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Foreword

The Central European Conference of Historical Geographers was organised by the Historical Geography Research Centre under the auspices of the Institute of History, Czech Academy of Sciences, the Faculty of Science at Charles University, and the Czech Geographical Society. The special issue that is now in your hands is a set of six selected papers from this conference. This special issue is thus the last, but not least, follow-up to the conference, which its organisers firmly believe could start regular meetings of historical geographers between the International Conference of Historical Geographers.

The Historical Geography Research Centre, the guarantor of this special issue, was founded in 2012. It responds to the recent demands in academia on interdisciplinarity and growing cooperation between humanities, social and natural sciences. In particular, it establishes a joint institutional platform for historical geography research and education and it brings together team members from the Institute of History CAS and the Faculty of Science at Charles University, along with many international and domestic external experts. Within the research, emphasis is placed on: 1. theoretical and methodological issues of historical geography and environmental history; 2. the process of spatial polarisation and border changes; 3. urbanisation processes and their reconstructions; 4. transformation of landscape's function; 5. regions, identities and heritage.

Thanks to its thematic openness, the conference attracted over 100 delegates from 18 countries. The main objective of the event was to reflect on the current challenges and developments in historical geography research in the Central European area in all its diversity. The rich academic programme incorporated the traditional themes of historical geography as well as newer ones and it reflected the trend of divergence from traditional historical geography towards the historicisation of current, primarily human-oriented, geographical research agendas.

The quality of the overall conference programme was ensured not only by the diversity of the papers presented, but also by the generous time made available for their discussion, whether as part of or outside special sessions, a phenomenon less and less common in today's accelerating academic world. And during these discussions, the enthusiasm and the need to conclude the conference have crystallised through this special issue. Obviously, in such a thematically rich programme, it was not easy to select just one comprehensive theme. The decision eventually fell on the theme that twisted like a red line through many sessions and contributions during the whole conference: heritage. Heritage can be considered from many different perspectives. It is currently being discussed mainly from the perspective of two important functions: *a)* heritage as a medium for preservation of collective memory, history, and a tool for the narration of the past; *b)* heritage as both tangible and intangible cultural values. As such, heritage is a subject to power relations not only in the negotiation of its nature, values and functions. This is an entrance gate for the general topic of this issue which we have called 'The politics and ideology behind cultural heritage'.

The first paper by Jenni Merovuo (University of Eastern Finland) tackles the very up-to-date theme of border re-institutionalisation in the historical perspective. Building upon the peace treaty signed in Åbo in 1743, the paper investigates the impact of the Russo-Swedish war of 1741–1743 on life in the affected region. The peace treaty imposed top-down the border delimitation without any backbone in neither the religious nor linguistic division in the middle of the present-day eastern Finnish countryside. The paper applies the theory of the institutionalisation of regions to investigate the official reestablishment of the new regional order and the local renegotiation of the everyday practices that challenged the imposed borderline and the shape of border region.

The second contribution uses also written heritage as the primary source of information. In their text, Jaroslav David and Jana Davidová Glogarová (University of Ostrava) analyse Czech travelogues about Soviet Russia (and later the Soviet Union) dating from the period 1917–1968. The paper presents an approach to address ideological literature as a relevant

source of information. The source, which is a blind-coloured testimony of the authors, ranges from the initial desire to uncover the secrets of the world's first socialist state, to the uncritical admiration of the USSR in line with official propaganda. The text comprises several key issues and their evolution in time, including the theme of linguistic landscape. Here the authors describe the perception (and explanation) of the process of the ideologisation of space through the revolutionary symbology; a theme that resonates in contemporary world literature.

In the third paper, Michal Semian (Charles University, Prague) and Aleš Nováček (South Bohemian University, České Budějovice), deal with the idea how history and cultural heritage is reinterpreted for the purpose of the reproduction of present-day regions. The paper builds upon the idea that there are many histories based on different ways of reinterpretation in order to validate former, present, as well as future actions of actors. The authors reveal three different ways of reinterpretation of history – regional patriotic, critical, and conciliatory. Further, they identify various strategies of the reinterpretation of history engaged in the process of regional identity formation. These strategies can be of common nature as well as specific to the particular region; however, in general they bounce between the traditionalisation and commercialisation of cultural heritage.

The fourth paper represents a case study dealing with the specific kind of heritage – mining heritage. The authors of the paper, Jakub Jelen and Zdeněk Kučera (Charles University) discuss the definition of mining heritage and they study its origin, recognition, protection, management, and interpretation in the case of the Jáchymovsko area. Using examples from the management and interpretation of Jáchymovsko heritage, the paper attempts to grasp the ambiguous process of heritage management, the quest for a balance between protection and touristification, together with the follow-up question of what heritage should one preserve and interpret to the general public.

The last two articles introduce case studies of cities that have historically been characterised with cultural and ethnic diversity, reflected in their rich tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Justyna Liro *et al*. (Jagiellonian University, Kraków) offers an overview of the ethnic-religious processes that created today's multicultural cityscape in Białystok, north-eastern Poland. Their article reveals the process of how the Jewish, Orthodox, Catholic, and Muslim cultural heritage of the city, once intended to be forgotten, has recently become identified as an asset by local heritage management policy.

From some aspects, a similar process has seemed to evolve in the city of Oradea, Romania, presented by Ágnes Erőss (Geographical Institute RCAES, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest). Her paper illustrates the conflict over street names, a topic that is embedded into ethnicised political contestations. Following decades of reoccurring skirmishes, the city council accomplished an agreement that enhance the commemoration of personalities with local importance, thus contributing to the reinvention of local heritage.

This issue represents an output of CECHG 2016 and brings together young and upcoming scholars; a set of papers with several common denominators. All papers are tight together with the theme of politicisation and ideologisation of heritage. Although, they are plural in the nature of their disciplinary background, together they constitute an interdisciplinary set, the true keystone of historical geography. They follow recent trends in contemporary science and mirror the cultural-turn in historical geography. We would like to thank to all authors, peer-reviewers, editors, and others that made this issue happen. Further we would like to thank the CECHG 2016 organisers for bringing us together and the Czech Science Foundation for support under the project "Historical Geography Research Centre" (no. P410/12/G113). We hope you enjoy reading this issue and we look forward to meeting you and discussing the ideas raised with you during some of the forthcoming events.

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'Divided and validated'? The institutionalization of the Russo-Swedish border region in the 1743 peace treaty

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Abstract

In this article, I analyse the institutionalization of the border region between Sweden and Imperial Russia presented in the peace treaty signed in Åbo (now Turku) in 1743. The Russo-Swedish war of 1741–1743 was disastrous for Sweden. Instead of regaining the losses suffered on the eastern front in the previous war (1700–1721), Sweden ceded more territory to Russia shifting the state border westwards again. The new border located in the middle of the present-day eastern Finnish countryside followed no religious or linguistic divisions. The peace treaty was a top-down measure. However, one must recognise that regions were institutionalised in several parallel and interactive processes. I apply the approach of institutionalization of regions to categorise the peace treaty according to the four dimensions of the approach. The aim is to untangle the official re-establishment of the new regional order to indicate the room for the local influencing. I conclude that the peace treaty did not extensively define the shape of the border region, which led to challenges in reshaping and further developing the border region in the local practices. Classifying the region building process according to the dimensions of the regional institutionalization – though intertwined in practice – provide comparativeness for the local progressions foregrounding their distinctive and consistent characteristics.

Keywords: border studies, borderlands, re-bordering, institutionalization of regions, Sweden, Russia, state building

Introduction

The Russo-Swedish war also known as *The War of the Hats (1741–1743)* concluded with shifting the border between the Russian Empire and the Swedish realm westwards. Per the peace treaty of 1743, Imperial Russia gained an area on the northeast shore of the Gulf of Finland. The new borderland ran through the countryside of the present-day eastern Finland. The demarcation of the border was not based on cultural, linguistic or religious grounds. It was a new kind of demarcation of a modern political territory based partially on strategic grounds. The idea of the territorial state had developed stronger in the Nordic context since the late 17th century. Therefore, it was now possible to demarcate the new borders without considering the local circumstances to remarkable extend (Katajala, K. 2010). Nevertheless, the power had to be legitimised and established at the borderland, a process that can be called the institutionalization of regions. In this paper, I apply the regional institutionalization approach on the research

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of this 18th century borderland. The aim is to analyse how the institutionalization of the new border region between the two states can be seen in the peace treaty of 1743.

A region exists in a certain cultural and temporal context. Further, it emerges in a combination of intersecting interests or claims forming it into an institutional structure of power. Therefore, a region is not created merely by drawing lines on a map (Massey, D. 1995; Paasi, A. 2011). In the formation of historical borderlands, Readman, P. *et al.* (2014) put the emphasis on control, demand and interaction. The methodological and theoretical viewpoints of human geography considering the spatial dimensions have become increasingly relevant in social and cultural sciences in the past three decades. The spatial turn has directed the attention of scholars towards spaces and places, both physical and abstract. In historiography, space has been the connecting theme of several symposiums in recent years (e.g. Lamberg, M. 2011; Hallenberg, M. and Linnarsson, M. 2014; Stock, P. 2015). Still, I believe that the research of the early modern era could benefit on further invocation of the geographical approaches on region building.

In studying the building process of borderlands, many history scholars have concentrated on nascent national identities and ethnic grouping. Peter Sahlins, in his well-known research demonstrated how national identities developed and eventually bloomed contrasting 'the other' on the Pyrenees between Spain and France (Sahlins, P. 1989). Research of the borderlands between Sweden and Denmark-Norway has concentrated on the state integration process, state building from below, linguistic distinctions and perceptions of belonging among commoners. The scholars find that one of the crucial factors of the process is interaction, and as Hallenberg and Holm point out, there is significance in the dynamics of top-down ruling and the reactions from below (Edgren, M. 2001; Hallenberg, M. and Holm, J. 2016; Lerbom, J. 2017).

I concentrate on the becoming of the border region. By focusing on the institutionalization of regions I approach the dynamics between the official border shift and the actual process of forging regional consciousness. By reacting to the changing territorial situation, the locals affected the region building process proving the peace agreement to be an impulse in the process rather than resolution. I concentrate on the document that officially determined the regional disintegration and triggered reactions from the local level. To complete the analysis of the peace treaty of 1743, it is significantly important to employ the previous Swedish-Russian peace treaty signed in 1721.

Geography scholars have utilised the institutionalization of regions framework by geographer Anssi Paasi on researching emergence and dissolving of regions, regional and place identity, regional transformation, and re-establishing historical regions (e.g. Paasi, A. 1986; MacLeod, G. 2001; Sepp, V. and Veemaa, J. 2010; Zimmerbauer, K. and Paasi, A. 2013; Semian, M. and Cromý, P. 2014; Vaishar, A. and Zapletalová, J. 2016). Paasi, A. (1986, 1999, 2011) introduces the institutionalization of regions as a process during which a place transforms into a region and the collective consciousness of it emerges. The process consists of four dimensions: forging of (1) the territorial, (2) symbolic and (3) the institutional shape of the region, and (4) the region emerging in the spatial structure of the society. As commonly in critical geographical approaches, the theory suggests that regions are social constructions, shaped in conceptualising, networking, and actions. Thus, a region is not eternal but historically constructed (Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T. 1967; Paasi, A. 1986, 2002; Hacking, I. 1999; Zimmerbaum, K. and Paasi, A. 2013).

Regions are collectively remembered and forgotten but the historical progress is by no means a self-directed temporal development. To legitimise the desired status or shape, the retrospective evaluation of the regional history may be inspired by the future goals. Therefore, the questions of birth, dissolution, and the transformation motivate the research of regional institutionalization. If an attempt to institutionalize or deinstitutionalize a region is very dramatic, argue Paasi, A.

and Zimmerbaum, K. (2013), demonstrations promoting counter identity may occur. These actions are often collective and temporary. The process of regional institutionalization proceeds simultaneously at multiple communal levels. A political decision alone cannot deinstitutionalize a region. Even though demolished from the regional administrative map, divided into pieces or merged into a bigger unit, a region can continue existing in symbolic and mental form. Thus, the processes are not always cohesive, or unanimous in practice. Therefore, a region may appear fuzzy in territorial shape, lifespan, and authorization (Paasi, A. 1986, 1999, 2002; Paasi, A. and Metzger, J. 2016).

The peace treaty of 1743 was a significant act in forging the localities into the border region. Can we see it as a disintegration of the region, though? I categorise the peace treaty transcript per the dimensions of the institutionalization of region framework. I study the aims of the peace treaty by content analysis, foregrounding the intended shape of the borderland. A question of whether this border region became something fixed and then emerged in the social process, or if the social construction refers to the forging of the shape peculiar to the region in addition, is ontologically essential to the research (Paasi, A. 2002; Stock, P. 2015; Paasi, A. and Metzger, J. 2016). I believe presuming fixed outcome may impede the true motives. Re-bordering the state does not necessarily mean complete regional redefinition. Therefore, I consider the borderland communities as cases. In practice, the interacting dimensions of the institutionalization process intertwine, and therefore do not fall into the categories easily. The complexity of the actual region and the experience of different individuals and interest groups of the past is hard to grasp in total. However, the institutionalization framework gives shape to the study that enables comparative analysis of the multifaceted progressions of the local communities along the borderland. It also foregrounds the interaction between social groups, regions, and centrum and periphery, for closer examination.

I focus on the establishment of the border region. By enlarging on the institutionalization process, it is possible to emphasize the socio-spatial aspects on the development of historical state peripheries. The institutionalization of regions is employed as an analytical tool. By categorising the establishment of the border region in the transcript, I demonstrate that a top-down perspective is not enough of a viewpoint for the process of building a region.

The peace treaty of 1743

On the 7th of August 1743, Frederick I of Sweden, and the empress Elisabeth of Russia signed the peace treaty between Sweden and Russia after long negotiations. The terms had been agreed with the parties earlier in the summer and the Russian troops had started withdrawing from the territory they annexed. During the war, the seizure of the Russian troops reached the Gulf of Bothnia. It was in their interest to pursue further territorial conquest but as Sweden agreed to nominate Elisabeth's favourite as the successor to the throne, most of this territory was restored under Swedish domination. The war had broken out from the Swedish heat for revenge after the great defeat in the wars between 1700 and 1721. However, the treaty of 1743 brought only more territory losses for Sweden (Cederberg, A.R. 1942; Villstrand, N.E. 2012).

The 18th century was a time of the expansion of the Russian empire while the Swedish realm was territorially reducing. The so-called Great Northern War (1700–1721) marked the end of Imperial Era in Sweden. In the peace treaty of 1721 with Russia, Sweden ceded Ingria, Estonia, Livonia, partially the Province of Kexholm, and the Karelian Isthmus from her eastern realm. The war of 1741–1743 ended with a similar outcome as the border shifted westwards again. In the treaty of 1743, Sweden ceded more territory to Russia, along with three fortresses (Cederberg, A.R. 1942; Paaskoski, J. 2005).

Deciding on the new borderline, the negotiators were concerned of their defence strat-

egies ignoring the local circumstances. The border ran through altogether seven parishes dividing villages and estates. In the division, three of the parishes split in half, leaving significant parts on both sides of the border. In four parishes, only minor parts were separated from the main part of the parish. Recomposing of localities brought tension to the institutionalization process of the border region (Cederberg, A.R. 1942).

Establishing the borderland

Territorial shape

Paasi. A. describes the emergence of the boundaries of a region as a development of social practices. The borders, physical as well as mental, provide grounds for social classification. In other words, the regional consciousness requires ends for the imaginary reference group of inhabitants (Paasi, A. 1986). In the peace treaty, the border was described in four sections:

– The demarcation departed from the northern shore of the Gulf of Finland as a natural boundary, following River Kymmene northwards. Natural shapes have been exploited abundantly in history (Katajala, K. 2010).
– The second section started at the meeting place of the River Kymmene and the border of the County of Tavastland. The state border followed county demarcation that had taken root at least a century before. In the document, this second section of the border is referred to as the 'common borders' (Swedish *vanlige Gräntzer*, §7). The customary borders facilitated the shift of administration.
– The third section, located at the Saimaa lake district, was called the new border (Swedish *Nya Gräntze-linien*, §7). The demarcation was planned to follow no customary borders but it was determined by measurements on military strategic grounds. It was to circle the Nyslott fortress at a range of 2 Swedish miles. Landowners who forfeited part of their estate were entitled to compensation. The transcript defines the approximate course of the borderline ribboning directly across the landscape without considering the customary borders in the region, such as village or estate limits. To avoid miscalculation, the measurement was specified as the Swedish mile, but it was not precise enough of a definition, for the point of departure was ambiguous.
– The fourth section begun from the southeastern side of the fortress following the former state border of 1721 (Swedish *Nystadske Freden fastställa Gräntzen*, §7). From Porajärvi (Russian *Porosozero*) northwards the border followed a line agreed in the peace treaty of 1617. The essential part of the state border in my research comprises the first three sections.

