on Polish--German and Polish-Ukrainian relations, Szczerek focuses on the stories of nations in the Polish-Ukrainian relations. These three books constitute a representative selection, due to their popularity and influence in and out of Poland. *Dwanaście stacji* won the Kościelski Prize in 2004 and within a few years became required reading at schools, was adapted for the radio and stage. In 2007, the Ministry of Education selected it as one of the subjects for the Polish final high school exam in Polish Language and Literature. Today, Różycki is described as a "truly unique voice in contemporary world literature"[5] even outside of Poland. Sabrina Janesch's *Katzenberge* also received very good reviews followed by the Mara-Cassens-Preis in 2010 and the Anna--Seghers-Preis in 2011. Her work also received much attention from the academia: by focusing on the expulsion of Poles from the former Polish eastern territories the novel offers a perspective unfamiliar to most German readers. Ziemowit Szczerek's novel *Przyjdzie Mordor i nas zje* was awarded the Polityka Passport Award for Literature, a nomination for the Nike Award, and is already translated.

These three authors are connected through one borderland region: the former Austrian crown land of Galicia and Lodomeria. This space resurfaced in literary texts after 1989/1991 and is now predominantly present in works of a new generation, which can recall it only from collective and family memory. Galicia was one of these Central-European regions which were subject to many political border shifts in the twentieth century. After its artificial creation in 1772 as "Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria," it existed until 1918 as part of the Habsburg Empire. Later, its territory became part of the West Ukrainian People's Republic (1918–1919), the Second Polish Republic (1919–1939), then passed between Hitler and Stalin during the Second World War and was later split into two halves: the western part became part of the Polish People's Republic, the eastern – of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. A fact that led to expulsions, forced resettlements, and migrations, hence why Galicia appears in so many different national literatures and cultures. That is, Galicia is one of those areas that Timothy Snyder calls "bloodlands."[6]

[5] Major Jackson and Mira Rosenthal, "'Every Poet Has to Be Lonely:' A Conversation with Tomasz Różycki and His Translators," *World Literature Today* 90, no. 5 (September/October 2016): 21.

[6] Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands. Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).

Leaving Galicia, Settling in Silesia

The end of the Second World War and the division of European territory following the Yalta Conference and the Potsdam Agreement of 1945 led to changes in the territories of the former Polish Galicia and German Silesia, which in turn triggered migration movements. Only 54% of the territory of the Second Polish Republic belonged to the People's Republic of Poland after the war. The dividing powers pursued the goal of creating national states with own territories in which the national community would be as homogeneous as possible. Poles, Ukrainians, and Germans became victims of these politics. Two events are especially influential for the Galician-Silesian context. On the one hand, the bloody Ukrainian-Polish conflict in Volhynia and Galicia and the associated expulsions of the Polish population from this area in 1943–1946.[7] On the other hand, the "repatriation" of displaced persons or forced relocation of Poles to the formerly German Silesia, which was itself characterized by the expulsion of the local German population.[8] In 1939, 7.1 million Germans lived on the German eastern territories, awarded to Poland after the Second World War, which thus became Polish western territories: Silesia (Wroclaw), East and West Prussia, Danzig and Pomerania (Szczecin).[9] At the same time, about four million Poles lived in "Kresy," the Polish eastern territories, with Vilna and Lviv adjudged to the Soviet Union after 1945.[10] These Poles had to leave their homes too and settle in the territories designated as Recovered Territories

[7] *Redrawing Nations. Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe 1944–1948*, eds. Philipp Ther, Ana Siljak (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001), 138.

[8] Anna Wylegała, *Przesiedlenia a pamięć. Studium (nie)pamięci społecznej na przykładach ukraińskiej Galicji i polskich "ziem odzyskanych"* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2014).

[9] Wojciech Roszkowski, *Najnowsza historia Polski 1945–1980* (Warszawa: Świat Książki, 2003), 28; Mathias Beer, *Flucht und Vertreibung der Deutschen. Voraussetzungen, Verlauf, Folgen* (München: C.H. Beck, 2011), 85.

[10] The understanding of the concept of "Kresy" changed over time, and today we can distinguish two notions which refer back to different times and territories. The "Kresy" were founded on a legend of Wincenty Pol around the knight Mohort from the poem *Mohort. Rapsod rycerski z podania* (1854). The knight defended the southeastern borders of the noble republic at the Dnipro mouth and the lower reaches of the Dniester. So the first notion of "Kresy" means the borderlands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, territories far further east and south than Lviv or Wilno. The second notion, to which we mostly refer today, and which is also often referred to as "Kresy Wschodnie" (Eastern Borderlands), goes back to the times after 1918, the interwar period, and the territory of the eastern borderlands of the Second Polish Republic, to which Lviv and Wilno belonged. Vide also Christof Schimsheimer, "Galizien und die Kresy als polnische Erinnerungsorte im Vergleich," in *Galizien in Bewegung. Wahrnehmungen – Begegnungen – Verflechtungen*, eds. Magdalena Baran-Szołtys, Olena Dvoretska et al. (Göttingen: Vienna University Press at V&R unipress, 2018), 37–55.

in the People's Republic of Poland.[11] Thus, the Poles, who had to leave their homes in Galicia, began to live in the houses abandoned by the Germans in Silesia. Despite the difficulty of providing accurate statistical data, it can be estimated that approximately twenty percent of the total population in both Poland and Germany was directly affected by the forced displacement.[12] Flight and expulsion can hardly be differentiated in retrospect.[13] However, nostalgia for "Kresy" and Galicia still lingers among many Poles, as evidenced by the large number of publications dedicated to this topic.[14] At the same time, also Ukrainians from Galicia became victims of this border shifting. In the 1947 "Akcja Wisła" (Operation Vistula), approximately 150,000 people from the Ukrainian minority were forced to resettle from the South-Eastern provinces of post-war Poland to the Recovered Territories, including Boykos and Lemkos.[15]

Ironic Nostalgia

Tomasz Różycki's postmodern epic poem *Dwanaście stacji*, published in 2004, "portray[s] an extended Polish family inhabiting the region of Silesia" and is "an excuse to depict the image of lost Ukraine and "Kresy,"[16] as preserved in the

[11] The expellees from the former Polish eastern territories after 1945 were referred to in Poland as *repatrianci* (repatriates) and the entire process as *repatracja* (repatriation). Thus it was communicated (also propagandistically) that they returned to Polish territories, now called "Ziemie Odzyskane" (Recovered Lands).

[12] Hans Jürgen Bömelburg, Robert Traba, "Erinnerung und Gedächtniskultur. Flucht und Vertreibung in deutschen und polnischen Augenzeugenberichten," in *Vertreibungen aus dem Osten. Deutsche und Polen erinnern sich*, eds. Hans Jürgen Bömelburg, Renate Stößling et al. (Olsztyn: Borussia, 2000), 13.

[13] Philipp Ther, *Die dunkle Seite der Nationalstaaten. 'Ethnische Säuberungen' im modernen Europa* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 142. For the exact course of the expulsions, vide Philipp Ther, *Deutsche und polnische Vertriebene. Gesellschaft und Vertriebenenpolitik in der SBZ/DDR und in Polen 1945–1956* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998). About the German-Polish relationship after 1939 with focus on the population displacement, vide *Deutsch-polnische Beziehungen 1939–1945–1949. Eine Einführung*, eds. Włodzimierz Borodziej, Klaus Ziemer (Osnabrück: fibre, 2000); Norman M. Naimark, *Flammender Hass. Ethnische Säuberungen im 20. Jahrhundert* (München: Beck, 2004).

[14] For a cultural-historical overview of "Kresy," vide Jacek Kolbuszewski, *Kresy* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 1995).

[15] Andreas Kappeler, *Kleine Geschichte der Ukraine* (München: C.H. Beck, 2014), 224–226.

[16] The frame of reference of literary and cultural (post-)Galicia does not coincide with the administrative unit of the Habsburg province; it is much larger, vide Kerstin S. Jobst, *Der Mythos des Miteinander. Galizien in Literatur und Geschichte, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde* (Hamburg: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde, 1998), 7–8. The territories and concepts of Galicia and "Kresy" often mingle in Polish narratives, as in *Dwanaście stacji* they are not completely distinguished and merge with each other.

family memory."[17] Różycki employs ironic nostalgia to retell sometimes more and sometimes less traumatic stories from the past. As Ewa Stańczyk states, the poem simultaneously is a "fictional response to the post-German heritage of contemporary Upper Silesia."[18] The following quote shows which three topics the book opens: "Have any of you ever listened at the station / to the announcements of departures, arrivals, and delays? Does that voice / embodiment of pure nostalgia, not come from the beyond?"[19] First, the forced migration that happened in different ways, second, the memories of it and the past in general, and third, all the things and people left behind or passed which want to be remembered. All these topics accumulate in this "embodiment of pure nostalgia," which Różycki uses in an ironic manner.[20]

"Grandson," the protagonist of the poem, is a descendant of a family expelled from the former Galician territory after the Second World War and resettled in Opole, a city in the Recovered Territories. Opole is characterized by the expulsion of Germans from this territory. One strategy of processing transgenerational transferred trauma from expulsion, resettlement, and homelessness in the family history is literary alienation, such as the ironic nostalgia used by Różycki in his poem. Ulrike Vedder remarks that fiction and imagination open literary spaces and, by doing so, can bring hidden things to the surface.[21] Thus, they can deal with the past in a new dimension, exactly as Różycki does.

"O Fantasticality! O Imagination! O Gnosis, Neurosis, and Hyperbole!"[22] These exclamations in the poem seem to be a self-describing play with the genre, text, and topic. As one of the most important features, the text uses a myth-creating strategy along with the play with imaginations, associations, and intertextuality. The poem is also a pastiche of the Polish national epic *Pan Tadeusz* (Sir Thaddeus; 1834) by the legislator of Polish Romantic poetry, Adam Mickiewicz, and plays with its myth-creating legacy.[23] Jagoda Wierzejska argues

[17] Ewa Stańczyk, "Ukraine and Kresy in Tomasz Różycki's *Dwanaście Stacji*. Postcolonial Analysis," *Zagadnienie Rodzajów Literackich* LII, no. 1–2 (2009): 94.

[18] Ewa Stańczyk, "Polish Contacts Zones: Silesia in the Works of Adam Zagajewski and Tomasz Różycki," *Slovo* 21, no. 2 (2009): 50.

[19] Tomasz Różycki, *Twelve Stations*, trans. Bill Johnston (Brookline: Zephyr Press, 2015), 191.

[20] For a broader analysis of nostalgia in Różycki's poem, vide Magdalena Baran-Szołtys, "Visions of the Past: Revised in the Present, Recreated for the Future. Nosalgia for and Travels to Galicia in Polish Literature after 1989," in *Galizien in Bewegung*, 75–90.

[21] Ulrike Vedder, "Luftkrieg und Vertreibung," in *Chiffre 2000. Neue Paradigmen der Gegenwartsliteratur*, eds. Corinna Caduff, Ulrike Vedder (München: Fink, 2005), 60.

[22] Tomasz Różycki, *Twelve Stations*, 35.

[23] On a comparison between Różycki's *Dwanaście stacji* and Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*, vide Wojciech Maryjka, "Powroty do Soplicowa. *Pan Tadeusz* Adama Mickiewicza w najnowszej poezji polskiej," *Pamiętnik Literacki* CVII, no. 4 (2016): 47–52.

that this shows the way of thinking of people expelled from Galicia, and even some of their descendants: "space in terms of duality, Galician-Silesian" is comparable with the way that Poles think "about Polishness in terms of Soplicowo [from *Pan Tadeusz*]."[24] Różycki himself clarifies the reference – certainly an alter ego of Grandson – as he traveled to Ukraine in 2004 as well, as he believed, to "free myself from this terrible history" of his family; but he found no traces of their residence there. Only one: a brick cellar, half-buried.[25] But the reference to *Pan Tadeusz* lifts the narrative from a private to a collective one. The poem approaches the memory of post-generations who might have difficulties understanding the meanings and references of these (hi)stories. So, the poem resembles this relationship through irony and reference to a frequently-read text by Mickiewicz. As Różycki states, his reference point was not even so much the national epic as a text but even more the movie adaptation by Andrzej Wajda (1999), which almost every schoolchild has to watch. The vision of child perception of the movie affected Różycki as he thought that they might not understand the relation to Lithuania at all.[26] Subsequently, Różycki started to think about his own family which settled from Ukraine to Silesia: "It's so complicated that at some point it starts to be funny, so I tried to explain it in a funny way, this whole complicated Polish story."[27] Różycki reveals his self-proclaimed mission. He created a fresh Polish narrative about Silesia with its past and present inhabitants, as well as about their relationship to Ukraine and "Kresy."

In the poem, Grandson is given the mission to organize a trip to his family's hometown Gliniane in old Galicia, today's Ukraine. This trip is not only a journey in space but even more so a journey in time. It reveals pictures and imaginations of people and places torn between the present of Silesia and the past of Galicia. Wierzejska connects these two spaces and encapsulates it as a relationship established imaginarily and discursively between Galicia and the new living space, which resembles the relationship between form and concept: "Galicia becomes that which needs to be revealed or discovered – the essence of a place into which fate and history threw the former Galicians."[28] At the same time, the journey should reassure the memory and presence of this actual space: Galicia. The initial point for the journey is Grandson's grandmother's prophetic dream,

[24] Jagoda Wierzejska, "Galician Displacements and Transformations: On a Spatial Dimension of Creating Galician Identity in Post-War Polish Literature," in *Galizien in Bewegung*, 63.

[25] Tomasz Różycki, "On *Scorched Maps*," *A Blog for Writers and Readers*, PEN America. Last modified July 13, 2009, http://penamerica.blogspot.co.at/2009/07/guest-post-tomasz-rozycki-on-scorched.html (acc. 16.02.2018).

[26] Major Jackson, Mira Rosenthal, op. cit., 25.

[27] Ibidem, 26.

[28] Jagoda Wierzejska, op. cit., 63.

in which her dead husband, his grandfather, is alive again, pointing at their house and saying: "This is the place; we're not going any further. This is where we shall live."[29] This scene will be repeated at the end of the poem, as a surreal realization of the dream. The journey starts in Opole and ends at the border between Poland and Ukraine. The narration and visions of the past are guided by the space in combination with nostalgia. Every place and object hides its own sequences of the past, which dominate the present narrative.

Różycki's nostalgia is always ironic. It creates a surreal picture of the world, which expresses all these overlapping layers, in which in the end it does not really matter what is real and what is only imagined, because all these layers are connected and make a whole: the present perception influenced by the past. It is so because "it approaches the historical legacy in an angled way. It's not speaking directly to a past conflict,"[30] as summarizes Major Jackson, one of Różycki's translators into English. An example of that in the text is an illumination of something that at first glance seems to be an old aunt:

> On the bed itself, / ... he spied a sitting figure ... / He thought at once that this / figure must be someone he knew, // that it had to be some family member, aunt / or uncle ... / The figure he beheld that had been sitting for so very long / ... suddenly seemed to him / A pure vision of Almighty God himself, / for where if not in this very place was such an illumination / to take place, in all its essence.[31]

Różycki constructs an ironic illumination, which ends up being neither an old aunt nor God, but a wasps' nest, which still is highly symbolical. Alina Świeściak remarks that we find here total irony in the sense of Baudelaire: the old world passes away, the new one does not want to arrive. What the Grandson seeks is authenticity, which he tries to find in the family myths. He looks for the truth about the world and himself, which should confirm the sense of the myth and constitute himself again. But he never arrives in Gliniane: it is impossible to get there because it is only a myth.[32] In the end, the whole family sits in the train to Gliniane and arrives at the border to Ukraine, but it is also the border to the great beyond. In the train, there are not only the living relatives but also the dead ones, with the dead grandfather at the helm. The text and Grandson's visions blend with reality, which appears to be the retrieval of the lost time and the space of myth.

What this surrealistic vision with its ironic language and narration shows is that homecoming is not possible. The nostalgia will stay forever because there

[29] Tomasz Różycki, *Twelve Stations*, 67.
[30] Major Jackson, Mira Rosenthal, op. cit., 22.
[31] Tomasz Różycki, *Twelve Stations*, 149–151.
[32] Alina Świeściak, "Ironiczna nostalgia," *Dekada Literacka*, no. 5–6 (2004): 62–65.

is no existing object of longing in the real world that could satisfy it and stop the longing. David Lowenthal points out that "[f]ormerly confined in time and place, nostalgia today engulfs the whole past,"[33] so what remains is a longing for all the things lost forever, which today only appear in dreams. Svetlana Boym offers a similar definition of nostalgia, which for her is "a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed"[34] in the first place. Thus, *Dwanaście stacji* is a poem about the experience of living in the shadow of the myth.[35]

Magical Realism

In Sabrina Janesch's 2010 German novel *Katzenberge*, the narrators' travel to Galicia is also motivated by the origin of the grandparents. Hence, the narrative framework of both Janesch's and Różycki's work is the journey to the land of the ancestors. But while the grandparents had to flee from east to west, their grandchildren move from west to east. Therefore, on the basis of the traveled topography connected to the lives of their grandparents, it is exactly their ancestors' lives are remembered and narrated. Real space determines the topography of memory anchored in the narratives. Like the novel's narrator Nele Leipert, Sabrina Janesch is the third generation of Galicians who were resettled to Silesia. The second generation emigrated to Germany, that is why the narrator tells the story from a German-Polish perspective, which represents Silesia maybe like no other because a lot of the Galician expellees emigrated to Germany in the 1960s.[36]

Katzenberge measures the world from a "double vantage point of the German-Polish and Polish-Ukrainian borderlands."[37] Both Janesch's and Różycki's text mostly stem from experiences that the narrators themselves have never experienced, but only draw from family memory. Marianne Hirsch's term postmemory describes such phenomena, in which the descendants develop

[33] Dawid Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 6.

[34] Svetlana Boym, "Off-Modern Homecoming in Art and Theory," in *Rites of Return. Diaspora Poetics and the Politics of Memory*, eds. Marianne Hirsch, Nancy K. Miller (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 151.

[35] Kornelia Ćwiklak, "Hanys i Chadziaj w jednym stali domu," *Polonistyka*, no. 3 (2006): 60.

[36] Werner Nell, "Die Heimaten der Vertriebenen – Zu Konstruktionen und Obsessionen von Heimatkonzepten in der deutschsprachigen Literatur nach 1989," in *Entwicklungen in der deutschsprachigen Gegenwartsliteratur nach 1989*, eds. Carsten Gansel, Elisabeth Herrmann (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2013), 162.

[37] Karolina May-Chu, "Measuring the Borderland in Sabrina Janesch's Katzenberge," *Monatshefte* 108, no. 3 (2016): 351.

relationships to events in their own family that occurred before their birth: "'Postmemory' describes the relationship that the 'generation after' bears to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before – to experiences they 'remember' only by the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up."[38] What is handed down from the story of parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents are remnants of remembrance that have been passed on to stories that are still formative and ongoing;[39] but to a large extent based also on myths and legends. Thus, the re-imagined and re-told past in *Katzenberge* articulates two things: family postmemory and a broader transnational Polish-German memory,[40] maybe even a Polish-Ukrainian-German memory.

Katzenberge is characterized by a magical realism that is distinguished by the blurring of boundaries between time, space, imagination, and reality. We see this in the novel, on the one hand, in the image of Galicia as a "magical" place, and on the other hand, in the attempt to banish the curse of traumatized families – symbolically represented by the beast. This magical realism is used by Janesch to tell the mythologized story of her grandparents in a way that would embody the fictional and unreal elements of their narrative about home. Janesch simultaneously uses the power of symbols to make the story stronger and express the trauma: historical disruption is rearticulated by using the poetical strategies of magical realism.[41]

Galicia operates in the text through its elements of the "magic-superstitious,"[42] spanning the whole novel, which like nothing else constructs the image of Galicia and stems from imagined mythical components. In the stories of Djadjo, the grandfather, Galicia is portrayed as a place "where ghosts, demons, devils, witches, and forest fairies wreaked havoc." There are "beings from the other world" there and it is a world "you just could not enter just like that."[43] Although the granddaughter as the narrator distances herself from these myths

[38] Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory. Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 5.

[39] Marianne Hirsch, "The Generation of Postmemory," *Poetics Today* 29, no. 1 (2008): 106–107.

[40] Claudia Winkler, "A Third-Generation Perspective on German-Polish Flight and Expulsion: Discursive and Spatial Practices in Sabrina Janesch's novel *Katzenberge* (2010)," *German Politics and Society* 31, no. 4 (2013): 85–101.

[41] Friederike Eigler, *Heimat, Space, Narrative. Toward a Transnational Approach to Flight and Expulsion* (Rochester: Camden House, 2014), 174.

[42] Anastasia Telaak, "Geteilte Erinnerung. Galizien in Sabrina Janeschs *Katzenberge* und Jenny Erpenbecks *Aller Tage Abend*," in *Galizien als Kultur- und Gedächtnislandschaft im kultur-, literatur- und sprachwissenschaftlichen Diskurs*, eds. Ruth Büttner, Anna Hanus (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2015), 303.

[43] Sabrina Janesch, *Katzenberge*, 71. All translations are my own.

and enacts herself as a sophisticated woman, the same myths and pictures of Galica are still re-narrated and form the basis for her and her family's image of Galicia, which she seems unable to overcome. This self-orientalization is not directly reflected in the novel. This idea of Galicia is deeply rooted in the descendants of the people of Galicia. The Polish family members believe in these "fantasies."[44] The traditional mythical stories became the basis of a vision of Galicia, which now functions as reality; because this is the world "as it really was."[45] The lost homeland of Galicia now consists only in its imaginations, in the grandfather's tales; the boundaries between myth and reality are already blurred. A trip to Galicia seems impossible to the other descendants "because no one ever went there."[46] Galicia exists for them only in the family memory, but it is a strong identity-creating element, and like in Różycki's poem, it only exists as a myth.

The picture of the mythical, magical Galicia remembered and transferred by the grandfather is continued by the granddaughter, but in a romanticizing and simultaneously playful ironic manner. Despite the enlightened pose of Nele and the disclosure of family secrets surrounding a fratricide,[47] the mythical and fantastic Galicia has not disappeared. By attempting to perform the superstitious banishment on the basis of a magical formula, Nele's action stands for the survival of the Galician heritage in the descendants. "Djadjo infected me with fantasies,"[48] notes the granddaughter. However, the "fairy-tale-mythical images" of Galicia mingle with the traumatic ones, in connection with the experience of expulsion.[49]

The novel reifies the trauma of expulsion and resettlement in the "black beast" that persecutes the family from settling in Silesia, and again through fairytale alienation. The beast as a literary figure "disrupts a world that is otherwise based on realist principles."[50] The beast is portrayed as a "being from the other world,"[51] which observes the family time and again. The grandmother Maria is visited by the beast in her dreams and tries to break the curse, but she does not succeed, even if the beast is not so strong in Silesia.

[44] Ibidem, 85.

[45] Ibidem, 223.

[46] Ibidem, 85.

[47] The grandfather is said to have killed his brother Leszek, who allegedly cooperated with the Ukrainians during the expulsions. So the fratricide symbolizes the Polish-Ukrainian conflict: it could become a domestic problem even in ethnically Polish families.

[48] Ibidem, 196.

[49] Florian Rogge, "Trauma und Tabu in S. Janeschs *Katzenberge*," in *Galizien als Kultur- und Gedächtnislandschaft im kultur-, literatur- und sprachwissenschaftlichen Diskurs*, eds. Ruth Büttner and Anna Hanus. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2015, 290.

[50] Karolina May-Chu, op. cit., 356.

[51] Sabrina Janesch, op. cit., 104.

The grandmother describes it as "the most miserable beast ... she has ever seen."[52] The grandparents already know "beasts" from Galicia, but this beast seems to be different: "The Galician devils.... There is no point in comparing, he said. Or would something here remind her of home? The beast has to be looking for something.... It may concern the farm or the house."[53] It becomes obvious that the beast belongs to the former German owners of the farm. So the grandparents make a tomb for the German landowner, Herr Dietrich, who has died of suicide, "because they owed it to him; above all, to keep him away from the farmyard."[54] They hope to build a tomb "that would be strong enough not only to keep Herr Dietrich away, but also all other Germans living and dead."[55] But the curse cannot be lifted and the grandmother knows that "something lurks in these meadows and forests and waits for the right moment to return."[56]

The fear of both the past and the future becomes visible; the only hope to break the curse lies in the granddaughter and the earth brought by her from Galicia. The mission of the journey is to enable life without the curse: "After all, you have to take care of the future, not just the past."[57] The beast symbolizes the homelessness of the expelled Galicians and the legacy of the equally displaced Germans, which manifests itself in its everlasting presence in Silesia. Now, the curse is to be banished by Nele, but whether this actually succeeds remains open. This is similar with the impossibility to arrive in Gliniane in *Dwanaście stacji*: homecoming is not possible; it might be the same with the banishment of the curse. But only literature and fiction can overcome this trauma through narration.

Gonzo

In the next analyzed novel, the East is called "Mordor" based on the dark kingdom of Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*. Depending on the observer, the East or Mordor moves farther and farther East. With his texts, the Polish writer Ziemowit Szczerek takes a different approach than the Polish travelers to Ukraine before him. Inspired by the literature of the American beat generation of the 1950s and H. S. Thompson's *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* (1971), Szczerek describes his journeys to Ukraine in the style of gonzo: satirical,

[52] Ibidem, 113.
[53] Ibidem, 114.
[54] Ibidem.
[55] Ibidem, 116.
[56] Ibidem, 105.
[57] Ibidem, 114.

exaggerated, subjective. Galicia and Ukraine serve as a field for the redefinition of the East-West dichotomy, with special reference to the post-Soviet heritage. From breaking stereotypes, self-reflections, and identity negotiations through a general confrontation with history and its instrumentalization to the satire of nostalgic "Kresy" tourism – the rhetorical and topical scale of the successful novel *Przyjdzie Mordor i nas zje, czyli tajna historia Słowian* (2013) is very broad. The book describes several trips to Ukraine. Łukasz Pończyński is the first-person narrator and can be considered the alter ego of Ziemowit Szczerek. Łukasz writes a dissertation on Western Ukrainian Separatism and gonzo articles for the Polish press under the pseudonym Paweł Poncki.[58]

Polish "Kresy" texts or nostalgic journeys look at Ukraine and its part of Eastern Galicia as a part of Polish history, which can be incorporated into their own identity with the theme of the Polish superpower "from sea to sea" ("od morza do morza"), as the title of Szczerek's latest books suggests, *Międzymorze*.[59] Ukrainian history and identity are irrelevant; the narrators try to pass over them more or less consciously. With his text, Szczerek takes a new path in the contemplation of Ukraine and its Galician history in Polish contemporary literature. He exoticizes and orientalizes Ukraine but, at the same time, recognizes a part of himself in it, which makes him ashamed and eager to negate it. Hence, the path of the travel also is a reflection about the Polish heritage in Ukraine. Łukasz follows traces of Mickiewicz, Sienkiewicz, Schulz; the protagonists are Polish students from Cracow who study Polish literature or Polish tourist groups who visit the Cemetery of the Defenders of Lwów. Thus, Szczerek's text is both a treatise on Ukraine and its identity, as well as on Poland itself. Later, he shows the Western postcolonial view of the East, which is here objectified through Poland and Ukraine,[60] and which deconstructs the stereotypical and nationalistic Polish positions toward Ukraine.

Due to the irony and exaggeration that are characterizing Szczerek's novel, as well as the gonzo style, the narrator repeatedly reveals the constructive character of the text and the images of Ukraine, Galicia, and their inhabitants. The self-referential text concentrates on the stories of the protagonist's journey. The novel contains illusion-breaking elements that produce self-referentiality caused by metafiction. Metafictional comments address both the fiction of the text and the literary conventions that visualize, parody, and alienate. The first-person

[58] Ziemowit Szczerek, op. cit., 99.

[59] Ziemowit Szczerek, *Międzymorze. Podróże przez prawdziwą i wyobrażoną Europę Środkową* (Warszawa, Wołowiec: Agora, Czarne, 2017).