From the 17th century, a territorial comprehension of the state became predominant. The territorial shape of the state partly overcame the interests towards the population (Sunderland, W. 2007; Katajala, K. 2010). Amnesty was declared for all prejudicial acts during the war by the second article of the peace treaty of 1743. More importantly, it stated that above all it is necessary to have the border 'divided and validated' (§7) to avoid further mistrust, for that would truly secure the peace. However, the peace negotiators retained from dictating details of the exact demarcation leaving them for the border commissions to define. The Swedish and Russian border commissions, delegated to agree on the details, delayed the physical demarcation of the boundary for years. Later, as the officials proceeded from negotiations to demarcation issues between the states, defining the borderline became even more difficult (Mielonen, A. 1993). In certain parts, the parties never fully agreed on the demarcation.

The vagueness of the peace treaty left much room for interpretation, which the border commission failed to seal. It is conclusive, that the peace negotiations did not define the border region practices to detail for the treaty, but demonstrated the attempt to redefine the territorial composition within the area. The commissions' task was to validate

the state border locally as they demarcated it. By implication, this referred to interaction with the local mediators. The Swedish border commissioner Stiernstedt's reports reveal that peasants operated as experts on local geography and old borders (Border documents 1743–1747). It is interpreted that locals took advantage of the disorganised situation as consensus was unaccomplished. For example, the vague demarcation was used against the officials to avoid taxation (Mielonen, A. 1993). This shows how the local common people benefitted from the porous governance.

Due to the unstable foreign affairs, the commissions' task took years. Especially the contention over the strategic places of Pyttis, Puumala sound and the Nyslott castle surroundings disturbed the fluency. In Savonia, the Swedish and Russian border commissions drifted into disagreements from the beginning and marked their own versions of the border. Two clearly disputed areas, which both states had demands on were left in the middle of Kerimäki parish. The areas were declared as 'no man's land', a territory of neither state in 1744 and they remained disputed until the next border shift. The population of these disputed lands was free of crown taxation until 1809. (Border documents 1743–1747; Mielonen, A. 1993; Gustafsson, H. 2007). Despite its reputation as a wild free state it was not a seedbed of decadence but much attached to the surrounding society. Nevertheless, as a third space between Swedish and Russian territories, this strip of land was to operate as a channel for smuggling (Mielonen, A. 1993; Koskivirta, A. 2015). The tension between the states introduced the population possibilities to exploit their position more uninhibitedly to protest, for example.

Symbolic shape

The symbolic or conceptual shape of a region develops most significantly in language. The inhabitants express their regional consciousness that may not always correlate with the outsiders' comprehension. It draws from the historical and traditional conceptions of the region and society. Therefore, the region can be built simultaneously on several levels of society (Paasi, A. 1986).

The transcript repeatedly referred to two territorial entities on the border: the side of the Royal Sweden, and the side of Imperial Russia. The emphasis on the spatial dominance is notable and the rulers connect closely to the territory. The king of Sweden and the empress of Russia signed the peace treaty of 1743 on behalf of 'the realms, lands, subjects and inhabitants'. It was a contract obligating not only the rulers but also people living within certain territories (Katajala, K. 2010; Liikanen, I. 2014). In the territories Sweden ceded, the agreement relieved the population of the oath of allegiance to the king. Equally, the oath of allegiance to the empress given during the occupation became void for the inhabitants of the restored areas after the seizure ended (Cederberg, A.R. 1942). The subservience was dissociated from the status of inhabitant per the peace treaty. People had different positions and allegiances (Sunderland, W. 2007), but the peace agreement validated people not on the grounds of citizenship, but their whereabouts. A soldier or a trader was to obey the laws of the province he was visiting. However, they were not necessarily subordinated under the same legal institution. Soldiers were under the military laws and legal actions against foreigners were problematic to execute. The border did not aim to block the social interaction, but the population's position was administratively incompatible, which decreased the legal security. In cross-border cases it was not as likely to win justice (Koskivirta, A. 2003, 2015).

Despite the composition of two sovereigns, two states and two territories presented in the peace treaty, the negotiating parties were asymmetrical in many senses. Firstly, the rulers' authority differed from each other. Elisabeth was an autocrat representing the absolute authority. In Sweden, the so-called Age of Liberty (1718–1772) had reduced the king's authority in relation to the estates (Gustafsson, H.

1994). Therefore, the Swedish Realm (Swedish *Sveriges Rike*, §1, §3) authorised the agreement in addition to the Royal Majesty. In fact, in the Age of Liberty, the phrase Royal Majesty did not refer to the king in person, but to the ruling power of the state: the diet and the king together. It included the administrative system combining the king's authority that operated through the representative government in the Council of the Realm (Gustafsson, H. 1994).

Sweden can be called rather a geographically unified state in the 18th century, while the Russian Empire, expanding to Europe in the west, and across Siberia to the Pacific Ocean in the east, was very much a conglomerate with territories under different political systems. Since the era of Peter I, the peripheral provinces of the northwest conquered during the century, and Siberia, were distinguished from the historical core of the empire. Therefore, despite the increased control over different parts of the empire, the empress faced different symbolic roles within territories that operated under different administrative systems (Gustafsson, H. 1998; Sunderland, W. 2007). For example, in Estonia, Livonia and Karelia, seized by Russia at the beginning of the 18th century, Elisabeth was a duchess, yet the empress of the whole realm as well. The Swedish king's title does not suggest Finland being separate from the core areas of Sweden. Heraldic references to the grand duchy of Finland were not actively used between 1718–1802 (Paaskoski, J. 2005; Eng, T. 2008). Still, both parties acknowledged that the border shift happened in the territory referred to as 'Finland', inhabited by 'Finns'.

One of the primary regional symbols is the name (Paasi, A. 1986). Interestingly, the peace treaty mentions the Grand Duchy of Finland as an entity. A grand duchy refers to a politically uniformed entity (Liikanen, I. 2014). However, the peace treaty suggests another way of defining 'the grand duchy of Finland', as a bipartite region, with a Swedish and a Russian side *(Figure 1).* Per the peace treaty, all the occupied areas included in the grand duchy. Further, 'historically Russian' territories Karelia and Kexholm interconnected with Finland now. After the border shift, the grand duchy was continuously understood to reach from the Gulf of Bothnia to the eastern end of the Karelian Isthmus, including Åland islands. 'Finland' denoted unity historically and geographically, but politically it was divided into separate units located in two realms.

Ostrobothnia that often was not perceived as part of the geographical Finland was also paired with the so-called grand duchy (§5). Historian Jonas Nordin has argued that the special position of Finland within the Swedish realm and the geographical shape that included Ostrobothnia is read from the sources from the 18th century onwards, an interpretation that has been welcomed with criticism (Nurmiainen, J. 2003; Nordin, J. 2010). However, there are some signs supporting the viewpoint. The historical nature of the region becomes evident from the peace treaty. Both parties agreed to refrain from the claims towards the other side of the grand duchy for eternity, no matter with which name this territory would be known as in the future. The Russian empress acknowledged the Swedish domination over the part of the province of Kexholm, 'that belonged to Russia in the old times' (§6, §8). The Swedish state forced to accept a greater defeat. The ceded regions were incorporated to Russian empire 'for now and forever' (§4). The remoulding of the region went beyond the immediate border.

The parishes and villages that the border divided were not renamed by the state officials in the establishment process. However, the church needed to distinct the subservience in their bookkeeping, so the clergy found it necessary to rename some parts of villages or estates. (Population registers of Kerimäki 1743–1805; Kerimäki congregation, communion books 1748–1801.)

Institutional shape

The formal institutions as well as practices affect the institutional shape of the region. Interaction – social, economic, and political – forges the shape of the region and builds its character

Fig. 1. The Grand Duchy of Finland after the peace treaty of 1743 (edited by the author)

(Paasi, A. 1986). The treaty confirmed the institutional unification of the Kymmenegård and Vyborg provinces guaranteeing to sustain rights, privileges and benefits for the subjects and inhabitants. The Lutheran Church and schools would continue operating and the Greek Orthodox Church would gain equal rights to operate. Thus, the annexed provinces were not subordinated under Russian core areas, but they maintained their old Swedish

legislation forming a separate institutional entity. In the 18th century Russia, the idea of a historically bound core state and surrounding peripheral provinces populated by non-Russians was the prevailing conception of the empire (Sunderland, W. 2007).

Paralleling the annexed provinces in the peace negotiations prefigured the establishment of the Vyborg Governorate in 1744. It consisted of two provinces attached to the Russian Empire in the Peace of 1721 – half of the Kexholm province and the province of Vyborg –, the newly seized province of Kymmenegård and parts of the Savonia province. The governorate was founded as a part of the Imperial Russia with restricted autonomy much like the Reval and Riga Governorates in the Baltics. The governorates were combined under the College of Justice for Livland, Estland and Finland. However, though changes from Swedish to Russian rule seem modest, it was not a uniform institutional system (Paaskoski, J. 2013; Räihä, A. 2014).

As the peace treaty acknowledged the territorial cross-border connection to 'Swedish Finland', it also connected the annexed territory to the Vyborg and Kexholm Provinces that Russia seized in the treaty of 1721. The peace treaty paralleled these two territories, and therefore the peace treaty of 1721 was repeatedly referred to. Especially the tenth article of the act refers to the previous treaty. Equal to the article 12 in the treaty of 1721, the empress secured the proprietorship rights to the lands for the subjects of the annexed territories. The article was reconfirmed in the next peace agreement in 1743. The inhabitants who had fled the war could return to their estates.

Position in the spatial system

The final parallel dimension of the regional institutionalization process is the emergence of the territory in a spatial structure of the society. It is interconnected with the rest of the dimensions since the territorial, symbolic and institutional shape provide the region its identifiable shape (Paasi, A. 1986). The cross-border parishes indicate how wavering the top-down institutionalization of the border region was in the beginning. The peace agreement did not concentrate on the local level. The only parish the peace agreement mentions is Pyttis by the Gulf of Finland. It states that Imperial Russia gained *'…the part of Pyttis located on the other and Eastern side of the last arm of Kymmene or Keltis River, the stream that floats between Great and Small Ahvenkoski [...] with the harbours, places, districts, shores, and all from the same arm till the passage to the south-eastern islands...'* (§5, §6). Pyttis' division was defined in the peace treaty, which stresses the importance of its location.

Other divided parishes were not specified in the peace treaty. Mäntyharju had been split between three Swedish counties to begin with. The parishioners already attended district court and places of registration in their own directions. Located on the second section of the border where the division followed the county demarcation, the eastern part of the parish, submitted under the provincial administration of the province of Kymmenegård, was cut across the border (Favorin, M. 1975). The rest of the divided parishes were located on the 'new border' with straight demarcations, which followed no customary demarcations (Soininen, A. 1954; Lappalainen, P. 1971; Mielonen, A. 1993; Seppänen, P. 1999).

The peace treaty describes Pyttis' division, but the parishes not mentioned never fully diverged institutionally. Therefore, their administrative circumstances shaped in various ways, depending on the local circumstances. The congregations continued operating across the border and balance with twofold local government (Favorin, M. 1975; Mielonen, A. 1993). This introduced several directions of influence to pursue local matters that forged the cross-border parishes' individual shape.

The crown's local administration was organised independently on both sides of the state border, but the practices overlapped partially through the ecclesiastical system. The congregations, Pyttis excluded, con-

tinued operating unified across the border. The commoners continued visiting the same church and marrying mostly within their own parish. The priests read the announcements, kept a population register and lead the parish assemblies as usual (Lappalainen, P. 1971; Favorin, M. 1975; Mielonen, A. 1993). This placed the clergy in an administrative double role mediating between the two states and gradually forging the practices.

Conclusions

In this article, I have categorised the peace treaty of 1743 between Sweden and Russia per the dimensions of the institutionalization of regions. The case of the state border of 1743 is an interesting example of the social development that challenges the clear-cut drawings on the late-18th-century maps. The peace treaty discussed the location of the state border and the institutional circumstances of the seized areas, as well as defined the position of the seized territory and inhabitants within the Russian empire. However, as the peace negotiators divided the territory on new grounds, the regional understanding about 'Finland' remained border-crossing and the boundaries further defined.

The peace treaty of 1721 was confirmed and paralleled with the status quo. Together, these two peace treaties defined the regional borderland. One can also see how history was acknowledged in shaping the region. The regional understanding about 'Finland' was politically bipartite. The territories seized by Russia were not considered the heartland of Imperial Russia but conquests. They were not desirable for intense integration policies, and therefore maintained the essentials of the Swedish political system instead. The peace treaty paralleled the seized territories that formed into the governorate of Vyborg in the following year.

Little attention was given to local details that provided much room for local interpretations of cross-border practices. The negotiating parties' interests lay in territory over the inhabitants and land use. The border commissions received authority to arrange the local circumstances according to the given guidelines, but failed to reach a conclusive settlement with each other as well as between the states and the locals. In Pyttis, where the border was defined more precisely, the division was executed more intensely. Geographical significance influenced the institutionalization process. It was not consistent throughout the border region, which became more evident in time. Further north from the Gulf of Finland, the local level had more room to interpret the conditions. The cross-border congregations and the local community bound the border region together.

I see the peace treaty as a mere arrest of the ongoing process. It portrays an overview of the significant regional transformation process where the parish communities sought their shape as the new border region as well as cross-border region. Understanding the border region as a historical entity with a beginning and an end, I recognise that after ratifying the peace treaty of 1743, the border region 'was' not, but it was in the process of 'becoming', referring to the perpetual adaptation of regions from their establishment to disappearance (Paasi, A. and Metzger, J. 2016).

As a framework, I find the institutionalization of regions to bring focus to different dimensions of regional transformation. My attempt is not to claim that the idea of institutionalization of regions proceeded as a conscious project in the 18th century. However, I argue that establishing the borderland was socially constructed in several parallel processes. The political language, interaction, conflict and state building all are included in the process of institutionalization. In this article, I only concentrated on the peace treaty of 1743. To deepen the understanding of the regional institutionalization process, though, further attention must be directed beyond the political settlements, in the interaction and the networks of the borderland. The dimensions of the regional institutionalization approach provide a consistent tool for further investigations. A customary network might

be considered a more crucial factor in defining the regional boundaries than shifting the physical borders. When researching cross-border regions, it is crucial to define the contacts across the state border, as well as the institutional ties of the specific region. A fruitful scene to research conceptualising the region is in the discussions within localities and between the local and the governmental level.

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Czech travelogues about Soviet Russia and the Soviet Union – a neglected source for historical geography

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Abstract

This text focuses on Czech travelogues about Soviet Russia (and later the Soviet Union) dating from the period 1917–1968. The material – consisting of 72 published books – provides new insights into the historical perception of the Soviet Union. Most of the books represent the genre of ideological travel literature. They were written not only by journalists, writers and politicians, but also by members of professional delegations, e.g. firefighters, farmers, etc. The authors' approach to the Soviet state changed during the period under investigation – from the initial desire (in the 1920s and 1930s) to uncover the secrets of the world's first socialist state, to the uncritical admiration of the USSR that characterized the travelogues written during the 1950s, in line with official ideological dictates. This text explores the main tendencies that can be found in Czech travelogues about the Soviet Union, tracing how the treatment of key issues developed and changed over time, describing the strategies used by authors when presenting Soviet society and everyday life, and discussing the thematisation of proper names and the Russian language. Four issues of relevance to historical geography are examined: means of transport, itineraries, the depiction of nature, and the linguistic landscape.

Keywords: travelogue, travel writing, Czech travelogues, Soviet Russia, Soviet Union (USSR), ideological travelogue

Introduction – travelogues as source material

Travel reflects human beings' desire to discover the world around them, to explore foreign countries and to uncover these countries' secrets. However, journeys are not undertaken only for purposes of tourism; they may be work-related, diplomatic or propagandistic in nature, or they may be rooted in a desire for adventure. This variety is reflected in the type of literature that can be broadly characterized as travel writing – which may include simple accounts of journeys, colourful depictions, reportage, stylized literary texts, and also fictitious travelogues. These texts vary in their form, in the topics and themes that they foreground, or in their authorial perspective; for this reason travelogues are often described as a hybrid genre, or the more general term 'travel writing' is used instead. However, all these texts are united by a common thread; their authors' attempts to present their own impressions of the destination country to a broad readership, or to create an image of the country in accordance with the author's specific goals, as shaped by his/her personal preferences or ideological requirements (Fussell, P. 1980; Holland, P. and Huggan, G. 2000; Thompson, C. 2011).

This study focuses on travelogues about Soviet Russia (later the Soviet Union) published in Czechoslovakia during between 1917 and 1968. This period occupies a specific position within the tradition of Czech travel writing about Russia. Texts written prior to this period (dating from the Early Modern era

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and the 19th century) have already been described by a number of scholars (cf. an overview in Borovička, M. 2010; recent studies include e.g. Hrabal, J. 2015; Švéda, J. 2016). However, later Czech travel writing on the subject of Russia has only been analyzed sporadically, and still awaits systematic treatment, or it has been used solely as a reservoir of illustrative historical sources (Blahynková, K. and Blahynka, M. 1987; Lomíček, J. 2011, 2014). This neglect evidently stems from several factors: not only is the period under investigation still relatively recent, but reception of these texts is also negatively affected by the stigma of the ideological burden which most of them carry – and by the fact that some of the texts, especially those from the inter-war period, could not be re-published (even in the form of extracts) under the communist regime (1948–1989).

The material analysed for this study consists of 72 texts, among which we can observe considerable formal differences; the list of references includes only those texts which are cited or referred to in this study (for more details on the complete set of materials see Davidová Glogarová, J. and David, J. 2017). In order to be included in the corpus, the texts had to present an account of a journey based on the author's personal experience, published in book form. The period covered by the corpus is bounded by two major historical milestones: the October Revolution of 1917 (the fall of the Tsarist regime and the beginning of Sovietization) and the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact troops in 1968; the latter date was followed by a gradual cooling and formalization of Czech-Soviet relations that was reflected in a sharp decline in the number of travelogues about the Soviet Union and a general lack of interest in visiting the country (Bagdasaryan, V.E. *et al.* 2010; Lomíček, J. 2015).

Travelogues are a distinct type of text presenting Soviet Russia (and later the Soviet Union), and as such they represent an extensive source of material that reflects the changing attitudes (and illusions) of Czechoslovak society with regard to Soviet Russia and the USSR during the course of the 20th century; these changes reflected fluctuations in the cultural and political climate. In view of the broad readership at which these texts were aimed, they can be considered an important medium which helped to shape the ideological image of Soviet Russia and the USSR – whether pro-Soviet or (less frequently) anti-Soviet. From this perspective, travel writing about the USSR forms part of a distinct body of work known as 'ideological travelogues' – texts whose purpose was to present, create and reinforce an ideologically biased and tendentious image of the destination country. Ideological travelogues can be further divided into texts written by authors who were supportive of the regime in the destination country (fellow travellers) and those who were opposed to it (anti-fellow travellers) (Behrends, J.C. 2009; Khmelnitsky, D. 2011). It is thus understandable that non-democratic regimes during the 20th century engaged in the targeted, orchestrated use of travelogues as a propaganda tool.

For example, Goebbels' propaganda minister in Nazi German used its *Nibelungen Verlag* publishing house (1934–1941) to publish several travelogues presenting eyewitness accounts by visitors to the USSR – especially those that reported negative experiences of Soviet life (anti-fellow travellers). One of the most important texts of this type is a book by the German author Karl Iwanowitsch Albrecht (originally a communist, who later defected to the Nazis) entitled *Der verratene Sozialismus* [Socialism Betrayed] (1938). The text gives a detailed account of the ten years Albrecht had spent living in the USSR and working as a high-ranking state official there. The Soviet Union also used travelogues for ideological purposes, as a means of promoting communist ideology.

The writer Maxim Gorky returned to the USSR from Italy on several occasions during the 1920s, visiting the prisoners' commune of Bolshevo (1928) and the gulag at Solovki (1929); based on these journeys, he wrote five volumes of reportage that were later published in book form as *Po Soyuzu Sovetov* [Around the Soviet Union] (Yedlin, P. 1999). In the second

half of the 1930s, as a direct response to the publication of André Gide's highly critical *Retour de l'U.R.S.S.* [Return from the USSR] (1936), the Soviet authorities invited the German author Lion Feuchtwanger to visit the country; Feuchtwanger willingly expressed his approval for the Soviets' political show-trials (in the travelogue *Moskau 1937*, 1937; David-Fox, M. 2012). The importance of ideological travelogues as a means of promoting the Soviet Union among Czech readers is evident from the existence of the publishing house *Svět sovětů* [The World of the Soviets] (1948–1968), which was established soon after the communists' seizure of power. Its main focus was on translations (primarily from Russian) of fictional texts and educational literature, but it also published a series of travelogues by Czech authors as part of its series entitled *SSSR našima očima* [The USSR through our Eyes].

Travel writing can be used as source material in many scholarly disciplines – not only historiography and literary history, but also anthropology and linguistics. Particularly since the 1990s, there has been an upsurge of interest in travelogues among scholars as part of the development of space studies (see e.g. Heeke, M. 2003; Borovička, M. 2010). The analysis of travelogues can also bring insights for geographers (and historical geographers), especially with regard to the changing image of the Soviet Union and travel writing over the course of time.

Czech interest in Russia and the Soviet Union from the perspective of travel writing

Czech travellers' interest in Russia began to grow at the end of the 18th century, culminating in the 19th and 20th centuries. During the 19th century, travel writing about Russia was strongly influenced by national ideology and the notion of Slavic unity under the patronage of the Tsarist empire (Russophile and pan-Slavic tendencies) (Borovička, M. 2010). The range of authors was already quite broad, including not only intellectuals but also adventurers and gold prospectors. One of the best-known is the writer and journalist Karel Havlíček Borovský, who travelled to Russia in 1843–1844. He too was initially a fervent pan-Slavist, but his innately critical view of the world alerted him to the inadequacies of Russian society, and he soon lost his former idealism. However, his *Obrazy z Rus* [Pictures from Russia] (published as a book in 1870) was an exception to the general rule; the majority of Czech authors expressed admiration for Russia. At the turn of the 20th century, Josef Holeček's *Zájezd na Rus* [Journey to Russia] (1896, 1903) contrasted the decadent, moribund Western civilization with the healthy, natural society he saw in Russia. More critical and realistic depictions were given by Vilém Mrštík in a series of articles entitled *Listy z Nižního Novgorodu Rus* [Letters from the Russia of Nizhniy Novgorod] (1869, not published in book form until 1992), and – shortly before the First World War – by Zdeněk Matěj Kuděj, whose journey to Russia, though brief, convinced him that the image of the Czech nation in Russia was far removed from the wishful thinking of many Czechs.

After the October Revolution of 1917, Czech attitudes to Russia underwent a fundamental transformation. Soviet Russia – a society in the throes of radical and tumultuous political and social change – once more became an essentially unknown country for Czech intellectuals, a country that had to be 'discovered' all over again and presented afresh to Czech readers. The attraction of Soviet Russia for Czech writers was strengthened not only by the contradictory reports appearing in the media (and the general lack of information), but also by the myth of freedom that was associated with communism (Borovička, M. 2010). This attraction was further enhanced by the fact that the public image of the United States as the "land of the free" had suddenly come under threat from the Soviet Union, resulting in a discursive "struggle for America" (Švéda, J. 2016).

Among the manifestations of Czech society's desire to cement mutual relations and raise awareness of Soviet Russia were the establishment of various associations promoting Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship and

the journeys undertaken by official delegations or organized tourism (Lomíček, J. 2014; Bagdasaryan V.E. *et al.* 2010). This thirst for knowledge affected all strata of society; the authors of travelogues included not only writers and journalists but also politicians, artists and manual labourers. Writing about their preparations for the journey, authors focused on their keenness to experience Soviet Russia for themselves, though in some cases – such as the former members of the Czechoslovak Legion who had fought against the Bolsheviks in the Russian Civil War – the travellers were highly apprehensive about how they might be received there.

The manner in which Soviet Russia was ultimately presented in the travelogues depended primarily on each author's own political stance. We can identify two distinct streams in travel writing from this period. Some authors belonged to the leftist avant-garde; in the 1920s these included Ivan Olbracht and Marie Majerová, and in the 1930s Julius Fučík and Marie Pujmanová *(Photo 1).*

Other authors, such as Josef Kopta or Helena Bochořáková-Dittrichová (1934) expressed doubts over the direction in which the Soviet Union was heading. Between these two opposite poles there was a large group of authors for whom Soviet life was in many ways a pleasant surprise, but who were nevertheless willing to depict its downsides. The ultimate purpose of the journey was to enable the all authors to offer a brief 'snapshot' description of the still-unknown Soviet world for the benefit of Czech readers.

The publication of André Gide's critical account *Retour de l'U.R.S.S.* [Return from the USSR] (1936; published in Czech as *Návrat ze Sovětského svazu*, 1936) sparked a polemic in Czech intellectual circles. The growing threat of fascism caused many intellectuals to fear that critical views of the USSR could potentially be misused by anti-democratic forces for their own ends (Hollander, P. 2014), and – against the background of the dramatic events of 1938–1939 – the late 1930s brought a halt to the publication of travelogues about the Soviet Union.

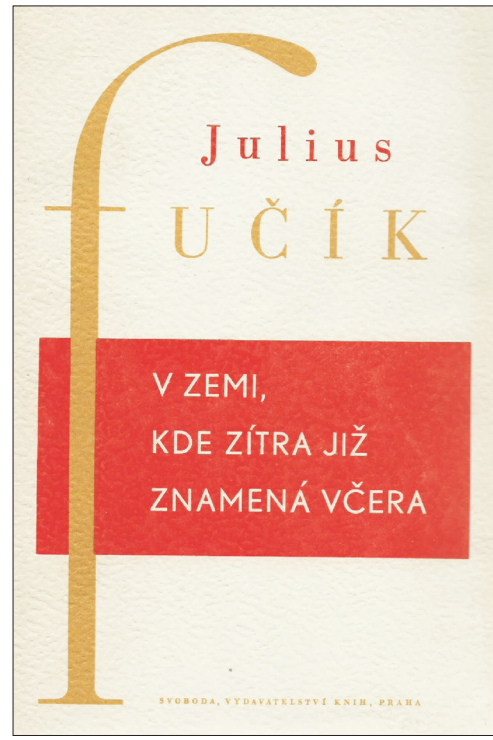

Photo 1. Julius Fučík's book (1932) represents a pure example of ideological pro-Soviet travelogue. The cover of its 2nd edition (1950).

After 1945, the status of the Soviet Union as a victor over fascism brought a radical change in Czech attitudes to the USSR, which was now viewed unquestionably as a liberator and as a truly global power. In the context of subsequent developments on the domestic political scene (the communists' seizure of power in 1948), it is understandable that travel writing about the USSR published in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s took an unswervingly pro-Soviet line. One of the typical features of travel writing during this period was therefore its homogeneity, a result of the authors' own ideological bias and the fact that laudatory, uncritical admiration was the only officially permitted stance towards the USSR. However, as in the interwar period, authors from these years belonged to various different professions – including not only the members

of specific agricultural delegations, but also writers, journalists, theatre actors and directors, musicians, firefighters and more *(Photo 2)*.

The writers' keenness to visit the USSR was no longer primarily motivated by a desire to discover and write about a new country, but rather by their joyful expectation of visiting a destination for which they already felt an almost sacred admiration – or at least this was the impression created by their prose. The destination that they were about to visit was no longer an unknown quantity; the Soviet Union was presented as a close friend, or as a teacher and guide. Visitors were about to enter a utopian world of which they had already formed a mental image back home in communist Czechoslovakia. This image of the Soviet Union remained dominant up to the 1960s, and even during the 1960s it persisted in the majority of travel writing. However, the gradual liberalization of political and cultural life during the 1960s made it possible for authors to voice critical opinions. In the mid-1960s, travellers' interest in the Soviet Union began to wane in favour of other countries, particularly Western Europe and Asia.

In the following section we focus on four topics (means of transport, itineraries, the depiction of nature, and the linguistic landscape) which demonstrate the potential of travel writing as a source of material for historical geography; these are also the aspects of the texts which show the greatest range and variation throughout the period under investigation (for more details see Davidová Glogarová, J. and David, J. 2017).

Photo 2. Covers of travelogues from the 1950s

Means of transport

It was not only perceptions of the Soviet Union that changed during the course of the 20th century, but also the means and forms of transport used by travellers. During the inter-war period, the authors travelled to the USSR by train, usually via Poland. Their descriptions of the journey include accounts of meeting and talking with other travellers from all over Europe – who, especially during the 1920s, often warned them of the chaos that the revolutionary events had brought. Most of the travellers entered Soviet territory at the Nyegoreloye border post, which was presented as both a real and a symbolic boundary separating the old world from the new (*the barbed-wire enclosure*; *the boundary of the world*; *the boundary between the Western and Eastern worlds*). This sense of a momentous occasion was reinforced by the change of time zone (clocks went forward by two hours), which – together with the prominently displayed symbols of communism – represented an entry into a new space-time: *"Move the clock forward by two hours, change trains for the wide-gauge Soviet carriages with the conductress, and you are no longer in third class, but in a log cabin. So much wood!"* (Pujmanová, M. 1932).

The Soviet soldiers, barbed wire barriers, red stars and propaganda slogans accompanied the travellers throughout their entire journey, and seeing them for the first time enhanced the magic of the moment at which they crossed over to 'the other side of the world': *"We crossed from the empire of the bourgeois dictatorship to the empire of the proletarian dictatorship* […] *Above the watchtower right on the border flies a red flag, and on its side, facing Estonia and the entire world, the words are clearly visible: 'Workers of the World, Unite!'"* (Šmeral, B. 1920).

After the Second World War, air transport began to rival the railways in importance. A delegation of Czechoslovak writers flew to the USSR as early as 1948, and in 1949 Jan Bureš remarked: *"Travelling to the Soviet Union by train is gradually becoming old-fashioned. It was only the weather that prevented us from flying"* (Bureš, J. 1949). Travellers appreciated the speed of air travel, which intensified their overall experience, as well as the opportunity to enjoy a bird's-eye view of the landscape. Another change was the westward shift of the Soviet border ('de facto' in 1939, 'de jure' in 1945); the border crossing was no longer at Nyegoreloye, but at the originally Polish town of Brest-Litovsk.

Another change in depictions of transport came in the 1960s. Air travel was still the predominant mode of transport, but the joy of flight was no longer at the forefront of the authors' minds; instead they tended to emphasize their respect for the fact that planes offered access to almost every part of the Soviet Union. Writers praised the advantages of air transport, displayed their knowledge of common types of Soviet planes, and emphasized the speed with which the USSR's transport infrastructure was being constructed, reducing travelling times and enabling Soviet civilization to spread and flourish: *"How are you travelling? By plane? It's under two hours to Nepostizhny* […] *Years ago it took us twenty-five days or more to get from there to Yakutsk. Across the taiga, and on river boats. There was no other way of getting there."* (Noháč, Z. and Oborský, S. 1961). Most writers continued to be impressed by air travel, which deepened their respect for the great progress achieved by Soviet science and technology. However, for some authors air travel had entirely lost its magic, and they increasingly preferred traditional modes of transport such as trains or ships: *"But gone are the days when people sat gaping in their seats, excitedly speculating whether the plane had already left the ground. Nowadays plane travellers doze glumly. The more sophisticated the technology, the greater the boredom* […]*"* (Marek, J. 1962).

Besides public transport (trains, planes, boats or ships), the late 1950s – and especially the 1960s – saw the emergence of the private car as a viable means of transport for travellers. Cars freed travellers from organizational constraints and allowed them to discover the country at their own pace, though they were still assisted (and monitored) by the Soviet travel agency *Inturist*. The experienced traveller František Alexander Elstner drove a

Škoda Octavia car on his promotional trip through the USSR; an important aim of the trip was to map the country's potential as a destination for motoring tourism (including tourist services and accommodation, the quality of the road network, the prices of food and petrol, etc.) *(Photo 3* and *4).*

Itineraries

Due to the close supervision of official delegations and tourist groups, the large distances that had to be covered, and the restricted transport options open to the visitors, the itineraries described in the texts from the inter-war period and the 1950s are often very similar – encompassing visits to social and government institutions, factories, new buildings, museums, and former churches and monasteries that had generally been converted into museums of atheism and similar institutions. Above all, it was essential for the authors to visit the cities that were perceived as the 'cradles of the Revolution' – Moscow, Leningrad (up to 1924 and from 1991 Sankt Petersburg), and later Stalingrad (up to 1925 Tsaritsyn, from 1961 Volgograd). Other important destinations included Kiev and Kharkov. The authors described the overall character and atmosphere of these cities in order to give their Czech readers an impression of everyday Soviet life.

The large cities in the European part of the Soviet Union continued to be the most frequent destinations for authors visiting the country after the Second World War, with Leningrad and Stalingrad gaining in popularity. The authoritative status of Leningrad in the post-war years was described in emotive terms by Jarmila Glazarová: *"In the autumn of '41 Leningrad set up radio contact with Sevastopol, and both cities remained in contact until Sevastopol had to surrender. In 1944 they told us how they felt a strange trembling when they heard the voice from Leningrad, because it was the voice of a brother in distress. The voice of an elder brother"* (Glazarová, J. 1952b). However, the greatest prestige and honour was enjoyed by Stalingrad, *"a witness to the immortal glory and heroism of the Soviet people, where from the ruins, from the land soaked in the blood of heroes, a new city is born, a city of creative labour"* (Hillová, O. 1951); Stalingrad became one of the central symbols of communism, and the city was personified as the saviour of the Soviet Union from the threat of Nazism.

Photo 3–4. František A. Elstner's travelogue (1961) describing a Škoda Octavia car promotional trip through the USSR.

After the Second World War, the development of air transport infrastructure opened up the more distant Asian part of the Soviet Union to travellers. Authors undertook journeys not only to the Caucasus and the Black Sea coast, but also to Central Asia, the Urals and Siberia; these destinations were particularly favoured by delegations from agricultural collectives. The more distant and exotic regions of the Soviet Union became common destinations in the 1960s, even surpassing the large cities in the European part of the country. Authors appeared unwilling to write repeatedly about places which had already been written about numerous times since the Revolution, and which many of them had themselves already visited on numerous occasions.