[60] Marta Cobel-Tokarska, "Strasznie i pięknie. Ukraińskie podróże młodych Polaków," in *Sąsiedztwa III RP – Ukraina. Zagadnienia społeczne*, eds. Marcin Dębicki, Julita Makaro (Wrocław: Gajt, 2015), 211.

narrator as a writer comments on the genesis of his texts and – as an alter ego of Ziemowit Szczerek – also comments on the book itself. Soon after the trip starts, it turns out that the narrator's expectations of Ukraine cannot be satisfied: "In fact, no Western Ukrainian separateness has ever existed, in my PhD and my articles I had to cook up as much as I could."[61] The first-person narrator overwrites reality to meet and exceed expectations and perceptions, blurring the boundaries between reality and imagination. At the same time, the narrator in the novel reflects about this strategy: "I do not even remember where the truth in this story ends and the bullshit begins."[62] The narrator's travels and lyrics base on "bullshit" ("ściemnianie") with the narrator explicitly disclosing the following:

> And it so happened that I professionally began to deal with bullshit. Lying. More expertly: capturing national stereotypes. Most often nasty.... I expressed in these texts the Ukrainian decay and dissension. It had to be dirty, hard, cruel. That is the essence of gonzo. In gonzo there is booze, there are grinders, there are drugs, there are ladies. There are vulgarisms. Yes, I wrote like this and it was good.[63]

The exposed constructive character of the text expresses the fictionality of what has been narrated so far and questions the literary conventions followed by the novel: it seems to be a factual travel story, but it is fictional. The text becomes a reflection about the performative potential of journalism, as Izabella Adamczewska suggests.[64]

The exaggerated reality of Szczerek's novel and narration leads almost everything to absurdity. The story is devalued by the narrator due to its improbable plot and heavily overdrawn characters that expose the text's implicit metafiction. What makes it clear are the linguistic and stylistic peculiarities, such as the use of a vulgar language. The potential of such productions is "to expose the absurdity of social rituals and the bigotry of fellow human beings."[65] Szczerek achieves this by constructing illusions and simultaneously breaking them up by overwriting. This mostly happens through the means of "self--deprecating differentiation"[66] inscribed in the figures of the narrator and the

[61] Ziemowit Szczerek, *Przyjdzie Mordor i nas zje*, 163. All translations are my own.

[62] Ibidem, 100.

[63] Ibidem, 99.

[64] Izabella Adamczewska, "Wariacje na temat pewnego paktu. O dziennikarstwie gonzo," *Czytanie Literatury. Łódzkie Studia Literaturoznawcze*, no. 3 (2014): 187.

[65] Michael Hendrik, "The Weird turns Pro. Zur Funktion des Skandals in Hunter S. Thompsons gonzo-Reportagen," in *Skandalautoren: Zu repräsentativen Mustern literarischer Provokation und Aufsehen erregenden Autoreninszenierung*, eds. Andrea Bartl and Martin Kraus (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2014), 115. All translations are my own.

[66] Ibidem, 119.

other protagonists. For example, this becomes visible in the negotiations of stereotypes toward Ukrainians, which eventually become negotiations of Polish identity and self-imagination. The overbearing Polish pose toward Ukraine is exposed as a negation of this part of Polishness, of which the narrator is ashamed. The "hardcore" the narrator finds in Ukraine, travelers from Western World discover in Poland.[67] In the end, both countries are in the same position. The arrogance and protectionism should hide this but what develops instead is an "anti-authoritarian concept of the liberal ironist."[68] By exposing this attitude, Szczerek addresses and overcomes an unconscious postcolonial narration about Ukraine from the Polish perspective and delivers a new narrative in the context of the complex Polish-Ukrainian relationships.

Conclusion

The above tree texts show how literature can find poetical devices to overcome the boundaries of political correctness or traumatic speechlessness. Individual stories that represent collective memories can be used in a creative way to show different perspectives and tell deeper stories. With new strategies, the authors retell history without ideologies and accusations. By doing so, they constitute a collective transnational narrative. The attempt to create a not--excluding narration without the compulsion to deliver facts may be one way to overcome trauma. This is what literature may offer over historiography, which not always seems capable of fulfilling this mission. But the message of all these stories is simultaneously the same: to tell the story, you have to journey yourself.

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[67] Ziemowit Szczerek, *Przyjdzie Mordor i nas zje*, 103.

[68] Michael Hendrik, "The Weird turns Pro," 119.

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NARRATIVE- AND SPACE-MAKING IN THE CITY ON THE EXAMPLE OF LUBLIN

Keywords: memory, urban space, Holocaust, Jewish mysticism, Polish-Jewish history
Słowa kluczowe: pamięć, przestrzeń miejska, Holocaust, mistycyzm żydowski, historia polsko-żydowska

Summary

This paper discusses the literary, artistic, scientific, and educational narratives that are (re)created to facilitate the city's recovery of memory in the wake of the Holocaust. This is the case with Lublin. The story of the complete destruction of its Jewish quarter in the Second World War is a tragically familiar one in Central Europe, even though it had been silenced and forgotten for decades during the communist period. I would like to analyze an essayistic project that searches for a new language about a place left empty. How could one fill the void by making it mean something to new people, becoming their own narrative, and preserving the presence of the city's former inhabitants? How is it possible to create a new mythology of a place? I assume that such questions must have been the starting point for essays on Lublin by Władysław Panas (1947–2005), related to the commemoration in the context of urban space. My text comes in four parts. I begin with general information and historical background, as well as an introduction to the analysis of Panas's essay *Oko Cadyka* (*The Eye of the Tzaddik*) – the main subject of my paper – which exemplifies the reflection on the creation of narrative and urban space in contemporary humanities. In the second part, I focus on and contextualize the relationship between text and city that the essay postulates. The third part deals with theoretical approaches to interpretation. The fourth part underlines the scientific and critical aspects of Panas's text, which questions the language of science – the humanities, historiography, and theory in general. I end with a look at some artistic projects inspired by his images.

STWORZYĆ MIASTO I JEGO PRZESTRZENIE W OPOWIADANIU – PRZYPADEK LUBLINA

Streszczenie

Artykuł dotyczy opowieści – literackich, artystycznych, naukowych i edukacyjnych – które tworzone/odtwarzane są z myślą o przywróceniu pamięci miastu – Lublinowi – dotkniętemu tragedią Zagłady. Wydarzenie to objęte zostało amnezją narastającą przez dziesiątki lat w czasach

komunizmu. Historia lubelskiej dzielnicy żydowskiej, doszczętnie zniszczonej podczas II wojny światowej, jest znamienna dla całego regionu Europy Środkowowschodniej. Głównym przedmiotem moich badań jest esej semiotyka i teoretyka literatury, Władysława Panasa (1947–2005), pt. *Oko Cadyka*, który – jak zakładam – powstał z intencją znalezienia odpowiedzi na fundamentalne ze społecznego i moralnego punktu widzenia pytanie: Jak zapełnić pustkę – wprowadzić w nią na nowo ludzi, dla których będzie ona coś znaczyć, a jej dawni mieszkańcy przestaną być dla nich obcy? Jak stworzyć nową mitologię miejsca? Artykuł składa się z czterech części. Rozpoczynam od informacji ogólnych i tła historycznego. W części drugiej skupiam się na (re)konstruowanych w *Oku Cadyka* relacjach między tekstem – zarówno samego eseju, jak i napisu na macewie z grobu Cadyka (Jakuba Izaaka Horowica) – a miastem. Część trzecia prezentuje ramy teoretyczne służące do jego interpretacji. W części czwartej wskazuję na obecne w analizowanym eseju jawne i ukryte odniesienia do współczesnej humanistyki – filozofii, teorii literatury i historiografii. Na zakończenie opisuję współczesne projekty artystyczne, realizowane w Lublinie i inspirowane imaginarium wykreowanym przez Panasa.

Panas's Metaphysical Tourism

When situating Lublin in its cultural-historical context, we must recognize that we enter a territory that cannot be mapped in terms of nation states. In this region, the cultural space was historically multi-ethnic and multicultural, strongly influenced by the Jewish population. For example, the founder of Polish-Jewish historiography, Majer Bałaban, writes about the history of Jews in Lublin in his monograph *Die Judenstadt von Lublin*, published in Berlin in 1919.[1] Adina Cimet, a contemporary historian, also focuses on the Jewish Lublin and uses the term "parapolis"[2] to describe the parallel life in the Christian and Jewish parts of the city, both divided and connected by the Grodzka Gate.

The located here "Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre" Centre is a cultural institution founded in 1990 whose activities, art, and educational programs deal with issues of cultural heritage and the Polish-Jewish past of Lublin, silenced during communism. Since its beginnings, the founder Tomasz Pietrasiewicz cooperated with Władysław Panas, a literary scholar and author of books about Polish poetry and modernist prose. Step by step, together they replace the former poor semantics of the city with a new narrative that retells its complex history.

Panas's writings played an important role in the process. In the 1990s, he wrote a cycle of essays about the city, guiding the readers through its multicultural heritage, in which Panas treats Lublin as a palimpsest, scraping off its existing semantic surfaces to find beneath them the messages and texts encompassed by

[1] "Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre" Center published a 2012 reprint of the German edition of the 1919 book with a Polish translation. Majer Bałaban, *Die Judenstadt von Lublin* (Lublin: Ośrodek "Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN," 2012).

[2] Adina Cimet, *Jewish Lublin: A Cultural Monograph* (Lublin: "Grodzka Gate – NN Theater" Center, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Press, 2009), 28–31.

the collective unconscious.[3] He describes his work on Lublin cultural storehouses of memory as the "promotion of 'metaphysical tourism,' that is a form of tourism which has time, does not hurry, has an infinite amount of time and infinite patience."[4]

I will focus on one of Panas's essays *Oko Cadyka* (*The Eye of the Tzaddik*) – written in 1994, published in 1999, translated into English by Marcin Garbowski in 2015 – in which he tries to read the city as a symbolic space. The text reveals the process of creating a myth, a mythology of a place that goes through some well-known historical events, which belong to mainstream knowledge and are represented through memorials in public space. For example, the Union of Lublin in 1569 that resulted in the creation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Instead of repeating familiar historical patterns, Panas selects an unknown figure to patiently and thoroughly develop a story of Hasidim Jacob Isaac Horowitz called the Seer of Lublin (1745–1815) who made the city an important place on the map of the Hasidic movement. There is a lot of hagiographic literature in Yiddish about tzaddik Horowitz, tales and legends about miracles he performed.[5] According to these historical sources, he lived near the Grodzka Gate, had a circle of followers, wanted to speed up the arrival of the Messiah, and died in mysterious circumstances. Some traces of his life and work appear in literature, for example in Martin Buber's *Gog and Magog*[6] or Jiří Langer's *The Nine Gates to the Chassidic Mysteries*.[7]

Panas's essay starts with a remarkable poem by Zbigniew Herbert, *Studium przedmiotu* (*Study of the Object*): "mark the place / with a black square / where the object stood / which is not here / this will be / a simple lament / about the beautiful absence."[8] The quoted stanza contains all keywords necessary to understand the text and announces further considerations, which can be read as a Kaddish for the vanished Jewish district. Panas looks for the place where the house of tzaddik Horowitz could have stood, which for his believers was the center of the world, the "Axis Mundi." Panas tries to reconstruct it according to symbolic traces found in cultural texts: maps, poems, and artifacts such as a matzevah.

[3] Panas's collected essays on Lublin have been published as *Magiczne miasto: szkice i fragmenty lubelskie* (Lublin: Ośrodek "Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN," 2017).

[4] Władysław Panas, "Magiczne miasto," *Scriptores*, no. 33 (2008): 170.

[5] The collection of hagiographic texts about the Seer of Lublin was translated into Polish and published as *Księga cudów Widzącego*, eds. Jan Doktór, Agnieszka Żółkiewska, Nirit Neeman, trans. Agnieszka Żółkiewska (Lublin: Ośrodek "Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN," 2015).

[6] Martin Buber, *Gog and Magog: A Novel*, trans. Ludwig Lewisohn (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 103–109.

[7] Jiří Langer, *Nine gates to the Chassidic Mysteries*, trans. Stephen Jolly (New York: Behrman House, 1976), 179–198.

[8] Władysław Panas, *Oko Cadyka* / *The Eye of the Tzaddik*, trans. Marcin Garbowski (Lublin: Warsztaty Kultury w Lublinie, 2015), 63.

Between Literature and Theory

While rooted in local history and heritage, we may also read Panas's multi--layered essay as a text neither about the tzaddik nor about Lublin. This sentence may appear paradoxical, but it points to the fact that *Oko Cadyka* does not deal with Horowitz as a historical figure or with his place of residence. The essay plays with history and geography as if they were only literary constructs. They are projected onto each other in order to create new meanings or – to quote another exegete of the province, Bruno Schulz – "short circuits of sense."[9] The tzaddik has only an exemplary function in the essay, providing an impulse to introduce much broader topics. Panas places in the center of his interest the text itself.

Panas's essay consists of ten parts named after the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, from Aleph to Jod, but the allusions to Jewish mysticism are not the only field of reference for Panas. He is not a Judaist who would analyze Kabbalistic primary literature and study the writings by the foremost rabbi and Jewish mystic Isaac Luria in the original. Instead, Panas refers to secondary sources, among others the works by Gershom Scholem. However, this does not play a significant role in Panas's argument, because he sees himself primarily as a literary scholar and theorist interested in the broadly understood cultural semiotics. In his essay, Panas draws a much broader perspective beyond the local connotations and raises questions now intensively explored by the humanities: How to define memory? What makes a (scholarly/theoretical/scientific) text? What does a city analysis or historiography mean?

What sheds new light on Panas's text and explains the diversity of discourses, theories, and disciplines that he combines is the context of urban and memory studies, as well as the theory and criticism of humanities in the sense of the German term *Wissenschaftstheorie und -kritik*. The following considerations do not intend to depict these fields fully and exhaustively, but they merely try to open up a web of possible associations evoked in the essay. Panas uses categories from various research fields like semiotics, hermeneutics, geopoetics, philosophy of history, or phenomenology. Throughout Panas's essay, there appear implicit and explicit references to the writings by Martin Buber, Mircea Eliade, Carl Gustav Jung, Maurice Halbwachs, Emmanuel Levinas, Yuri Lotman, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Pierre Nora, and Gershom Scholem. Panas reflects on his own methodology in the text, directly commenting on his approach and exposing his methods and strategies: "There is such a discipline – geo-poetics. I am trying to apply it here. Obviously in combination with all the rules of Kabbalistic

[9] Bruno Schulz, *The Collected Works of Bruno Schulz*, ed. Jerzy Ficowski, trans. Celina Wieniewska, Walter Arndt and Victoria Nelson (London: Picador, 1998), 372.

hermeneutics."[10] Although Panas uses technical terms, incorporates methodological meta-commentaries, and moves within the framework of scientific argumentation, his essay can also be read as a work of literature.

Oko Cadyka teems with intertextual allusions. Not only philosophy but also literature plays an important role in Panas's narrative. He mentions by name and quotes poets like Józef Czechowicz and broaches various literary references. The search for Axis Mundi in combination with the Hebrew alphabet resembles the short story *The Aleph* (1945) by Jorge Luis Borges. There, the Aleph stands for a special point in space from which one can see the unimaginable universe: "[the Aleph is] the only place on earth where all places are – seen from every angle, each standing clear, without confusion or blending."[11] Borges's protagonist finds this point in a very unspectacular location: in the basement of a house where his friend secretly hides it from the world until the building is demolished. Panas also seems to seek something similar like the Aleph, a trace that could indicate the place of residence of tzaddik Horowitz.

The mention of Borges helps to underline the literary dimensions in Panas's text. In another short story, *Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius* (1940), Borges again problematizes an impossible spatial phenomenon or – as Carlos Fuentes notices – space is the main protagonist of his narrative.[12] "Uqbar" is the name of a country that appears as a keyword only in one edition of the *Anglo-American Encyclopaedia*. Apart from this instant, nobody heard about it. The first-person narrator speculates that the encyclopedia article may be a part of an intrigue of intellectuals who came up with an idea of an imaginary world called "Tlön" that has its own language, logic, and even laws of physics. To his astonishment, however, he begins to discover elements of Tlön in his surroundings, objects that he had known until then only from the writings by this suspicious group of scholars. These things transform and "contaminate" his reality, become a part of it, and – to use the quote by another Borges interpreter, John Barth – they "imagine themselves into existence."[13] The boundaries between reality and fiction become fluid, thus increasing the feeling of insecurity.

[10] Władysław Panas, op. cit., 85.

[11] Jorge Luis Borges, *Aleph and other stories, 1933–1969, Together with Commentaries and an Autobiographical Essay*, trans. Norman Thomas di Giovanni (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1970), 23.

[12] "In Borges's stories time and space become characters, with the same titular eminence as Tom Jones or Anna Karenina in realist literature.... In *The Aleph*, and *Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius*, space is the protagonist, with as many virtues as the hero or heroine of a realist novel." Carlos Fuentes, *The Great Latin American Novel*, trans. Brendan Riley (Victoria, TX: Dalkey Archive Press, 2016), 130–132.

[13] John Barth, "The Literature of Exhaustion," in *The Friday Book: Essays and Other Non-Fiction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 71.

A similar idea of interaction between the textual and the "real" world characterizes Panas's essay. Urban space does not function here as neutral, ready, or given. It is the text that starts to model urban space and create its perceptual framework. Panas determines the conditions for our perception of space, directs our view, and fixes our gaze on his projections so that they merge with descriptions of Lublin. For example, he lists the conditions which frame our perception: "First, if we find ourselves on the proper level and, second, if we find ourselves at the right distance and, third, if we gaze at it from the proper angle."[14]

This strategy is especially evident in the parts of the text about the matzevah, which in the essay does not simply have the function of a tombstone marking a grave. The matzevah not only reminds us of tzaddik Horowitz, but also becomes a signpost and gains new meaning related to the topography of the city. Instead of just marking the absence, the matzevah refers to something material, to the here and now. Something virtual participates in the reality and turns into its element. Panas even compares the matzevah with the city map and argues that both should be thought of together:

> The city maps and the matzevah verify and interpret each other. Their qualities complement and transcend each other. A simple city map, a topographic sketch, a very prosaic thing, begins to attain a symbolic meaning. A completely poetic, surreal and symbolic matzevah acquires the value of a precise plan.[15]

The matzevah acquires new qualities, can model the space, mirrors the topography of the city, and simultaneously is mirrored by the city that takes its shape. Both complement each other: "The castle and the castle square, that encompasses the space after the Seer, the ravages Place, reproduces the shape of the Tzaddik's matzevah. A gigantic tombstone cast into space.... An icon of matzevah."[16]

Moreover, the matzevah is special because it represents a miniature of itself: "matzevah within the matzevah."[17] One can describe this phenomenon as a representation in a representation. Panas reads the matzevah as a self-referential (cultural) text that can be projected onto the space and is also able to shape and arrange it. The matzevah is seen as a second-degree image that interacts with the reality and transforms it. It is no longer an object of description but a form in the process of eternal becoming. Or, to quote Panas, it is "the tension of accumulated energy, a concentration of power. A form of contained, immobilized dynamics."[18]

[14] Władysław Panas, op. cit., 81.
[15] Ibidem, 85.
[16] Ibidem, 82.
[17] Ibidem, 81.
[18] Ibidem, 87.

In other words, the matzevah becomes the city and the city – the matzevah. Panas's essay demonstrates this transformation or is like a performance, in which text and space come together, redefine each other, and merge to form the image of the eye. The urban space receives a completely new quality. The castle square which the viewer perceives as empty on the primary level of perception transforms into the attribute of the Seer of Lublin, fills with the possibilities of cognition and memory. The viewer can "activate" these energies by becoming a reader and learning from the essay how to see. After reading, one can recognize the eye of the tzaddik in the empty square. The city "looks at us," and that look of space requires a response. Hence, we as readers enter the sphere of memory in the role of knowing observers and become actors in the dialogical process of memory.

Approaches and Theoretical Contexts

Panas's interpretation of the matzevah has prosaic traits and creates a thoroughly typical Borgesian constellation that leads to a situation of undecidability and the intermingling of textual and extra-textual reality. It also includes theoretical reflection on the relationship between the city and the text. There are several theoretical approaches that can be used to describe what happens in *Oko Cadyka*. The writings of the Russian semiotician Lotman offer the language to point out the tendencies in the essay: Panas demonstrates how "the structure of the space of a text becomes a model of the structure of the space of the universe" and how "the elements within a text becomes the language of a spatial modeling."[19]

Jean Baudrillard's terms "simulacrum" and "hyperreality" seem to fit well in this context. The two notions highlight the fact that Panas marks the urban space with texts, that is, he marks it with the matzevah. The matzevah serves as a landmark, turns into a reference point in the "real" world, and simultaneously is an object that refers to itself.[20] Panas's Lublin is based on texts and perceived through their prism. His essay transforms referentiality into intertextuality while the lack of reference to an extra-linguistic reality means that there is no city outside the texts. For Panas, any reference to reality can be considered as obsolete because, from an etymological viewpoint, topography has a textual

[19] Yuri Lotman, *The structure of the artistic text*, trans. Ronald Vroon (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1977), 217.

[20] Cf. Baudrillard's definition of a simulacrum that is "never exchanged for the real, but exchanged for itself, in an uninterrupted circuit without reference or circumference. Such is simulation, insofar as it is opposed to representation." Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 6.

nature and contains the gesture of writing. The essay seems to postulate that everything is text and there is no place without writing. On the one hand, *Oko Cadyka* focuses on the parallelization of the city and the text, like in Michel Butor's essays.[21] On the other hand, Panas shows the phenomenon of text's self-referentiality. The essay receives self-referential meaning and transforms itself into the main subject of its own reflection.

Both aspects enable an interpretation of the essay *Oko Cadyka* in the context of popular tendencies in the humanities at the time of its writing. For instance, we may link Panas's essay with the "spatial turn" that since the 1980s is described as the rediscovery of space in cultural history. In their analysis of the modernization processes, such authors as Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, and Fredric Jameson critically examine the usual categories of spatial distribution like the center and the periphery or the countryside and the metropolis. The scholars employ these explorations to cognitively map and recognize culture through power relations, observing the world as the stage of conflicts and tensions, for instance, between something distinctive and universal or homogeneous and heterogeneous. Hence the scientific careers and attractiveness of such categories as the borderland as agonistic space and the battlefield between different systems of dependencies, or the liminality, hybridization, palimpsest, trace, and void. Hence, also, the renaissance of "little homelands," small narratives, micro-communal utopias, and the notion of memory, which foregrounds literature as the tool for shaping and retrieving the suppressed, region-based memory. Reading landscapes and spaces as cultural-historical palimpsests was the focus of the spatial turn.[22]

The interdisciplinary approach that Panas so consistently pursues was the method of choice at the time. What constructs the special poetics of Panas's text is the self-reflectivity and meta-commentaries, intertextuality and metafictionality, the interruption of the ordinary linearity of the text initiated with the division of the essay according to the Hebrew alphabet, the questioning of logical-rational "scientific" reasoning. A "postmodern reply" or revision of the past with irony – to put it in Umberto Eco's terms – could not be presented more evidently.[23] But that is not to say that *Oko Cadyka* should be dismissed as postmodern.

[21] Cf. Michel Butor, "La ville comme texte," in *Répertoire V* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1982), 33–42.

[22] More about the spatial turn, vide Doris Bachmann-Medick, "Spatial Turn," in idem, *Cultural Turns: New Orientations in the Study of Culture*, trans. Adam Blauhut (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 211–243.

[23] Cf. Umberto Eco, *Postscript to "The Name of the Rose"*, trans. William Weaver (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), 47.

In the essay, Panas exposes the diversity of discourses and their fusion, already visible in the structure of the text itself. The alphabet as something cyclical and repeatable, understood as an attribute of eternity, lends the text a ritual dimension and creates a bridge between the secular and the cosmic order, which includes another aspect of the theory of science. Thanks to the alphabetical division, the described phenomena are located outside of the time frame; they tend to something that can be defined as origins or primary sources of being. Categories such as aura, messianism, or ritual, which belong to the religious vocabulary, appear in a theoretical text and illustrate its hybrid character. Panas emphasizes how the scientific language, the language of theory, is embedded in various discourses – religious, literary, philosophical, public – and points out that there is no axiologically "neutral" way of reflection on historical facts.[24] Therefore, Panas creates a complex narrative in which several languages from different registers flow together: poems, city maps, Hasidic stories, philosophical tracts, and inscriptions on the matzevah. Thus, the essay approximates the object of description by transforming it into the subject of discourses.

This approach is characteristic for deconstructivism. Panas seems to agree with Derrida that any language about a phenomenon "cannot be excluded from its object"[25] and that the culture/text analysis requires the use of "the parodying heterogeneity of the style, the styles."[26] It is only thanks to this diversity that a text avoids the reduction of the described phenomenon to an object of unambiguous definitions, let the space free for the undecidability and further interpretations, as well as distance itself from the hermeneutic project "which postulates a true sense of the text."[27] We may understand the radical anarchy and heterogeneity of Panas's text, according to his writing style and methodology, as an ironic play with conventions.

The irony of the text is also expressed in the playful handling or binding of common dichotomies such as the visible and the invisible or the transcendent and the immanent. Panas points out the tensions between these oppositions, but they do not function in the text as contradictions. Similarly to Merleau-Ponty's late work *The Visible and the Invisible* (1964), Panas tries to link together presence and absence, seeing and not-seeing, showing and hiding.[28]

[24] Vide Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergency of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations*, no. 69 (2000): 145.

[25] Jacques Derrida, "Of an Apocalyptic Tone Recently Adopted in Philosophy," trans. John P. Leavey, Jr., *Semeia*, no. 23 (1982): 90.

[26] Jacques Derrida, *Spurs: Nietzsche's Styles*, trans. Barbara Harlow (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 99.

[27] Ibidem, 107.

[28] Cf. Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible. Followed by Working Notes*, ed. Claude Lefort, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968), 130–155.

On the one hand, he problematizes discourses that refer to invisible ideas like Jewish mysticism. On the other hand, his text attempts to be understood as an "exercise" to develop new kinds of seeing and interpreting the urban space. This suggestion of a new perspective at well-known things in the surroundings can be associated with ideas postulated in art of the 1920s, especially photography and the movement called *Neues Sehen* or *New Vision*, formed mainly by young Russian Constructivists like Alexander Rodchenko and Bauhaus teacher László Moholy-Nagy; or in the aesthetics and art theory like one of the most important voices of Russian Formalism, Viktor Shklovsky and his concept of "defamiliarization" that is "seeing the world with different eyes."[29] Panas also suggest an alternative de-automated way of reading the urban space, in which the absent and invisible cultural-historical context comes to the fore.

The Power of Storytelling

The language in Panas's essay uses strong imagery, particularly the geometric figures projected onto the space like arches, circles, semicircles, triangles, or "tautened bowstring."[30] Panas seems to underline that only imagination can construct and revive the forgotten history of Lublin. A simple list of historical events would not suffice. According to Panas, the discovery of "the historical truth" is a utopian concept, which ignores the observation that "the facts" exist or are conceptualized only in language. The facts cannot be discovered but only invented by a poetic language with the help of metaphors, narratives, rhetorical figures, and tropes, because talking about the past is neither neutral nor objective. In the end, the city in Panas's text does not transform into a mere augmented space, simply enlarged by a symbolic dimension; it is not a transparent medium of information about the past. Rather, Lublin becomes the imagined reality itself. There is no other reality except the "invented" historical narrative – invented by Panas. Therefore, just like Hayden White, Panas seeks to initiate "imaginative processes" of thinking in images and figurative associations that characterize historiography, literature, and mythical thought together.[31]

[29] Victor Shklovsky, "Ostranenie", in *Viktor Shklovsky: A Reader*, trans. Alexandra Berlina, (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), 334. Vide Renate Lachmann, "Die *Verfremdung* und das *neue Sehen* bei Viktor Šklovskij," *Poetica*, no. 3 (1970): 226–249.

[30] Władysław Panas, op. cit., 87.

[31] "By imaginative processes I mean those that feature the kind of thinking in images and figurative modes of association characteristic of poetic speech, literary writing, and, yes, mythical thought." Hayden White, "An Old Question Raised Again: Is Historiography Art or Science? (Response to Iggers)," *Rethinking History*, no. 4:3 (2000): 398.

The essay's awareness of the relativity and constructability of history and its negotiable character go hand in hand with the emphasis on the power of storytelling. That is why Panas mentions the Hasidic story that he quotes after Scholem[32] who, in turn, tells it after Agnon. The tale is about a Hasidim worrying how to face difficult tasks if their Master is gone and they do not have access to some parts of the ritual:

> "We can no longer light the fire, nor do we know the right prayer; we even don't know where the place in the forest is located, but we can always tell the story about how everything happened." And the *tzaddik*'s tale was just as effective as the deeds of those who came before him.[33]

A quote in a quote, a story in a story that says: "when all is lost, the narrative about the absence can make wonders." Again, a self-referential moment in the essay emphasizes that a narrative always postulates participation and interaction. The essay is not a ready project, the narrative functions only by re-telling.

The act of storytelling is crucial in *Oko Cadyka* as it constructs the city. Storytelling can mark the urban space and fill it with meanings. Panas shifts absence and emptiness that characterize Lublin to the center of his interests and of the city map; a non-typical situation for Western European cities.[34] However, Panas's essay does not only claim to commemorate the destroyed world but tries to recreate it, to bring it back to memory, the public sphere and awareness. With the Castle Square, which merges into the eye of the tzaddik, Panas seems to create a new place of remembrance or, to use Jan Assmann's terms referring to writings by Aby Warburg, a commemorative figure that can form "'islands of time,' islands of a completely different temporality suspended from time," which has a special "mnemonic energy" and can influence collective consciousness and cultural memory.[35] Panas's essay

[32] Gershom Scholem, *Die jüdische Mystik in ihren Hauptströmungen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1993), 384.