By the early 1960s, the large Soviet cities seemed no more exotic and interesting to the authors than Prague did. This is evident from a travelogue written by Josef Kadlec, for whom Moscow was almost a second home, a city where he had many friends and favourite places: *"I don't feel like sleeping, and it wouldn't seem right to spend my first evening in Moscow alone. So I look through my book of phone contacts, there's a phone on the table – all I need to do is dial a number and call someone, say hello to them. I feel like doing that…"* (Kadlec, J. 1960). However, most Czech visitors felt more attracted to places that remained unexplored – and there were still many such places in the Soviet Union. The traditional tourist sites and organized *Inturist* itineraries prevented them from reaching their real destinations, and the authors felt them to be a waste of time: *"Two whole days in Kiev? That's a whole hike in the Caucasus! 'Can't we shorten it?' We have our instructions.' 'But your instructions are costing us two days in the mountains.'"* (Heckel, V. and Černík, A. 1965).

Travelling to the more distant regions of the Soviet Union represented an opportunity to explore unknown territory and open up new vistas. The authors described the geography of the places they visited, gave historical accounts and described local traditions, met and spoke with local people, and told their stories.

The depiction of nature

The authors of travelogues described not only urban destinations, but also landscapes and the natural world. Members of the left-wing avant-garde placed particular emphasis on the industrial landscape, transformed and shaped by human activity; this tendency began in the inter-war years and became even stronger during the 1950s. Their focus was no longer on rivers, but dams; no longer on traditional rural life, but on collective farms – and especially on the people who laboured to fulfil the five-year plans. Landscapes in which the natural world was combined with anthropological features became an ideological image celebrating the triumphant achievements of mankind, in the spirit of Stalin's plans to harness and transform nature. These plans proved particularly inspirational to the members of agricultural delegations who visited the USSR in the 1950s. Air travel also offered a bird's-eye view of the land, emphasizing the spatial otherness of the Soviet Union. A striking image observed by some travellers was the contrast between the huge collective fields and the narrow strips of privately owned farmland: *"When travelling from Brest-Litovsk to Moscow, our delegates observed how the landscape changed. From Minsk onwards we could see from the train that we were in another country, where agriculture had progressed beyond the individual level. There were no small fields like at home or in Poland, but only huge tracts of farmland worked by tractors"* (Malík, Z. 1950).

The thematisation of nature and landscape was at its strongest in the travel writing published during the 1960s. Most of the travelogues from this decade continued to depict nature as something that was being successfully cultivated (*"The Taiga is being pushed back by the will of the Soviet people. Under its roots lies an immense treasure-chest, and people are now starting to lift up the lid"*, Nováč, Z. and Oborský, S. 1961), and some authors viewed nature through a technocratic lens, either as an enemy of mankind or as a mere repository and source of raw materials and energy (*"It is almost as if Mother Nature has done this on*

purpose: in this icy land, only rarely visited by the nomadic reindeer herders, the Nganasan and the Sakha, stand two mountains side by side, a unique treasure-chest of valuable mineral resources", Noháč, Z. and Oborský, S. 1962). However, many authors also marvelled at the natural beauty of the landscapes they saw – which were entirely unlike the familiar landscapes of Central Europe. This perspective was particularly typical of the travelogues written by sportspeople (particularly those involved in mountain-climbing and water sports; see *Photo 5*), who praised the magnificence of the Soviet landscape and admired its rugged peaks and untamed rivers.

These authors – and the local people they met – did not battle against nature, but instead tried to understand it, and their travelogues depicted a symbiosis of mankind and the natural world. They did not praise the great Soviet building projects, but cautiously criticized them for disturbing the fragile balance between mankind and nature: *"Several kilometres upriver there is now a new village – Novyye Bezingi. It consists of several dozen squat, neat-looking whitewashed houses, several stables, sheep-farm enclosures, telephone pylons, electric streetlamps and roads. The builders were not particularly interested in whether the houses fitted into the landscape. New houses were needed, and here they are"* (Heckel, V. and Černík, A. 1965). The propagandistic function of these texts was weaker than in other types of travelogues, as if the importance of communism (with its relatively short history in both Czechoslovakia and the USSR) paled into insignificance when faced with the eternal power of nature.

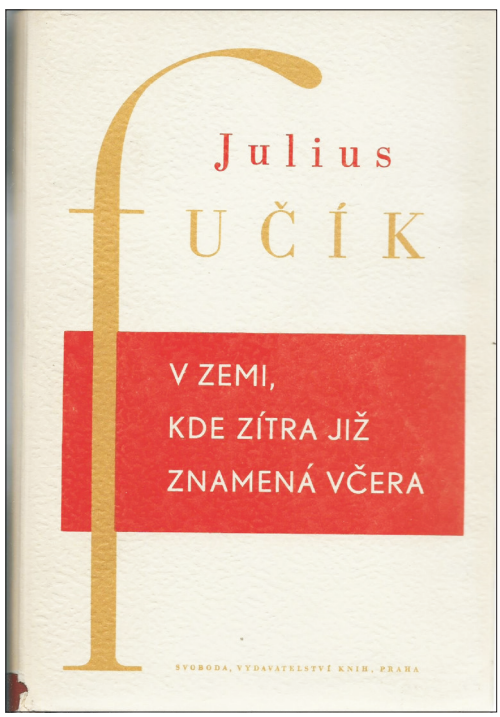

Photo 5. Travelogues written by sportspeople during the 1960s praised the magnificence of the landscape and admired its rugged peaks

The linguistic landscape

The authors' attention was also attracted by changes in language, particularly its appellative and proprial components, and the linguistic landscape of written texts in public spaces, which were viewed as symbols of the Revolution. The revolutionary events had not only brought new anthroponyms (personal names), toponyms (geographical names) and other new words into the Russian language; they had also caused shifts in the meanings of existing words. Noticing these changes, the authors tried to explain them – especially during the inter-war years. The new words were attributed performative, symbolic and evaluative functions, as can be seen in this text by Marie Pujmanová: *"The Russian word for 'education'* [prosveshchenie – 'enlightenment'] *still contains its original root: the word meaning 'light'. Words here retain their original meanings. People here believe in them literally. The 'winged words' of Marx and Lenin fly freely here, covering immense distances"* (Pujmanová, M. 1932).

The travellers also took an interest in words and phrases connected with the new social and economic reality – *Bolshevik, kindergarten, collectivization, kolkhoz, comintern, five-year plan, sotsgorod* – or new forms of address. Authors saw a performative function

in various aspects of Soviet language; Kisch wrote about the use of diminutive forms to denote police officers (*"they use the word 'miltoshka' to mean a member of the people's militia – a diminutive form, whereas the Tsarist gendarmes were viewed as vengeful tyrants, and they were known as 'pharaohs' or 'archangels'"*, Kisch, E.E. 1929), while Jarmila Glazarová considered why the original word *police* had been replaced (*"Police officers and traffic officers are known here as the 'militia'. The word 'police' had such terrible associations, dating from Tsarist times, that it simply ceased to exist"*, Glazarová, J. 1952a).

In addition to thematising the lexical and semantic specifics of appellative vocabulary, the travelogues also devoted considerable attention to proper names, which were seen as manifestations of the new Soviet reality and the people's victory over space and nature. In addition to 'revolutionary' proper names (e.g. *Elektrifikatsia* ['Electrification'], *Oktyabr* and *Oktyabrina* [masculine and feminine forms of 'October'], *Revolutsiya* or *Traktor*), authors also wrote about the changes in chrematonyms (new names of shops, companies and institutions) and especially toponyms (new geographical names, including renaming of existing places; on the creation of political landscapes through commemorative names cf. e.g. David, J. 2011).

Especially in the travelogues written between the wars and soon after the Second World War, the authors saw these new names as manifestations of the Soviet dream becoming a reality, underlining the contrast between the new names and the original names; the new names gained a symbolic function and embodied the presence of the future in everyday reality. This perspective can be illustrated by extracts from Julius Fučík's interwar travelogue and a post-war text by Jaroslav Vojtěch: *"The history of Tsaritsyn has come to an end. Never, never forget! A new era is flowing above Stalingrad"* (Fučík, J. 1932); *"We did not have very high expectations of Saratov – perhaps because it still bore its old name. We imagined Saratov as an old Volga town in which nothing much had changed"* (Vojtěch, J. 1952).

A stylistic technique used by some authors was that of *onomastic allusions* (Lennon, P. 2004). This technique was used when comparing Soviet cities and regions with locations in other countries (especially in the West and in Czechoslovakia) which were renowned for their historical or cultural significance or which symbolized luxury and wealth. In such cases the metaphor served a propagandistic purpose, and indeed this technique is still used today in advertising (place branding and place marketing); its purpose was to emphasize the progressive nature of Soviet society, which was not only equal to, but superior to the West. An example can be found in a text by Glazarová, J. whose characterization *"Vasilyevsky Island is the Soviet Quartier Latin, Leningrad's Latin Quarter"* (Glazarová, J. 1952b) not only emphasizes the similarity with the famous Parisian university district, but also accentuates the Soviet character of the Leningrad location. Similarly, the description of Moscow as *the third Rome* or *the Rome of the East* emphasizes not only the city's unique character, but also its supremacy.

Conclusions

Russia was already an interesting destination for Czech travellers in the 19th century, attracting especially those visitors who were inspired by the ideas of pan-Slavism and the cultivation of close mutual relations between the Czech and Russian nations. However, the major impetus for Czech authors' increased interest in Russia was the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, which ushered in a radically different political and social situation and led to a marked increase in the volume of Czech travel literature about Russia. For visitors from Czechoslovakia, Soviet Russia (from 1922 onwards the Soviet Union) represented an entirely new and exotic destination.

Travelling to post-Revolutionary Russia, they were entering an unknown space; they attempted to uncover its secrets by visiting large cities and observing the behaviour of

Soviet citizens and the social and economic conditions in which they lived. The main focus for most Czech travelogues during the inter-war period was therefore on depicting the exotically different world of the "Soviet Orient". This focus shifted after 1945 (and particularly after the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1948). Once Czechoslovakia had fallen within the Soviet sphere of influence, travelogues were no longer written in order to convey genuine knowledge and insight to their readers, but instead to strengthen Czechoslovak-Soviet relations and express admiration for the Soviet Union.

Travelogues from this period are characterized by an uncritical pro-Soviet stance and a view of the USSR as a "big brother"; this was also reflected in the texts' depiction of space, which was used to exert ideological persuasion on readers. Examples of this can be found in the authors' descriptions of cities (such as the adoration of Stalingrad as the city that saved the world from fascism) and the natural world (which was depicted purely as an object to be cultivated by human beings, in the spirit of Stalin's plan to transform nature).

A turn away from this type of writing came in the early 1960s, when the development of more sophisticated transport infrastructure (including air transport) and the relaxation of the formerly hard-line communist regime in Czechoslovakia (and also in the USSR) inspired travellers to explore the exotic aspects of the Soviet Union and penetrate deeper into its Asian regions. Some travelogues from this period remained within the tight ideological constraints of the previous era, but others managed to move beyond the ideological conception of space – exploring the beauty of the natural world and the cultures of the USSR's traditional Asian nations.

Focusing on topics connected with the conception of space and landscape (including linguistic landscape), we have set out to show how Czech travelogues published between 1917 and 1968 presented and reflected the developing relationship between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Travel writing on the USSR continued after 1968 too, though interest in the country declined markedly as Czechoslovak society began to view the Soviet myth with more critical eyes following the Warsaw Pact invasion of 1968 and as the relations between the two countries became more formal in nature; for instance, the 1975 travelogue *My z Orenburgu* [We of Orenburg] by the pro-regime journalist Jiří Stano represented an attempt to revive the professional travelogue of the Stalinist era.

An analysis of travelogues about Russia published after the fall of the Iron Curtain would undoubtedly have brought interesting insights; this remains a stimulating challenge for future researchers, including historical geographers. Several Czech travelogues have now been published about post-Soviet Russia and its society; these texts also acquaint readers with exotic and adventurous aspects of the country (especially Siberia).

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The reinterpretation of histories in identities of newly established regions: The case of Local Action Groups in Czechia

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Abstract

History is a construct based on the reselection, reconstruction and reinterpretation of past events in order to validate former, present, as well as future actions of actors. Therefore, there is no single history but rather many histories based on different ways of reinterpretation. The reinterpretation of history plays an important role in the process of regional identity formation. In this paper we aim to examine how and to what extent the relatively new ad hoc regions – Local Action Groups (LAGs) – in Czechia use history and historical and historicizing elements to present the region's image, and how LAGs reinterpret history in order to foster a sense of territorial togetherness among inhabitants. The research had two phases. In the first phase, we evaluated the primary presentation of all 180 LAGs. While in the second one, more detailed analysis was performed on the strategies of selected LAGs towards the reinterpretation of history. In general, we can conclude that LAGs work with history and historical themes only to a limited extent. However, some LAGs use actively history. The paper identifies three ways of reinterpretation of history engaged in the process of regional identity formation: regional patriotic, critical and conciliatory.

Keywords: regional history, new regionalism, regional identity, reinterpretation of history, Local Action Group, Czechia

Introduction

Since the early 1990s, regionalism has swiftly redeveloped in Europe. It is characterized by the rapid growth of new ad hoc regions. In Czechia, this boom could primarily be observed in the new millenium in connection with the country's EU accession. In order to prevent the newly created regions from becoming mere ephemeral initiatives, they must defend their position in the regional system by building up their image and strengthening their inhabitants' sense of regional togetherness (Semian, M. 2016a). The region's image and the inhabitants' regional consciousness are the two basic, mutually connected elements of regional identity, according to Paasi, A. (1986). The construction of a regional identity, therefore, is necessary for the region's further reproduction and its embeddedness in the regional system.

Regional identity is a specific type of territorial identity with collective character. Regional identity is produced and reproduced within the discourse of social practices and power relations (Paasi, A. 2013). It is a self-standing phenomenon incorporating human perception, attachment, and even regional politics. Most often it is negotiated within the duality between "us" and "the others" (see e.g. Massey, D. and Jess, P. 1995; Crang, M.A. 1998; Semian, M. 2016b). In the context of the new regionalism, regional identity is understood as a catalyst for regional economic development and a tool in the hands of regional actors (Keating, M. 1998; Tomaney, J. and Ward, N. 2000).

As mentioned above, regional identity can be deconstructed into two mutually intertwined parts: on the one hand, regional identity is viewed through the prism of identifica-

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tion. It can be described as the "regional consciousness of inhabitants." On the other hand, it is addressed through the prism of the created, mediated, and perceived "identity (image) of region" (Paasi, A. 1986). The regional consciousness of inhabitants is socially constructed, nevertheless, any human choice is influenced through heritage (Kučera, Z. *et al.* 2008) and the process of socialization. Identity is, thus, an ancestral phenomenon (Giddens, A. 1991), while the identity of a region is discussed as a constructed image both inside and outside of the region. Regional images can be (re)produced by the general public based on their knowledge and perception of available information (Paasi, A. 1986). Nonetheless, they are primarily (re)produced by various actors in order to attract the regional consciousness and to pursuit their own particular goals (Semian, M. 2012). During this process, various regional components ranging from society and its economic activity through natural and cultural heritage and landscape features to historical heritage, including the history of the region itself as well as the history that takes place in the territory, are reinterpreted, commodified, and exploited.

Thus, history and historical events have an important role in the process of regional identity formation. They can become a symbol that the inhabitants might feel attached to (a link to the roots). They can be commodified and used as a tool to promote identification with a particular territory. They can be reinterpreted to support the idea of the region's long socio-spatial continuity of existence. Nevertheless, one must always bear in mind that history is the contemporary interpretation of past evidence for future action (Riukulehto, S. 2015); it is a construct, written by winners, and it is presented and promoted to validate their former, present, as well as future actions. Thus, history is relative and is under the influence of the power relations in the area. For more ideas on the various perception of history see e.g. Tosh, J. 2015; or in the Czech context Šubrt, J. and Vinopal, J. 2013.

In the regional identity formation process, history is selected, generalized, and reinterpreted by regional actors according to their goals. Thus, both tangible and intangible heritage is rearticulated, and historical images of the region are constructed and mediated in the form of narratives, events, periods, sites, symbols, etc. And, of course, the present image, symbols (name, values, borders, etc.) are retrospectively projected onto previous eras to strengthen the contemporary idea and validate its existence. This applies not only to the history of a particular region, but also to such history as can be used to contradict the demarcation of "us."

The main aim of this paper is to examine how and to what extent the relatively new ad hoc regions in Czechia use history, historical and historicizing elements to present their image, and how they reinterpret them in order to foster a sense of territorial togetherness among their inhabitants. We are not only interested in the selected topics, elements, and historical periods, but also the chosen strategies of historical reinterpretation and how it is presented. The paper will specifically focus on Local Action Groups (LAGs) and we want to contribute to the ongoing discussion on the possibilities and methods of activating the (rural) regions' endogenous potentials for development. Our case study focuses on the local elites at the regional level who possess the power to create regional images and attempt to promote these images within the local community. Here, the bottom-up and top-down approaches interfere with each other. The regional actors poise the attraction of local attention (local temper, feelings, relations) on the one hand and the official regulations and politically superior national (and even international) narratives on the other. This may result in various approaches to the interpretation of history and therefore in various histories.

Methodological remarks

Local Action Groups (LAGs) are relatively new institutions in the Czech environment. They represent a very dynamic (not yet stabilized) element in the Czech regional system. In Czechia, these regions began to be formed

in 2002 in connection with the country's preparations to join the European Union. Since municipalities of more than 25,000 inhabitants cannot be part of a LAG, the LAGs represent a platform of predominantly rural regions. From the perspective of economic development, rural regions are disadvantaged compared to urban regions, and they are, thus, more forced to seek alternative strategies of development and try to activate their endogenous potential (Jančák, V. *et al.* 2008).