[33] Władysław Panas, op. cit., 70.

[34] For Barthes, an empty city center would be a paradox because all cities in Western tradition are to be loaded with many meanings: "[All cities in the West] are concentric; but also, in accord with the very movement of Western metaphysics, for which every center is the site of truth, the center of our cities is always full: a marked site, it is here that the values of civilization are gathered and condensed: spirituality (churches), power (offices), money (banks), merchandise (department stores), language (agoras: cafes and promenades): to go downtown or to the center-city is to encounter the social 'truth,' to participate in the proud plenitude of 'reality'." Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), 30.

[35] Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," trans. John Czaplicka, *New German Critique*, no. 65 (1995): 129.

demonstrates the process of how to apply new meanings and reflects beyond that: on the meta-level about the limits of the text, about the possibilities of its effectiveness, about its performative power. Panas proposes a different view on the theory, which can be understood as a challenge to reality, participation, taking action, and intervening in the world inseparably connected with it or constituting its symbolic universes, as well as a performative answer to it; to them. This means a different acting attitude, located somewhere between theory and practice, underlying the immersion of the writer and researcher in the world or topic of research, and the readiness on both sides to transform each other and question oppositions such as city, text, subject, object. The acting object, the object that is to be performed and not intellectually grasped or simply understood, is copied, repeated, and thus transformed; just like the constituting self. Therefore, we may consider Panas's essay in the context of the "performative turn" in the humanities and social sciences of the 1990s, and interpret it as a cultural performance. Panas does not prove a theory, he does not realize any predetermined, transcendental intention, but he generates the subject of his reflections in the act of writing and tries to initiate through it a cultural change. At the end of Panas's text, the Castle Square in the form of the eye of the tzaddik seems to look at the reader – and invites us to enter into dialogue with this space.

The essay by itself also undertakes a dialogue with the surroundings and the city; – it has begun shaping the collective experience of Lublin inhabitants and, thus, has become a reference framework for them. Lastly, we must refer to examples of interaction between Panas's text and the cultural remembrance practices in Lublin. Noteworthy, the light installation "Oko Cadyka" by the visual artist Jarosław Koziara during the festival "Open City" in 2010 formed a huge circle of light in the middle of the castle square in Lublin. Furthermore, the City Council accepted the 2015 version of the official logo of the city of Lublin, which plays with the motif of the eye. Moreover, the Hebrew alphabet that is significant for Panas's text is used in the art installation "Nie/Pamięć Miejsca" (Mis/Remembrance of the Place),[36] opened in 2017 by the "Grodzka Gate – NN Theatre" Center at the former Umschlagplatz. From that place, Germans deported 28,000 Jewish inhabitants of Lublin to the death camp in Bełżec during the Second World War. The installation is a dark metal container, which can be entered from the street side, perforated by openings in the form of Hebrew letters that allow the light to shine through.

[36] More about the art installation, vide Tomasz Pietrasiewicz, *Theatre of Memory by the NN Theatre: 1997–2017*, trans. Monika Metlerska-Colerick (Lublin: "Grodzka Gate – NN Theater" Center, 2017), 277–291.

The light installation “The Eye of the Tzaddik” (“Oko Cadyka”) by the visual artist Jarosław Koziara during the festival “Open City” in 2010. Photographed by Wojtek Kornet WiP-Studio Lublin.

The art installation “Mis/Remembrance of the Place” (“Nie/Pamięć Miejsca”). Photographed by Agnieszka Hudzik.

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SVATÝ JAN POD SKALOU: THE SACRED PLACE AND CONFLICTED TRADITIONS

Keywords: tourist guide, spirituality, philosophy of Czech history, Saint John under the Rock, communism
Słowa kluczowe: przewodnik turystyczny, duchowość, filozofia dziejów Czech, Święty Jan pod Skałą, komunizm

S u m m a r y

The author explores the ideologization of human space on the example of the place known as Saint John under the Rock in Czechia. This place has a long and rich tradition, also written one, and is tightly bound with Czech identity, not only local but also national. The oldest mentions about the place appear in medieval manuscripts that describe it as one of the most mysterious and sacred. Religious tradition connected with the place serves as an example of the diversity of Czech approaches to faith. For the history of the place was extremely turbulent and its owners usually used it as a tool of cultural appropriation and ideological interest, Saint John under the Rock proves how desired traditions were shaped. To discuss Czech tradition, the author employs the metaphor of "geological layers." Although all the layers – the Christian, the secular, and even the communist tradition – compose Czech identity, their interpreters analyze them in separation. They detach the layer of tradition that does not fit their perspective. Hence, the place under analysis reveals a battle for identities that aims to establish the dominant layer of tradition. In this article, I seek to unveil the game of contradicting narratives to show how a place so deeply plunged in Czech tradition is abused to represent only a part of the "right" tradition.

ŚWIĘTY JAN POD SKAŁĄ: ŚWIĘTE MIEJSCE I JEGO SKONFLIKTOWANE TRADYCJE

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Autorka zajmuje się problemem ideologizacji przestrzeni na przykładzie miejsca znanego w Czechach jako Święty Jan pod Skałą. Miejsce posiada długą i bogatą tradycję, także pisaną. Najstarsze wzmianki o nim można znaleźć w średniowiecznych manuskryptach, ukazujących to miejsce jako jedno z najbardziej tajemniczych i świętych. Religijne tradycje, które są z nim związane

mogą służyć za przykład złożoności czeskiego stosunku do wiary. Ponieważ historia tego miejsca była burzliwa, a ci, którzy na pewien czas uzyskiwali nad nim władzę, używali go jako narzędzia dla swoich kulturowych koncepcji i/lub politycznych interesów, Święty Jan pod Skałą może służyć za dowód tego jak kształtowano pożądane tradycje. Autorka odnosi się do metafory, która pokazuje czeską tradycję jako geologicznej struktury, na którą składają się różne warstwy. Choć one wszystkie (zarówno chrześcijańska tradycja, jak i świecka, laicka, a nawet komunistyczna, tworzyły czeską tożsamość, ich interpretatorzy odnosili się do nich w sposób wykluczający. Odkładali na bok te warstwy tradycji, które nie pasowały do ich światopoglądu. W ten sposób miejsce pokazuje batalie o tożsamość, z jednoczesnym zamiarem ustanowienia tylko jednej jej formy formą dominującą.

1.

Travelling, visiting, and seeing are different stages of the same tourist activity, connected with and complementing each other. However, this is an idealistic opinion because very often observing and learning a country does not mean seeing a lot. The question "How much can an average tourist recognize during travels?" was posed by two Czech writers, Jiří Kuchař and Václav Vokolek. The two started from the premise that people look only at what is around them, on the surface, visible and touchable. Tourists cannot see or know of the underworld that exists under their feet. Despite this typical blindness, the hidden endures, and every country has its own geographical and historical underworld. Unaware, the tourist is deprived of substantial contact with the visited places. Both authors reveal no apprehension about "touristicization," which is now very often connected with the conventional globalized trivialization of the world supported by the media. Nevertheless, Kuchař and Vokolek show how any tourist may see more and look deeper.

The conviction of Kuchař and Vokolek resulted in the unusual tourist guide *Esoterické Čechy, Morava a Slezsko* (Esoteric Czechia, Moravia, and Silesia).[1] The first volume was published in 2002, the last till now – in 2008, altogether nine volumes. Each volume presents different regions of the Czech Republic, but one specific feature connects all these regional descriptions: every region has its mystical and mysterious history, which may and should be revealed. From that point of view, visible places are, in fact, a curtain that covers the spiritual countryside hidden from human sight. We may say that the work of Kuchař and Vokolek offer a guide to the spiritual underground land of Czechia, Moravia, and Silesia. Moreover, the authors included the places usually perceived as unattractive to tourists like the regions devastated by heavy industry.[2]

[1] Jiří Kuchař, Václav Vokolek, *Esoterické Čechy, Morava a Slezsko*, vol. 1 (Praha: Eminent, 2002).

[2] Jiří Kuchař, Václav Vokolek, *Esoterické Čechy, Morava a Slezsko*, vol. 4 (Praha: Eminent, 2005).

For instance, the Kladno region usually holds nothing of interest for tourists, but the authors prove how precious and worthwhile it can be should one acknowledge its sacred, metaphysical tradition. Kuchař and Vokolek's idea for the guide surfaced from their conviction that the Czech people forgot their own history, that they are disinherited from their past and are unaware of what is essential to their existence. Václav Vokolek is the son of a Catholic poet, Vladimír Vokolek, who was persecuted because of his political and religious views under communism. Vokolek became the *cicerone* of Czechia's immaterial reality. Kuchař and Vokolek encourage any tourist not only to be a traveler but also a seeker or even – a tradition digger.

In its approach to spirituality, *Esoterické Čechy, Morava a Slezsko* undoubtedly represents popular culture, even sensational culture. However, I will refer to a more sophisticated cultural concept for more elitist receivers formulated by a Czech theologian and intellectual, Karel Skalický. Noteworthy, regardless of all the differences between Skalický's idea and Vokolek's project, there share one similarity: the geological vision of culture, which is to keep some of its strata hidden. The cultural vision of Skalický matured as a result of his personal experiences and historical circumstances. Skalický emigrated from Czechoslovakia in 1956, was ordained priest in 1961, served during the Second Vatican Council, and after 1968, when the troops of the Warsaw pact suppressed the "Prague Spring," he became one of the most important people in the circle of Czech Christian intelligentsia in Rome, the editor-in-chief of the *Studie* journal, engaged in fight against totalitarianism. In his article "Prolegomena k budoucí filozofii českých dějin" (Prolegomena to the Future Philosophy of Czech History),[3] Skalický argues that "[Czech] national consciousness is neither homogenous nor unanimous, unvarying, but it is complex, varied, and varying, polyphonic. Hence, it definitely shows its multiple, stratified character that results in inner conflicts and tension."[4] Elsewhere, Skalický refers to Jan Patočka: "continuation does not exist, it is necessary to take discontinuation as a premise and see in it the basis for consideration of Czech history."[5]

While analyzing Skalický's article, a Czech philosopher, theologian, and Catholic priest, Tomáš Halík, emphasizes this "geological" character of Czech culture, foregrounds some problems that arise from such stratification. Following Skalický's thought, Halik indicates different sources and traditions that had been influencing Czech identity for ages, but are not perceived as components

[3] Karel Skalický, "Prolegomena k budoucí filozofii českých dějin," in Karel Skalický, *Za nadějí a smysl* (Praha/Řím, 1996), 143–179. First published in *Studie*, no. 55 (1978): 23–56.

[4] Karel Skalický, op. cit., 172. Unless stated otherwise, the text is translated by Danuta Sosnowska.

[5] Ibidem.

of a dynamic structure in which various and variable elements are complementary yet often competitive. Instead, those who described the essence of Czech culture were driven by their worldview that blinded them to everything else that did not match their point of view. Hence, they only selected one stratum of Czech culture in line with their opinions and, then, presented it as a distinctive feature and the core of Czech character. Halík appreciates Skalický's contribution to the discussed subject as an approach in utter opposition to the above. Although Skalický is a Catholic priest and theologian, he conferred cultural primacy neither to Catholicism nor Protestantism. According to Skalický, Catholic pretension to constitute the main tradition of Czech identity and similar Protestant aspiration are both aprioristic: "in an unaccountable way [both Churches] want history to represent only one idea, to have only one stream ... both construct their one-tradition chain from famous and honored people."[6]

A tendency to exclusive discourses foregrounds the significance of liberal and Marxist layers in the Czech culture. They leave other cultural strata aside – marginalized, omitted, neglected. The leftist viewpoint excludes the memory of Christian Czech tradition. And vice versa, should there be a vision of Czechia that achieves its identity only through Christianity, it would erase the consciousness of how important the communist trend was for the country. Turbulent religious movements in Czechia made cultural description even more difficult. Czech Christian tradition divided into three parts. In the distant past, Byzantine competed with Latin influences, later the Czech reformation discredited the authority of the Catholic Church, only for the Catholic Church to eventually gain the upper hand. Each ideological domination evoked tendencies of exclusiveness and actions to expurgate the other cultural strata. Thus, exclusiveness became an important feature in the Czech culture.

The ideological impact of the exclusivist tendency appears obvious when we analyze the human space in Czechia. This impact visibly affects the place I selected to exemplify how human space meets ideology. The place I selected existed as the crossroads of different cultural traditions and can thus serve as an archaeological site for the observation of different cultural layers. However, instead of presenting cultural complexity and variety, the place proves how many apply discriminative narrative practices to cover unwelcome tradition. The name of the place is Svatý Jan pod Skalou, Saint John under the Rock.

"Saint John under the Rock" is a small village close to Prague, which still intrigues human imagination more than one would expect, considering the objective importance of this village. In a documentary *Počesku: Svatý Jan*

[6] Tomáš Halík, *Víra a kultura – pokoncilní vývoj českého katolicismu v reflexi časopisu Studie* (Praha: Zvon, 1995), 103.

pod Skalou, *Ves pod patronátem poustevníka, který se ovšem nejmenoval Jan* (Saint John Under the Rock. Village Under the Patronage of the Hermit Who, However, Was not Named John), Václav Žmolík guides spectators to the mysterious place to say that the city has own genius loci because "everything there is different."[7]

What does it mean? I think Svatý Jan pod Skalou fascinates not only as a conveyor of a mystical tradition or an example of the "esoteric Czechia" buried underground, out of sight. In my opinion, this place captivates because of the clash of different overlapping cultural and historic traditions. The historical and political history of the place was utterly turbulent. As it changed hands, the changing owners of Svatý Jan pod Skalou adapted the site to their own needs and ideological interests. They acted as its absolute "sovereigns." That is to say, the place was appropriated with its past and present, its owners assuming the right to create the space anew. Only fragments of its history were accepted by the people and remained, the rest was forgotten, neglected, or deformed, which could have only resulted in "a special new local product" – a newborn place that presents whatever those in power want it to highlight.

However, the subject is not especially interesting to those who now present the place in television and radio programs about the village or give tourist tips to readers. The protean story of the place sometimes surfaces in journalist descriptions but the excitement concerns its unusual mood, legends,[8] and religious traditions (sometimes treated very seriously).[9] There are numerous programs that praise the beauty of local nature and the countryside.[10] The religious tradition of Svatý Jan pod Skalou does attract believers but also those who seek thrilling anecdotes, which offer the opportunity to show the grotesque of history or religious naivety. However, even those who mock local religiosity mix comedy with drama. A good example is the documentary *Výprava za českými čerty. Pokušení svatého Ivana. Jaromír Štětina v osidlech*

[7] "Počesku: Svatý Jan pod Skalou, Ves pod patronátem poustevníka, který se ovšem nejmenoval Jan," http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/ivysilani/1037067545-pocesku/201322225720003-svaty-jan-pod-skalou (acc. 5.05.2018).

[8] Vide "Příběh poustevníkova lože" commented by František Nepil (1995), realization Inka Ciprová and Jaromír Vašta (edited in Czech TV 2015, film unavailable).

[9] E.g., the program about Saint John under the Rock presented as part of a cycle depicting places of deep spiritual tradition in Czechia: "Cyklus o putování po známých i méně známých místech hlubokých tradic," http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/1185264473-poutni-mista/308298380210003-svaty-jan-pod-skalou (acc. 26.05.2018); Michal Pešek, "Jak znovu ožil Svatý Jan pod Skalou – klášter, kostel a obec" (unavailable).

[10] Vide "Minuty z přírody: Jeskyně sv. Ivana," http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/11126999091-minuty-z-prirody/215562220300052-jeskyne-sv-ivana/ (acc. 5.05.2018).

čertů, kteří vyhnali poustevníka z Bílé Třemešné do Sv. Jana pod Skalou (2005; The Expedition to Search for the Czech Devils. The Temptation of Saint Ivan. Jaromír Štětina in the Sites of the Devils who Drove a Hermit from Bílá Třemešná to Sv. Jana pod Skalou).[11]

A humorous mood enters already in the first scene: a horse-drawn wagon that carries the filmmakers has the inscription "The Expedition to Search for the Czech Devil." Other scenes and commentaries appear as primitive jokes from Saint John under the Rock. On the other hand, under this ironic style linger serious questions: What does temptation mean today? What did it mean in the distant past? And, how do the Church, modern psychology, and ordinary people view temptation today? In that sense, the film is not an expedition to a mysterious underworld of other TV programs, but rather a journey to a sphere of modern meaning and function of ancient spiritual ideas; for instance, the movie uses "resilience" as a religious concept that expresses the human power to rise from a fall, although falling is inevitably bound to every human existence.

All those TV programs, although interesting, do not raise the question of contradicted narratives connected with the place. The authors do not try to show how those narratives compete with each other for dominance. Above all, it is not a unique problem of this place but a general problem of the Czech identity.

My approach is different because I see in Svatý Jan pod Skalou a point of narrative interference in which various discourses secretly compete with each other never to compose into a cultural structure, in which variable and various elements can coexist. Conversely, the victorious narrative takes it all, although only temporarily.

Let me sketch the long and turbulent history of Svatý Jan pod Skalou. The place is tightly linked with its patron saint, Saint John. Legend has it that the patron hermit settled in the village in the ninth century. He is said to have been the son of a Croatian king, so he was called "Croatian prince." This origin was questioned by Josef Vašica, a Czech theologian, Slavist, Biblist, literary scholar, translator, editor, and Catholic priest. Considering Saint John as a historical person, Vašica points out that the Elbe region, inhabited by Slavs, was his vernacular country. Vašica analyzed Saint John's importance for Czech culture in the Baroque, but his influence is not limited only to that period.[12]

[11] "Pokušení svatého Ivana. Jaromír Štětina v osidlech čertů, kteří vyhnali poustevníka z Bílé Třemešné do Sv. Jana pod Skalou," http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/tvprogram/hledani/?filtr[IDEC]=204562215400016&filtr[obdobi]=archiv (acc. 26.05.2018).

[12] Josef Vašica, *České literární baroko: Příspěvky k jeho studiu* (Brno: Atlantis, 1995), 61–84. First edition: 1938.

Saint John appears as a hero of the oldest Czech literary texts like the lost *Staroslověnska legenda* (The Old Slavonic Legend),[13] known only from seventeenth-century Latin copies. The original manuscript dates back to 1096 the earliest, but the precise date and author remain unknown. Another medieval source that reveals information about Saint John is the fifteenth-century Latin *Kapitulní legenda* (aka *Latin legenda*), supposed to be nearly one century older. Those two legends served Václav Hájek from Libočany – the most popular Czech Baroque historian – as the basis of his *Kronika česká* (1541; The Czech Chronicle), once the most read book and the most important works about sixteenth-century literature in Czechia. Saint John's worship flourishing in Baroque inspired many first-rate artists like Bedřich Bridel, the author of *Život sv. Ivana, prvního v Čechách poustevníka* (1657; The Life of the First Hermit in Czechia, Saint John Under the Rock). Later, the figure of Saint John fascinated young Karel Hynek Mácha, the most outstanding Romantic writer in Czech literature and author of *Poutník, Poustevník a Svatý Ivan* (Pilgrim, Hermit, and Saint Ivan),[14] as well as Karl Jaromír Erben.

This short sketch proves the importance of Saint John under the Rock for Czech culture, not to mention his popularity in many theater performances – especially by the Jesuit order – popular prayers, songs, and his influence on popular and elite forms of Czech culture. Moreover, there was a famous pilgrimage devoted to him, which spread his cult among the whole Czech society. Analyzing Czech identity without Saint John under the Rock would be incomplete and – what should be stressed – it was his devotion to God and spiritual values that have attracted the Czech to him for hundreds of years.

Surprisingly, the name of the hermit was Ivan, but the place for centuries has been called Svatý Jan pod Skalou, which is confusing. The legend has it that Saint John the Baptist appeared in the village when Ivan the hermit decided to leave, frightened by demons that followed him even to his cave where he expected to find shelter. It is said that Saint John the Baptist gave him as a sacred gift the stick that scared away the persistent demons.

Today, some interpret this legend in psychoanalytic code that allows one to see Ivan the hermit not as a historical person but the personification of human fears. In these readings, Saint John the Baptist is an alter ego of the hermit, his psychological complementation, which proves that we may overcome panic, horror, doubt, and despair. This interpretation emphasizes that people can find great power in themselves to vanquish their own demons. The village Svatý Jan pod Skalou is strongly marked by this legend and visitors often claim to find a kind of positive energy there, a kind of spiritual dimension connected with the place itself.

[13] Jiří Ševčík, *Album svatoivanské* (Praha: Vyšehrad, 2002), 40.

[14] Josef Vašica, op. cit., 66.

2.

Saint John the Baptist who helped Ivan the Hermit to win his battle with demons is considered to be the patron saint of water – and this element plays an important role in making this place mystical. Even in fifteenth-century texts, the water from the local spring was considered "living water" for its healing and miraculous properties; appreciated for centuries, it became the subject of modern poetry. Such Czech poets as Ivan Slavík and Jan Skácel devoted their poems to the sacred water from the spring in Svatý Jan pod Skalou. Skácel's lyric *Modlitba za vodu* (Praying for the Water)[15] conveys the local mood of reflection and tranquility in a particularly beautiful way. The poem describes "places that disappear year after year, where our sweethearts used to draw water, where hinds quenched their thirst, where the primrose bloomed, and where pilgrims bent over the cold spring to drink it from their palms."[16] The unusual serenity of the poem reflects the meditative calmness of this area. It is important because some people perceive Svatý Jan pod Skalou as the cradle of the sacred, which managed to stand the test of time and history.

Svatý Jan pod Skalou reached the peak of its religious fame in the eighteenth century, when thousands of people partook in annual pilgrimages to place, and when the magnificent Benedictine monastery was built there. Commoners and crowned heads alike visited Svatý Jan pod Skalou, all seeking peace of soul and hoping to find it in where Saint Ivan the Hermit had left traces of his knees when he prayed. For years, the spectacular form of these pilgrimages and other manifestations of the local cult were dictated by a more universal style of Baroque religiosity. All this was discontinued by Joseph II's reforms which led to the liquidation of monasteries, including the Benedictine cloister in Svatý Jan pod Skalou.

The above is one of the layers of the place, tightly bound to Christianity. Of course, though aimed at the secularization of the state and introduced in a decisive manner, the reforms of Joseph II changed the public form of religiosity. However, the strong Christian tradition of Svatý Jan pod Skalou ought to have resisted more vigorously against secularization or even profanation of this place in particular. In my opinion, its exceptional history and importance for the Czech culture should have marked some limits of acceptable restructuring of the ancient Benedictine monastery formation and a new idea of how this place could be used. It was a sacred site throughout the centuries. However, Czech culture did not protect the place and the process of destruction had started long before the communists came into power.

[15] Jan Skácel, "Modlitba za vodu," in *Básně* [Poems], ed. Jiří Opelík, vol. 2 (Třebíč: Akcent, 1998–2008), 243–245. First edition: *Odlévání do ztraceného vosku* (Brno: Blok, 1984).

[16] Ibidem.

It was the communist policy that is accused of secularizing the sacred places or even worse – exploiting them for a political aim in such a brutal and vulgar way that this blasphemous use should definitely annihilate their sacred. Looking at the history of the restructuring of the Benedictine monastery in Svatý Jan pod Skalou – proceeding without any protest for the last decades of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century – we should think that there was little difference between the communist approach to sacred places and that of Austria-Hungarian policy. Long before the communists took power, the sacred place had been used in a way which defied its character. Before the First World War, the monastery was turned into a tannery, then a spinning mill, and a paper factory; all kind of dirty and stinking production that damaged not only the monastery but also the rest of the holy place. Profoundly.

In a sense, the "better" time for Svatý Jan pod Skalou began in 1904, when an elegant and exclusive spa was organized there. On old postcards, one can see beautifully dressed people living their luxury lives in the posh hotel that used to be the old monastery; one can see them having a social life in the rearranged monastic garden, adapted to the needs of the beau monde. The father of a well-known Czech writer, Karel Čapek, used to work in the spa. At the time, nothing made people think of the past of this place, the time when not the body but the soul was the subject of care. I do not see a problem in the fact that the place was used in that way; the problem lies elsewhere. The new use of the place created a new cultural layer that scrupulously covered the old one. The history of Svatý Jan pod Skalou had lost its continuity because – in such a fashionable place – nobody wanted to remember about the old hermit and his idea of strict, ascetic life devoted to prayer nor wanted to keep in mind the thousands of people who formerly used to visit the site with their thoughts and dreams about something which is eternal.

The next period for Svatý Jan pod Skalou began when it was used by an institution ideologically close to the Church that sought to educate future Christian teachers, in 1914–1942. The teaching institute – established in the monastery by the order of the School Brothers (řád Školských bratří) – was known to be extremely severe and resemble a penitentiary enterprise more than a pre-university school. This stage of history of the place created a new cultural layer that shows Churchs' unsuccessful modernization efforts.[17] The next stage was connected with a mental hospital, which operated there between 1942–1945, during the Second World War.

The crucial moment was when the war ended and the communists in power organized in the old monastery a labor camp Tábor Nucené Prací (TNP).

[17] Students of the Catholic school commemorated Jan Hus with a memorial stone on July 6, 1919. It is said that this manifestation was against their Catholic teachers.

Turning monasteries into labor camps was part of the communist secularization policy connected with its program to eliminate religion from social consciousness and remove the influence of the Church. After February 1948, the Church was the only institution not completely subordinate to communist hegemony. Thus, on July 13, 1949, a special committee (Alexej Čepička, Viliam Široký, Václav Kopecký, Vladimír Clementis, Jiří Hendrych, Zdeněk Fierlinger) decided to list all Czech monasteries and prepared a project to use them to strengthen communist power. With the aim to destroy the community of believers – clergymen and the laity – and extinguish the spirit of resistance, the communists planned to convert churches into labor camps or prisons as a visible sign of a new political order. The Church authority was to be annihilated so that those who dared to doubt the communist domination were confronted with its power whenever looking at the former sacred places subdued and deprived of sanctity. In 1950, there were 32,600 prisoners in Czechoslovakia and nearly third of them for political reasons (11,000).[18] That is, this "theatre" of seizing sacred space was expected to have a huge "audience" – not only "inside" different camps and prisons organized in old Church buildings but also "outside" and among those who had to look at them.

3.

The labor camp in Svatý Jan pod Skalou existed until December 31, 1950.[19] At that time, communist policy towards TNPs began to change and some of them were closed or transformed into regular prisons. The latter was the case of Svatý Jan pod Skalou. The communist administration reconstructed and reorganized the monastery for it to serve as a jail, initially for ill prisoners, then as women's place of isolation,[20] and finally as "prison number seven" for Prague area, with 235 places for its "guests." At the time, Svatý Jan pod Skalou the nearest area was completely inaccessible: cars could not stop nearby, photographing was strictly forbidden, people could not approach it. In such form. the place lasted until 1955, when it was closed and, instead of it, the administration organized there a school for the members of the Czech Security Service (StB).

To commemorate that period, a memorial plaque dedicated to political victims was unveiled there in 2005. The plaque speaks of the severe conditions of the TNP, where some people died from overwork in the local quarries, as well as about the extremely cruel treatment and persecution of prisoners in the later jail.

[18] Dušan Janák, Aleš Kýr, "Nástin vývoje československého vězeňství v letech 1948–1989," *Historická penologie*, no. 5 (2004): 1–5.

[19] Alena Kafková, "Z historie kláštera Sv. Jan pod Skalou," *Historická penologie*, no. 3 (2003): 12–13.

[20] Ibidem, 13.

According to the authors of the memorial plaque, the prison "belonged to the most oppressive jails of the time."[21] However, the truth about that jail is neither obvious nor unequivocal. All the available information about the jail are incomplete and contradictory. In 2003, Alena Kafková wrote that – besides archival materials – some knowledge about the place should remain in the local community,[22] but she did not resolve doubts about how severe the jail was. However, some information in her article suggests that the place was not as horrible as it is remembered, because it was the jail for the sick, the old, and women. Moreover, the short period of TNP left no strong evidence of cruelty and the place does not appear alongside other TNPs whose strict regime is confirmed by historical sources (Jáchymov, Ostrava). People were sent to Svatý Jan pod Skalou in connection with "Akce T-43," an action directed at the richest owners deprived of their wealth before imprisonment. So only the millionaires were "honored" with the right to stay in the camp at Svatý Jan pod Skalou and this – partly absurd – situation was employed by the well-known Czech writer, Bohumil Hrabal, in his novel *Obsluhoval jsem anglického krále* (I Served the King of England), in which he describes the camp in a grotesque manner.

As I mentioned above, the severity of the jail organized in place of TNP is uncertain. The memorial plaque describes the place as an extremely brutal penitentiary. Obviously, it was not a sanatorium as the monastery was built on a marshland, which resulted in heating problems and moist, cold cells. Like other prisons in ex-monasteries, Svatý Jan pod Skalou was characterized by such difficulties awful hygienic conditions and a shortage of toilets. Food was poor and monotonous. On the other hand, arrested for Catholic activism and sent to the to the penitentiary after a long investigation, Antonie Hofmanová presents Svatý Jan pod Skalou in a different manner. The reason to place her there was that she suffered from tuberculosis. Her first impression when approaching the prison is:

> Rocks and rocks again. At the top of one rock, I saw the cross and before it the monastery, which looked as a romantic picture from the Alps. But that instant, *anton*[23] passed the prison gate, the driver greeted the guard, while [Saint] John [under the Rock] looked at the door closing after the two as she [Hofmanová] became a spellbound princess who would never get outside this gate again.[24]

[21] http://www.pametnimista.usd.cas.cz/svaty-jan-pod-skalou-pametni-deska-politickym-veznum/ (acc. 26.05.2018).

[22] Alena Kafková, op. cit., 12.

[23] A police car used for transporting prisoners is called "Anton." One interpretation of this name was written down by Hašek in his famous novel *The Good Soldier Švejk*.

[24] Antonie Hofmanová, *Buďme prostí jako holubice. Vyprávění katolické aktivistky o svém věznění v padesátých letech* (Praha: 1991), 60; cit. per Aneta Doležalová, *Církevní procesy v 50. letech na příkladu Antonie Hofmanové*, https://theses.cz/id/9cecpv/STAG67029.pdf (acc. 25.05.2018).

This "romantic opening" finds no continuity in style, however Hofmanová notices that her cell was bigger than the one in Prague jail and the room was clean: "Two rows of clean beds with quilts and sheets, facing each other, resembled a hospital space, a toilet was enclosed with a white screen and the wooden floor was cleanly scrubbed."[25] Hofmanová had the right to correspond with her family and even some meetings with the family were allowed, which did not happen in her previous jail. The stay was an important experience for her, although conversations were controlled and no physical contact with the visitor was permitted. Prisoners in Svatý Jan pod Skalou could receive (controlled) parcels with food from families. They were investigated but – in opposition to her previous jail in Hradec Králové – Hofmanová experienced neither torture nor physical punishment. Seriously ill people were not forced to do heavy work and could use the library. Money received by prisoners were used for buying food, because the one in jail was very bad. Of course, meals of bad quality and quantity were not suitable for ill people, but the fact that they could protest about it and demand better alimentations proves that it was not one of "the most oppressive jails of the time," as claims the memorial plaque. A prisoners' protest resulted in controlling of their living conditions and food improvement for a time. They even started to serve dietary meals. I do not intend to suggest that the "spellbound princess" was happy and spent a relaxing holiday at the jail. But the truth about the place seems less dramatic as it is widely believed.

It is worthwhile to establish the facts about the Svatý Jan pod Skalou monastery in the communist period since there are two contradictory narratives bound to the place so important for Czech culture. The martyr discourse above – which I tried to verify – collides with the grotesque mockery by Hrabal. In his novel *Obsluhoval jsem anglického krále*, Hrabal shows the camp as the place where everything was "inverted" and became a form of theater, in which guardians and prisoners switched their roles. There is no place for martyrdom in Hrabal's vision. Obviously, the writer has his right to alter reality, and Hrabal uses this right to transform the reality into a literary vision, not mimetic but vaguely "similar" to the real world. However, I believe that even Hrabal would not have dared to show a place that witnessed death and pain as a playful theater where nothing is serious. His interpretation confronts us with the questions: What the camp in Saint John Under the Rock really was? Which narrative about it is true?

The few historians who research the subject of that labor camp and people who left their testimonies about it disagree with Hrabal's descriptions. On the other hand, literary critics of his works raise no question about how faithful Hrabal is to historical reality. Different narratives are different pieces of the

[25] Ibidem, 54.

mosaic of history. Václav Žmolík, a Czech journalist, publicist, screenwriter, radio and television editor, said that the place fascinated him because "everything is different there." Consciously or not, Žmolík followed Hrabal's idea. Wandering about the city, the director enjoys observing a portrait of Emperor Josef II in one of the houses, instead of a picture of the incumbent president at the time, Václav Havel. Žmolík also mentions the ironic name of the pub, "Elementary school," as well as the grotesque story of a tombstone in the local cemetery. Someone paid for the construction of the grave and the monument, who then buried there a bottle of vodka and himself went on a trip around the world. All this is funny and presents a typical Czech sense of humor. The issue of conflicting narratives is in some way also funny but, on the other hand, absolutely serious.

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PHILOLOGICAL STUDIES. LITERARY RESEARCH [PFLIT]

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PRAGUE: THE NATIONAL PERCEPTION OF THE AREA[1]

Keywords: cultural heritage, Czech Republic, Prague, national identity, state identity
Słowa kluczowe: dziedzictwo kulturowe, Czechy, Praga, tożsamość narodowa, tożsamość państwowa

S u m m a r y

The author analyzes the space of Prague presenting national perception of the city. It was registered as a UNESCO world heritage site. The author shows the process of changing Prague into a national symbol of Czechness. However, national movement increased national divisions between Czechs and German: in the 1880s separate promenades, coffee shops, and a university were established. During the First Czechoslovak Republic, the capital is mapped primarily in reference to the tradition of Charles IV and the Hussite movement. However, this tradition was modernized: Prague Castle as the seat of President T. G. Masaryk became the most important place in Prague. During Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, places associated with the Hussite tradition were "erased," but the symbolism of medieval Prince Václav (Wenceslas) was made into a symbol of Czech loyalty toward the Germans. Next phase of manipulation occurred when communist took power. National traditions no longer have an integrating and rallying function today.

PRAGA – NARODOWA LEKTURA PRZESTRZENI

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Autorka przedstawia narodową lekturę Pragi. Wpisano ją na Listę Światowego Dziedzictwa UNESCO. Czeski ruch narodowego odrodzenia wyznaczył w mieście miejsca najważniejsze dla jego tożsamości. Towarzyszył temu wzrost narodowych podziałów: w latach osiemdziesiątych XIX wieku powstały odrębne promenady, kawiarnie i uniwersytet dla Czechów i Niemców. W okresie pierwszej Republiki Czechosłowackiej stolica była mapowana w odwołaniu do tradycji Karola IV i ruchu husyckiego. Tradycja była jednak modernizowana: najważniejszym miejscem w Pradze stał się Zamek Praski jako siedziba prezydenta T. G. Masaryka. W okresie Protektoratu Czech i Moraw „wymazywano" tradycję husycką i manipulowano symboliką księcia Wacława. Ta mentalna mapa miasta miała zaangażować społeczeństwo czeskie do walki o hitlerowską Europę. Po lutym 1948 roku przestrzenią manipulowano w duchu komunistycznym. Obecnie narodowe tradycje (a także zabytki) nie spełniają funkcji integracji i mobilizacji.

[1] This article was written as part of the project Progres Q 22.

It is no surprise that the first of the twelve items of tangible cultural heritage found in the Czech Republic and acknowledged to date was the historic core of the capital city of Prague, registered as a UNESCO world heritage site in 1992.[2] Despite Prague sharing this position with the historic core of the mediaeval city of Český Krumlov, with its extensive Rožmberk Castle complex and chateau with a famous Baroque theatre,[3] and the historic medieval core of the "Moravian Venice," Telč, with its Renaissance chateau complex and Renaissance and Baroque houses on the square,[4] the value of Prague on the list – one of the primary indicators of success – naturally exceeds the cultural and heritage value of a small town in South Bohemia and a small town in South-West Moravia. In spite of their architectural-artistic uniqueness, Český Krumlov (a UNESCO world heritage site since 1992) and Telč (a UNESCO world heritage site since 1992) are simply unable to compete against the national-political importance of the metropolis of the Czech lands; or with its identification, integration, and representative importance.

Let us not forget that historic Prague actually became a symbol of Czech patriotism during the time of transformation of Czech national efforts into a national movement, that is, from the 1860s. According to Czech beliefs at the time, other Czech towns would not have existed without Prague, hence the city was regularly called the heart and head of the Kingdom. The Czech metropolis was regularly portrayed as a queen in medieval clothing.[5]

Prague was not simply an organically grown unit of monuments, buildings, and localities – as some classify cultural heritage[6] – but chiefly an augmented ground plan of Czech history. When the "masses" of Czech society adopted national history – the key condition for the origin of a modern nation[7] – which logically led to an even more personal relationship with the town and supposedly evoked emotions in every conscious Czech (or even, in the broader context, Slav). According to the national press, these emotions were how a Czech could be distinguished from a foreigner. While a foreigner was supposedly capable of rationally appreciating only the excellence of the architectural and artistic work

[2] http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/616; https://cs.wikipedia.ogr/wiki/Sv%C4%9BtovC3%A9_d%C4%9Bdictv%C3%AD (acc. 05.09.2017); Věra Kučová, *Světové kulturní a přírodní dědictví UNESCO* (Praha: Národní památkový ústav, 2009), 117–128.

[3] http://www.unesco-czech.cz/cesky-krumlov/predstaveni/ (acc. 05.09.2017).

[4] http://www.unesco-czech.cz/telc/predstaveni/ (acc. 05.09.2017).

[5] Blanka Soukupová, "Praha – mýtus českého a zlatého slovanského města: Mobilizace národní identity nebo protiněmecký konstrukt?," in *Etnické komunity. Vyjednávání pozice v majoritě*, eds. Dana Bittnerová, Mirjam Moravcová (Praha: FHS UK, 2012), 164–165.

[6] Věra Kučová, op. cit., 55.

[7] Miroslav Hroch, *V národním zájmu. Požadavky a cíle evropských národních hnutí devatenáctého století ve srovnávací perspektivě* (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 1999), 19.

of the historic core of Prague as an "interesting antique," the view of the same site reputedly immediately evoked historic reminiscence in Czechs. The fact was emphasized by the Czech awareness of the contrast: the famous past was supposedly placed in counterpoint to the dismal present that eventually resulted in the strong emotions of Czechs. This was accurately expressed in 1882, when the Czech-German polarization of Prague was at its peak, as we read in *Národní listy*, a new Czech daily: "Bring a German or foreigner to our city for the first time and he will admire the beauties of this city; bring a Slav here for the first time, and he will weep."[8]

These highly positive feelings of national importance versus the downfall of the country were to be naturally unavailable to the German or German Jewish minorities living in Prague since the eleventh[9] and tenth[10] century respectively. We may primarily link the key constants that formed the framework of the thought processes of Czech society from the beginning of the Czech National Movement to the awareness of Slavic communality and the declaration of this communality – the Slavic Family – from the last third of the nineteenth century. The Czech National Movement utilized Herder's reasoning: the Slavs should chiefly be peaceful, welcoming, and musically talented. From Czech Germans and Jews – and Austrian police bodies – Slavism meant dangerous separatist tendencies. However, it seems that in view of growing Czech confidence, Czechs ceased to consider Slavism a superior and, on the contrary, endeavored to lead the Slavic Family themselves; or, more precisely, they dreamt of such endeavor. Czechs not even linked the awareness of Slavic communality with the knowledge of individual Slavic nations and their mentalities (people had the greatest delusions about Tsarist Russia).

The relationship with Czech Germans and Jews – often Germanized – underwent great changes in comparison to the beginnings of the National Movement. Even though the German culture remained a great example for the middle classes, the Czech stereotype of the German as the enemy became a significant nation-forming factor during the 1860s. While Czech society strove to achieve the same rights for Czechs and Germans, who lived in the Czech lands and protested the suppression of Czech in the 1860s, the Germans appeared in the role of the malicious enemy in the 1880s. Czech Germans were to be the worst kind of Germans, while the Germans in the German empire were considered more nationally moderate and reasonable. Czech Jews found themselves in the middle of a conflict between two distinctive national identities: the Czech

[8] "Slovanská Praha," *Národní listy*, no. 276 (1882): 1.

[9] Antonín Boháč, *Hlavní město Praha: studie o obyvatelstvu* (Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1923).

[10] Tomáš Pěkný, *Historie Židů v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Sefer, 2001), 11–12.

and Czech-German. Even now, we naturally may encounter a specific residue of anti-German hatred, particularly from the oldest generation of Czech society, even though it is particularly reinforced by their memories of the Second World War, when the Czech nation was under real threat.

Literary historian Vladimír Macura points out that the Jungmann list of Prague emblems was very limited: it only included Vyšehrad, reputedly the oldest seat of Czech princes, the Vltava River, Charles Bridge, and White Mountain, where the ill-fated battle of the Bohemian estates against the Habsburgs occurred in 1620. In the 1860s the Jungmann list was expanded to include Týn Church, the city's main church since Hussite times, Vyšehrad,[11] Prague Castle (mainly its Vladislav Hall, which had borne witness to the most important national gatherings since the sixteenth century, and White Mountain[12] by Prague.[13] The Czech "perception" of Prague, the metropolis of the Czech lands, and its surrounding area were understandably different to the German perception. Czech society highlighted the areas that were linked to key events in our own history; regardless whether these were positive like Vyšehrad and Prague Castle or negative like White Mountain. Whether the places in Prague applied to medieval Czech statehood was also important. In the case of Vyšehrad – joined to Prague in 1883 – it mattered that the suburb was distinctively Czech (according to the nationality of the population). Czech society chose an exceptional natural formation (the Vltava River) because this river actually links the most important places in the Czech lands, it passes important castles and simultaneously links rural areas in the Czech lands with the capital city. The very emotional relationship to the Vltava River as a Czech national river persists to this day. On the contrary, the national perception of the city at the time did not accept Malá Strana, in one fifth populated by Germans, the traditional Jewish quarter of Josefov, or certain streets with German associations and institutions like Na příkopě/Am Graben street. However, even the peripheries of the city were deemed uninteresting for the national perception of the city, as these hosted the socially weaker population. The importance of the peripheries was emphasized only in the image of socialist Prague, which promoted a controlled reduction in the importance of the center as the site of the capitalist elite.

The Jungmann list was expanded in May 15, 1868 with the laying of the cornerstone for the symbolic building of the National Theatre,[14] whose importance

[11] Emanuel Poche, *Prahou krok za krokem* (Praha: Panorama, 1985), 223.

[12] Jakub Pavel, "Národní kulturní památka Bílá hora, bojiště a letohrádek Hvězda s oborou," in *Bílá hora, národní kulturní památka*, eds. Jakub Pavel, František Kavka, Josef Polišenský, Stanislav Pánek, Marie Vorličková (Praha: Olympia, 1969).

[13] Vladimír Macura, *Znamení rodu. České obrození jako kulturní typ* (Jinočany: H&H, 1995), 180.

[14] Otto Urban, *Česká společnost 1848–1918* (Praha: Svoboda, 1982), 230–231.

increased in the 1880s by the establishment of the National (Národní) Avenue on what used to be Ferdinand Avenue, with the national Slavia Café in Lažanský Palace – opened in 1884 – with a view of the Vltava River, the Castle, Malá Strana, where one can find a picture of Slavia, the Mother of the Slavs.[15] It was the water of the Vltava River that reflected the buildings fundamentally linked to the Czech past and present. The Vltava River merged the cultural heritage with the natural heritage. Naturally, the areas excluded from the emblems of Czech Prague were the parts of the city inhabited and preferentially used by wealthy Prague Germans and Jews until the Second World War, who preferred the German culture: mainly Příkopy, the promenade of the Prague Germans from the 1880s, parts of Nové Město,[16] and also Bubeneč[17] during the First Republic. These parts received new names in the "Slavic" and "Czech" style after the Second World War; for instance, the German Casino became the Slavic House (Slovanský dům), the New German Theatre became Smetana's Theatre.

However, the other purpose of this text is to analyze the relationship between the national, political, and state representation and the cultural heritage represented by the historic core of Prague, from the beginning of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918 until 1992, when the capital city of the Czechoslovak Federation became the capital city of the ethnically homogenous Czech state.

With its intention to democratize society, bring up and educate people to the benefit of the state and the national collective, with its activeness, efforts to abandon provincialism, and contagious optimism, Masaryk's First Republic designated as the axes of its memory the times of Charles IV, under whom the Czech medieval state had achieved its greatest prosperity, the Hussite Era as the most famous era of Czech history in national mythology, the National Revival movement,[18] and finally, the legionnaire tradition. On the other hand, the Baroque monuments, as a reputed reminder of the Czech counter-reformation

[15] Blanka Soukupová, Hedvika Novotná, "Kavárna, kavárníci a kavárenští hosté. Několik poznámek k fenoménu pražských kaváren," *Journal of Urban Ethnology*, no. 8 (2006): 75; Karel Holub, ed., *Velká kavárna Slavia* (Praha: Ars Bohemia: Holub & Altner: Nakladatelství Jan Hovorka, 1998).

[16] Gary B. Cohen, *Němci v Praze 1861–1914*, trans. Jana Madlerová (Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Nakladatelství Karolinum, 2000), 83–85, 99.

[17] Blanka Soukupová, "Pražská společnost středních vrstev v letech 1930–1938. K perspektivám mezietnického soužití na území jednoho státu," in idem, *Lidé města*, vol. 6. *Město a jeho kultura* (Praha: Institut základů vzdělanosti Univerzity Karlovy, Nadace Ethnos, 1994/1996), 68.

[18] Blanka Soukupová, "Praha – tradiční česká a nová státní metropole: mýtus a identita. K roli mýtů jako součásti ideologie nového češství a československenství," in *Mýtus – "realita" – identita. Státní a národní metropole po první světové válce*, *Urbánní studie*, vol. 3, eds. Blanka Soukupová, Miroslav Hroch, Harald Christian Scheu, Zuzana Jurková (Praha: Fakulta humanitních studií Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2012), 12, 19, 24, 25.

and Austrian loyalty,[19] were eliminated from positive national-political interests and protection. Czech public opinion perceived its cultural heritage not only in culture but also in nature. The state focused especially on the Prague Castle and the Sokol movement;[20] not by chance: the state was establishing its army at the time and was forced to overcome Czech distrust toward repressive institutions and anti-militaristic attitude of the Czech labor movement, considerably reinforced by the tragedies of the First World War. The portrayal of Prague as the Mother of Cities, the head of the country,[21] nation, the queen, potentially "Vienna" as the dethroned queen,[22] was also reinforced. With the help of extensive investments and modifications, the Prague Castle was to be the most important symbol of the new state, of Czechoslovak and national identity,[23] permeated by the indisputable charisma of the Czechoslovak President, as a monument to the former Czech greatness and simultaneously the past residence of the rejected Habsburgs. And it was Masaryk's presence at the Castle that was to figuratively eliminate the difference between those inside and outside of the castle, to open the Castle to ordinary citizens, teach them to make a "pilgrimage" to the Castle and experience this walk as an exceptional and pleasant event.[24] Let us add that eyewitness memories evidence that this opportunity to democratize turned inward to successfully adopt and determine the accord between historic and current importance. Traces of any Czech ambivalent relations with the Prague Castle from the time of Austria-Hungary disappeared and the Castle (like the personality of Masaryk) became a more-or-less successful integrating element of all the nationalities and minorities living in Czechoslovakia. However, the new ambitions were not only linked to the Castle but also to Wenceslas Square, the center of the revolution on October 28,[25] which was to open from Můstek through a victory gate, according to a never implemented project to monumentalize

[19] Zdeněk Hojda, Jiří Pokorný, *Pomníky a zapomníky* (Praha, Litomyšl: Paseka, 1997), 28–32.

[20] Blanka Soukupová, "Klub za Starou Prahu, památky a paměť. Reflexe starobylosti a krásy města v české společnosti koncem 19. a ve 20. století," in *Město – identita – paměť*, eds. Blanka Soukupová, Hedvika Novotná, Zuzana Jurková, Andrzej Stawarz (Bratislava: Zing print, 2008), 21.

[21] Blanka Soukupová, "Praha – tradiční česká a nová státní metropole: mýtus a identita. K roli mýtů jako součásti ideologie nového češství a československenství," 22, 11.

[22] Antonín Balšánek, "Praga caput Patriae," *Národní listy*, no. 166 (1918): 1; Alois Žípek, "Hlava svobodného státu," in *Praha v obnoveném státě československém*, ed. Václav Vojtišek (Praha: Rada hlavního města Prahy, 1936), 3–4.

[23] Blanka Soukupová, "Klub za Starou Prahu, památky a paměť. Reflexe starobylosti a krásy města v české společnosti koncem 19. a ve 20. století," 21.

[24] Blanka Soukupová, "Česká národní identita a Praha. Sakrální a profánní místa ve velkoměstě," in *Sfera sacrum et profanum w kulturze współczesnych miast Europy Środkowej*, eds. Adam Koseski, Andrzej Stawarz (Warszawa, Pułtusk: Polskie Towarzystwo Etnologii Miasta, 2004), 51.

[25] Antonín Klimek, *Říjen 1918. Vznik Československa* (Praha, Litomyšl: Paseka, 1998), 194–196.

the Square by the prominent architect Pavel Janák. The pavement in the center of the square was to be bordered by statues of important people from Czech history; the most political square was to become an expression of Czech primacy in the new state. The currently undefined modern urban space was to become a dominant space, along with the Castle, intended for the most important state celebrations.[26] The smaller area of the historic Old Town Square, enclosed within a wall of houses, was no longer sufficient for high state-political ambitions. This site of the Municipal Authority with a monument to Hus (1903–1926), where manifestations had frequently overflowed during the First Republic, was now used for acts of piety rather than large manifestations.[27]

During the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and, partly, the so-called Second Republic, what gained prominence was the area of Old Town Square, with its Tomb of the Unknown Soldier from 1922 (removed in 1941),[28] as the center of Czech resistance in the first months of the occupation.[29] The square was later intentionally used by Nazi Germans and collaborating Czechs for manifestations of loyalty of the Czech nation to the empire, just like they used Wenceslas Square and the National Theatre.[30] While the Czech Resistance retained its First Republic attitude to cultural heritage,[31] the motif of the Czech landscape gained importance under the Protectorate.[32] Czech groups of collaborators endeavored to nationalize the emblems of the historic heritage of Prague and subordinate them to the concept of Czech life under the protection of the German Empire in a new Europe. Medieval Prince Václav (Wenceslas), the Czech protector and patron, was promoted as a symbol of Czech loyalty toward the Germans. However, from the Czech viewpoint, the monuments of Hussite Prague had to be removed – the Art Nouveau monument to Master Jan Hus on Old

[26] Blanka Soukupová, "Václavské náměstí – proměny pražského korza v moderní době," in *Československé město včera a dnes: Každodennost – reprezentace – výzkum*, eds. Barbora Vacková, Slavomíra Ferenčuhová, Lucie Galčanová (Červený Kostelec, Brno: Pavel Mervart, Masarykova univerzita, 2010), 24–25.

[27] Blanka Soukupová, "Praha – tradiční česká a nová státní metropole: mýtus a identita," 26.

[28] Jaroslav Láník, Jan Vlk, eds., *Dějiny Prahy II* (Praha: Ladislav Horáček – Paseka, 1998), 393.

[29] Detlef Brandes, *Češi pod německým protektorátem. Okupační politika, kolaborace a odboj 1939–1945*, trans. Petr Dvořáček (Praha: Prostor, 1999), 107; Blanka Soukupová, "Mýty Prahy v období protektorátu Čechy a Morava a jejich významy," in *Mýtus – "realita" – identita. Národní metropole v čase vyvlastnění, kolaborace a odporu*, *Urbánní studie*, vol. 5, eds. Blanka Soukupová, Róża Godula-Węcławowicz (Praha: Fakulta humanitních studií Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2013), 16.

[30] Jaroslav Láník, Jan Vlk, eds., op. cit.; Blanka Soukupová, "Václavské náměstí – proměny pražského korza v moderní době," 28–29; Blanka Soukupová, "Mýty Prahy v období protektorátu Čechy a Morava a jejich významy," 36–37.

[31] Blanka Soukupová, "Mýty Prahy v období protektorátu Čechy a Morava a jejich významy," 30–31.

[32] Blanka Soukupová, "Klub za Starou Prahu, památky a paměť'," 22.

Town Square was covered in a Nazi flag – as well as the statue of Moses and Rabbi Lowe.[33] Monuments of the Přemyslid and Habsburg periods were becoming more popular. However, the monuments of this era were simply presented as evidence of sensible, peaceful, and fruitful German-Czech cooperation in the past. Prague Castle, presented mainly as the residence of state president Emil Hácha, was to symbolize the specific sovereignty of the Czech nation within the Empire, however a sovereignty conditional on the absolute loyalty to Nazi Germany.[34] This corresponded with the celebrations of Imperial Protector's birthday held at the Castle. It was no coincidence that the motif of Prague Castle under threat from the hand of the Russian Bolshevik primitive was portrayed on the best-known protectorate poster by Antonín Hradský (1944).

The socialist regime returned to the monument list of the First Republic, with the exception of the monuments of Legionnaires and generals linked to the First Republic. However, the socialist regime interpreted their importance in the spirit of the new ideology. The regime emphasized the plebeian origins of the revivalists and their indisputable social awareness. In the case of Hussite monuments' renovation, socialism made sure that they became symbols of the mass people's social movement, the culmination and fulfilment of which was to be the post-February establishment.[35] The socialists placed new monuments for labor and communist movements,[36] and they presented the Castle as the residence of the working-class president Klement Gottwald.[37] The new socialist city emerged from the creation of new squares and the gradual de-politicization of Wenceslas Square along with its transformation into a shopping and entertainment center.[38]

[33] Vojtěch Šustek, "Nacistická kariéra sudetoněmeckého historika," in *Josef Pfitzner a protektorátní Praha v letech 1939–1945*, vol. 2, eds. Alena Míšková, Vojtěch Šustek (Praha: Scriptorium 2000), 15.

[34] Blanka Soukupová, "Mýty Prahy v období protektorátu Čechy a Morava a jejich významy," 38.

[35] Blanka Soukupová, "Místo husitské tradice v moderní české společnosti: základní kámen národní identity," in *Paměť – národ – menšiny – marginalizace – identity I.*, *Urbánní studie*, vol. 6, eds. Blanka Soukupová, Helena Nosková, Petr Bednařík (Praha: Fakulta humanitních studií Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2013), 28–34; "'Teprve komunisté uskuteční Libušino proroctví.' Praha v mytologii reálného socialismu," in Blanka Soukupová, *Mýtus – "realita" – identita. Socialistické metropole v zápasech o novou přítomnost a vizi šťastné budoucnosti*, *Urbánní studie*, vol. 8, eds. Blanka Soukupová, Daniel Luther, Peter Salner (Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Fakulta humanitních studií, 2014), 11, 17–19.

[36] Blanka Soukupová, "Klub za Starou Prahu, památky a paměť," 24–25; Blanka Soukupová, "'Teprve komunisté uskuteční Libušino proroctví'. Praha v mytologii reálného socialismu," 19–21, 23–27.

[37] Blanka Soukupová, "'Teprve komunisté uskuteční Libušino proroctví.' Praha v mytologii reálného socialismu."

[38] Blanka Soukupová, "Václavské náměstí – proměny pražského korza v moderní době," 32, 36–42.

After the Velvet Revolution, the historic core of Prague became the first of the Czech "Twelver Wonders of the World." However, the ambitious political establishment began to perceive Prague differently than Masaryk's Czechoslovakia; Prague was considered the center of Christian Europe,[39] a paradox in the predominantly secularized Czech society, whose Europeanisation was very weak. Even though a number of inaccessible areas of Prague Castle were opened under the first post-November president, Václav Havel,[40] the way citizens of the First Republic identified with the Castle disappeared, so the Castle only witness crowds of tourists today. The strong competitors to become sites of Czech memory and cultural heritage invaded the increasingly commercialized city, which welcomed the tourist trade: the always open gargantuan shopping centers, luxury shops, multiplex cinemas, and water parks.

Conclusion

During the First Republic, Czech cultural heritage appeared differently than it does today; its national and state-integrating significance was most important. For example, rather than as a unique artistic-architectural monument, the famous panorama of Hradčany was considered a magnificent diadem of Prague as the royal city, the metropolis of the former medieval state, later demeaned by the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian monarchy that, still, was unable to remove its royal magnificence. The list of First Republic cultural heritage sites was adopted by the Protectorate even though it reduced it to Hussite, Sokol, and legionnaire monuments; hence, the symbols of Czech military tradition. However, manipulation of cultural heritage remained part of political mobilization by the collaborating government even in this period. The return to the national tradition – especially Hussite and Revivalist – was unique during the period following the Second World War within the terms of the socialist political camp. We can describe it as an elaborate manipulation of the awareness of a threat to the Czech nation during the Protectorate, the traditional fear of Germany in modern Czech society, and also as an endeavor to transform the Czech tradition of Slavic empathy into a tradition of Czechoslovak-Soviet partnership. After 1989, we witnessed a distancing from national traditions and our own history. What now seems to be the most important is the historic and artistic value of cultural heritage, to the detriment of its identity-strengthening and integrating significance.