LAGs are based on the LEADER method of regional management and also on the principle of community-led local development, which creates the potential to strengthen the community's sense of togetherness, supports local social capital, and activates the territory's endogenous potential for development. It can therefore be assumed that LAGs need to link their authority with the inhabitants' regional consciousness, either by adopting an existing regional identity or constructing an entirely new one. Joining the historical development of a territory and its reinterpretation in order to strengthen the image of togetherness is one of the possible strategies to anchor the new regional initiatives within the regional system (Semian, M. *et al.* 2016). Currently, there are 180 LAGs in Czechia. In total, more than 90 per cent of Czech municipalities are engaged in one of these LAGs.

LAGs, thus, represent a suitable subject with which to study the process of regional identity formation, or, in our case, the significance of history and historical elements, and their reinterpretation within this process. Moreover, this rich source of information has been used very little in similar studies to date. On the other hand, this sort of source of information is also limiting, which must be taken into consideration when interpreting the findings. The main limitations stem from the motivation behind the foundation of LAGs. Despite the previously mentioned significance of the regional initiatives, the pragmatic motivation of their foundation merely in order to have access to funds and receive subsidies cannot be overlooked. Such initiatives are ephemeral. They last only as long as funds can be divested, and cease when the subsidies run out. A further limitation can be the technocratic approach to the shared LAG information – in particular strategic documents – when the purpose of the documents more or less influences the language and the content of the analysed text. Finally, there is the influence of the national and supranational structures and frameworks that help run the institutions studied herein through terms, rules, and incentives.

The research itself had two phases. In the first phase, we evaluated the primary presentation of all 180 LAGs registered in the National Network of Local Action Groups in Czechia (NNLAG; *Národní síť Místních akčních skupin České republiky*) as of January 2017. The primary presentation of the region can be understood as the name, logo, and slogan of the individual LAGs (see Pike, A. 2011; Kašková, M. and Chromý, P. 2014). To this trio, we added the introductory picture – photograph – on the LAGs' websites, with the exception of photographs generated at random from a photo section. These pictures were included in the research because, next to the name and logo, it is the first information that a person sees when searching for the LAG. The introductory illustrations, thus, greatly influence one's first impression of the region in question. We evaluated the name of the LAGs through a motivational analysis. We then subjected the logo, slogan, and introductory pictorial presentation to a content analysis. In the case of LAGs that use historical and historicizing elements in their basic presentation, a greater level of historical reinterpretation in other official materials can be assumed. Therefore, based on the results of the first phase, we identified a total of 42 LAGs (see *Figure 1*), which we subjected to further analysis.

In the second phase of the research, we evaluated the official texts available on the websites of the selected LAGs. We focused specifically on the Strategy of Community-Led Local Development (SCLLD; *Strategie komunitně vedeného místního rozvoje*); the journals, bulletins, and newsletters pub-

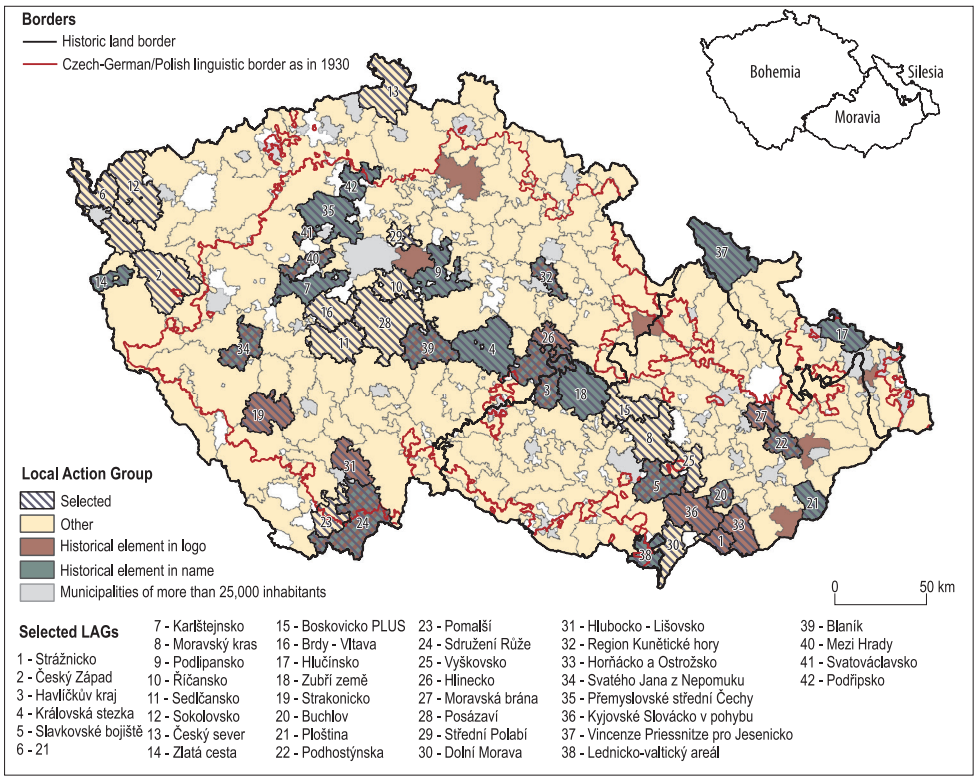

Fig 1. Historical elements in the names and logos of LAGs in Czechia, January 2017. (Compiled by Semian, M.)

lished by LAGs; the promotional materials (most frequently flyers, informational panels on trails, publications, etc.); the popularizing texts about individual projects and their output; promotional texts about the social events organized or supported and presented by the individual LAGs. These sources of information represent the region's main tool of inward and outward communication. The SCLLD strategy is the region's current vision for development (for the period of 2014–2020), and it contains not only the situational analysis of the territory, but also the strategy for development and the implementation plan of this strategy.

The SCLLD strategy is, thus, how the regional actors view their own territory and its values – the vision of the direction that the region will take and the means with which it will achieve it. The point of the newsletters, etc. is, thus, to inform the territory's inhabitants not only about the LAG's activities, but also about the region itself. They are a means to create the internal image of the region and strengthen the feeling of regional togetherness. The promotional materials are then marketed outwardly to appeal to tourists and visitors, and contribute to the reproduction of the region's external image. Texts about projects and events are a source of information about the LAGs' specific activities and the region's social and everyday life. They reveal the specific strategies and tools of historical reinterpretation used by the LAGs' key actors. We conducted keyword searches in all of these texts to find passages referring

to the region's history, traditions, heritage, or monuments. We then subjected them to a semantic analysis. We focused primarily on which of the region's historical topics and elements, historical periods and events are presented; how and for what purpose are they reinterpreted; and how they are presented to the public. During this research phase, we focused on the general as well as specific examples of using history and historical elements, and we tried to identify various communication strategies based on their reinterpretation.

Table 1. The usage of historical elements in the selected aspects of LAGs in Czechia, January 2017.

Historical element in				Total
name	logo	slogan	introductory photographs	
21	23	7	51	180
In per cent				
11.7	12.8	0.4	28.3	100.0

**Source*: Websites of individual LAGs.

Historical and historicizing elements in the LAGs' primary presentation

We must start by noting that, in general, the LAGs' presentations touch on history to a lesser degree *(Table 1)*. More precisely, they use topics from history primarily in their materials as cultural-historical monuments. Usually, it does not go beyond the simple statement: "there are a lot of (important) cultural heritage sites in the region." This is mostly due to the continuing pragmatic approach to LAGs as a means to distribute money (repair monuments) and the economic motivation to commodify the territory's history, or rather its heritage, in the interest of tourism.

We managed to identify a total of 21 LAGs with historical names (see *Figure 1*; cf. Semian, M. *et al.* 2016). In contrast to the previous research purely on regional names, we added the names of some newly created LAGs, but also the names of renamed current LAGs[3]. The historical motifs used in the names are most often based on the names of historical monuments or events (e.g. LAG Ploština, LAG Karlštejnsko) and the names of historical figures (e.g. LAG Havlíčkův kraj, LAG Svatováclavsko), or the names of noble families (LAG Sdružení růže, LAG Zubří země). Names based on historical trails (LAG Zlatá cesta), and historical regions (LAG Hlučínsko), or mythological places (LAG Blaník) are rare. Based on the methodology selected, we did not include names based on cultural and ethnographic regions, despite their historicizing potential (see Semian, M. *et al.* 2016).

A total of 23 LAGs have a logo that evokes history. Of these, only 10 LAGs have names based on history. In the logos, the stylized motif of the monument is used most often (12 times) (e.g. a castle, a manor, a monument, a pilgrimage church), or its silhouette, or its setting into a broader panorama of its landscape. In most cases, it is a specific building that is characteristic for the region in question (e.g. LAG Kunětické hory; see *Figure 2*).

Fig. 2. Selected examples of LAGs' logos with historical elements

[3] For example, the LAG Za humnama newly changed its name to LAG Slavkovské bojiště, based on a historical event, which, due to the significant monument to peace form the central historical and landscape landmark of the territory, in November 2014. The change was based on the recommendation of the Ministry of Agriculture that the name should better reflect the LAG's geographic location.

The LAG Mezi hrady is a specific example. Its logo depicts a silhouette of three distinct castles, of which only one lies within the LAG's territory. Another specific example is LAG Buchlov, which uses the signs on tourist maps to symbolize two peaks with monuments. In several cases, the monument is not specified (e.g. LAG Region Pošembeří). Some other ways of creating the logo use elements of folklore that are typical for the territory in question (e.g. LAG Strážnicko), or the specific attributes tied most often to the name of the LAG (e.g. LAG Havlíčkův kraj[4]). The logo of LAG Sdružení růže is worth mentioning. It stylizes the coat of arms escutcheon, in which there is a white rose with a red core and outline in one field. The LAG refers to the Rožmberk family, which owned most of the LAG's territory in the past, in its other presentation. But the Rožmberks had a red rose in their coat of arms. A white rose on a red field (albeit with a gold core) is the coat of arms of the sibling-family of Landštejn and Třeboň, who owned only a small portion of the territory. This example shows how historical accuracy is sacrificed to the aesthetic aspect of the logo.

Together with the regional name and logo, a slogan is believed to be a key component of the regional branding process (Kašková, M. and Chromý, P. 2014). Thus, it may be used as a tool for regional promotion (Pike, A. 2011). However, only a few LAGs have a slogan, and only seven base their slogan in history. The studied amount is so small that it cannot yield any general trends. But it is apparent that LAGs can work with historical topics in their slogan in various ways. They can be neutral – e.g. LAG Karlštejnsko – History and nature at your fingertips (*Historie a příroda jako na dlani*); LAG Kyjovské Slovácko v pohybu – Region of wine, monuments, and folk tradition (*Region vína, památek a folklorních tradic*), but they can also include ideology, or marketing – e.g. LAG Hlučínsko[5] – We know where we came from and where we are going (*Víme odkud a kam jdeme*); LAG Hlubocko-Lišovsko – The path to tradition leads through a modern region (*Cesta k tradicím vede moderním regionem*), LAG Moravský kras – Enchantingly beautiful scenery, caves inhabited in ancient times and the history of "Bohemian and Moravian ironworks." All this is reflected in the work of the inhabitants and the products that deserve your attention (*Čarokrásné krasové scenérie, pradávno obývané jeskyně a historie „železné huti českých i moravských zemí". To vše se odráží v práci zdejších obyvatel a výrobcích, které zasluhují Vaši pozornost*).

The last element of the region's primary presentation that we analysed are the introductory photographs on the LAGs' websites. These pictures are one of the first things one notices when looking at the sites. They, thus, have the potential to significantly influence the observer's first impression of the region *(Photo 1).*

The most common form is the landscape photograph, capturing the general landscape view of the countryside. Someone who knows the region can sometimes identify a specific place, mountain, town, or monument. In this type of presentation, roughly a fourth of the LAGs use a historical motif; the vast majority use a photograph of a specific monument, or its setting within the countryside. The second most common is the depiction of people in regional dress, most often during a celebration. In this case, there is usually not just one photograph; the vast majority uses a series of photographs that can be described as "life in the region". These series are supposed to evoke the region's rich social life, and showing people in regional dress underlines the emphasis on the territory's preservation of folklore traditions.

Reinterpretation of history in the LAGs' presentation

Based on the level of work with historical elements in the LAGs' primary presentation, we selected 42 (see *Figure 1*) that reflected

[4] Depicting the head of Karel Havlíček Borovský.

[5] LAG Hlučínsko used the more explicit slogan in 2014: From the Prussian past to the European future (*Od Pruské minulosti k Evropské budoucnosti*).

Photo 1. The example of introductory photographs depicting both folklore tradition and historical monument, LAG Hlinecko. *Source*: http://www.mashlinecko.cz/

historical or historicizing topics the most. We subjected the selected LAGs to intensive research on how they use history and its reinterpretation in official documents and LAG presentations. We managed to identify several general approaches that can be divided into four topics: monuments, tradition, identity, and historicizing events.

The most reflected topic infused with history is without a doubt cultural-historical monuments. As the repair of cultural-historical monuments is one of the supported activities planned for 2014–2020, it is a factor that influences the LAG's choice. Most LAGs include maintenance (repair, revitalization, renewal) of historical monuments, trails, etc. in their strategic documents as one of their priorities for development. This maintenance is defended by the need to protect the cultural heritage (without a more detailed specification of what such cultural heritage means) and especially in the case of monuments with supra-local significance, by the need to support tourism in the region. There is a whole list of promotional materials (books, brochures, flyers, panels on trails) on the monuments, primarily on their history. The history of the individual villages in the region is similarly presented.

The LAGs use several different ways to deal with the traditions that represent another significant group of topics. First is the craft tradition and the traditional products it produces. Practically, all LAGs to a certain extent participate on the regional product brand's management (see Kašková, M. and Chromý, P. 2014). Protecting the region's living heritage supports traditional crafts, but it also supports small businesses, however the question of their authenticity remains unanswered (cf. Cohen, E. 1988).

The LAGs often point out a tradition of economic production that can be the glue that connects the whole region. Specific agricultural activities (wine-making, fruit farming, etc.) are the most common. The second way in which the concept of tradition is understood is in the sense of folklore. This means various activities and events that are part of life in the village. The most common of these events is carnival, the harvest supper, harvesting grapes, etc. Here, too, the question of the authenticity of the traditions arises, because somewhere the traditions

go far back into past uninterrupted[6], and elsewhere these events are newly organized (renewed) in order to revitalize the region's social life and strengthen togetherness. In terms of the concept of tradition as folklore, regional dress is a specific element. Primarily in Moravia, they are a symbol of living traditions that have been maintained (e.g. LAG Horňácko and Ostrožsko, LAG Kyjovské Slovácko in motion).

The third topic that is typical for most of the assessed LAGs is the emphasis on the feeling of territorial togetherness and the territory's common history. The LAGs approach this problem from various angles. It is very common to use phrases such as "territory with a rich history", "territory with a long (deep) tradition", or "since time immemorial", and generally to underline "the long continuity of settlement in the area and historical togetherness" in strategic documents, but generally these statements do not explain what is meant by historical togetherness more specifically. Occasionally, some of the LAGs are more specific. For example, LAG Karlštejnsko refers to its territorial togetherness based on its position along the old medieval trade route from Prague to Nuremberg called "Via Carolina", which "had a major impact on the development and wealth of this area in old times"[7]. Nevertheless, some LAGs go even further back in history, stressing the presence of Celtic and prehistoric settlements without any links to the present state (e.g. LAG Buchlov).

A second type of approach is the emphasis on the need to educate the region's inhabitants (mostly school-aged children) in the local history and foster their positive relationship to the region, its history and, thus, encourage their feeling of regional togetherness. Various strategies can be found in this case. The most interesting are the various interactive games for families with children, who need to visit predetermined places of interest in the territory and complete activities about them, stimulating interest in the local history. The games use various methods, including modern and popular ones such as geocaching, boardgames, interactive educational trails, competitions, etc. (e.g. LAG Střední Polabí, LAG Český sever). Other LAGs try to capture children's interest in their history through exchange trips with partner LAGs, or they support the publication of books not just about local history, but also legends, tales, and stories (e.g. LAG Hlinecko, LAG Říčansko). Although one can argue about their authenticity as well as their genuine regional uniqueness and specificity, the collected stories grant tradition to the region.

This leads us to the specific topic of Czech-German relationships. The history of this relationship is quite turbulent and to a certain extent can still be seen as a conflict, especially in the borderlands, where the German-speaking population was expelled after World War II (Kučera, Z. and Chromý, P. 2012). At a time when transnational cooperation is one of the priorities of the European Union, in extreme cases one may expect a revisionist, or, in part, a pandering approach to these events and the willful omission of the expulsion period from the region's history (Vaňková, M. 2008). It is therefore perhaps surprising that many LAGs in the borderlands emphasize the post-war exchange of the population in their strategic documents (e.g. LAG Sdružení růže, LAG Sokolovsko). But they almost exclusively interpret this event in its relationship to the development of the number of people living in the territory and note that the population exchange had a negative impact on the inhabitants' territorial togetherness, which lasts to this day. In terms of Czech-German relationships, they are (if at all) interpreted as good neighbourhood (e.g. LAG Zlatá cesta), or they omit this question entirely.