[39] Blanka Soukupová, "Praha v čase 'návratu do Evropy.' Česká a státní metropole mezi pamětí a vizemi budoucnosti," in *Mýtus – "realita" – identita. Národní metropole v čase "návratu do Evropy," Urbánní studie*, vol. 9, eds. Blanka Soukupová, Andrzej Stawarz (Praha: Fakulta humanitních studií Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2015), 28.

[40] Jaroslav Láník, Jan Vlk, eds., op. cit., 508.

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IS EXPERIENCING HISTORY POSSIBLE? BETWEEN "DARK TOURISM" AND "THE HOLOCAUST INDUSTRY:" THE CASE OF TEREZÍN

Keywords: Theresienstadt concentration camp, "popmemory," modern transformations of memory about the Shoah, *The Devil's Workshop* by Jáchym Topol
Słowa kluczowe: obóz koncentracyjny w Terezínie, „poppamięć", współczesne przemiany pamięci o Holokauście, *Warsztat diabła* Jáchyma Topola

S u m m a r y

The article focuses on the representation of Terezín (Theresienstadt) concentration camp in contemporary Czech literary, historical, and educational sources. We should treat the ways of presenting Terezín in Czech public space as a beginning of the discussion about the popular, mass need for "adapting" memory about past experiences to the abilities of a new recipient. The basis for the following considerations is the 2009 novel by Jáchym Topol, *The Devil's Workshop* (original title: *Chladnou zemí*), that presents the process of the revitalization of Terezín concentration camp, which seems to be another stage of a theatricalization or reconstruction of memory. The fundamental question is: How far is it from the Topol's utopian vision to the actual reality, full of commercialized or institutionalized memory?

CZY DOŚWIADCZANIE HISTORII JEST MOŻLIWE? MIĘDZY „CIEMNĄ TURYSTYKĄ" A „PRZEDSIĘBIORSTWEM HOLOKAUST". PRZYPADEK TEREZÍNA

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Artykuł dotyczy reprezentacji obozu koncentracyjnego w Terezínie w wybranych czeskich tekstach literackich, historycznych i materiałach dydaktycznych. Sposoby przedstawiania dramatycznej historii Terezína w czeskiej przestrzeni publicznej mogą być traktowane jako początek dyskusji nad popularną, masową potrzebą „dostosowywania" pamięci o minionych wydarzeniach do możliwości poznawczych nowego odbiorcy. Punktem wyjścia dla niniejszych rozważań jest powieść czeskiego autora, Jáchyma Topola, wydana w 2009 roku (*Warsztat diabła*, przeł. Leszek Engelking, tytuł oryginalny: *Chladnou zemí*), przedstawiająca, między innymi, wizję rewitalizacji obozu w Terezínie. Fundamentalne pytanie w tym miejscu brzmi: jak daleko jest od utopijnej wizji Topola do dzisiejszej rzeczywistości pełnej skomercjalizowanej i zinstytucjonalizowanej pamięci?

> Terezín is not a big city. Before the war, there were about five thousand souls. It lies at the confluence of the rivers Elbe and Eger. From bird's-eye view it looks like a stone star fallen to the ground, surrounded by red brick walls.
> – Arnošt Lustig[1]

> We worked without rest, building a new life for the town on the ruins of its past.
> – Jáchym Topol, *The Devil's Workshop*

The following article critically considers the question that does not sound novel but appears to gain validity and urgency (at least in the Czech Republic). The pretext for dealing with the subject of the contours of contemporary memory "belonging" to a certain place, inseparably connected with the memory of people who lived and died there, was the 2009 novel by the Czech author, Jáchym Topol, *The Devil's Workshop* (original title: *Chladnou zemí*).[2] The space in which part of Topol's story occurs is the Czech city Terezín, which was in 1941–1945 a Jewish ghetto and transit concentration camp. About 87,000 prisoners passed through the camp, and only 3,600 of them survived the war.

It seems that *The Devil's workshop* should be treated today as an important voice in European discussion on the modern transformations and ideologizations of historical memory. Topol's vision of revitalization (or "saving") Terezín concentration camp – which is going to be officially demolished, according to the first fragments of Topol's novel – describes the limits of the phenomenon of "popmemory." This term hides a very wide range of meanings, ideas, projects, tasks, and actions connected to popular (attractive and trendy) methods of saving and transferring experiences of the past to the younger generations. In some way, it is an obligatory educational approach today. But the "revitalization" of the Terezín concentration camp seems to be just another stage of the "theatricalization" of memory. In Jáchym Topol's vision, the "renewed" Terezín becomes a tourist hit by exploiting the emotionality of Western "bunk seekers," who are looking for their roots and trying to find false relief in the place, where their ancestors suffered and died:[3]

[1] All quotations originally written in Czech (except the translation of *The Devil's Workshop*) were translated by the author of the article.

[2] Jáchym Topol, *Chladnou zemí* (Praha: Torst, 2009); Jáchym Topol, *The Devil's Workshop*, trans. Alex Zucker (London: Portobello Books, 2013).

[3] All italics by me. I have published some details about Topol's novel before, about its reception and various interpretations, also in the context of contemporary culture, sociological changes, and history, in two articles: "Someone Else's Scars of Topol, Someone Else's Scars of Poles – Between *Chladnou zemí* and *Warsztat diabła*," in *The Aspects of Genres in the Holocaust Literatures in Central Europe*, ed. Jiří Holý (Praha: Akropolis, 2015), 213–228; "Pořád krmit paměť světa...? O (pop)paměti v současné české literatuře a kultuře," in *Paměť válek*

> I would never have believed the rocket-like rise of our case if Lebo hadn't been reading me the replies. Plenty of people agreed to help us, no questions asked. Those were the kind of people Lebo was looking for, people who didn't wonder whether or not the old town of evil should be torn down, who didn't need any deliberation or discussion, because *they knew that every splinter of every bunk should be preserved, every battered brick, every corner of the old fortress. Every inch of Terezín should exist always and forever, and, as Rolf would later write, feed the memory of the world*.[4]

However, the reasons why Topol's protagonists decide to build an alternative Holocaust "museum" are not obvious. On the one hand, they try to preserve the experiences of the past and help to bring relief to those "with dark cloud on their minds," the representatives of the so-called "third generation" whom Topol calls "bunk seekers." On the other hand, they are perfectly aware of the three pillars of modern tourism industry which researchers usually describe as "three E:" entertainment, excitement, education. Obviously, this model comes from the West, just like one of the heroines of Topol's story, Sara, a pragmatic girl with a ready-to-use business plan for making Terezín more attractive for tourists from all over the world. Sara's creative ideas bring ghetto pizzas, t-shirts with Franz Kafka's face and the inscription "If Franz Kafka hadn't died, they would have killed him here," therapy sessions, and special workshops of happiness for those overwhelmed with the consciousness of twentieth-century horrors.[5] In this place, Topol's vision seems distant from purely literary projections. It shows quite well the vices and virtues (?) of the phenomenon called "dark tourism" or "thanatourism," simplistically defined as traveling to sites associated by history with death and tragedy.[6] Moral, practical, business, and commercial aspects of this concept appear in many studies mostly published in the 2000s, when researchers began looking more carefully at the phenomenon that exists in European culture for many years.

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a konfliktů, eds. Alexander Kratochvil, Jiří Soukup, Matouš Jaluška, Vít Schmarc (Praha: Akropolis, 2016), 82–92.

[4] Jáchym Topol, *The Devil's Workshop*, 28–29.

[5] Ibidem, 35–36.

[6] Among others, there is a new English publication *Thanatourism: Case Studies in Travel to the Dark Side*, which focuses on the extremely complicated symbiosis of the tourism industry and extermination sites. "Thanatourism ... has been variously termed 'dark tourism' ... 'grief tourism' ... and 'black spots' ... but all, in one form or another, describe tourism to sites associated with death and disaster. Although thanatourism is not a new practice ... it is an increasingly pervasive phenomenon in contemporary society.... Many notorious global sites with complex and painful history have reported increased tourist numbers in recent years... most notably at Auschwitz--Birkenau, which has more than tripled its visitor numbers in the past two decades." Tony Johnston, Francisco Tigre-Moura, Pascal Mandelartz, "Welcome to the Home of Auschwitz Tours: The Online Marketing of Genocide Tourism," in *Thanatourism Case Studies in Travel to the Dark Side*, eds. Pascal Mandelartz, Tony Johnston (Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers, 2016).

Topol's novel from a few years ago accompanies the intensified "memory boom" that Czech public space witnesses during the last two decades, which demands a return to the past. The motive of a "demonstration" concentration camp and the city that "Hitler gave to the Jews"[7] holds now a special place in the discussion on the condition of Czech memory. The role played by the city in the Nazi extermination machine remained a secondary topic in the Czech Republic for a long time. *The Devil's Workshop* can be used here as a point in the discussion about the most critical issues related to the appropriateness of historical memory transfer. The literary, grotesque, and (so far) exaggerated vision of Topol is hard to separate from contemporary situation in the European memory practices.[8] Topol points out most of the benefits and threats that result from the medialization of memory and modern need for adapting historical message.

Arnošt Lustig, one of the Holocaust survivors, wrote: "Memory is like a spiritual spinal cord – without it, our body will be crooked."[9] Relying on concepts formulated by Jan Assmann, Milan Hes enumerates three reasons for the recent growth of interest in the phenomenon of memory: 1) the increasingly advanced technology, including the development of mass media and "external memory" or "artificial memory" that begin to replace the living memory of witnesses; 2) the ethical premises, and 3) the urgent need to face the remembrance of authentic witnesses ("oral history," "twilight of the witnesses of the era").[10]

The reaction to all these factors is an extreme Jáchym Topol's vision in the second part of *The Devil's Workshop*. Terezín is only an introduction to the real devil's workshop, that the readers encounter in the "Belarusian section." There, the survivors of historical tragedies end up as fabricated, stuffed exhibits in the Belarusian "museum of the future." In Topol's vision, the challenge of preserving memory by making it closer, accessible, and tactile at any price, even for people who will not have a chance to talk to the survivors, becomes

[7] Theresienstadt was a transitory concentration camp before transportation to death camps like Auschwitz. The city is known for its propaganda role in the movie *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (Hitler Gives the Jews a City), created to give a false impression of living conditions in Terezín, shown as a "model" city for the Jews.

[8] Of course, the phenomenon that I describe in this essay is not typical for Czech space. We may point out numerous examples of such places and very diversified cultural, educational, and literary "attitude" toward them. However, in my opinion, there are significant differences in the national struggling with this subject. Unfortunately, the matter exceeds the scope of this article, although it might be an extremely interesting issue.

[9] Cit. per Milan Hes, *Promluvili o zlu. Holocaust mezi dějinami a paměti* (Praha: Epocha, 2013), 19.

[10] Cf. ibidem, 30–31.

a reaction to the process of progressive commercialization of memory. And, first of all, one of the methods to attract the attention of the modern recipient. According to this method, the terrible idea of building the Devil's Workshop, the Jurassic Park of Horror, the open-air museum of totalitarianism does not really sound so impossible:

> That's the division of labour in the globalized world of today, damnit! Thailand: sex. Italy: paintings and seaside. Holland: clogs and cheese. Right? And Belarus? Horror trip, right? Don't look so serious, for fuck's sake! Arthur bellowed.... / *Visit the Devil's Workshop, the European monument to genocide!* Arthur declared in a booming voice, pouring everyone another round of vodka. / *Do we have the sea, the mountains, historic buildings? No, all our historic buildings were burned. So we'll build Jurassic Park of horror, a museum of totalitarianism....* Look at Auschwitz! Those whores the Poles, they know how to do it. A nice little hotel, bus ride from Krakow, tour of Auschwitz, lunch included: fifty-two euros, please.[11]

The vision of Belarusian *Muzejko* with an exhibition of dead, stuffed survivors, who after several electric shocks begin repeating their pre-recorded stories, is an extreme reaction to the threat associated with all modern attempts to search for the most appropriate form of preserving the memory at any cost.[12]

I treat Topol's grotesque vision as a serious warning, as I will briefly discuss some methods of presenting Terezín in contemporary Czech historical and educational discourse. Each of the selected examples should deserve a detailed discussion of its own. However, I hope that they will signal the shape and direction of historical memory about Terezín in the Czech Republic, the methods used to answer the returning question of Shoah in Czech public space, and some interesting modern attempts at popularizing memory, which seem perfectly aware of the warning hidden in *The Devil's Workshop*.[13]

Recently, we easily notice striking changes in the artistic methods of aestheticizing historical experience and shifting the "Holocaust decorum" (Leszek Engelking's term) in contemporary culture. Modern art, literature, and education face questions about the adequate form of unspoken content, for which there still are no words and concepts capable of its description. However, aesthetic and formal experiments are recently accompanied by an intense return to testimony, the personal history that, according to Arnošt Lustig, "is also

[11] Jáchym Topol, *The Devil's Workshop*, 116.

[12] Cf. ibidem, 128–129.

[13] Obviously, Topol's novel and contemporary artistic and educational projects discussed in this article might and should be considered with reference to well-known scientific concepts like the one by Jeffrey C. Alexander on the social construction of evil and the extremely important problem of experiencing it. Cf. Jeffrey C. Alexander, "A Cultural Sociology of Evil," in idem, *The meanings of social life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 109–120.

history. Just like a scar is evidence of an injury, and a used calendar is a testimony of an age."[14] I would like to mention as an example the volume of comic books prepared by various artists and published in 2011, *Ještě jsme ve válce. Příběhy 20. století* (We Are Still at War. Stories of the Twentieth Century).[15] The volume seems to be a creative return to literary testimonies and should be analyzed as part of a wider project entitled *Paměť národa* (Memory of the Nation),[16] conducted by The Czech Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes and The Post Bellum Foundation. The publication clearly marks the line between authenticity and artistic fictionalization which remains only an addition to authentic personal memories. The Terezín ghetto also became the background for several stories.[17]

The mention of this famous Czech comic book obliges us to remark on another artistic phenomenon. Since 2013, substantial discussions arose from the popular *Opráski sčeskí historje* (Pictures from Czech History).[18] The comic strips, edited by mysterious Jaz, for whom there are no historical and linguistic taboos, were at first published on the Internet and later also in print. Their creator is probably a researcher at the Czech Academy of Science whose comics evoke extreme emotions; not only because of controversially presented historical content but also because of the language, which is distorted and full of errors that require specific decoding. Jaz plays with national identity; he ruins language rules and converts dramatic historical experiences, memories, and facts into anecdotes. The recipients of his works are mainly people aged 30–40, which means a social group that already finished school education. It is important because *Opráski sčeskí historje* require at least basic knowledge of history. They turn historical pathos into anecdote, using absurd and polysemy, verbal games built for example by sophisticated spelling mistakes. From his many pictures about the Holocaust, the example below sufficiently presents this intriguing phenomenon of popular culture:[19]

[14] Cit. per Milan Hes, op. cit., 58.

[15] Jana Fantová, Jan Palouček, eds., *Ještě jsme ve válce. Příběhy 20. století* (Praha: Post Bellum, Argo, Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů, 2011).

[16] http://www.pametnaroda.cz/ (acc. 15.04.2018).

[17] *Ohromný kolotouč slunce*, script by Miloš Mazal, Adam Drda, drawings by Miloš Mazal; *Pavel Macháček a gestapacké razítko*, script by Mikuláš Kroupa, Prokop Smetana, drawings by Prokop Smetana, based on a true story of Pavel Macháček who survived Theresienstad Small Fortress, concentration camp Flossenbürg, and death march (cf. ibidem, 30–41, 42–53).

[18] The spelling in original version of *Opráski sčeskí historje* is meaningfully deformed both in the title and particular illustrations. Unfortunately, it is impossible to include those language games in translation, which remains only philological and informative.

[19] Vide http://historje.tumblr.com/ (acc. 15.04.2018) and *Opráski sčeskí historje. F koztce* (Praha: Grada Publishing, 2016).

How not to be excited about a journey
1. Hello, how are you?
Just fine, as for the times, you know.
2. And what about holidays? Are you planning something?
3. We have been always travelling with my wife by car to some Czech places.
4. But this year we will probably go abroad by train.[20]

Of course, Terezín is now not only the object of interest among authors of graphic art and comic strips. There appear more and more publications devoted to the extermination of Jews, while scholars uncover new journals, writings, and personal stories from the time.[21] But there is also more attempts at creating a message addressed to the younger audience.

[20] Source: http://historje.tumblr.com/image/109185789198 (acc. 15.04.2018). Another picture presents a group of people dancing and singing in Terezín: "Our oven is broken, our oven is broken. Who is going to fix it?" In the second frame appears Hitler saying: "The oven is fixed for a long time. Who needs a ticket?" The third picture shows a train coming close to the death camp with a smoking chimney. The last caption reads: "The machine is running, the chimney is smoking" (Cf. *Opráski sčeski historje*, 352). Culturally accepted tragic narrative about deportation to concentration camps turns here into a provocative narrative like a ghoulish joke.

[21] E.g. Milan Hes, *Promluvili o zlu: holocaust mezi dějinami a pamětí* (Praha: Epocha, 2013); Pavel Barša, *Paměť a genocida: Úvahy o politice holocaustu* (Praha: Argo, 2011). For a good

For example, in 2013 appeared another part of a popular in the Czech Republic book series for young people. The name of the series is *Kouzelný atlas putování časem* (The Magic Atlas of Time Travel).[22] A teenage girl is the protagonist of the novel written by historian Veronika Válková, *Terezínské ghetto. Tajemný vlak do neznáma* (Ghetto Terezín. The Mysterious Train to an Unknown Place). The heroine moves back in time to Terezín of September 1944. Initially, the girl has no idea where she is, but further observations and conversations with prisoners made verify her knowledge from history lessons. Moreover, the heroine encounters authentic characters, including the editors of the Terezínian periodical "Vedem."[23] Luckily, the girl avoids the journey with "the mysterious train" that transports prisoners from Terezín to Auschwitz. She returns to the present and checks online what happened to her new friends who did board the train. The results shock her.

This short summary probably sounds unconvincing but – despite a bit kitschy front cover and graphics[24] – Válková's idea to present a really difficult historical event with adventure convention typical of the books in her series was surprisingly successful. This happened mostly due to her attention for historical fact and respect for the victims and their memories.

The authors of *Ghetto Terezín, Holokaust a dnešek* (Theresienstadt Ghetto, the Holocaust, and the Present)[25] suggest twelve methodical educational models that employ short films to capture the memories of the witnesses of the era. Of course, the belief about the necessity of preserving "oral history" is nothing new. The authors refer to the archive created by Steven Spielberg, USC Shoah Foundation – The Institute for Visual History and Education,[26] and pay attention to all attempts of transferring and explaining to younger recipients "what

and a little shocking example of Terezín's presence also in the newest literary fiction, vide Jan Vavřík, *Návrat z pekla* (Praha: Brána, 2016). There also is the poetic description of life there by Karel Hartmann, *Terezínská epopej: to je ghetto* (Praha: Academia, 2016).

[22] Other books in the series refer to much more distant (and, at the same time, easier and safer) topics, such as: Charles IV, Wenceslaus I, the Hussite Wars, the domination of Maria Theresa, the times of Ancient Rome and Egypt, and the fates of Indians, pirates, or Vikings.

[23] *Vedem* was a literary magazine edited from 1942 to 1944 in the Terezín concentration camp by a group of boys (aged from twelve do fifteen) who lived in one of the barracks (named "Home One"). Editors-in-chief were Petr Ginz and Hanuš Hachenburg, who later became characters encountered by the protagonist of Válková's book, the teenager Bara.

[24] To see the front cover of the book, see "Databáze knih," https://www.databazeknih.cz/knihy/kouzelny-atlas-putovani-casem-terezinske-ghetto-tajemny-vlak-do-neznama-166956?c=all (acc. 15.04.2018).

[25] Zuzana Jirchářová et al., eds., *Ghetto Terezín, holokaust a dnešek: metodické modely s využitím filmových svědectví pro výuku na ZŠ a SŠ* (Terezín: Památník Terezín, 2009).

[26] Noteworthy, Spielberg is also a real guru for Topol's heroes, but they treat his project as a prequel of their own ideas for the medialization and transformation of Shoah's memory.

is the Shoah." In reference to numerous articles dedicated to museum space and transmission of tragic experiences, let us mention that the last few years saw intensifying attempts at "simulating" the "experience of death."[27] What is very important in *Ghetto Terezín Holokaust a dnešek* is the awareness of the inability to simulate the experience, the recognition that all concepts (museum, educational, popularizing) aimed at creating an alternative reality or approximating the terror and atmosphere of the place, in fact, are doomed to failure. They may even offend the memory of the victims and survivors.

The discussion on the appropriateness of some methods or techniques used in historical education or museum spaces often refers to the most extreme solutions typical of video games (like playing into someone else's role) or controversial simulations of authentic experiences, as in the case of historical reconstructions.[28] An extreme example of "trampling" the Holocaust decorum became the project that raised wide objection among Czech citizens at the beginning of 2017. One of Prague's escape rooms offered a new game called "Escape from Auschwitz," advertised with the slogan "The last shower awaits you. The only difference is that you can get out of this chamber alive!"[29] What was even more disturbing, the game's creator planned (as he claimed – accidentally) the game's premiere for the International Holocaust Remembrance Day. The last shower for 390 Czech koruna met with such a large wave of criticism from ordinary recipients and members of organizations who deal with the memory of the Holocaust that the whole project was canceled. Unfortunately, it was no artistic provocation but a real commercial idea, an extreme answer to market needs, craftily hidden behind slogans about preserving and protecting memory or teaching history.

The authors of *Ghetto Terezín* employ an educational method called "side influence"[30] that assumes students who face the problems of the Holocaust are not mentally prepared. However, with the help of other students and teachers, they analyze the recorded memories of witnesses and various authentic materials. Above all, the students are forced to look at the past and tragic experience of the witness through the prism of the present so as to notice its universal warning.

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[27] Vide Anna Ziębińska-Witek, "Estetyki reprezentacji śmierci w ekspozycjach historycznych," in *Obóz – muzeum. Trauma we współczesnym wystawiennictwie*, eds. Małgorzata Fabiszak, Marcin Owiński (Kraków: Universitas, 2013), 29–48.

[28] For instance, see one of Polish reconstructions like the death march from the camp in Stuthoff: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E82YGiR7BHw (acc. 15.04.2018).

[29] For more information, see for example Barbora Němcová, "Zkuste přežít Osvětim, láká autor únikové hry. Silné kafe a neúcta k obětem, reagují lidé," *Aktualně.cz*, 26.01.2017, https://zpravy.aktualne.cz/domaci/posledni-sprcha-firma-laka-na-unikovou-hru-z-tabora-v-osveti/r~5184ed20e3b411e6bb11002590604f2e/?redirected=1523812269 (acc. 15.04.2018).

[30] Zuzana Jirchářová et al., eds., op. cit., 10.

The authors of the 2012–2014 publication that resulted from the cooperation between historians and history teachers (who took part in the project *History Education of the Twenty-First Century*) propose a similar solution.[31] In their opinion, there occurred important changes in thinking during the last few years: individual memory became a specific historical source while the border between memory and history was definitively blurred. Interest in historical matters also increased thanks to the popularity of mass media, such formats as "docu-reality shows," numerous historical movie productions, series, and multimedia projects; for example, the audiovisual *Memory of Nations* or "Terezínská štafeta" (Terezínian Relay Race) began in 2010.[32] The projects draw attention to technical and aesthetic changes in memory and the process of displacing natural with artificial memory. Of course, another issue is the co-existence of extremely diverse narratives, some of which receive substantive political or official support (also financially) while other emerge from bottom-up initiatives of individuals or private institutions.

A difference between the "official" and alternative memory (or anti-memory), their ambiguous assessment and typical forms of historical communication, also partly surface in Topol's story. The division of Terezín is noteworthy: there is the "Monument" in the center from which all delegations and official trips from all over the world begin, and there is a bit hippie, self-proclaimed, attractive commune Comenium to which initially come mainly bunk-seekers who seek relief and explanation of own trauma. Topol's "Comenium Commune"[33] functions as an alternative to official memory represented by the false, old-fashioned, artificial Monument.[34] The Comenium Commune draws attention to the problem that all authors of history courses and museum expositions pose today: the challenge

[31] The project resulted in a very interesting publication by Hana Havlůjová, Jaroslav Najbert et al., *Paměť a projektové vyučování v dějepise* (Praha: Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů, 2014).

[32] For more information about this idea born among the students from one of the Prague junior high schools, see http://www.terezinskastafeta.cz/ and https://www.facebook.com/Terezinska Stafeta (acc. 15.05.2018).

[33] Topol's protagonists remind about the teacher of nations, Jan Amos Komenský: "By then we were already calling ourselves Comenium. Lea, who had come up with our name, thought we should offer instruction in the history of horror, as well as therapy for it, including dance. We agreed, since she had come to us from Holland, the country where Comenius has resided after his merciless expulsion from Bohemia. The Happy Workshops were Sara's idea" (Jáchym Topol, *The Devil's Workshop*, 48).

[34] Sławoj Tanaś the author of the only monograph on the issue of "dark tourism" in Poland so far, notes that contemporary methods of honoring and commemorating memory spaces leave the idea of classic monuments, which are unstable, impermanent, and can easily be removed from public space. However, Topol's monument does not fit these considerations: it seems unbreakable, indestructible, everlasting. Sławoj Tanaś, *Tanatoturystyka. Od przestrzeni śmierci do przestrzeni turystycznej* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2013), 130.

of "difficult expositions" that carry hard and overwhelming content. Official memory symbolized by fictional Monument is, on the one hand, unattractive, boring, and impossible to remember due to outdated methods like vitrines and posters with historical facts and dates. On the other hand, these official ways of commemoration in Topol's vision are also oppressive, do not even try to understand the modern, emotional, and highly commercial project of revitalizing Terezín. Easily associated with the establishment, the supporters of the Monument are willing to destroy the city.

Perhaps the conclusion from the observation of the rivalry between these two spaces and strategies of remembering is trivial: there is no good way to transfer the experience and preserve memory, especially the memory of dramatic events and terrifying places. Instead, there only remains a constant balancing on the fine line of decorum and searching for the most suitable form that considers the most extreme solutions.

"The victims of the Holocaust left. There is no one else to go to school to share their memories with the students,"[35] that is the vision of the future by Ruth Bondyová. The questions remain: How far is the utopian vision of Terezín Camp's revitalization to actual reality? How long until the coming of institutionalized or commercialized memory that – despite noble intentions – will drown the voice of witnesses? How distant are we from the reality, in which blind desire to preserve endangered memory becomes a substitute for learning from historical failures?

* * *

Today's Terezín memorial does not resemble the space of *The Devil's Workshop*. One could even venture so far as to remark that the present Terezín museum does not meet the trends among contemporary tourists or the cognitive abilities of a younger audience. During the communist period, hardly anyone remembered that Terezín was the place of execution of the Jewish people. The museum was established only in 1991 and, in fact, only the last few years saw the creation of educational projects that recognize the dictates of modernity while fully respecting the memory of the Holocaust victims.

A rather obvious belief that such places of remembrance deserve special attention and caution in formulating historical, artistic, or literary messages must be adjusted to social and psychological generational changes. Historical spaces now depend not only on the dictate of ideological memory – be it institutional, official, educational, or nation-building – but also on the pressure of contemporary popular and attractive methods. "The Holocaust industry" has different faces and dimensions. It resides somewhere between Topol's Comenium

[35] Cf. Milan Hes, op. cit., 281.

Commune, the proven method of learning through play, and the slightly sinister official Monument. However, first of all, "the Holocaust industry" still balances on a very thin border of adequacy. This very thin border may truly confound us when we witness the small restaurant in the former soldier canteen in Terezín, which offers breakfasts and lunches for tired groups of tourists, right in front of the main gate with the infamous inscription "Arbeit macht frei."

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PHILOLOGICAL STUDIES. LITERARY RESEARCH [PFLIT]

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WHO HAS THE RIGHT TO DECIDE? PULA AND THE PROBLEM OF DEMILITARIZED URBAN ZONE

Keywords: touristification, Muzil, Pula, urban space, urban planning
Słowa kluczowe: turystyka, Muzil, Pula, przestrzeń miejska, planowanie przestrzenne

Summary

In 2007, the Croatian army decided to close its military base on the Muzil peninsula, which is a part of the city of Pula. Muzil hosts about 20 percent of the city; moreover, it is located in a very attractive area with the view on the seaside and the city's historical center. After the city received the area, negotiations began to decide about the future of the demilitarized land. This paper discusses the attitudes of two main actors of the public debate: the city council supported by the central authorities of Croatia and a nongovernmental organization established by a number of residents of Pula. The former wanted to transform the demilitarized area into an elite tourist resort, while the latter proposed opening the peninsula to residents to reintegrate the postmilitary area with the city. The two attitudes are related to different ideas of usefulness and the city as a community of residents. The right to space reflects the fundamental question of participation in the public debate. Moreover, Pula can be seen as an example of the city, where extensive and uncontrolled development of tourism violates the interests of the local community.