The craft traditions and products made by the German speaking population are interpreted as Czech traditions based on territorial togetherness (e.g. LAG Český sever).

[6] In rare cases, this tradition is even registered in the UNESCO cultural heritage list; e.g. Carnival – LAG Hlinecko.

[7] Surprisingly, LAG Zlatá cesta refers to the same old trade route. They are using the same arguments of development and wealth brought by the route into the region, however, they call it "the Golden Route."

Remembering wartime guilt and the atrocities that the Germans committed against the Czech population during World War II (and vice versa after World War II) is rare. An example may be LAG Hlinecko, or LAG Ploština, but they are close to the villages of Ležáky, or Ploština, which the German army burned down. Similarly, the period of Communist rule (1948–1989), except for a few exceptions, is never emphasized (e.g. LAG Karlštejnsko). This period in Czech history is still seen as highly contentious.

One of the most common types of historical reinterpretation for various purposes is the organization of events with historical themes, or at least with historicizing elements. We have mentioned many of these activities above (folklore traditions, craft markets, historical exhibits, lectures, trips, etc.). Another group are the mining celebrations that are increasing in popularity and almost all of the LAGs with locations historically connected to mining support them. Last but not least, we need to mention the various events and celebrations in period dress that often take place in castles, manors, folk museums, or historic towns and during various anniversaries. Although the selection of the period for the costumes is subject to outside influence (the history of the location, the cost of the costumes, etc.), certain periods are preferred over others. The most popular is late medieval – gothic – fashion, which is primarily connected to the culture of castles, jousting tournaments *(Photo 2)*, and the founding of historic towns. In terms of the historic figures, the figure and period of the emperor Charles IV is currently in the prime of its popularity.

One can also see 19th century both urban and rural costumes very often. These costumes can be seen at various markets and craft fairs, where they help promote and sell regional products their traditions often date back to this period (spa wafers, beer, etc.), or refer to rustic rural culture. With their connection to the industrial revolution, these costumes are used on historical train rides, or Czech national events (the National Revival period). Renaissance and baroque fashion is used to a lesser extent during castle celebrations. Military costumes are a special category. They are frequently used to reenact historical battles, mostly from the medieval period and jousting tournaments, the Thirty Years' War, the wars among the empires in the 18th century, and World War I and World War II. These events are linked to the location of the specific battle, or fortification from World War II, and as an unrelated addition to larger celebrations.

In terms of space, most of the selected LAGs (the ones where the historical aspect is the strongest out of the aspects analysed) are concentrated in the hinterland of larger cities, especially the capital city of Prague, and in Southern Moravia (see *Figure 1*). These areas are historically the core areas of Czechia (see Nováček, A. 2005). It is not then surprising that they have a greater concentration of important historical monuments or historical events. The reinterpretation of history in these LAGs can function as an advantage over the rest of the competition. Moreover, their position in the hinterland of large cities encourages the active presentation of the historical heritage in order to get the inhabitants of these cities to visit a region close by.

In LAGs in the Moravian ethnographic regions in particular one can observe a qualitatively different approach to the reinterpretation of history. Thanks to their specific histories (concentration of national revivalist activities in Prague, later industrialization, etc.), these regions are more traditionalist, conservative, with a greater level of religiosity, and so they base their identity mostly on a lived folklore tradition. In contrast, in Bohemia the folklore tradition is mostly a "museum piece". Also, the LAGs in the resettled borderlands in general work with history much less. This fact can be interpreted as the expression of the interrupted development of settlement, which can be seen today in the inhabitants' relationship with the territory. Other factors, such as the presentation of a mountainous and foothill landscape as the primary enticement for tourists, a lower number of important monuments, contribute to this situation.

Photo 2. Historic costume is very common way of the commodification of history. (Photo by Žirovnická, K.)

Here, we would like to turn the attention from the commonly used strategies to several specific cases, where the reinterpretation of history is an important component of the LAG's communication strategy. In its presentation, LAG Hlučínsko refers to its peculiar history, which it defines as a "specific historical, cultural, and national development that has no equal in our state". The region's identity is significantly influenced by its position at the border, which changed state affiliation six times since the middle of the 18th century. This history had an impact on its ethnic and linguistic makeup, which, despite the dramatic changes in the 19th century, can still be seen today, including in its folk name "Prajzsko". LAG Hlučínsko used its specific dialect and the region's other characteristics (level of religiosity, inhabitants' feeling of togetherness) in its inward and outward presentation and used them to define itself against other regions. Its specific dialect and historical sign has even made it into the name of common investment projects, such as "From corvée to modern agriculture"; "Horse is past, tractor the future"(both acquisition of agricultural technology); "Really nice chapel at Dvořisko" (restoration of a small chapel)[8].

The phenomenon of historicizing promotional names can be seen in other LAGs. By using journalistic quirk and pop-cultural references, these names may transcend the limits of regional history, or can be used even without any relationship to the region, for example "How we worked the mill in Libuše's age" (article about old mills), "Four new musketeers have entered the King's Guard of the Pernstein region" (article about newly labelled regional products)[9].

[8] In Czech: *Od roboty k modernímu zemědělství*; *Kůň je minulost, traktor to je budoucnost*; *Ganz fajna kaple na Dvořisku*.

[9] In Czech: *Jak se mlelo za Libuše* (LAG Přemyslovské střední Čechy); *Čtyři noví mušketýři vstoupili do královské gardy Kraje Pernštejnů* (LAG Kunětické hory).

The historical symbols can obtain such importance that they become a part of the complex communicational strategy of a region targeted to both its inhabitants as well as visitors, etc. The LAG Přemyslovské střední Čechy has based its communication on the mythology of national existence, as well as the historical presence of the first documented reigning Bohemian family. In their various materials, they use the names and elements of both mythological and historically documented persons and events. Moreover, the regional actors call themselves "Přemyslids", like the members of the Přemyslid family. In their statements, they are aware of their local history, its values, and its limits; however, they use the historical importance of the territory to reclaim its importance in the national context. The regional consciousness and pride based on the understanding of local history has an important role in this reclaiming. Other LAGs, such as LAG Český sever, which presents itself in a complex way as the so-called Tolštejnský dominion (*Tolštejnské panství*), or LAG Sokolovsko, which, in its efforts to rid itself of the stigma of a rootless border region, aims to renew its pre-war traditions and cultural heritage, have a similar strategy, even if not as thorough.

Conclusions

In this paper we focused on how and to what extent is the reinterpretation of history used as a tool of communicational and developmental strategy of the still relatively new regions in the Czech regional system – Local Action Groups. Based on our analyses we can formulate several generalizing conclusions.

In general, LAGs work with history and historical themes only in a very limited extent, even when the historical or historicizing element made its way into the institution's name or logo. Nevertheless, some LAGs work actively with history, and for some it has even become the central strategy of communication with its inhabitants as well as its visitors. When LAGs reinterpret history, they usually emphasize the material aspect of history (cultural-historical monuments) its revitalization and commercialization. The commodification of history and the region's heritage is then used primarily for tourism. At the same time, the need to foster a sense of territorial togetherness among regional inhabitants by encouraging interest in regional history and its interpretation is often emphasized. These latter activities are then aimed primarily at the younger generation to try to lower the probability that they will leave the region in the future.

From a spatial perspective, one can discern that LAGs in the hinterland of large cities commodify their history and heritage more often. These regions are trying to attract city visitors and motivate them to visit. In contrast, peripheral regions, or regions with discontinuous settlement, are more inclined to emphasize local inhabitants' feeling of territorial togetherness. These regions, however, prefer other principles when constructing their regional identity; they emphasize the nature and landscape of their region. In general, Bohemia and Moravia approach historical and historicizing topics differently. In Bohemia, reinterpretation is aimed at consumers and conceived as a popular attraction and fun (fairs and celebration in historical costumes). In Moravia, especially in its southern part, there is a greater emphasis on folklore traditions and their presentation as an integral part of the region's living culture. In Moravia, there is also a greater interest in religious monuments. Historically, Moravia has been more religious and traditional than Bohemia.

Through its reinterpretation, history is very flexible and conforms to specific interests and goals. This is its weakness, but it also makes it a powerful tool (see e.g. Bůžek, V. 2003). In the past, the reinterpretation of history contributed several times to the creation of nations and states, and it provides similar "services" to the regions. In Czechia at this level, one can distinguish three basic approaches to the reinterpretation of history.

The first one can be called regional patriotism. It is generally uncritical of its own region,

and its goal is to strengthen citizens' sense of regional togetherness and regional pride.

The second approach to the reinterpretation of history is more critical. It is critical of the past in its effort to rectify old wrongs and revise previous reinterpretations of history.

The third approach, which is strongly influenced by efforts to deepen transnational cooperation, is the conciliatory interpretation of history. It focuses on the positive aspects, and tries to steer away from contentious topics. If it broaches them at all, it simply states the facts.

It is difficult to define the precise factors that stand behind the applied approach to, and the level of historical reinterpretation in the region's activities.

First, the influence of the regional manager, or LAG chairman, cannot be overlooked. The incorporated strategies may become a subject to their own personal interests and preferences.

Second, the localization factor plays a significant role. While regions with attractive natural landscapes can use these as their trademark, regions in the hinterland of larger cities have similar attributes, and so they are in a constant struggle for recognition, their unique and strong image, attractive to locals as well as visitors. Regions that have historically been at the core of the nation can then capitalize on their rich history and many monuments. The presence of significant supra-regional monuments (also museums) in the region exerts a similar influence on territories, which encourages historicizing activities.

Third, continuous or dynamic character of settlement is also a significant factor. Regions with discontinuous settlement suffer from disruption to people's relationship to the region's history. On the other hand, the reinterpretation of the local living and lived traditional culture represent a potential for the fostering of territorial togetherness predominantly in regions with less dynamic of settlement development.

Fourth key factor is the primary reinterpretation of the "golden age" period of the local and national history. These periods are then reinterpreted primarily in terms of economic and cultural prosperity rather than in terms of Czech statehood (political, power prosperity), just as it had been in the past. This is because of the strong economic orientation of many activities as well as the potential contentiousness of an uncritical nationalist reading of history. It is evident that the actors steer clear of these topics, or reinterpret them in a more conciliatory and revisionist light.

For Czechia, the 20th century was a permanent struggle over its identity. National identity was emphasized, while regional identity was sidelined. What was most important was the expression of "us" (Czechs, Czechoslovaks, labour force) and the line separating "us" from "the others" (Habsburgs, Germans, "western imperialists", Slovaks). But the new millennium ushered in a reversal, and the significance of the local and regional identity began to grow. This could potentially erode not the national identity as such, but its meaning. The erosion of nationalism means that there is no need to "push out Habsburgs, Germans, or Slovaks" (and in the future also Communists) and their heritage.

Today, the heritage is assessed as being present in the territory, and therefore it is "ours" regardless its (national) origin. Such construction of "us" is driven predominantly by economic motivations and, thus, brings new struggles into action – struggles over power, money, and attention. The same principle applies to the process of creating the identity of modern regions. The need for the expression of historical territorial togetherness is very important for newly established regions, often unrelated to the current state of its development. Regional history is, thus, chosen, generalized, and reinterpreted for the fulfilment of various (predominantly economic) goals.

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Approaches to identification and interpretation of mining heritage: the case of the Jáchymovsko area, Ore Mountains, Czechia

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Abstract

Mining heritage refers to a complex of both tangible and intangible features and values whose formation was associated with the development of mining activities in the given region. After mining activities are completed, original industrial and related subsidiary structures either fall into dereliction or are subject to conversion. One of frequent modes of transformation of objects is their presentation as heritage and utilization for the needs of tourism. The way of its interpretation and presentation to the public plays a very important role in mining heritage preservation, since it may be attributed not only historical and architectural values, but may also reflect political or ideological background of the period in which it was formed. The paper discusses the definition of mining heritage and the questions concerning its origin, recognition, protection, management and interpretation in the case of the Jáchymovsko area, part of the cross-border mountainous region in Czech-German borderland which is being proposed to be included into the UNESCO heritage list. The Jáchymovsko area is distinguished by the fact that it combines a 500-year-old history of mineral extraction and therefore local mining heritage is very diverse. Thus, different types of local mining heritage and its conversion for other purposes (e.g. tourism) are analysed, ways of local mining heritage identification, management and interpretation are discussed.

Keywords: mining heritage, interpretation, Jáchymov, Ore Mountains, Czechia

Introduction

Extraction of minerals is one of the oldest human activities. Mining ranks among the most important industrial sectors, as it supplies raw materials to a large number of other industries. Like every human activity, the purpose and technique of mineral extraction develops through time. This includes discoveries of new resources, expansion of knowledge in the industry, invention of new procedures and techniques, and closure of operations after deposits of the particular resource are exhausted (Kafka, J. 2003). The process of minerals extraction contributes to formation of extensive complexes of cultural landscape features and a landscape that is heavily transformed by human activities (Csorba, P. and Szabó, S. 2009), the mining landscape (Bridge, G. 2004). The extraction of mineral resources at a particular location is also associated with particular style of life, and with the creation of a specific social and cultural environment (Cole, D. 2004; Coupland, B. and Coupland, N. 2014). After mining activities are terminated, a question arises as to how to treat the remaining complex of individual features and phenomena (Conesa, H.M. *et al.* 2008).

The extractive industry is still considered an important sector, but the material remnants of mining activities (headframes, spoil heaps, mine dumps, etc.) have been regarded for a long time as unsightly landscape features, and there were efforts in the past to obliterate the traces of modern min-

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ing (Fragner, B. and Zikmund, J. 2009). With respect to treating these remnants as features suitable for preservation and deserving to be protected as heritage, there still appear conflicts, which can have the form of ideological disagreements (decision-making on whether these remnants should be protected or not), or objective obstacles associated with a change of function, such as environmental pollution during mining or the size of the areas affected by mining. Another factor may be the low attractiveness of mining features stemming from a different standard of beauty (Conesa, H.M. *et al.* 2008).

In recent decades, however, there has been a shift in the perception of these complexes and they are now perceived as heritage that should be protected and interpreted to the public, since it contains values proving (not only) the level of advancement and technical skills of the predecessors (Tomíšková, M. 2013). Among the most prominent examples of these activities is the emergence of the field of industrial archaeology in the UK in the 1950s, the organisation of international conferences devoted to the topic of industrial heritage (the first one took place in Ironbridge, Great Britain, in 1973), and the establishment of the International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage – TICCIH (Blažková, T. and Matoušek, V. 2013).

The aim of this paper is to discuss the definition of mining heritage and questions concerning its identification and interpretation, using the example of the Jáchymovsko area. This area is characterised mainly by a long history of mining, an extraordinary diversity of the mineral resources mined, and large quantities of mining relics. Since 2009 is local mining cultural landscape being considered as part of the nomination of the Krušnohoří (Ore Mountains) cross-border mining area to the UNESCO list (Urban, M. *et al.* 2011). The complex of mining related landscape and cultural features present in the Ore Mountains constitutes a unique example of a mining heritage complex in global context. Mining heritage of the Jáchymovsko area started to be first recognized by the Czech government already in the second half of the 20th century (the establishment of the Royal Mint museum in 1964). However, most of the interest in this heritage has been growing only recently with the more active involvement of public in its protection, as museums are being established by various local stakeholders (municipalities, civic associations, individuals, etc.) and miners' associations are being founded.

The example of the Jáchymovsko area enables the discussion on the content of the complex of mining heritage and the significance of its individual features. Knowing the processes, values and stakeholders involved in recognition, management and interpretation of the mining heritage serves for better understanding and learning of its nature and the ways and options of its protection and presentation.

Last but not least, this paper also aims to highlight the uniqueness of the Jáchymovsko heritage and contributes to its promotion and preservation by analysing its formation and ways of interpretation.

Significance of heritage

What is meant by heritage?

Heritage is associated with many different meanings. Its legal interpretation dates as far back as the 14th century, when it meant passing down tangible assets from one generation to the next. Heritage therefore entailed remnants of the past passed down to a future owner (Vaněček, V. 1933). This meaning of the word has been preserved until today. Heritage as a legal notion is defined by laws (in the Czech Republic it is Act No. 89/2012 Coll., the Civil Code) as the right to inheritance, i.e. the right to the property of the deceased. But heritage is also a subject of many other fields of study, such as heritage conservation, historiography, culturology, tourism, and/or heritage studies as a separate discipline.

All these disciplines are concerned with heritage formation, management and interpretation. In this respect, heritage is no longer purely the notion defined in legal terms, even though this common base can be found in all of its other concepts. Heritage can be viewed as a complex of elements and phenomena formed by cultural memory and people's perception of the past in a particular context. It refers to significant objects, people, places, events, opinions or relations in the cultural environment of a particular time, both in material and non-material terms (Holtorf, C. 2002). It means the relics of the past that are used actively for various purposes at present (Smith, L. 2006; Harvey, D.C. 2008). Heritage therefore represents a set of internal values and meanings related to the past (Urry, J. 1990), which are also interpreted and presented externally (Harvey, D.C. 2001).