KTO MA PRAWO DECYDOWAĆ? PULA I PROBLEM DEMILITARYZACJI PRZESTRZENI MIEJSKIEJ

Streszczenie

W 2007 roku chorwacka armia postanowiła zamknąć swoją bazę na półwyspie Muzil, znajdującym się na obszarze miasta Pula na Istrii. Muzil zajmuje około 20% obszaru miasta, usytuowany jest ponadto w centrum atrakcyjnej okolicy. Pozyskanie tego terenu otworzyło burzliwy okres negocjacji zmierzających do ustalenia sposobu zagospodarowania tego terenu. Artykuł omawia postawy dwóch głównych aktorów: rady miejskiej, wspieranej w swych dążeniach przez władze centralne Chorwacji, oraz stowarzyszenia obywatelskiego, powołanego oddolnie z inicjatywy

mieszkańców Puli. Pierwsi forsowali pomysł stworzenia na obszarze zdemilitaryzowanym obiektów turystyki elitarnej, podczas gdy drudzy optowali za otwarciem półwyspu dla mieszkańców miasta i zintegrowaniem przestrzeni z miastem. Postawy te wiążą się z odmiennymi koncepcjami użyteczności miejskiej oraz miasta jako wspólnoty mieszkańców. Tytułowa kwestia prawa do przestrzeni odzwierciedla konkretne kwestie wagi i uczestnictwa w debacie publicznej. Pula okazuje się ponadto jednym z miast, w których rozwój turystyki okazuje się zagrożeniem dla interesów stałych mieszkańców.

Can tourism become an ideology? Some examples from Croatian cities reveal that touristification[1] can represent a real problem from the perspective of the local community. It is the case of Pula, an ancient and beautiful city on the Adriatic shore, south of the Istrian peninsula, where the Croatian army had conceded a vast territory in the very center of the city to the state. The local authorities with the support of the government sought to transform that space into a touristic area for rich clients. Such idea encountered strong opposition from the local community. The problem exposes a set of crucial questions. First, it concerns the question of agency and the right to decide about urban space. Then, there is the problem of the position of local residents in comparison with the privileged group of rich tourists in a neo-colonial perspective. Third, the crucial question is how the conflict between the needs of locals and tourist infrastructure could be resolved. I will tackle the first two points because the latter concerns more the local politics and strategies of negotiation.

I will discuss the question of the social representation of space, basing on the sources related to the debate, sometimes very vigorous, which developed in the public sphere in Istria and in general Croatian media. The main frame of analysis in this paper is the question of the right to space[2] as its social representation.

[1] Touristification is a relatively new term that refers to the impact of mass tourism on cities and the landscape. Most often, touristification is linked to suspiciousness toward large-scale tourism. A large number of papers have been already published on places like Barcelona, Lisbon, or Prague, which show the negative aspects of mass tourism. Cf. as an example, Claire Colomb, Johannes Novy, eds., *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City* (London–New York: Routledge, 2016). Croatia, where the belief that tourism is likely to be the remedy for all economic problems, neglected such reflection until very recently.

[2] The right to the city, the space, or the streets are frequent phrases now encountered throughout the whole world. That question has become familiar to the social sciences after the "reclaim the streets" movement, described in Naomi Klein's book *No Logo*, works of David Harvey, Marshall Berman, and experimental participative governance in Porto Alegre in Brazil. It embraces problems of political participation, role, and rights of different agents; above all the tension between local governments, residents, and investors or the real estate market. Also, vide Charles Montgomery, *Happy City: Transforming Our Lives Through Urban Design* (London: Penguin Books, 2013).

Urban space and the conflict of interests

The contemporary city of Pula was created primarily around the navy, then the civil port, and the industry.[3] Picturesque green areas in the city center, which I saw every day when I first visited, hid old and new military facilities. It was not only Austria-Hungary but also Yugoslavia and independent Croatia that maintained important military corps in Pula. Before 2007, the area encompassing the Muzil peninsula and the terrain along the western coast was closed off, controlled by the military, and exempt from the control and intervention of local government organizations. It was only after 2007 that the city began to supervise this part of the urban space. As a result, the question arose of how the area should be developed. The right to the city seems crucial when considering the future of demilitarized areas. In a 2009 monograph on spatial policies published in Warsaw, researchers from the fields of sociology, anthropology, and geography asked themselves this question.[4] The issue also contains a second, implied question, of agents who/which should have influence on the decision process regarding an organism as complicated as a city. Several main contributing factors can be identified. First, specialists must play an important role as experts in the construction and management of the city. I mean here urban planners and architects, the people who by virtue of their education, knowledge, and general formation can manage the development of large urban centers. They know what spatial elements should receive what functions, they can predict the ways in which the inhabitants will behave and use specific types of space. It is the planners who should know how to effectively use the values of the area and buildings and organize them to make the life of the inhabitants better.

However, the fundamental problem is that planning stems not only from a pragmatic assessment of measurable, objective factors. On the contrary, planning mostly emerges from a vision of society and the relationship between space and the human community of its inhabitants. Space can be shaped, but when shaped by an expert, it will influence people. Urban projects described

[3] For a general outlook on the history of Pula, vide Darko Dukovski, *Povijest Pule: deterministički kaos i jahači Apokalipse* (Pula: Istarski ogranak Društva hrvatskih književnika, 2011). Kruno Kardov, "Muzil: moja vizija, moji snovi," in *Kome pripadaju bivše vojne nekretnine? Iskustva prenamjene u Hrvatskoj*, eds. Lidija Knežević, Nives Rogoznica (Zagreb: Centar za mirovne studije i Zavod za sociologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, 2014), 99–136, writes in his chapter an excessive essay on the history of Muzil's militarization and the destiny of the peninsula with a detailed survey of the civil movement after the exit of the Croatian army. A detailed and exhaustive step-by-step agenda can be found in the first number of *Otvoreni Muzil*, January 2009 (http://www.muzil-starter.org/).

[4] Bohdan Jałowiecki, ed., *Czyje jest miasto?* (Warszawa: Scholar, 2009).

in Wade Graham's *Dream Cities* were based on the analysis of observable facts and phenomena, but they took shape thanks to the vision of their authors, who were guided by a goal that could not be reduced to solely pragmatic issues.[5] The city of Le Corbusier or Jane Jacob assumes completely different solutions for the same modern populations struggling with the same challenges from the outset. We may argue that a car is a symbol and a guarantor of freedom, but others will say it is a factor that destructively revolutionizes the functionality of streets. Some people prefer small shops and strolling along the street, but certain architects would defend rational concentrations of trade in large shopping centers, and so on. These questions largely depend on the values the planners follow, how they imagine the ideal local community, and despite the similar civilizational context, the urban planners' suggestions may be diametrically different.[6] For instance, the team of authors who created the concept of Warsaw's Ursynów district tried to reconstruct a space conducive to contacts and safety; they intended to restore the street, the main orientation element of the housing estate, to the residents. The layout of residential homes, public use buildings, commercial and transport routes was governed by a certain vision, which definitely countered the previously dominant ideas for a functional housing estate, by implementing Le Corbusier's urban concept.[7]

Therefore, we enter a problematic area – that of values – that can never be considered undisputed. Hence, the local authorities may be an arbitrator in determining the direction of development. The elected city council is supposed to represent the interests of its residents: it is the residents who elect those to whom they delegate the power to make decisions in the name of the community. In most administration systems, at least in Croatia or Bosnia and Herzegovina,

[5] Cf. Wade Graham, *Dream cities: Seven urban ideas that shape the world* (New York: Harper/Harper Collins Publishers, 2016).

[6] The literature on urban planning is immense. For different approaches, traditions, and contemporary trends, vide Grażyna Korzeniak, ed., *Zintegrowane planowanie rozwoju miast* (Kraków: Instytut Rozwoju Miast, 2011). There seems no need to explain the key notion of contemporary urbanism, i.e. sustainable planning: it generally means a search for the balance between the needs of humans and the environment, on the one hand, and between the local government, specialists' voice, and the views of local residents, on the other hand. Planning is deeply related to the question of ideas and social representations. One very clear example concerns the idea that highways are a necessity for a well-managed city. A highway is seen as a symbol of usefulness, rational planning, and a need. Still, such an idea can be questioned. But Agnes Deboulet and Mona Fawaz convincingly show that the development of a highway network could be seen as an instrument that helps to destroy local communities and disperse unwilled classes far to the outskirts. Cf. Agnes Deboulet, Mona Fawaz, "Contesting the legitimacy of urban restructuring and highways in Beirut's irregular settlements," in *Cities and sovereignty*, eds. Diane Emily Davis and Nora Ruth Libertun de Duren (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 117–151.

[7] Lidia Pańków, *Bloki w słońcu. Krótka historia Ursynowa Północnego* (Wołowiec: Czarne, 2016).

it is the local government that decides whether to adopt zoning and regulatory plans, and the relevant local government bodies issue building permits, interfering with developers' plans depending on local regulations. To what extent do their decisions reflect the interests of the inhabitants, and to what extent do they result from a well-thought-out policy? Answers to this question must vary, depending on the circumstances. It is also difficult to study the decision process, which is probably linked to various factors: ensuring investment, protecting the environment, sometimes stimulating tourism. Such expectations may often come in contradiction. Graham shows this in his book on the example of the city policies in Bogota and Vancouver. The decision to build bike paths and invest in a series of inexpensive buses instead of automotive arteries can be seen as rational but also ideological: it reduces the amount of pollution, facilitates the transport of a larger number of people, but investments go to poorer districts and promote egalitarian policies.

Muzil and the Brijuni Rivijera project

The relinquishment of a large area of Pula challenged the city authorities to define the most important values for the future of the local community. Once again, for the political community, the key process is to define values, on the basis of which a vision of development is formed and only then does it make the specific investment.[8] As we saw at the beginning, the spatial development plan is a derivative of the idea of an ideal city, formed by the knowledge, experience, or expectations of each responsible person. As we can see in the illustration below, Muzil is in a key location. Therefore, it was not only the question of the development of one plot of land or areas on the outskirts but also of the area the development which will affect the reception of the city center; and thus the whole city. For the civil movement "Volim Pulu" (I love Pula), it was crucial to leave Muzil open and its integration into the city space. A newspaper published and distributed by "Volim Pulu" was named *Otvoreni Muzil*, which means "Open Muzil." The first issue offered a manifesto in which we can read: "We want to open Muzil! We want to stand against the unjust process of planning the future of this area without the knowledge and cooperation of our residents. Pula and Muzil cannot be separated anymore. Its walls must go down!"[9] The true urban space should be free of fences, walls, and any kind of separators which prevent a free movement, dividing the common

[8] The question of values does not reflect any idealistic idea of governance but is closely related to the social praxis. Cf. Manuel Castells, *Wiek informacji: ekonomia, społeczeństwo, kultura*, vol. 2: *Siła tożsamości*, trans. Sebastian Szymański (Warszawa: PWN, 2008): 21–27.

[9] *Otvoreni Muzil*, no. 1 (2009): 4.

good – space – into smaller pieces of land in private hands. The openness of free space connotates freedom, community, and togetherness, which are likely to be associated with the idea of democracy, but also a common responsibility. Michael Hardt in an interview for *Otvoreni Muzil* emphasizes that the questions of democracy and control over space are inseparable.[10] On the one hand, control over space allows one to control community's resources. On the other, it divides a community into a set of different conflictual agents, who seek the profit for their own, disregarding the common good. The civil movement "Volim Pulu" – a cooperation of various agents – acted in favor of the integration, opposing another separation of the peninsula proposed by the project "Brijuni Rivijera."

The central position of the Muzil peninsula can be clearly seen on the map above. Muzil is the area encircled with the red line. A large green zone is situated almost directly on the opposite side of the bay, vis a vis of the city center with the most important monument, the Arena. It also is a large territory with complicated access from the main streets. In the upper left, there is a small piece of the Brijuni archipelago. In a word, this location is highly attractive, though it covers a large part of the city territory.[11]

[10] Cf. "Pitanje prostora i eksperimentiranje s demokracijom nerazdvojni su" [interview with Michael Hardt], *Otvoreni Muzil*, no. 6 (2016): 4–6.

[11] Illustration by the author, on the basis of a map available on Google Maps (https://www.google.com/maps/@44.8852679,13.7460906,17690m/data=!3m1!1e3).

The question that social agents are supposed to resolve when tackling the problem of the demilitarized area of Muzil is what solution will be useful for the city. Work on the Brijuni Rivijera project continues since 2010. This is a plan to develop the area at four locations – Pineto, Hidrobaza, Sveta Katarina Island, and the Muzil peninsula – which belong to the city of Pula and are located opposite the picturesque Brijuni (Brioni) archipelago. It was supported as a strategic plan by the government of the Republic of Croatia, and by a decision of July 23, 2010, both state and local administration bodies were obliged to actively support the project. By a decision of September 12, 2011, Brijuni Rivijera has been declared a project of "particular importance to the Republic of Croatia." Therefore, the project was included in a group of strategic projects, whose development and implementation is supported by the central government and is supposed to foster the overall economic and social development of the region.[12] In the official presentation of the project, we read: "The main development goal is the creation of a spatial and functional whole with the character of a tourist 'riviera,' with a high environmental quality offer along with a positive economic and social impact. Moreover, clean-up of devastated sections will be equally important, as well as maintenance and protection of the natural and man-made value of the space."[13]

In this short description for a pamphlet – all the more valuable due to the condensed notions and ideas – we notice the impact of sustainable development, already popular at the time. This is indicated by the equal emphasis placed on created and economically active space and the natural environment. Moreover, the pamphlet also discusses the atmosphere of the location as a value: the environmental quality, which could also be translated literally as the atmosphere quality of the location. Thus, planners not only focus only on investments in tourist infrastructure, but they are also aware that the atmosphere, mood, and overall characteristic of the space are equally important to encourage tourist stays and correspond to current trends. Tourists like to choose "sustainable" locations where they can forget about the destructive impact of tourism on the environment. On the other hand, the area outlined in the project description is definitely to become a tourist destination (a riviera!) and it is its designation for tourism activities that will determine its value and future appearance, as well as its applications.

[12] Cf. "Odluka o utvrđivanju popisa trgovačkih društava i drugih pravnih osoba od strateškog i posebnog interesa za Republiku Hrvatsku," *Narodne Novine*, no. 120 (2013), 2579; "Plan upravljanja državnom imovinom Republike Hrvatske za 2015. godinu," *Narodne Novine*, no. 142 (2014), 2673.

[13] *Glavne značajke prostora i cjeline obuhvata*, http://www.brijunirivijera.hr/program/glavne_znacajke_prostora_i_cjeline_obuhvata (acc. 10.08.2017), trans. by the author. A list of various legal acts and other documents that form the basis for the Brijuni Rivijera project can be found on that portal as well.

As late as in 2013, this area of Pula appeared to be somewhat neglected or, at the very least, unmodernized.[14] Things looked much different than in the center of Pula, or in the Istrian resorts teeming with life and modern infrastructure. The calmness, slowness, and a kind of disorder clashed with the vision from the catalogs and resembled a free space of unforced relaxation. The problem was that a large plot of land and coastline remained unused, yet uncolonized by developers, investors, and hotel chains. This had to be changed so that this part of the urban space would also fit with the catalog image of the largest Istrian city. Tourism was an obvious choice. But Puntižela and Štinjan are located on the outskirts of Pula; hence the question of Muzil raised much more discussion because of its localization in the city center.

The Muzil peninsula also belongs to post-military areas and, as part of the project, it was to become a space for tourism investments, especially elite tourism. However, while the decisions about the allocation of the remaining locations did not gather much emotion – Puntižela is located far from the center, on the peripheries, practically not part of Pula in the minds of the city residents – the Muzil investments encountered strong resistance and fierce debate. I will examine it precisely because it involved three categories of social actors important for the process of spatial planning and shaping of community values, who seek to impose their own worldview. I mean the local authorities, the national government, and the third sector, by which I mean both the more-or-less structured civic movement and official organizations. These are three types of actors with real driving power. If we consider how citizens – the residents of the city – can influence decision-making and city politics, these instances seem to be the most important. The central government may be less important in local zoning policy, but by regulating certain issues, supporting selected initiatives, and using long-term strategies, it has a significant, sometimes decisive, impact on the local situation.[15]

I do not account for "non-channeled" voices expressed on Internet forums or in surveys, because they are a random source of individual opinions. I will also not deal with the press unless it is about reporting on the Muzil dispute. I want to isolate causative attitudes, when statements and actions seek change and the goal of public activity is to actually impact the course of events. As we have already seen above, contemporary planning assumptions provide for the participation

[14] During the controversy and debate around the future of Muzil, the peninsula was left without any systematic care. The civil initiative "Vol. im Pulu" proposed a solution implemented in other cases throughout Europe, of a temporary management of the area to prevent its deterioration. However, the initiative was rejected by the city council. Cf. http://www.muzil-starter.org/ (acc. 23.04.2018).

[15] As we saw, Brijuni Rivijera remains on the list of special investments and the state is a majority shareholder up to now.

of residents in the co-decision process on the spatial policy of the city. It is not only professionals, urban planners, and architects who are to create the urban landscape and, thus, influence the ways in which space or resources are used. It is not only local authorities, through their specialized offices, but also the local community that should influence the environment in which they live. Virtually all contemporary approaches emphasize this factor; it fundamentally contrasts with the trend of the earlier era of high modernism, when direct participation of non-specialists was unlikely. Today, at least in European countries, trust increased in the opinions of citizens who use the city on a daily basis and personally experience the consequences of decisions made by the city council.[16]

The Civic Movement "Volim Pulu"

From the very beginning, the lack of consultation with residents was raised as the most important objection to the project of changing the purpose of the post-military areas. As early as 2003, the first attempt was made to persuade the municipal authorities to hold a referendum on the matter. In 2009, Građanska inicijativa za Muzil "Volim Pulu" ("I Love Pula" Civic Initiative for Muzil) was established to "participate in the planning."[17] Activists from the group emphasized the lack of consultation with the residents and the exclusive agency of the *županija* (county), which ignored the voice and needs of the city and municipalities. After 2009, the Civic Initiative undertook a number of actions to inform the residents, present them with the consequences of the plans forced by the authorities, and show possible alternatives. Public debates, panel discussions, and open discussions were among activities that the Civic Initiative offered to the general public. This was necessary because the Brijuni Rivijera company did not conduct any information campaigns, while the first public debate – significantly limited by the city authorities through the introduction of a requirement to submit questions and comments in writing – was not organized until 2014. Since the decision process excluded the local authorities and residents from the question of changing the purpose of the post-military grounds, a grassroots initiative seemed to be the only way to involve citizens in spatial politics. As Kruno Kardov notes, this was all the more important given that Muzil occupies one-fifth of the city's area; the city of Pula is the legal owner

[16] Sustainable planning or sustainable development has become the key notion of urban planning. It strongly impacts the trends along with the idea of "sustainable tourism" or "ecotourism." Cf. Sona Butula, "Planning for sustainable development: the significance of different social interests in landscape," *Društvena istraživanja: časopis za opća društvena pitanja*, no. 65–66 (2003): 427–441, https://hrcak.srce.hr/19494 (acc. 23.04.2018).

[17] Cf. Kruno Kardov, op. cit., 128.

of some parts of the project site and, finally, "the issue of the change of Muzil's application and the Pula harbor are key strategic questions for the future development of the city."[18]

The activities of the civic movement in Pula assumed various forms. As agents involved in the public debate, its participants tried to gain audience and visibility, thus forcing the local government to consider their arguments. They used typical forms of persuasive practices, also aiming to make local residents aware of the different consequences of investing in tourism. In 2014, when all requests presented in the civic movement's petition had been rejected by the city council, Dušica Radojčić, the leader of the civic opposition, enumerated the means which were to be used to continue their campaign: talking with people at standpoints situated on the streets and squares of Pula, publishing and free distribution of the paper *Otvoreni Muzil*, printing and distributing leaflets, negotiating with local leaders, and organizing mass meetings.[19] All that time, two ideas retained importance in the civic movement: the need of informing the locals about the different aspects of touristification and the need for visibility in the public sphere. In its discourse and practice, we easily notice an opposition that divides the community into two groups: "they" who hold the power and the subordinated "we" who cannot partake in the political elite. The local government and politicians gather themselves behind closed doors, without any contact, or little contact with "ordinary people," and make decisions without consulting the local community. Meanwhile, the activists of the civic movement are visible on the streets and squares, addressing their speeches or texts to the very same ordinary people so as to inform and integrate them into the decision-making process. In other words, the quarrel turned around the question of who has the right to decide what is useful for the city and which agents could play an important role in that process. Relations from the protest clearly show that mechanism.[20]

Another strategy to oppose the city council's forced privatization of Muzil was to reveal the negative aspects of touristification. The official project of "Brijuni Rivijera," according to the council of Pula, was to strengthen the usefulness of the transformation of the demilitarized area into a tourist zone. The plan was proposed that the terrain that lies fallow for several years will now bring profit by transformation into a golf resort. Councilors stated that golf facilities would cover only 20% of the area, while the rest would be left as green space. Moreover, local dwellers would have the possibility to visit the area, walk around

[18] Ibidem, 134.

[19] Cf. http://radio.hrt.hr/radio-pula/clanak/pulski-aktivisti-ne-odustaju-od-muzila/51859/ (acc. 19.09.2017).

[20] For the relation from the protest on 8.05.2014, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xOQQtbUADxg (acc.10.08.2017). The protest happened at the main square of Pula, during the debate in the city council on the changes in the urban development plan.

and sightsee. The city council decided to expose the newly changed urbanistic plan to the audience at the end of 2013. During a turbulent debate in the Dom hrvatskih branitelja (Croatian Veterans House) those views were countered by an argumentative expose of a couple of activists. Their interventions were interrupted by officials, which eventually emptied the audience hall of participants. The reason was not only the lack of dialog but also the request of the council that every question related to the plan should have been proposed in writing, which would obviously eliminate any debate and relevant critique. We can clearly see how the organs of local power treated the community: not as a partner endowed with a real agency but a passive recipient of ideas and decisions made by politicians. Confronted with the question – Who has the right to debate the future of the city? – the councilors would probably say that the legally elected power and specialists but not citizens' formalized and informal representations, NGOs, or "the street."[21]

The Civic Initiative "Volim Pulu" underlined on many occasions the negative effects of tourist investment for the urban community. The most fateful solution envisaged by the future tender assumed that the large part of Muzil would be given in perpetual usufruct to a private investor. It that way, the city council and the community of Pula would lose control over it, having only the possibility to revise the conditions of a contract. After years of military's domination over the area, it would now be controlled again by an agent external to the community, whose interests would probably collide with the needs of this agent. As Radojčić emphasized, on the one hand, there would be an investor aiming to increase its gain, while on the other hand, the city residents for whom the sustainable politics seems more important than other values.[22]

Another argument advanced by protestors was about the "usefulness" of such investment. First, the local budget and the county Istarska would have to prepare the terrain for the needs of an investor. Second, a big tourist resort should be properly communicated with a highway leading to Pula and the airport. It would mean further investments in roads, airport facilities, and a reorganization of the transport network in the south of Pula. Third, the experience of different tourist resorts around the world shows that only a tenth part of the gain remains for the local community, while the rest is usually transferred abroad. Four, an argument the most frequently forwarded by the "Brijuni Rivijera" supporters predict the creation of jobs, which would obviously contribute to resolving

[21] Cf. the press conference of "Vol. im Pulu" from 3.11.2013 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEg-uKPiVDs), and the turbulent debate in Don hrvatskih branitelja from 13.11.2013 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q604bDd2e1Q; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NqCAnKg__9A (acc. 24.04.2018).

[22] Cf. interview by Dušica Radojčić on the Croatian television from 8.05.2014: https://thvid.net/video/muzil-emisija-turisti%C4%8Dka-klasa-hrt-08-05-2014-jdt2PO-ppMM.html (acc. 24.04.2018).

one of the main problems in Croatia. However, jobs created for the purpose of a resort mostly involve unskilled labor force and services, often offering temporary and unstable living conditions for workers, which in the long-term perspective do not resolve the problem of unemployment. We could rightfully ask "Who would gain from such an investment?" and "What the local community would really gain from the transformation of one-fifth of its territory into a resort for rich people?"

The last aspect of the controversy around Muzil concerns the type of tourist profile planned for this area not only by the local urban plan but also by the county's strategy of development, reflected in the abovementioned law on special zones of touristic investment. Golf tourism is sometimes presented as an important factor of development for the local community as a diversification of its offer. It could also extend the touristic season, offering other types of activity than the sea and the sun.[23] The influx of tourists "with better purchasing power" would lead to an improvement of the quality of services offered in the resort.

But the same study states that "Istrian tourist enterprises, because of priorities such as raising the quality of their accommodation capacities and general indebtedness, do not have the necessary capital to invest in Istrian golf. Therefore, the investors will be foreign physical and legal persons."[24] How Istria would benefit from the golf-tourism? Mostly by "improving the image of Istrian tourism," "attracting tourists with better purchasing power," and "increasing foreign investments." The author of another study estimates that golf courses do attract tourists while new hotels are built along with other facilities.[25] However, these are only estimations that may not come true, as shows not only reports cited by Radojčić and other contributors to *Glas Muzila* but also other research on tourist market. Branding Istria on the international tourist market still avoids the question "How real residents would profit from it?"

Here, the symbolic connotation of golf helps to better understand the vigorous opposition to the project of the development of Muzil. Golf still appears as a sport of the rich, who manifest their status creating elite clubs. Both above studies argue that it is time to change this stereotype, that golf has become a popular sport, but on the other hand, they qualify golf players as "tourists with better purchasing power" or "people whose financial capacities are well above the average;" in other words: the rich. There not only appears a gap is between

[23] Cf. Alen Jugović, Jasmina Gržinić, Slavko Lončar, "Makroekonomic legitimacy of investment in the development of golf tourism in Istria," *Economic research – Ekonomska istraživanja*, no. 2 (2009): 66–85, https://hrcak.srce.hr/38212 (acc. 10.05.2018).

[24] Ibidem, 70.

[25] Cf. Saša Petar, "The development of tourism through the construction of golf courses," *Acta turistica nova*, no. 1 (2010): 55–80, https://hrcak.srce.hr/61476 (acc. 10.05.2018).

richer tourists from abroad, who would profit from the Muzil resort, and ordinary residents of the city, who could not afford that kind of activity. Pula is also a city of long socialist tradition that dates back to the times of the First World War. Thus, the inhabitants view a golf resort on the peninsula in the city center as an act of neocolonialism that transforms Croatia into a country of cheap labor force and natural resources for the benefit of investors.

The conflict around Muzil and its future received broad commentary in Croatian television, various journals, and abroad. The activity of non-government associations interested activists from all around Europe, especially the long-term plan of informing and involving the local population of Pula. Dušica Radojčić, one of the most engaged activists, told me in private correspondence about her fatigue from such interest. But on the other hand, the example of Pula seems really important for other localities in Croatia like Split or, especially, Dubrovnik. A similar project was forced by investors and the city council in Dubrovnik, that is, the creation of golf courses on the top of Srdj, a hill dominating the city with a splendid view over Dubrovnik and the Adriatic. Dubrovnik transforms into a ghost town with no permanent residents and thousands of tourists flooding in every day. It brings us back to the problem of the urban space and agents who can, and should, participate in it. As we see on the example of Pula (Dubrovnik would be an even more explicit example), touristification excludes large parts of space from everyday use. These parts become inaccessible like Muzil. The urban space in European tradition is represented by the image of the agora, an open space accessible for all, a space of contact and exchange. Meanwhile, Muzil as a golf resort will be an exact opposition of the agora, a place for the few, with a strong potentiality of instituting hierarchies and dividing people on the economic – and most probably national – basis.

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PHILOLOGICAL STUDIES. LITERARY RESEARCH [PFLIT]

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UNCANNY STYRIA

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Słowa kluczowe: Styria, literatura angielska, graniczność, niesamowitość, szlachta

Summary

The nineteenth century in the West was a period of intellectual and artistic fascination with the East, both distant and near: Asian and Eastern European. One of the regions that attracted the interest of Western Europeans was Styria, situated on the border separating Austria from Hungary and the Balkans, that is, the West from the East.

Borderland cultural phenomena stimulate the imagination as much as exotic phenomena. Both disturb with their hybrid character, which results from the mixing of elements from familiar and alien cultures. With their duality and ambiguity, borderlands are the source of the uncanny, which in the Western literature of the nineteenth century became the basic ingredient of the Western image of the Styrian lands.

Uncanny Styria was discovered by Basil Hall, a Scottish traveler who reported the impressions of his stay in this region in his 1830s travelogue *Schloss Hainfeld; or, a Winter in Lower Styria*. In the second half of the century, two Irishmen wrote about the uncanny Styrian borderland: Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu and Bram Stoker. Both associated Styria with vampirism: the former in the 1870s novella *Carmilla*, the latter in the 1890s short story *Dracula's Guest*.

The central thread that runs through all three texts is the decline of Styrian nobility. From Hall, it prompts expression of melancholy regret, accompanied by a sense of strangeness. In his work, the erosion of the culture of the nobility results from Styria's isolated location in the borderlands, as well as the destructive influences of modernity. Le Fanu balances the regret with horror, related to a different interpretation of decline as cultural regression. In Stoker's story, the terror intensifies with the sense that the regression that affects the province of Styria could extend to Western Europe.

NIESAMOWITA STYRIA

Streszczenie

Wiek XIX to na Zachodzie okres intelektualnej i artystycznej fascynacji Wschodem, zarówno tym dalekim (azjatyckim), jak i bliskim (wschodnioeuropejskim). Jednym z regionów, które cieszą się wówczas zainteresowaniem Zachodnioeuropejczyków, jest Styria, która leży na granicy oddzielającej Austrię od Węgier i Bałkanów, czyli Zachód od Wschodu.

Graniczne zjawiska kulturowe pobudzają wyobraźnię równie mocno co zjawiska egzotyczne. Niepokoją swoją hybrydycznością, która wynika z wymieszania pierwiastków kultury swojskiej i obcej. Graniczność z jej dwoistością i dwuznacznością stanowi źródło niesamowitości, która w zachodniej literaturze XIX wieku staje się podstawowym składnikiem zachodniego wyobrażenia styryjskiej krainy.

Niesamowitą Styrię odkrywa szkocki podróżnik Basil Hall, który w latach trzydziestych XIX wieku spisuje wrażenia z pobytu w tym regionie w podróżopisie *Schloss Hainfeld; or, a winter in Lower Styria*. W drugiej połowie rzeczonego stulecia niesamowitością pogranicza styryjskiego zajmują się dwaj Irlandczycy – Sheridan Le Fanu i Bram Stoker. Obydwaj kojarzą omawianą przestrzeń ze zjawiskiem wampiryzmu: pierwszy z nich w noweli *Carmilla* z lat siedemdziesiątych, drugi – w opowiadaniu *Dracula's guest* z lat dziewięćdziesiątych.

Wątkiem centralnym, który się przewija przez wymienione teksty, jest upadek styryjskiej szlachty. Hall wyraża z tego powodu melancholijny żal, któremu towarzyszy poczucie dziwności. Erozja kultury szlacheckiej wynika w jego utworze z granicznego i wyizolowanego położenia Styrii, a także destrukcyjnego wpływu nowoczesności. Le Fanu żal równoważy grozą związaną z odmienną interpretacją erozji, która oznacza regres kulturowy. W opowiadaniu Stokera groza nasila się w związku z przeczuciem, że wspomniany regres, który dotyka europejskiej prowincji, jaką jest Styria, mógłby rozszerzyć się na Europę Zachodnią.

The journey to an exotic country has been one of the most attractive themes in the European literature since its ancient beginnings. Some writers tell stories about imaginary lands, others visit distant places and report them in travelogues. This fascination with geographical and cultural exoticism intensified in the second half of the eighteenth century and persisted in the nineteenth century. At that time, it was rooted in the Enlightenment drive to develop a better knowledge of the world's diversity, then in the Romantic delight in otherness, which allowed people to free themselves from the restrictive standards of modern civilization. As Zdeněk Hrbata and Martin Procházka note, in those days information about exotic lands was mostly provided by British and French explorers. These travelers visited the Oriental countries and America, as well as the less-known regions of Europe, among which Italy and Spain were initially the most popular.[1]

Eastern Europe also attracted the attention of Western travelers and writers, although this geographical and cultural term was not yet in use.[2] Eastern Europe was a part of the broader East, whose boundaries in the Romantic imagination were not precisely defined. This is how Maria Piwińska defines this issue:

[1] Zdeněk Hrbata, Martin Procházka, *Romantismus a romantismy. Pojmy, proudy, kontexty* (Praha: Karolinum, 2005), 76–109.

[2] The concepts of Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and Central Europe came into use in the twentieth century, when the continent's political and geographical divisions from the First and Second World War became more acute. Although these divisions appeared earlier, beginning with the first half of the nineteenth century and in relation to the development of a new European order after the fall of Napoleon and the growing political significance of Russia.

> Therefore, the Romantic East had many forms. Also geographically. Sometimes it was located in Spain, sometimes in India, sometimes in the Crimea or in Germany, although it was fundamentally modeled on the Arab countries. Wherever these lands lay, you rode East to reach them, sinfully and symbolically.[3]

According to Mike Phillips, the image of Eastern Europe in the English-language literature of the nineteenth century was influenced by the legend of George Byron, who traveled to Albania and Greece in the first half of the century. Moreover, these expeditions were politically motivated as Byron supported the Greek anti-Ottoman uprising, and they were reflected in his literary works. At the end of the nineteenth century, Byron's vision of Eastern Europe was ultimately embodied in the novel *Dracula* (1897) by the Irishman Bram Stoker. This image prevailed in the West throughout the twentieth century, partly because it was often adapted in popular films.[4]

In Stoker's vision, the east of Europe is underdeveloped and, culturally, not fully European, because it was not sufficiently civilized and armed with the achievements of the Enlightenment. Only some of the eastern territories located in Central Europe like Bohemia were considered to be partly Europeanized at the time. These countries formed a broad cultural border between the West and the East, which then was identical to the limits of German culture's influence. German culture was to be a kind of bulwark of the enlightened European civilization.

In the nineteenth century, Eastern Europe was fairly reachable thanks to the development of the railway. As a result, this region became an increasingly common destination of romantic expeditions, although not all of its corners enjoyed the same popularity among Westerners, as this depended mainly on their remoteness and transport links. Many Western travelers only reached as far as the Eastern borderlands. These comprised the eastern border of the German cultural circle, and thus the areas where German culture permeated with other, predominantly Slavic culture.

One of these areas was Styria, inhabited by Germans and Slovenians. Today, the northern part of Styria belongs to Austria and the southern to Slovenia. From the thirteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century, Styria was the property of the Habsburg family and one of the bases for the Habsburg monarchy. In those days, beyond the eastern border of Styria was the Kingdom of Hungary (which included Croatia), since the sixteenth century part of the Habsburg empire with considerable separateness.

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[3] Maria Piwińska, *Złe wychowanie* (Gdańsk: słowo/obraz terytoria, 2005), 312. All quotations from languages other than English were translated by the author of the article.

[4] Mike Phillips, "Narratives of Desire – a Writer's Statement," in *Facing the East in the West. Images of Eastern Europe in British literature, film and culture*, eds. Barbara Korte, Eva Ulrike Pirker, Sissy Helff (Amsterdam–New York: Rodopi, 2010), 43.

In the sixteenth century, after conquering the Balkans, the Ottoman Turks occupied a large part of Hungary, including the capital of Buda. In the Western eyes, the Kingdom of Hungary then became an area of conflict between civilized (Christian) Europe and barbaric (Muslim) Asia, which now extended over the Balkans. Styria lies at the forefront of this unstable territory. In the nineteenth century, the Ottomans were no longer in Hungary – driven out in the early eighteenth century – and were gradually withdrawing from the Balkans, although they still controlled a large part of the area. However, the centuries-long Turkish occupation of the region made a permanent impression on its culture. That is why contemporary Western Europeans invariably regarded Styria as a borderland separating civilized Europe from the backward, half-Asian Balkans.

Styria thus had the status of a triple-border territory. Some of its inhabitants were Slovenian, Croatia extended south-east of the Styrian border, while Hungarians were then considered as exotic as the Slavs. That is, Styria bordered the Slavic lands, Hungary, and – through Croatia – the Balkans; therefore, indirectly Asia, which in the then was to begin in the Balkans. The perception of Styria as a borderland region was also determined by its separation from Western Europe by the Alps. Because of this, not many western Europeans ventured there. Styria was for them one of the unknown corners of the Habsburg empire.

The most comprehensive literary text devoted to this land originated under the pen of the Scottish traveler Basil Hall, *Schloss Hainfeld; or, a Winter in Lower Styria* (1836).[5] It is a Romantic travelogue, recording the writer's memories of his stay in the Styrian countryside, in the eponymous castle and its surroundings, that is, in the area south-east of Graz, near today's Austrian-Hungarian and Austrian-Slovenian borders. Hall traveled to the castle at the invitation of its owner – Countess Purgstall – who also originated from Scotland. She had married an Austrian aristocrat and inherited Hainfeld after his death along with the surrounding estates.

Hall stayed in Styria between September 1834 and March 1835. At first, the writer's attention was drawn to the countess' eccentricity. The most evident manifestation of this was an iron coffin, which the woman kept in the castle. The coffin was made of iron because the countess – a Protestant by religion – did not want her remains to touch the Catholic Styrian soil after her death. Countess Purgstall represents the model of a unique and lonely figure typical of Romanticism (her only son died shortly after her husband), condemned to live

[5] At the time, Styria is also mentioned by Western guidebooks covering Central Europe. An good example is Johann Georg Kohl's five-volume German guide *Hundert Tage auf Reisen in den österreichischen Staaten* (1842). Kohl covers Styria in the fifth volume. An abridged version of this guide was published a year later in English translation as *Austria. Vienna, Prague, Hungary, Bohemia, and the Danube; Galicia, Styria, Moravia, Bukovina, and the Military Frontier* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1843).

for the memories of the glorious past. The Romantic description of the castle's owner also included her chronic illness, which eventually led to her death.

In the subsequent chapters of the travelogue, Hall described the various components of the Styrian countryside, starting with the Hainfeld Castle and including details of its furnishings. It was a Renaissance building, courtly and designed for comfortable living. The Scottish traveler also visited two other castles nearby, empty and neglected, which had once belonged to the Purgstall family. The first of them, the Gothic Riegersburg, reminds Hall of the Edinburgh Castle. This comparison ennobles the Styrian building; monumental and located on a high rock. The following legend evidences Riegerburg's impressive appearance: when the Turks had invaded the Austrian lands in the past, the castle had made such an impression on them that they had not dared to attack it. This legend enhanced Styria's status, presenting it as part of the ancient bulwark of Christianity. Hall is also impressed by the Gothic Gleichenberg Castle, even though it was falling into disrepair faster than Riegersburg Castle. Hall presents all three Styrian castles against the background of the surrounding nature.

A castle integrated with the landscape is an iconic image in the Romantic historical prose, which praises the pre-modern times that had passed forever. In Hall's travelogue, the main feature of these castles is their spaciousness and rich furnishings which, however, comes with a sense of emptiness, because the buildings are hardly inhabited. They are remnants of a noble tradition, which is not as vigorous as it once was but left an indelible mark on the Styrian landscape. As Zdeněk Hrbata would say, they were both the monuments and the tombs of that tradition.[6]

Besides the castles, the Scottish traveler visited nearby cities: the capital of Styria (Graz) and Marburg (Maribor), the largest city of Upper Styria; although he describes these places superficially. Hall also mentions Laibach (Ljubljana) located in Kraina, adjacent to Styria, by citing the myth of Jason and the Argonauts who allegedly stayed there for some time. Hall devotes more attention to Styrian nature dominated by the Alps than to the cities, although he does not write at great length about the mountains. Hall's travelogue only marginally belongs to the trend of the affirmation of the Alps, initiated in the Enlightenment and continued by the Romantics. For the Romantics, according to Jacek Woźniakowski, the Alps were mountains which "could impress the imagination with their tremendous size, because it was generally affected by huge things; they could also surprise with new views; and even if somebody was insensitive to these attributes, the terror that they could evoke, could perhaps turn for

[6] Zdeněk Hrbata, "Hrady a jejích zříceniny," in Daniela Hodrová, Zdeněk Hrbata, Marie Kubínová, Vladimír Macura, *Poetika míst. Kapitoly z literární tematologie* (Praha: H&H, 1997), 28, 31; Zdeněk Hrbata, *Romantismus a Čechy. Témata a symboly v literárních a kulturních souvislostech* (Jinočany: H&H, 1999), 34, 35, 40.

a careful traveler into an enjoyable experience of agreeable horror."[7] Such were the reactions evoked by the Swiss Alps. Hall was the first traveler-writer who directed his attention to the Styrian Alps.

In Hall's text, Styria is characterized by picturesque wild nature that surrounds the monuments of old and the dying noble culture exemplified by depopulating castles. Deprived of the possibility of close and invigorating contact with the Western world due to its geographical isolation, Styrian culture deteriorated; not to mention that it declined also under the pressure of historical change. The decline of the house of Purgstall was also facilitated by modern barbarism, that is, the Napoleonic wars in which Count Purgstall died; in 1811, in French captivity, when his health deteriorated. The proximity of culturally different, half-barbarian Hungarians also did not help to sustain the traditional culture of the nobility.

The proximity of the Hungarian border (three hours by carriage from Hainfeld Castle) was one of the biggest attractions for the Scottish author. Hall traveled to the other side of the border, where he witnessed the exotic, to him, Hungarian customs. Hall presents Hungarians as a nation subject to cultural regression. Many Hungarian aristocrats abandoned the lifestyle of the nobility and were involved in mundane occupations. According to Hall, Hungarian peasants are also bad as they are capable of rebellion so could be dangerous. Hall recounts a story he heard about rebellious peasants hanged in the north of Hungary, near the border with Poland; though unconsciously, Hall most likely writes about Slovaks who were then treated by both Hungarians and Western Europeans as Hungarian Highlanders, not as a separate nation.

Hall describes Hungarian culture as partially backward and degenerated, but also exotic and interesting, to contrast it with German culture that reminds him of Anglo-Saxon culture and, thus, is to present a traditionally high level of civilization. To confirm his opinions, Hall references the names of eminent German writers, such as Gottfried August Bürger and Friedrich Schiller, whom he considers equal to Walter Scott. Moreover, German customs mostly corresponded to Anglo-Saxon customs. However, Hall has some reservations (especially concerning the standard of accommodation in Austria), which are to demonstrate – despite everything else – a cultural backwardness of the Germans in relation to the Anglo-Saxons. Such comments befit Hall's tendency to constantly compare different aspects of Styrian culture with Western European culture.

Interestingly, Hall does not mention the Styrian Slavs (Slovenes) who then mostly belonged to the lower social class. This lack testifies not so much to Hall's knowledge – that he only received from observation and information from the Countess – but of the attitude of the Styrian Germans toward the Slovenes.

[7] Jacek Woźniakowski, "Góry niewzruszone. O różnych wyobrażeniach przyrody w dziejach nowożytnej kultury europejskiej," in idem, *Pisma wybrane*, vol. 2 (Kraków: Universitas, 2011), 209.

Apparently, the Styrian Germans did not treat the Slovenes as a different ethnic group, but as peasants who used a Slavic dialect between themselves and otherwise were not culturally different from the German-speaking population. We may assume that the Countess' remark about the mentality of the local peasants referred to the Slovenes: "The people resemble their oxen – they are diligent and docile."[8]

Hall concludes his notes about Styria with the news of the death and funeral of the Countess of Purgstall, although he devotes the last chapter qua epilogue to something else, namely the former friendship of the Countess with Walter Scott. In this way, the writer elevates the status of his hostess, presenting her as an heiress of a great cultural tradition. The reference to Scott signifies a return to undisputed, timeless values. It is also an expression of faith in a tradition that is dying in the Styrian countryside, but in its bastion – the British Isles – remains alive.

The characteristic emotion that runs through the entirety of Hall's story is the melancholy associated with the transience of nobility's culture. In this case, transience means not so much the disintegration of nobility's culture but the loss of its former role. Such an understanding of melancholy is proposed by Wojciech Bałus, who claims that people feel melancholy when the world around them begins to lose its meaning and becomes more and more undefined and undifferentiated.[9] In Hall's work, this process appears irreversible, and such that could only be passively observed, which is what Countess Purgstall is doing, while her melancholic mood influences Hall. This is how he writes about the Riegensburg Castle:

> The most melancholy thing of all in such places, is the cold air of desolation which reigns in the empty halls, the total want of use for the magnificent apartments, and the mixture of splendour and shabbiness, of past wealth and present poverty, which implies that the abode has changed from high hands to low ones.[10]

The melancholic sense of loss is connected with the conviction that – according to Bałus – "the shattered world cannot be rebuilt in the same shape."[11] But melancholy also brings a certain pleasure that results from the distance people acquire toward the reality that is losing its meaning. Bałus explains that this distance can have a metaphysical dimension: "separation puts the world at a remove and allows it to be stripped of hierarchical order, giving a certain insight into the metaphysical depth of being, into the fact that things are not what they externally appear."[12]

[8] Basil Hall, *Schloss Hainfeld; or, a Winter in Lower Styria* (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1836), 11.

[9] Wojciech Bałus, "Melancholia a nihilism," *Znak*, no. 6 (1994): 68–70.

[10] Basil Hall, op. cit., 54.

[11] Wojciech Bałus, op. cit., 74.

[12] Ibidem, 71.

Therefore, melancholy contains a longing for a world of higher values, for a meaning that remains hidden.[13]

In Hall's work, melancholy accompanies the experience of strangeness caused by the alienation of the local culture of the nobility from the Western European civilization. The feeling of strangeness is the reaction to the uncanny, which – according to its most widespread and generalized understanding derived from Freudian psychoanalysis – means the blurring of the difference between what is familiar and what is alien.[14] In other words, what is familiar is culturally tamed, while the alien describes the most primitive aspects of nature, independent of cultural control, thus excluded by culture from human consciousness, though not from life in general. Hence, the alien returns at times of weakening control, disturbing the familiar order. This moment is the quintessence of the uncanny. The most obvious example of this phenomenon is the dead human body, that is the body that nature took over, partly pulling it out from the cultural context of its previous existence.

In Hall's work, Styria appears as superficially familiar because it is rooted in Western tradition. At the same time, it acquires alien features in relation to its liminal cultural location. The impression of the strangeness of this area is enhanced by the coexistence of spatial and temporal liminality. In Hall's travelogue, Styrian culture exists between its glorious past and a decrepit present. The times of nobility's glory already passed, but modernity has not yet arrived in this forgotten backwater. Besides, Hall does not view modernity as positive. He only mentions its destructive manifestations, such as the Napoleonic wars or the crisis of the feudal caste society in Hungary.

"Carmilla" (1871–1872)[15] by the Irish writer Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu is another English-language work devoted to the image of Styria as a space of the uncanny, although it represents a different literary genre than Hall's text. Le Fanu's is a vampire story, which affects the way in which the Styrian cultural area is presented. Moreover, Le Fanu's Gothic novella appeared thirty years after Hall's travelogue. However, the former grows out of the same romantic interest in the less known corners of Europe. Besides aesthetic differences and similarities between the two works, we should also remember Matthew Gibson's assumption that it was probably the reading of the aforementioned travelogue that inspired Le Fanu to set the story in Styria, which he never visited.[16]

[13] Ibidem, 73.

[14] Sigmund Freud, "Niesamowite," in idem, *Dzieła*, vol. III: *Pisma psychologiczne*, trans. Robert Reszke (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo KR, 1997), 233–262.

[15] First published in four consecutive issues (December 1871–March 1872) of the monthly *The Dark Blue*. Shortly thereafter, "Carmilla" appeared in Sheridan Le Fanu's collection of five stories *In a Glass Darkly* (1872).

[16] Matthew Gibson, *Dracula and the Eastern question: British and French Vampire Narratives of the Nineteenth-Century Near East* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 58.

Le Fanu's image of Styria agrees with Hall's vision. Le Fanu created a picture of an underpopulated, wild, and picturesque land. The life continues in the local castle and its surroundings in close proximity to the disintegration of nearby castle ruins, abandoned village, and decaying cemetery. However, Le Fanu intensifies the uncanny evoked by the Styrian countryside by transforming the strangeness, which in Hall's text results from the progressive decline of the local culture, into horror personified by the vampire – the eponymous Carmilla – who preys on young girls. Vampirism is a symbiosis of contradictory qualities, above all vitality and deadness, but also – in the Romantic version – of aristocratism and primitivism, which in Le Fanu's novella becomes the strongest expression of the disturbance in the separation between the familiar and the alien.

Le Fanu emphasizes the borderland (liminal) nature of Styria to a greater extent than Hall, by defining it in different cultural terms. In Hall's travelogue, Styria's definitely belongs to the German culture, whereas Le Fanu includes it in a wider context of vampirism as a phenomenon originating from Eastern Europe: "You have heard, no doubt, of the appalling superstition that prevails in Upper and Lower Styria, in Moravia, Silesia, in Turkish Serbia, in Poland, even in Russia; the superstition, so we must call it, of the Vampire."[17]

Like Hall, Le Fanu outlines the social structure of the Styrian population by devoting most attention to nobility. Both writers describe the region from a perspective of English-language aristocrats; the main characters of the discussed works originate from the British Isles. Apart from Hall as the narrator, there is also his Scottish compatriot – the Countess of Purgstall – while in "Carmilla" the main character and the narrator is Laura, whose father was an Englishman while her mother a German woman from Styria.

In Le Fanu's work, the cosmopolitan character of the nobility is more prominent. Laura's castle is also inhabited by a French governess and a Swiss nanny, while the people surrounding Carmilla include a black woman. In this way, Le Fanu emphasizes the distance between the characters and the space around them. The space has not been fully tamed by the characters, which magnifies the threat that enters the castle from that space. Understandably, near the castle live German-speaking Styrians, but the story also mentions a hunchbacked magician who speaks only a little German and French, which would suggest that he is neither a Styrian German nor well-educated, thus may be of Slovenian origin.

Unlike Hall, Le Fanu does not specify the exact location of the events. Graz is the only name of an existing place used in Le Fanu story. It is known that Laura's castle is ten miles from Graz. Other local names, such as the Karnstein Castle or the Drunstall guest house, have no equivalents on the map and perhaps were invented by Le Fanu.

[17] Sheridan Le Fanu, "Carmilla," in *Carmilla by Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu. A Critical Edition*, ed. Kathleen Costello-Sullivan (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2013), 91.

Why did Le Fanu set his vampire tale in Styria and not another region of Europe? It is not just a question of the supposed influence of Hall's travelogue. Since the eighteenth century, the opinion that the belief in vampirism was a phenomenon typical of Eastern Europe had been developing in the West. From the Western point of view, both Central Europe and the Balkans belonged to Eastern Europe. This belief was adopted by the Romantics.

Vesna Goldsworthy points out that Gothic prose, including vampire stories, usually occurs in a liminal space, where the culturally familiar meets the alien. That is why the storylines of Gothic tales usually unfold in backward regions of Europe or in European borderlands. According to Goldsworthy, Le Fanu also followed the liminality principle when choosing Austria – a relatively familiar region from the western point of view – and specifically Styria, a relatively poor and sparsely populated borderland and gateway to the Balkans.[18]

Liminal space is more disturbing than completely alien space because the foreignness of the latter is clearly differentiated from the familiar and as such does not directly threaten our sense of identity, while liminality has a hybrid character – partly familiar, partly alien – and thus makes us question the integrity of identity. In the Romantic vision, the vampire is a hybrid phenomenon by its very nature: both human and animal, aristocratic and primitive; therefore, it fits well in the liminal space; it is its product.

In the first Romantic vampire stories like Johann Wolfgang Goethe's ballad "Die Braut von Korinth" (The Bride from Corinth; 1798) and John Polidori's story "The Vampyre" (1819),[19] the liminal space is Greece, which exists between the Christian and Muslim worlds, between the ancient past and the modern present. However, subsequent authors of horror fiction look for new locations for their stories. Styria works in this role because of its location on the border between the West and the East and as a region unknown in the West because of its remoteness; as it is cut off from the West by the Alps.

According to Matthew Gibson, "Carmilla" might have also been set in Styria because of the internal division of the Habsburg monarchy that happened at the time, which resulted in the creation of Austria-Hungary. That division occurred in 1867, that is, just a few years before Le Fanu's work. Gibson suspects that this political event that created anxiety in the West about the stability of Central Europe could have worried Le Fanu and drew his attention to the region. Moreover, Gibson argues that Vampirism in "Carmilla" is to be

[18] Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven––London: Yale University Press, 1998), 76.

[19] The poem *Vampire* (*Der Vampir*, 1748) by Heinrich August Ossenfelder is considered to be the first literary work devoted to vampirism. In this work, the belief in vampires is allusively attributed to Hungarians. The vampire motif also episodically occurs in George Byron's poem *The Giaour* (1813), set in Greece.

a symbolic expression of this instability and testifies to the reactionary political views of the writer.[20]

Carmilla enters into lesbian relationships with girls in the neighborhood to feed on their blood.[21] Stephen Arata believes that her vampiric tendencies illustrate the aristocratic decadence that consists of increasingly sensual and consumerist attitude to life.[22] However, one can view the vampire's behavior differently by noticing in it not a manifestation of aristocratism but, on the contrary, its denial, related to the influence of modernity that corrupts the culture of the nobility. From this perspective, Carmilla is a modern emancipated woman who contests the foundations of nobility's order: patriarchy, conservatism, religion. Her predatory insidious behavior is anti-cultural. In this interpretation, modernity does not signify cultural progress but regression, which consists in a return to the original, natural impulses. Vampirism symbolizes modern barbarism hidden under the mask of liberalism.

Thus, Carmilla the vampire foretells the cultural degeneration of the nobility, which in modern times must fight for survival, which requires it to be more aggressive and adapt to modern rules instituted by lower social classes. In such conditions, the noble blood gets corrupted, which in Le Fanu's novel means its mixing with the vampire blood, barbaric due to its partly non-human origin. This mixing prolongs the aristocrats' life since Carmilla died prematurely but can come back to life as a vampire and live forever. However, it simultaneously destroys traditional virtues as vampirism turns Carmilla into a predator, for whom satisfying her hunger is the most important goal.

Such a vision of the nobility is not new in Western literature. Carol A. Senf remarks that the characters in traditional Gothic novels are often aristocrats who evoke terror. They appear this way because at beginning in the 18th century they began losing their long-standing role in the society. That is, the nobility no longer defends the society in wars and crises but – as a relic of feudalism – poses a threat to the modern social order. Hence why, in the nineteenth century, the nobility appears doomed to extinction and predatory.[23]

Thanks to Le Fanu's novel, Styria briefly had the chance to gain the status that Transylvania has today: to be considered the homeland of vampirism. However, that did not happen, because in 1897 Bram Stoker published the most famous among the vampire novels: Dracula. However, "Carmilla" remains a part of the vampire fiction canon. Under its influence, Stoker initially intended

[20] Matthew Gibson, op. cit., 44.

[21] The lesbian motif in *Carmilla* is described in more detail by Maria Janion, *Wampir. Biografia symboliczna* (Gdańsk: słowo/obraz terytoria, 2004), 184–189.

[22] Stephen Arata, *Fictions of Loss in the Victorian Fin de Siècle: Identity and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 114.

[23] Carol A. Senf, *Bram Stoker* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), 80.

to set the events of *Dracula* in Styria, as evidenced by the corrections in the manuscript of the novel.[24] However, Stoker changed his original intent after he decided that Transylvania would be a more attractive location for Dracula's castle.

Stoker's previous interest in Styria is also evidenced by his story "Dracula's Guest," published two years after the writer's death – in 1914 – in a collection of three short stories *Dracula's Guest and Other Weird Stories*. The story was created in the 1890s. Scholars of Stoker's work claim that the piece originated as the initial section of *Dracula*, removed later by the author during editing.[25]

"Dracula's Guest" tells the story of a journey by *Dracula's* protagonist, Jonathan Harker, from Munich to an abandoned nearby village, where he finds himself in a cemetery on Walpurgis Night. There, Harker comes across the tomb of Countess Dolingen of Graz. The rest of the text has a phantasmagoric character. The weather gets worse, a blizzard blows, and it seems to Harker that the countess comes out of her tomb. Then, he is attacked by a wolf (a werewolf?), which is eventually scared off by soldiers who arrive at the cemetery.

The Styrian motif in this story boils down to the vampire countess who, for reasons unknown, was buried far away from her native lands. Stoker's creation of such character – just like Le Fanu's earlier Carmilla – expresses the fear about nobility's degeneration in modern times. In both works, the regression of the noble culture is also expressed more literally: by associating the vampire aristocrat with an animal. Carmilla can turn into a cat, countess Dolingen – into a wolf.