In the broadest sense of the word, basically anything that people choose to protect can be regarded as heritage (Hewison, R. 1989; Howard, P. 2003). It can therefore be understood in very different and subjective ways (Ashworth, G.J. and Tunbridge, J.E. 1996; Graham, B. *et al.* 2000; Harvey, D.C. 2001). Deciding what is considered heritage and what specific values should be attached to it is up to each individual as well as the whole of society. Heritage supports the importance of a place and the sense of belonging to a particular community (Smith, L. 2006).

In order to be identified and categorized, heritage is defined in legal documents. At international level, such legal documents include the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Národní památkový ústav 2006). The Convention divides heritage into three types: natural, cultural, and combined. The definition of heritage in the Convention is based on the fact that it contains outstanding universal features from the point of view of history, art or science (cultural heritage), of science or conservation of nature or natural beauty (natural heritage) or at least part of the both aspects (combined heritage). Cultural and natural heritage differ mainly in their nature, i.e. the fact that natural heritage is not primarily a product of cultural activities within society. Cultural heritage, on the other hand, serves to represent human genius. Although often perceived as distinctive, these two groups are very often interconnected (Lowenthal, D. 2005).

When handling heritage, it is always important to identify its specific values and to define its accompanying characteristics, such as utility and functional properties, the procedure used in its production or its use, and/or aids and accessories (Kesner, L. *et al.* 2008). Heritage can be classified in many ways according to various criteria. Howard, P. (2003), for instance, distinguishes seven categories of heritage (nature, landscape, monuments, sites, artefacts, activities, and people). Kučera, Z. (2009), on the other hand, classifies heritage according to its origin (ours vs somebody else's), nature (tangible vs intangible), significance (local, regional, transnational or global), ownership (personal vs collective), preferences (positive vs negative), and duration (old vs new). Mazáč, J. (2003) classifies heritage by fields of human activity (transport, spas, metallurgy, glassmaking, etc.).

How is heritage created?

To answer the question of how heritage is created, it is necessary to explain why and by whom it is created (Harvey, D.C. 2008). Heritage needs to be understood as a subjective product of processing the past at present (Lowenthal, D. 1985; Ashworth, G.J. and Tunbridge, J.E. 1996; Lowenthal, D. 1998). Heritage does not arise or exist by itself. It is influenced and determined by external factors and conditions. Some features may already be created with the intention to serve as cultural heritage, with the aim to refer to and commemorate important events or persons. The values with which the particular heritage asset (e.g. memorial, monument) will be associated are specified during its very creation. Such heritage usually con-

tinues to be treated in line with its original purpose throughout the course of its existence. Unless society undergoes any political or ideological transformations or unless any natural disasters occur, such heritage is relatively stable and fulfils its function continuously.

On the other hand, there is also heritage that was formed through transformation or termination of the original function of the objects. Such objects have become the subject of protection and have been given a new purpose (Riegl, A. 2003). This is what has been termed as "the second life as heritage" (Coupland, B. and Coupland, N. 2014). Values are assigned to such heritage on the basis of its analysis in the course of its existence after the change of function. *Figure 1* shows features that were created primarily as heritage (1st column) as well as features that turned into heritage secondarily (2nd column). The last column shows new functions acquired by the feature after it has become viewed as heritage.

In the process of creating heritage through transformation of the original function, and in handling such heritage in general, an important role is played by the time aspect, which means by how long ago the original purpose of the objects protected today was lost or changed. Concerning castles, chateaus or old military fortresses whose original purpose ceased to exist a relatively long time ago, it is much easier to treat them as heritage, since they are supposed to recall a distant and often idealised past that will never repeat and that could not be usually experienced by members of the present generation. A problematic group is constituted by monuments whose original purpose continues to exist in general, but the individual monuments no longer meet this purpose. These are a typical example of industrial and thus also mining heritage.

Whether heritage is created directly or through conversion, its recognition depends mainly on the assignment of specific values to a particular feature and on the effort to maintain these values (Hewison, R. 1989; Howard, P. 2003). The identification of these values forms a basis on which the management of the heritage will depend, determining how the heritage will be handled and what purpose it will fulfil.

Emergence of mining heritage

Industry as a whole is still an active and very important sector of the economy that has an

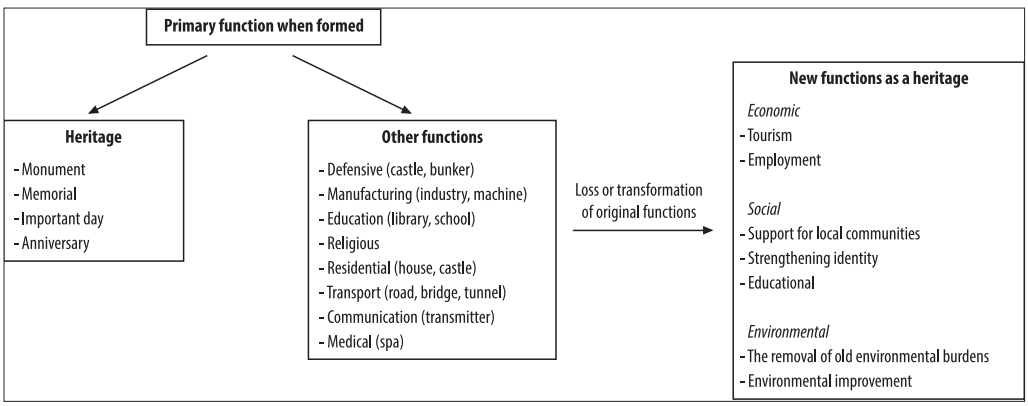

Fig. 1. Scheme of heritage formation and transformation of its functions.
Source: Adapted from Mazáč, J. (2003) and Cole, D. (2004).

undeniable significance for the entire society, whether in terms of employment or in terms of GDP creation, among other things (Kopačka, L. 1996). However, as a consequence of wider societal and economic transformations in the post-industrial era, its individual elements (plants, premises, etc.) cease to fulfil their original purpose and gain new functions (Edensor, T. 2005; Kiss, É. 2009). Since industry has significantly influenced character of societies in developed countries, it has become also an important part of their cultural identities. Thus, it is very important to preserve the quickly vanishing legacy of industrial activities by protecting its remnants (Loures, L. 2008). At the same time, many debates are emerging revolving around the issue of identifying and determining which remnants will be conserved, protected and designated as heritage and, last but not least, how they will be treated and what new purpose they will serve (Lednický, V. 2004; Marhounová, M. 2009). According to some, industrial heritage embraces objects objects or complexes of objects created in the course of the industrial revolution and the intensive development of industry over the past 200 years (Hudson, K. 1965). Such an approach could not, however, be applied to a wide range of industrial monuments both in Czechia and in the world, since many of them are considerably older.

Typical examples of these may include the 16th century mining monuments found on the territory of Czechia, for example in the Ore Mountains (Urban, M. *et al.* 2011). According to other approaches, objects dating from any period of evolution of human society can be considered industrial heritage (Raistrick, A. 1972). These concepts deal with the given topic much more accurately, but it is not possible to think about industry as it is known today in reference to the times before the period of industrial revolution. As a general principle, the creation of industrial heritage is associated with a loss of productive function of the affected operations, which is substituted by efforts to find a new use for the remaining objects and sites (Kolejka, J. and Klimánek, M. 2012).

In the context of the characteristics presented above, mining heritage means for the purpose of this paper a set of tangible and intangible features as well as with them associated values and meanings (historical, social, cultural) referring to mining and miners. These features and values associated with them are actively recognized, managed, interpreted and presented to the public and passed on to future generations by various stakeholders operating on different levels (from local to global). Mining heritage, which refers to the extraction of minerals and cultural activities connected with it, forms a specific subgroup of industrial heritage (Mazáč, J. 2003; Loures, L. 2008). What makes it relevant is mainly the fact that almost no industrial production would do without mining. Mining is therefore at the beginning of the entire process of industrial production.

Mining heritage may involve either tangible (mines, buildings, machinery, miners' uniforms, etc.) or intangible (techniques, production procedures, miners' customs and traditions, etc.) remnants. Complexes of such heritage form extensive mining landscapes. Transformation of the original function of mining areas, connected with search for their new utilisation, can be observed in Europe since the 1970s (Kolejka, J. 2014). This does not mean that the mining industry no longer plays a significant role, but its structure, impacts and spatial layout are different. Since a specific social and cultural environment evolves in the area where mining is developed for a long time, the changes connected with deindustrialization subsequently lead to a demise of the specific mining community (Coupland, B. and Coupland, N. 2014). Underground work, extremely challenging and dangerous, provides jobs to a large number of people and is linked with a wide range of other activities. After its termination, these accompanying processes are interrupted as well. Consequently, if there is effort to preserve mining heritage as a complex, it should not be aimed at saving just the buildings of mines and operations themselves but also at maintaining the intangible heritage (Wheeler, R. 2014).

Mining heritage is defined by those who want to use, preserve or protect the remnants of mining activities and related processes, since these refer to specific cultural values. This is why they are trying to find a new use for the preserved remnants of former mining activities while recalling their past and interpreting and presenting it to the public. The process of heritage formation includes among other things identification and recognition of remnants of mining as heritage.

There are many ways of using the mining heritage, most of them depending on the stakeholders' motivations. The objects are used in various ways (e.g. for the needs of tourism, for conversion to dwellings or for commercial purposes; sometimes activities connected with former purpose of the objects are also present: pumping water, warehouses, repositories, etc.). When using these objects, it is important to respect not only the principles of heritage protection and conservation, but also the sustainability and significance of the particular heritage in economic, social as well as environmental terms. Such sustainability cannot be achieved fully in all aspects, but it is necessary to find the greatest possible concordance in fulfilling the purpose for which the particular heritage was created or transformed (Cole, D. 2004). At the same time, no significant losses in the represented values and authenticity should occur, such as a loss of the architectonic value due to excessive renovations (Marhounová, M. 2009). Transformation of mining industry from mining to other functions is also associated with societal changes. For example, after the mines are closed, there is an increase in unemployment, which can't be replaced by newly created jobs (e.g. in tourism).

Usage of mining heritage and the process of its interpretation

Mining heritage is handled by a large number of individuals as well as institutions. In terms of categorisation it is possible to distinguish three basic groups of stakeholders: the public sector, the private sector and the interest sector. Each of these groups pursues its own primary goals, and the ways of their functioning result from the purposes for which they use the particular heritage. *Figure 2* shows an overview of the players handling the mining heritage, examples of the heritage they use and their primary and secondary goals in handling it.

There are notable differences among the primary goals, as a consequence of which each particular heritage asset is treated differently. The main goal of all interest groups should be not only to preserve the mining heritage but also to make it accessible and provide its interpretation to the public, since this is the way of passing it down to future generations (Kesner, L. *et al.* 2008). For private entities, in particular, the interpretation and presentation of mining heritage is often of secondary importance, especially when a commercial use of the particular heritage asset is in conflict with the demand of accessibility (e.g. for safety or capacity reasons). Individual stakeholders also use different methods of interpreting the heritage to the public.

Interpretation is a creative activity connecting a particular site with visitors and

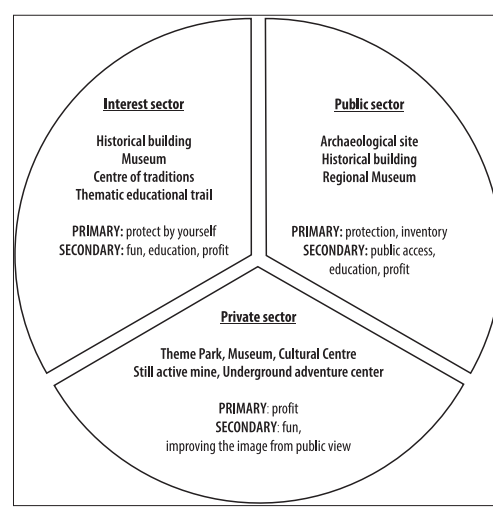

Fig. 2. Stakeholders dealing with heritage, examples of heritage they hold and of their aims. (Compiled by the authors)

bringing them not only an educational but also an emotional and spiritual experience (Nuryanti, W. 2005; Ham, H.S. and Weiler, B. 2012). Interpretation aims at preservation and presentation of particular values recognized by heritage management as significant, with the goal of making the visitors reflect on the facts and meanings presented to them. A successful process of interpretation leads to an increase in interest and respect for the particular heritage asset (Kesner, L. *et al.* 2008). The interpretation of a particular heritage site creates a specific opinion on it and on the values and past it represents, so getting acquainted with the heritage does not depend merely on what but mainly how and by whom it is interpreted (Ashworth, G.J. and Tunbridge, J.E. 1996; Smith, L. 2006). Interpretation can be conducted in many ways, from a simple text description to getting visitors involved by means of interactive exhibits (Ptáček, L. 2004). A basic overview of methods of interpretation is shown in *Figure 3*.

Selecting a higher level of interpretation will increase the probability of achieving its goals. Which is why it is advisable to select tools from the upper "levels" of the pyramid. To create a comprehensive picture of the facts presented, the best method is to combine several interpretation tools, for example to accompany exhibits with a text while adding interactive features to the exhibition at the same time. A very interesting type of interpretation is provided by witnesses who share their own experiences by telling stories, thus adding an emotional level to it. A special category is formed by organizing various events (music and cultural events, discussions, etc.) that combine several elements, depending on the type of event However, it should be noted that interpretation is a very complex process. It does not matter only the form of presentation, but also the context. Interpretation is subjective and therefore those who present certain theme can never be completely sure of how the content of the message will be interpreted by visitors.

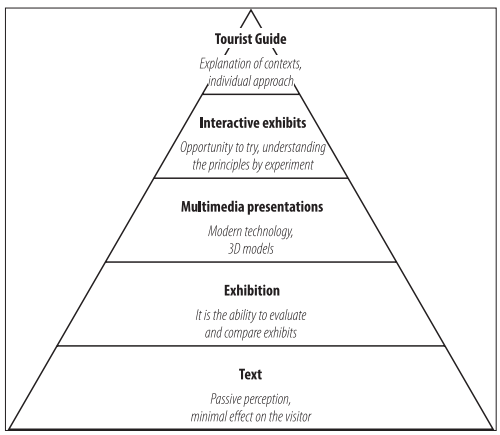

Fig. 3. Pyramid of interpretational instruments. Note: The higher the level selected, the greater the chances of remembering the topic by observers and of meeting the objectives of interpretation. *Source*: Adapted from Kesner, L. *et. al.* (2008)

Mining heritage is frequently utilised for touristic purposes. One of the world's most outstanding examples of the conversion of former industrial and mining area into recreational zone is the Zollverein coal mines complex in Germany, where the former structures were rebuilt, among other things, in tourist attractions. The significance of the mine is also documented by its inclusion on the UNESCO list. Using mining heritage to interpret historical and cultural values through tourism is one of ways of preserving it, since this method increases the overall awareness of the general public about the significance of the heritage encountered. However, to avoid damage or degradation of heritage sites by intensive visitor traffic, planning and professional approach are also important. Various measures are used for this purpose. At underground sites, for instance, the maximum number of visitors is limited. It is very important to take a holistic approach towards interpretation of mining heritage, since it is not just a set of individual elements (Wheeler, R. 2014).

It is necessary to show visitors not only material remnants but also links and processes. This is why the combination of as many interpretation tools as possible is used. For example, on selected mining heritage sites in

Great Britain former miners are employed as guides. They tell visitors their stories from the time they worked in the mines, which adds an emotional level to the heritage interpretation and, in a way, helps preserve the character of the local mining community (Coupland, B. and Coupland, N. 2014). The main contribution of the use of mining heritage for the needs of tourism consists in its role in improving the image of the particular site, in its overall promotion and in raising public awareness about it. In some cases, tourism can also have a multiplication effect, become a catalyst for other processes and contribute to the development of related activities, such as the organisation of festivals or shows and the establishment of music groups (Cole, D. 2004).

Mining heritage in the Jáchymovsko area

Protection of mining heritage in Czechia

On the national level, heritage protection and the implementation of the respective agreements is the responsibility of the individual countries and authorised institutions. Heritage protection in institutionalized forms has a great tradition in Czechia. The first legal documents regulating the protection of cultural monuments was originated in 1749. The first legislative measure for the protection of monuments on the Czech territory (at that time part of Austria-Hungary) is the imperial decision of 1850 about state protection of monuments (Riegl, A. 2003; Štulc, J. 2004). Nowadays is the protection of cultural monuments mainly the task of the Ministry of Culture of the CR and organisations established by the ministry. One of them is the National Heritage Institute (Národní památkový ústav, NPÚ), founded in 2003, which serves as a specialised organisation building on the tradition of previous institutions (Štulc, J. 2004). Besides NPÚ, there are many other bodies (the Heritage Conservation Inspection, etc.) as well as independent groups and associations that are actively engaged in heritage protection.

Cultural monuments are defined by Act No. 20/1987 Coll., on National Heritage Conservation. This law governs the designation of assets as heritage, their protection as well as the cancelling of heritage designation, dividing the listed monuments into different categories according to their significance. Unlike the UNESCO Convention, this law does not deal with intangible monuments such as traditions and customs. The intangible heritage is entirely in the care of interest associations, which maintain and develop the traditions. Awareness of the existence of intangible heritage and its institutional framing in applicable legislation are important steps towards its preservation. This issue is also obvious from the example of the mining heritage, where heritage protection on the national level only deals with structures (buildings, mines, etc.) but not with the intangible heritage in the form of customs and traditions (such miners' festivals), which would serve to preserve the specific social and cultural relations and local identities.