Stoker places Styria at a farther distance from the West than Le Fanu. The former does not even call Styria by its name. It is only referenced by the name of its capital: Graz. Apart from that, it remains an undefined region. The vampire who originated from Styria appears in Bavaria. In this way, the significance of the border separating the civilized West from the barbarous East appears weakened. Vampirism that originated from the East now penetrates the West, causing its estrangement. In connection with such an approach to the uncanny, another concern can be noticed in the examined story, one that Stoker expresses more clearly in *Dracula*: the fear of an influx of emigrants from Eastern Europe to the West and the resulting threat to the identity of the Western culture. In *Dracula*, this fear is illustrated by the Transylvanian vampire traveling to London in an attempt to settle and prey on the English.

The central thread that runs through all three texts is the decline of the Styrian nobility. From Hall, it evokes an expression of melancholic regret underlined

[24] Bram Stoker, *Bram Stoker's Notes for Dracula: A Fascimile Edition*, eds. Robert Eighteen-Bisang, Elizabeth Miller (Jefferson–London: McFareland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2008), 4, 15, 17, 29, 31, 33, 277, 318, 319.

[25] Ibidem, 278.

with a sense of strangeness. In Hall's work, the erosion of the nobility culture results from Styria's isolated location in the borderlands, as well as the destructive influence of modernity. Le Fanu balances the regret with horror related to a different interpretation of decline, which is not to mean death but the regression of culture. In Stoker's story, the terror intensifies with the sense that the regression affecting the European province of Styria could extend to Western Europe. The seriousness of this foreboding is evidenced in "Dracula's Guest" by the fact that – unlike in "Carmilla" – it is not a group of aristocrats that fight the vampire but soldiers.

According to the psychoanalytic concept of the uncanny, applied in the cultural context, such description of the condition of the Styrian nobility could be interpreted as a reflection of collective fears that arose in Western Europeans in response to the nineteenth-century modernization of social life, including the middle classes assuming political power that previously belonged to the nobility; not to mention a response to geopolitical changes, especially in Eastern Europe. The negative effects of these phenomena appear in the above works as if they only affected Eastern Europe. Psychoanalysis suggests that these phenomena are repressed in literary fiction, pushed out from the West to the East in order to relieve the fear among Western readers. However, the fear is slightly different in each of the analyzed texts. Hall is afraid of the nobility losing its power while Stoker fears the return of the fallen nobility to power in a world already ruled by the middle class. Le Fanu occupies an intermediate position: in his story, the nobility overcomes the degeneration of its environment by the advent of modernity.

Styria's status changes in these works in parallel with the change in the attitudes towards the problem of the position of the nobility in the modern world. It ceases to be a subject of a melancholy reflection, underlined by a sense of strangeness, as it is in Hall's travelogue, and becomes a source of horror, as in the stories by Le Fanu and Stoker. Thus, Styria is removed from the West and adjoined to the East, where the opposition between barbarism and nobility transforms into an equivalence of these qualities[26] – symbolically expressed by vampirism.

[26] Aristocracy is also set aside barbarism in Matthew Arnold's 1869 *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism*. Arnold devotes the essay to the condition of nineteenth-century English society. However, the comparison between aristocrats and barbarians proposed by Arnold is neutral and, in some contexts, even positive. Arnold understands barbarity as the culture of the nobility, derived from the culture of the barbarians who brought down the Roman Empire. Therefore, Arnold's barbarity means traditional elitism that stands out against the background of the culture of two other, lower social classes of the nineteenth century: the bourgeoisie (whose representatives Arnold calls "philistines") and the commoners. Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy. An Essay in Political and Social Criticism* (London: Smith. Elder & Co., 1869), 93–125.

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BETWEEN APPROPRIATION AND RIVALRY: SOME REMARKS ON THE CONCEPT OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPE IN RECENT ANGLO-AMERICAN AND GERMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Keywords: East Central Europe, Europe, historiography, memory, mental map
Słowa kluczowe: Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia, Europa, historiografia, pamięć, mapa mentalna

S u m m a r y

The present article follows some arguments that define East Central Europe on the fundament of a carefully selected choice of synthetically relevant literature, which shaped, profiled, and modified the discussion on the spatial-historical concept of East Central Europe in the last twenty-five years in English and German language. The article's structure has the following three sections:

- European Patterns and Differentiated Functions (Wandycz),
- Expanding Concepts and Decentralized Perspectives: The Turn of the Millennia (Longworth, Johnson, Bideleux/Jeffries, Niederhauser, Roth),
- Common Patterns and Linking Memory: Two Recent Examples (Puttkamer, Bahlcke/Rhode-wald/Wünsch).

With the intention to correspond to the present volume's fundamental concept and main task, the article and its summary discuss whether there happened a shift from appropriation to rivalry in historiographical operationalization of the term "East Central Europe" in the last decades.

MIĘDZY ZAWŁASZCZENIEM A RYWALIZACJĄ: KILKA UWAG NA TEMAT POJĘCIA EUROPY ŚRODKOWO-WSCHODNIEJ W NAJNOWSZEJ HISTORIOGRAFII ANGLO-AMERYKAŃSKIEJ I NIEMIECKIEJ

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Na podstawie wyboru relewantnej literatury w artykule przedstawiono założenia, które stały się podstawą definiowania Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej. Prześledzono w pracach opublikowanych w języku angielskim i niemieckim w ostatnich dwudziestu pięciu latach argumenty, które

ukształtowały, sprofilowały i zmodyfikowały dyskusję na temat przestrzennej i historycznej koncepcji Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej. W strukturze artykułu wyodrębniono następujące trzy sekcje: (1) Europejskie wzorce i zróżnicowane funkcje pojęcia Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej (Wandycz); (2) Rozszerzanie koncepcji Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej i zdecentralizowane perspektywy wypracowane po 1989 roku (Longworth, Johnson, Bideleux/Jeffries, Niederhauser, Roth); (3) Popularne modele Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej oraz jednoczące role pamięci (Puttkamer, Bahlcke/Rhodewald/Wünsch). Odnosząc się do pytań leżących u podstaw koncepcji tego numeru, Autor rozważa kwestie związane z przejściem od „przywłaszczenia" do „rywalizacji" w operowaniu terminem „Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia" w historiografii w ostatnich dziesięcioleciach.

When arguing in favor of operationalizing *East Central Europe* as a spatial concept for historiographic purposes, we must cope with two main subjects of the present publication. Like each historiographic construct, East Central Europe represents an *appropriation*, which simultaneously is also characterized by tendencies of *rivalry*, mainly in terms of inclusion and exclusion. This matter can be condensed to the questions: Who considers whom to be East Central European? How diverse populations coexist(ed) in and coinhabit(ed) comparably small areas? This article follows some arguments on defining East Central Europe based on a carefully selected choice of synthetically relevant literature, which shaped, profiled, and modified the discussion in the last twenty-five years in English and German language; therefore, represent examples of foreigners' perceptions and attributions. The choice is in no way complete as – except for section three – it mainly considers synthesizing works of concise (one-volume) scope.

When defining the use of the term of East Central Europe in this text, we must make two pragmatic distinctions. East Central Europe is distinguished from *Eastern Europe*, which mainly characterizes the part of Europe situated east of Germany and Italy in its respective historical formations. In that respect, Eastern Europe indicates the non-German and the non-Roman, hence mainly (but not exclusively) Slavic Europe. This text avoids the term *Central Europe* if possible due to its German-imperial connotation, which would focus on the German-speaking world and at least some of its eastern neighbors. Furthermore, some authors (including myself) distinguish East Central Europe from *Southeastern Europe*, which is contrasted to East Central Europe by geographical (mountains, sea) and climatic (mild seasonal transitions) features and a clearly evident historical reference to antiquity (ancient Greece, Rome).

The starting point for the discussion may be the perspective of Habsburg-Austrian officer's son and Polish historian Oskar Halecki. His definition of the notion dates back to the 1950s publications *Borderlands of Western Civilization* and *The Limits and Divisions of European History*, being considered as crucial

for the historical definition of East Central Europe in recent surveys and overviews in print as well as on the internet.[1] Halecki views the region and its history mainly as characterized by structural features like poly-ethnicity and corporative(-noble) liberty. When speaking of the medieval and early modern period, Halecki stresses the second serfdom and the governments of the Jagellonians and Habsburgs as main criteria, whereas during the nineteenth century he sees the region characterized by Austro-Hungarian (Habsburgs), Russian (Romanovs), and Prussian/German (Hohenzollern) government. In opposition to that kind of foreign domination, the regions and societies of East Central Europe developed nationalisms mostly linked to ethnicity and language. For the twentieth century, Halecki considers the region to be dominated mainly by the – indirect or direct – influence of fascisms and authoritarianisms, especially National Socialism and Communism.

This discussion about the inner structure of Europe – and the discussion about the definition of East Central Europe – received new impulses more than fifteen years after Halecki's death, with the opening of the Iron Curtain in 1989.

1. European Patterns and Differentiated Functions: Piotr Wandycz

Piotr Wandycz's *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1992) can be considered paradigmatic for the concept of East Central Europe immediately after the transformation of 1989. Born in Poland, educated in France, the United Kingdom, and the USA, Wandycz published this synthesis in the immediate aftermath of 1989's events and changes. His main attempt was to introduce East Central Europe to USA readers, mostly uninformed about Europe in general and even less about its regional discourses. With focus on the contemporary – or at least twentieth century – references, Wandycz stresses that both World Wars and the Cold War began in East Central Europe.[2] In terms of geopolitical connections and tensions, he unequivocally refers to the understanding of Europe between West and East and shapes his flexible definition of the region based on historically shifting political-administrative borders. Maybe it is Wandycz's Atlantic perspective that inspired his definition of the region exclusively on seas and, thereby, linked his approach to a vividly discussed

[1] https://ome-lexikon.uni-oldenburg.de/begriffe/ostmitteleuropa/, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ostmitteleuropa (acc. 9.01.2019); also, vide Christoph Augustynowicz, *Geschichte Ostmitteleuropas – Ein Abriss* (Wien: new academic press, 2014), 24–32.

[2] Piotr Wandycz, *The Price of Freedom. A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2001), 1.

concept in Polish historiography. Accordingly, Wandycz's East Central Europe matches the territory between the Baltic Sea, the Adriatic Sea, the Aegean Sea, and the Black Sea.

Wandycz explicitly stresses that Europe's (rather mental) division into *the west* and *the east* is comparably new. During the eighteenth century, it superseded the continent's long term-dichotomy of *the south* and *the north* as characterizing the antagonism of the civilized Mediterranean south and the barbaric (continental) north. For example, the Enlightenment scholar August Ludwig Schlözer still in 1771 understood the history of Russia and East Central Europe explicitly as *Northern History*. Wandycz claims that in the period of Soviet Dominance during the second half of the twentieth century it were the political--pragmatic necessities that urged the opponents of Soviet-domination in East Central European societies to look to the east and reinvent and revitalize the claim of being situated in the center of Europe. To that end, they implemented the term *Central Europe* as intended to avoid imperial-aggressive tendencies, since the term *Mitteleuropa* had been used by the German politician and pastor Friedrich Naumann during the First World War to articulate the claims of German economic and political hegemony over its eastern neighbors.[3]

A paradigm of historical discussion added by Wandycz to the discussion about defining East Central Europe in an extension of Halecki's definition surfaces in the former's demarcation of centers and (semi-)peripheries according to the criteria introduced by world-system theorist Immanuel Wallerstein. Wandycz assigns those categories independently of the west-east paradigm, thus providing not only a further spatial differentiation of East Central Europe but also its integration into common European patterns. He stresses the necessity to differentiate with regards to functions in history. On the one hand, there is no doubt that East Central Europe can be evaluated as semi-periphery in terms of economic matters; on the other hand, however, the region provided impulses that can be charged as central from a perspective of cultural history. As examples, Wandycz indicates the Hussite movement in Bohemia in the early fifteenth century (which can be seen as proto-reformation more than a century before Luther) or the ideas of liberalism and constitutionalism in Poland and Hungary at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He stresses the ignorance toward these impulses in western approach to be the main deficit in the perception of East Central Europe. Hence, the west and the east were, are, and remain more than spatial indicators. They are vectors in claims of progressiveness and demarcations against backwardness, they fundamentally contribute to drawing the collective *mental map* of Europe.

[3] Lonnie R. Johnson, *Central Europe. Enemies, Neighbors, Friends* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 165ff.

Wandycz stresses the following characteristics of his definition of East Central Europe:[4]

- Adaptation of Western cultural models during tenth-century Christianization that resulted in comparatively delayed cultural development within Europe.
- Insistence on agrarian structures; since the sixteenth century, Western regions simultaneously developed proto-industrial models (the exception of Bohemia).
- Discrepancy between socio-economic structures and institutional developments that resulted in a growing gap between the elites and the masses, lack of a middle class, and negative self-perception in regard to the deficit of modernization.
- Frictions during nation-building caused by persistence of ethnoreligious heterogeneity.
- Instability of borders until the twentieth century.
- Interruptions and discontinuities in terms of statehood.
- Affiliation to extensive, transregional, and transnational[5] agglomerations of government, whose coherence was provided by dynasties (empires); symbolic struggle against foreign domination and the socio-economic distinctness of the peasant population.
- Presence of and interaction with German and Jewish population on a large scale, functional centers of Judaism.
- Concentrated and intensified transregional history, a "laboratory"[6] for social systems.

Despite all discussions and differentiations, Wandycz permits no doubt about his own conceptual position. In continuation of Halecki's argumentation, Wandycz views Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland as members of the Western civilization by convincingly stating, that all of so-called Western Europe's major structural changes and impacts (the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and Industrial Revolution) influenced the regio; even more, they were co-developed by East Central Europe and its members.

[4] Piotr Wandycz, op. cit., 6–11.

[5] For more on transnationality as the fundamental element of the concept of East Central Europe, compare the most recent collection of articles *Handbuch einer transnationalen Geschichte Ostmitteleuropas. Band I. Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, ed. Frank Hadler and Matthias Middell (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017).

[6] Piotr Wandycz, op. cit., 10.

2. Expanding Concepts and Decentralized Perspectives: The Turn of the Millenia

The high importance of the idea of East Central Europe and the necessity to discuss Europe's historical and mental demarcations in the decade after 1989 is accompanied by a peak of historical syntheses in western languages released during that time, most of them in English. Several of them were even re-released after a rather short time. For example, Philip Longworth in his book *The Making of Eastern Europe* (London: Palgrave, 1992; several times modified and reprinted; in 1997 with the subtitle *From Prehisory to Postcommunism*) uses a chronologically regressive narrative, beginning in the present and telling history into the past. He traces the history of a generously defined Eastern Europe (including the Southeast) back to the transfer of the Roman Empire's capital from Rome to Constantinople in 324. Using a rather static concept, Longworth simplifies Eastern Europe as the "frontier dividing Charlemagne's Europe from the barbarian east."[7] Lonnie R. Johnson's *Central Europe. Enemies, Neighbors, Friends* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1996, 2011) presents an even more extensive understanding of Central Europe. Austria and Germany as, respectively, the Holy Roman Empire, the German Confederation, and the German Empire in the west and parts of Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina in the south are explicitly integrated in Johnson's notion of Central Europe.[8] He argues for a strong demarcation in the east by focusing on the idea of (East) Central Europe as the "Bulwark of Christendom."[9] Besides that, Johnson follows the tried and tested concept of historically-politically shifting borders. Going back to the fourth century like Longworth, Johnson establishes a chronological-topical structure that follows common European criteria: the Middle Ages, the Reformation and Counterreformation, absolutism and the Enlightenment, the national period, the twentieth century as indicated by the World Wars.

At the turn of the millennia, there emerges a historiographical tendency to perceive as one spatial unit: East Central Europe and the more Mediterranean--mountainous and rather Ottoman region of Southeastern Europe; in many respects, an effort already done by Halecki. For instance, *A History of Eastern Europe. Crisis and Change* (London: Routledge, 1998, 2007) by Robert Bideleux and Ian Jeffries impresses readers by extensively elaborating in their introduction the concepts that spatially shape and structure Europe from a historical perspective.[10] Subsequently, the authors treat East Central Europe and

[7] Philip Longworth, *The Making of Eastern Europe* (Basingstoke/London: Macmillan, 1992), 8.

[8] Lonnie R. Johnson, *Central Europe. Enemies, Neighbors, Friends*, V.

[9] Ibidem, 64ff.

[10] Robert Bideleux, Ian Jeffries, *A History of Eastern Europe. Crisis and Change* (London: Routledge, 1998), 8–34.

Southeastern Europe as explicitly separate until the end of the nineteenth century. The political events are profoundly integrated into the social and economic background here. They trace Southeastern Europe back to the Greek--Roman period, whereas East Central Europe emerges with the seventh century; thus, the reference to antiquity becomes the main difference between the two regions. Concerning chronology, Bideleux and Jeffries replace the convention of periods by the key question: How East Central Europe's distance to the West changed? Again, the narrative follows the frames of governmental agglomerations (empires), that is Austria and the Habsburg Monarchy, Poland--Lithuania and the Polish territories. Much space is given to the year 1848 and, thereby, the issue of nation-building. Bideleux and Jeffries provide an integration of both regions (East Central Europe and Southeastern Europe) only in the twentieth century by a rather conventional division into the interwar period and the Second World War, the period of communism, and the time after the fall of the Iron Curtain.

A History of Eastern Europe since the Middle Ages by Emil Niederhauser (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003) disclaims such diversified spatial--chronological categories and integrates even the history of Russia. Hence, Niederhauser foregrounds the eighteenth century as the age of stabilization instead of decline – as the Polish-Lithuanian case would suggest – with the second half of the twentieth century exclusively viewed from the Soviet Union's perspective with regards to its figuration and expansion, its functioning and demise. Niederhauser operates on a wide scale of topics by considering economic factors along with political and social indicators; quite astonishing with his rather short bibliography.[11] It seems, that the majority of the syntheses above[12] devote many pages to the twentieth century, sometimes rather urgently and even artificially searching for parallels in the earlier epochs.

Studienhandbuch Östliches Europa edited by Harald Roth (Vol. 1; Stuttgart: UTB, 1999, 2009) follows a different approach than the examples presented so far, because it replaces the chronological structure with a topical and spatial approach. After considering the common characteristics of the region (historiography, borders, structure, political culture, society, religions, confessions, historical anthropology), Roth and his team design the historical regions of East Central Europe, Southeastern Europe, and – rather exceptionally – Northeastern Europe. Afterward, they attend to regions, states, and transregional ethnical and religious groups in detail. This work succeeds in decentralizing the perspective

[11] Emil Niederhauser, *A History of Eastern Europe since the Middle Ages* (Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 2003), 459ff.

[12] Vide Lonnie R. Johnson, *Central Europe. Enemies, Neighbors, Friends*; Robert Bideleux, Ian Jeffries, *A History of Eastern Europe*; Emil Niederhauser, *A History of Eastern Europe*.

by taking into account not only (national) states but also telling the histories and showing the perspectives of smaller regions.

The works discussed so far represent the most recent overviews in that several of them were republished, some even revised and supplemented.

3. Common Patterns and Linking Memory: Two Recent Examples

Even more recent and strongly focused interests come from two results of German research. The first is Joachim von Puttkamer's *Ostmitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (East Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Century; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), who mainly attempts to countersign national historiographies' claims of particular East Central European for (national) exceptionalism or "exceptional path." Von Puttkamer stresses two common features of the East Central European region: the breaking of the corporative estate system by absolutism and the persistent social dominance of nobility. He claims that the latter developed into what a nobility corporate reform movement of the late eighteenth century that sought to link corporate-noble liberty with royal authority to establish constitutional statehood. According to Puttkamer, the noble elites's consensus in actively resisting absolutistic and mostly foreign oppression had a long-term effect in the idea of emancipating the dominant languages. In that respect, the 1848's revolutions were significant for the East Central European ethnicities in terms of a confrontation not only with the old absolutistic-restorative powers but also the new antagonist manifested in the idea of a united Germany. Convincingly offering alternative historical perspectives, Puttkamer stresses that the impact of German national-state unification on the Habsburg Monarchy opened completely new perspectives for Hungary, which would definitely have become hegemonic among the Monarchy's non-German ethnical groups. Anyhow, East Central European national states and societies emerged first of all within the frames of empires, and therefore by compromise. However, the idea of and struggle for freedom survived and became even more vivid in the fight against National Socialism and Communism in the twentieth century. Obviously, Puttkamer in many respects confirms Halecki's proposals.

Only after stressing these common characteristics does Puttkamer admit the East Central European regions' distinct historical developments. As already noticed by Wandycz, the Bohemian lands are a special case within the East Central European pattern, and Puttkamer's narrative includes that thought. The elites are not based on differentiation of nobility, but on the emancipation of bourgeoisie. Towns and industrialization are important factors of nineteenth-century dynamics, which have their continuities in a differentiated spectrum of political parties. Hence, Puttkamer emphasizes such characteristics

as urbanization and the emergence of a working class or the development of modern social, administrative, and technical infrastructures, all of which approximate East Central Europe to the so-called common European patterns after the middle of the nineteenth century.

In terms of regional demarcations, Puttkamer defines soft borders for the hard core of East Central Europe (Bohemia/Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland) by acknowledging that it makes no sense to completely exclude Belarus, Western Ukraine, Croatia, Slovenia, Prussia, or Silesia – as well as the region's Jewish history. Thus, Puttkamer develops his narrative in two major branches, one dedicated to "description" and the other to "issues and topics under research." The description part rather conventionally follows chronological patterns: two chapters consider the nineteenth century, the interwar period, the Second World War and its consequences, socialism, and the transition period. Whereas the issues and topics under research are highly instructive. This section is framed by historiographical concepts of the region and the politics of history and cultures of remembrance. The further topical spectrum consists in the inequality of industrialization, corrosion of the nobility, and – confirming Puttkamer's introductory characterization – matters of ethnicity and nationality like ethnical diversity between isolation and symbiosis, nationalisms and national conflicts, imperial order and national statehood. The book concludes with an extensive multilingual – therefore enormously valuable – survey on recent research literature.[13]

The second example is the volume *Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa. Konstitution und Konkurrenz im nationen- und epochenübergreifenden Zugriff* (Religious Places of Memory in East Central Europe. Constitution and Competition in Transnational and Transepochal Approach; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013) edited by Joachim Bahlcke, Stefan Rhodewald and Thomas Wünsch in cooperation with a large team of contributors. This encyclopedic work on religious manifestations of memory in terms of locations, artifacts, individuals, and events is strongly based on the idea of collective memory. Established by Maurice Halbwachs and further developed by Peter Burke and Jan Assmann, the concept considers remembrance as implicitly re-creative and, therefore, productive. In consequence, this volume traces remembrance and memory back to medieval times and emphasizes the fact that the characteristic of many saints and holy artifacts is the contrast of rather sparse secured data, on the one hand, and a vivid afterlife in terms of narrative dynamics on the other hand. For example, the battle for Częstochowa in 1655 is weakly documented, whereas the narrative of the miraculous Black Madonna, leading the Polish-Lithuanian forces to victory over the Swedes against all odds, is more vivid – and it was from the beginning.

[13] Joachim von Puttkamer, *Ostmitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 2010), 251–326.

It is not the essence of this event but the narrative of its aftermath, it is not its material concreteness but its symbolic function, which the editors consider to be significant and relevant for historiography. The editors' plea can be summarized as follows: Historians should not excavate the core of remembrance and memory but show its career and afterlife, its paramount and superior impact.

In the volume's preface, the early modern historian Thomas Wünsch emphasizes that phenomena like competition for and multiplicity of memory and remembrance were and are essential for Eastern Europe, as well as the processes of transfer and transgression in terms of chronology (from paganism to Christianity to communism/atheism) and in function (religious and political memory of constructing the nation), not to mention the phenomenon of multiple, overlapping, and fragmented memory.[14] Another characteristic feature of East Central Europe that Wünsch foregrounds is the entangled coexistence of religious groups on small, sometimes even very small areas and territories, which evokes mechanisms like assimilation, cohabitation, or syncretism. Thus, collective memory has the potential to create identity and avoid – or at least regulate – conflict. The book covers recent sociological approaches, which understand and emphasize religion explicitly as a cohesive force.

Finally, Wünsch stresses religious cleavages to be extraordinarily significant in the East of Europe and subsequently pleads for historiographical concepts that counterbalance the national perspectives by showing transnational entities (historical regions, contact zones). Once again, the creation and narrative shaping of these medieval or early modern entities begins with the so-called national nineteenth century. Wünsch refers to Anderson's concept of the "imagined community" to highlight that they do have a future in terms of further self-definition in the present. Concrete examples, represented by lemmata in the volume's lexical part, are the church union of Brest, the seventeenth-century peace churches in Silesia, the Franciscan Brothers in Bosnia and Hercegovina, or the fortified churches (*Kirchenburgen*) in Transylvania.

4. Summary

How do definitions of East Central Europe discussed above cope with the conceptual terms of *appropriation* and *rivalry* and their functions in defining and shaping the region? All of the above authors more or less explicitly agree – the most unambiguous being Johnson and Puttkamer – that the borders of the East

[14] Thomas Wünsch, "Einleitung: Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa," in *Religiöse Erinnerungsorte in Ostmitteleuropa. Konstitution und Konkurrenz im nationen- und epochenübergreifenden Zugriff*, eds. Joachim Bahlcke, Stefan Rhodewald, Thomas Wünsch (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013), XXV.

Central European region are soft in terms of historically developed statehood. That is, we may define a core (the Bohemian, Hungarian, and Polish-Lithuanian lands) and an extended rim. Strikingly, Johnson and Puttkamer stress not only the entangled processes of the Southslavic ethnicities' nation-building but also the significance of the German unification in the nineteenth century. Roth solves that problem by decentralization, which his team realizes by primarily considering historical landscapes and regions; some of them certainly matching (national) states. Concerning the region's situation in Europe, the rhetorical figure of the *land between* (German) West and (Russian) East persists most explicitly in Wandycz, although it receives the most profound discussion and reflection in Bideleux and Jeffries.

Concerning the appropriation of characteristics from historical East Central Europe, there return two main arguments. That is, the dominant political position of nobility and a pronounced poly-ethnicity in terms of languages and religions. In many respects, the above authors confirm Halecki's fundamental criteria of definition. Soon after 1989, especially in Wandycz, a strong ambition for discussing and differentiating the region's suggested backwardness becomes evident. In terms of historiography, this tendency reflects the idea to integrate the picture of East Central Europe – as part of Europe – into concepts of trans-regional, even global divisions of functions and, especially, divided labor. Whereas, in terms of broader sociopolitical interests, this shows an optimism toward East Central Europe's integration into Europe and, furthermore, a discussion in global patterns.

A pronounced inclusive and argumentative moment in appropriating regions to become parts of East Central Europe becomes evident in the tendency of conceptually integrating the Southeast of Europe. This approach appears especially around the turn of the millennia, in Longworth, Johnson and Roth, and Bahlcke, Rhodewald, and Wünsch. The concept of the expansive integration of Europe, realized by the EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007, obviously occupied not only politicians but also historians. Not less obvious is the fact, that such generous inclusion of historical regions shapes a rather simplified *Eastern Europe* and implies a dangerous simplification, evident in the cases of Longworth or Niederhauser. A strong distinction in considering the various regions' different relations and connections to antiquity appears only in Bideleux and Jeffries. Roth and his team avoid that problem by mostly applying a spatial approach and discussing only subordinated chronology.

The historical discussion of inclusion in antique Europe certainly implies moments of rivalry as well: Who is more European? Who is actually and really European? Among the examined arguments there is a consensus about the question that the construct of East Central Europe implies strong moments of rivalry, especially in respect to processes of nation-building during the long

nineteenth century as the time of transition from empire to (national) state. In the middle of the twentieth century, the models of poly-ethnical coexistence were replaced by the idea of homogenization, enforced by ideologies of excluding and polarizing mass mobilization, as Puttkamer puts it. By the way, Puttkamer himself stresses the potential significance of the German unification for the Hungarians in the frame of the Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Undoubtedly, the most prominent and significant conceptual role plays rivalry for Bahlcke, Rhodewald, and Wünsch. The methodological potential of their approach becomes evident in cases of overlapping and even competing remembrance and memory and, subsequently, in deconstructions of exclusive claims on memory and demonstrating rather than including and bridging narratives of remembrance.

Is there a shift from *appropriation* (Wandycz, 1992) to *rivalry* (Wünsch, 2013) in historiographical operationalization of the term "East Central Europe" in the last decades? The answer "yes" would fit into the present volume's idea, but we must add that such shift is not linear but oscillating – and comparable to a heartbeat. Although this metaphor may be a little inept, it is suitable to show how much does the discussion on the region of East Central Europe remain vivid and fertile.

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   Wincenty Danek, *Józef Ignacy Kraszewski* (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1975), 435–438.

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