According to Kratochvílová, A. (2014), the NPÚ registers more than 200 objects that can be directly identified as evidence of the development of mining activities. These enjoy various degrees of heritage protection. The highest (though not attained as yet) of them is the nomination of the mining cultural landscape of the Ore Mountains region, including the Jáchymovsko area, to the UNESCO list (Urban, M. *et al.* 2011).

Characteristics of the area

Jáchymovsko area lies in the Ore Mountains which undoubtedly rank among the most significant mining regions within Czechia. Thanks to their multifarious geological development, Ore Mountains are abundant in many types of metalliferous as well as non-metalliferous raw materials, which have been extracted here for more than 700 years (Karel, T. and Kratochvílová, A. 2013). This region is known for several centres, the most important of them being the town of

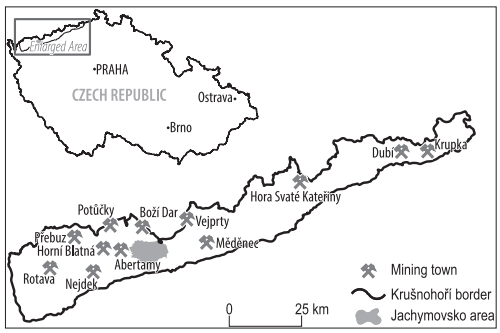

Fig. 4. Location of the Jáchymovsko area in northwest Czechia (edited by the authors).

Jáchymov (2,622 inhabitants in 2016) and its surrounding area. The location of the area is shown in *Figure 4.*

Jáchymov with its surroundings became famous mainly thanks to the wide range of extracted raw materials in various periods of history. As early as in the 16th century, rich deposits of silver were discovered here. It was the biggest silver deposit of its time in Europe, and a local mint minted silver coins (thalers). Jáchymov was the second largest town in the Kingdom of Bohemia, with intensive construction of mines and residential buildings taking place here. After the silver deposits were exhausted, cobalt, nickel, arsenic and bismuth were extracted here in the 17th and 18th centuries (Hloušek, J. 2016). In the mid-19th century, uranium ore started to be mined. At the beginning, it was used for the production of paints at a local factory, and later, after the discovery of radium in the early 20th century, it was used for the extraction of this element (Seidlerová, I. and Seidler, J. 2007).

From the 1940s to the 1960s, uranium was mined for the needs of the arms industry. Between 1945 and 1963, 29 pits were excavated and more than 1,100 kilometres of horizontal mine workings were dug out. The deposit was explored to the depth of 750 metres, and a total of 7,200 tons of uranium were mined (Pluskal, O. 1998). Since this period saw the highest intensity of mining, the number of miners was also at its peak. The mining also required a huge number of other workers, but despite mass recruitments, there was always scarcity of labour force. Prisoners living in labour camps built near each mine started to be deployed to work in the mines. Prisoners worked in the Jáchymovsko area in the uranium mines between 1945 and 1964 and could be divided into three groups: criminal, retributive, and political (Lepka, F. 2003). In Jáchymov also the oldest therapeutic radon spa in the world, founded in 1906, are located (Hloušek, J. 2016). The spa is still in operation thanks to the active mine Svornost.

The complex of the mining heritage of the Jáchymov district

A basic and detailed overview of Jáchymov's mining heritage is shown in *Table 1.* This overview has been drawn up on the basis of an analysis of features that can be considered mining heritage pursuant to its definition, i.e. they are remnants of the past which are actively used for various purposes at present (Smith, L. 2006; Harvey, D.C. 2008) and represent a set of values and meanings related to the past (Urry, J. 1990).

From the viewpoint of selection of the features, neither the degree of state heritage protection, nor the ways of their use are decisive. The important thing is that they refer in some way to the mining past of the place, that they are associated with some kind of interpretation (e.g. a text, exhibition, exposition), and that they are still used in daily practice (for example, for commercial, educational, medical or other purposes).

The mining heritage of the Jáchymovsko area emerged gradually. The first major milestone in its formation can be seen in the foundation of the Royal Mint museum in 1964 which is now managed by the representatives of the Karlovarský kraj region. The largest expansion of interest in Jáchymovsko mining heritage has been taking place since 2000, as miners' associations and music

*Table 1. Overview of major features of the Jáchymovsko mining heritage**

Heritage	Protection status	Owner (categorization of institutions)	Original use	Current use	Interpretation
Tangible heritage					
Royal Mint	Natural cultural monument	Karlovy Vary region (public)	Minting silver coins (thalers)	Museum, public events, conferences, exhibitions	text, exhibition, guided tours, multimedia presentation, cultural events
Town Hall	Cultural monument	City of Jáchymov (public)	Residential and representational function of time of silver mining (16th century)	Seat of the administrative authorities, information centre, library, exhibition spaces	text
Patrician houses	Cultural monument	Private	Residential function of time of silver mining (16th century)	Residential functions, some in a critical condition and uninhabitable	text
Svornost mine	Current proceeding for a declaration of cultural heritage	Jáchymov Spa Company (private)	Mining	Collecting of water containing radon for medical purposes, excursions	text, guided tours (once in a while)
Bratrství mine	Current proceeding for a declaration of cultural heritage	Radioactive Waste Management Company (public)	Mining	Repository of radioactive waste	text
Gallery no. 1	Current proceeding for a declaration of cultural heritage	Karlovy Vary region (public)	Mineral prospecting	Sightseeing gallery, exhibition	text, exhibition, guided tours, multimedia presentation
Heinz pool and a water moat	Current proceeding for a declaration of cultural heritage	City of Jáchymov, Management of Ohře River Basin (public)	Companion services during the mining	Pond-maintained water dam. Moat nothing	text
Eliáš mine dump	No protection	City of Jáchymov, Czech republic forests management (public)	Tailings deposition	Forest areas, communication, recreation centre	text
Restored parts of the labour camp Svornost	No protection	Karlovy Vary region (public)	A reminder of labour camp	A reminder of labour camp	text, exhibition
Monuments and memorials	No protection	City of Jáchymov (public)	A reminder of people and events	A reminder of people and events	text
Intangible heritage					
Mining association Barbora	No protection	Mining association Barbora (interest)	Restoring mining traditions	Restoring mining traditions	cultural events
Mining and historical society of Jáchymovsko	No protection	Private (interest)	Promoting the image of the city and surroundings, interested in mining	Promoting the image of the city and surroundings, interested in mining	text, exhibition, cultural events
Mining band Barbora	No protection	Private (interest)	Music production with a mining theme	Music production with a mining theme	cultural events
Nature trails (3)	No protection	Private	Educational (mining theme)	Educational (mining theme)	text

*Compiled by the authors.

groups are being founded, new museums are being opened and nature trails are being built, among other things. Stakeholders dealing with the interpretation of local mining heritage in Jáchymov are diverse (among them are Karlovarský kraj region, municipality, local citizens, former miners or their descendants, and others). However, one of the most important stakeholders is the Regional museum in Sokolov, which opened the exhibition of Gallery no. 1 in Jáchymov. The only place in Jáchymov, where it is possible for general public to experience the post-montane underground environment directly.

An analysis of the mining heritage shows that the local heritage is both tangible and intangible. It is represented by many features, including immovable objects (buildings), anthropogenic interventions in the landscape (ponds, waterways, spoil heaps, etc.), monuments and memorials as well as celebrations, traditions and nature trails. Local miners' songs and music groups can also be included in the category of intangible heritage. The entire complex of tangible and intangible cultural features forms exceptional identity of the mining area. The mining past is represented not only by remnants of mining but also still active operations, commemorations of traditions and of the miners themselves, not excluding the prisoners who worked in the mines (Jelen, J. and Kučera, Z. 2017). Their fates are commemorated by preserved or rediscovered fragments of labour camps or by presentation of probable former appearance of these camps (Kučerová, S.R. and Štych, P. 2015).

Various degrees of heritage protection apply, however, to material heritage only. The reason lies in legislation, since Czech laws do not provide for the protection of intangible heritage. Only a few of the most important objects are listed as protected heritage, while others are still waiting for such listing. If listed, the prestige and promotion of the objects in question may increase, thus raising potential visitor traffic in the region in terms of tourism.

However, for locals to be able to exploit present heritage potential of the area, also other conditions have to be fulfilled. Heritage based development does not come directly with heritage recognition. For example, under specific conditions, excessive preservation measures in combination with the lack of relatively wealthy and experienced private owners may result in deterioration and even destruction of protected buildings (Daugstad, K. and Grytli, E. 1999; Olwig, K.R. 2001). Thus, at the same time heritage values are recognized, proper treatment of heritage assets and technical supervision over their possible renovations should be ensured so as to prevent damage or loss of their historical, architectural or other values.

The actual enforcement of such protection is, however, another thing. The example of the town of Jáchymov shows that some 16th century patrician houses, important evidence of the form of Renaissance architecture, are falling into disrepair and are almost ready to be demolished in spite of being listed as protected heritage, because their owners lack either funds to repair them or a simple interest in preserving them. The example of this situation reveals that heritage protection does not necessarily equal the preservation and protection of local values (Hloušek, J. 2016). A major part of the Jáchymov heritage belongs to the category of heritage formed by change of function, i.e. secondary heritage. In the area, major objects originally connected with mining are not serving these functions anymore and mining operations with its accompanying processes (survey, excavation, transportation, etc.) diminished. Also, only a small fraction of objects was established primarily as heritage.

Secondary heritage therefore arises at a moment when a particular object loses its original function and subsequently particular values, which it is supposed to represent, are recognized. An example is the Royal Mint, which was built between 1534 and 1536 but ceased to operate in the late 17th century. Subsequently, it was falling into disrepair until 1964, when opened as a museum, after closing of nearby uranium mines.

Thus, the mint's new function was defined and it can be regarded as heritage. Between 1964 and 1989 local heritage was managed

by the state. Emphasis was placed on material remains of mining, and the heritage was often used to promote ideologies. After 1989, the situation changed. Private and interest sector started to be more profoundly involved in management and interpretation of local heritage.

Thus, the entire complex of the mining heritage as well as its individual parts are interpreted to the public in various forms. More sophisticated forms of interpretation are used mainly by the public sector, which administers Jáchymov's museums, and by the interest sector, which maintains and develops various traditions. Their primary goals consist in protecting the heritage as well as in passing it down to future generations, which is why they choose such forms of interpretation that may arouse public interest and motivate the biggest possible number of visitors to visit heritage places. Private entities handling the heritage, on the other hand, interpret it only by means of simple interpretation tools in the form of texts. As an example, the Svornost mine may be taken, which is owned by a private company (Léčebné lázně Jáchymov, a. s.), is used for commercial purposes and is open to the public to a very limited extent. This is happening despite the fact that this mine was founded as early as in 1518 and is therefore the oldest working mine in Czechia as well as in the whole of Europe. Moreover, it is the oldest underground uranium mine in the world (Hloušek, J. 2016).

In spite of this, the interpretation of this mine by its owner consists in mere placement of information boards at the mine's premises. A similar case is the former silver mine Bratrství, which currently serves as a nuclear waste repository. These examples show that even when a particular heritage asset represents significant values, it is not guaranteed that it will be duly interpreted

Photo 1. Gallery no. 1. Underground sightseeing gallery, open to the public. It is an example of the tangible mining heritage in the Jáchymovsko area. (Photo by Jelen, J.)

to the public. The form and ways of interpretation therefore depend chiefly on the particular entity (owner) of the respective object. Individual elements of the Jáchymov heritage are interlinked and form a complex, which can be observed, for example, in the existence of a landscape heritage zone (Kuča, K. 2015), the intermingling of local activities, the collaboration of local groups with public institutions, and the interconnection of individual parts of the heritage with nature trails (Karlovy Vary Museum, Mining Association Barbora, etc.) (*Photo 1* and *2*).

The exceptional diversity of minerals, the very long mining history and the huge amount of preserved heritage assets in the Jáchymovsko area, were among key arguments speaking in favour of adding this region to the nomination of the mining cultural landscape of the Ore Mountains/Erzgebirge to UNESCO's list of world cultural and natural heritage (Urban, M. *et al.* 2011).

Conclusions

Heritage includes both features created primarily for the purpose of representation of certain values and meanings, and features that were created by transformation of their original function. The complex of the Jáchymovsko mining heritage is interpreted by means of a wide range of tools, with all these interpretations being aimed at passing down values and information to the public and future generations. Thus, the essence of heritage is fulfilled (Howard, P. 2003). However, the chosen types of its interpretation depend chiefly on respective stakeholders and their primary goals.

Where the main goal is to use heritage for the purposes of tourism, education or promotion of the image of the place or miners' traditions, more sophisticated and complicated ways of interpretation are chosen. Conversely, where particular heritage object

Photo 2. The Mining band Barbora. The band plays during mining festivals and other events. It is an example of the intangible mining heritage in the Jáchymovsko area. (Photo by Kučera, Z.)

serves daily commercial or residential use, its owners neither aim nor strive to use more sophisticated tools for its interpretation. In such cases, heritage is presented in simple ways having the form of text descriptions or information boards, as a result of which its meanings are not conveyed sufficiently. This happens even in cases where the particular heritage represents exceptional architectural or historical values. The representation of local heritage is thus conducted through various forms of interpretation (Ashworth, G.J. and Tunbridge, J.E. 1996; Smith, L. 2006).

The identification and attribution of the values to particular monuments do not automatically have to result in its protection and interpretation. Despite this, it is important to pursue its preservation. To understand the origins and nature of local heritage, it is very important to focus on analysing the stakeholders dealing with the heritage, or more precisely, on the ways in which they identify, use, present and interpret the heritage to diverse subjects. The example of Jáchymov makes it evident that numerous heritage assets would deserve a more active approach to their interpretation, which would make them more attractive for visitors and locals alike and enhance the process of their preservation.

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Multiculturalism and multiethnicity in the cityscape: The case of Białystok religious landscape

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Abstract

Białystok is the capital of a province in north-eastern Poland. In the past the city featured ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, Protestants, and Jews coexisted here in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Jewish communities shaped the city's religious landscape and local identity significantly since the second half of the 19th century and until World War II when they constituted half of the city's population. This was the biggest minority group among Polish cities. The post-Jewish landscape became invisible and silent by now. It was the result of the Nazi policy of extermination, and the anti-Semitic policy of the communist Polish authorities, as well as the attitude of Polish society towards the Jewish minority until the late 1960s. From among almost 60 synagogues and prayer houses which operated before the war, only three have survived, but they have not been in use for religious service for a long time. Białystok has also been inhabited by the so-called Polish Tatars. The Muslim community, which for centuries consisted mainly of Polish Tatars, is increasingly visible in the city, which is also the seat of Muslim Religious Union, the largest Muslim union in Poland. There is also the Białystok Centre of Islam and a house of prayer. Today's religious landscape of the city is mostly formed by both Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches. As a result of the city's demographic and spatial development, the number of churches has grown significantly as compared to the inter-war period. The strongest and the most visible qualitative changes were observed after World War II. Multiculturalism is still important asset of the city. This paper presents the transformation of the cultural and religious landscape of Bialystok in the context of the impact of the politics and ideology from the 19th century to the present. It also highlights the importance of multiculturalism in the city landscape for the promotion and development of tourism and city branding.

Keywords: multiculturalism, multiethnicity, diversity, religious landscape, Jewish heritage, Białystok, Poland.

Introduction

Today's Białystok is one of the most important cities in north-eastern part of Poland. For centuries, the majority of large Polish cities were diverse in economic, ethnic and religious terms. Since its foundation by the Branickis in 1691, Białystok were gaining its multicultural character, among others, due to the policy of its owners. Originally, it was a private town and in 1802 it was sold and passed onto Prussia, and in 1807 it became part of Russia. The formation of Białystok as a multicultural city at the beginning of the 19th century was significantly influenced by political factors and the dynamic development of textile industry.

The co-existence of populations of three religions, i.e. Catholic, Jewish and Orthodox, was of great importance in the history of Białystok. Despite the changing political situation, until 1939 the city had maintained its multi-ethnic and multi-religious character. It is not accidental that the creator of Esperanto, Ludwik Zamenhof, came from Białystok. As a child, observing people speaking different languages, he saw in this the main source of conflict between

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them. He decided to create a new language, providing everyone with the ability to communicate easily. Already as a 10-year-old boy, he wrote the play *The Tower of Babel or a Białystok tragedy in five acts* (Wyszowska, I. and Jędrysiak, T. 2014).

After 1945, significant changes took place in the ethnic and religious structure of Białystok as a result of the Holocaust and, next, the policy pursued by the communist authorities of Poland. The Jewish community completely vanished from the city's space. Polish Tatars, who began to settle in Białystok in the 1960s, became a new religious group. The city was also settled by populations from the surrounding villages, often Orthodox and with Belarusian origins, yet without a sense of national consciousness, or hiding it because of the prevailing belief that in Białystok it is appropriate to be a Pole (Sadowski, A. 2006). It was the outcome of the policy implemented by the communist government pursuing the elimination of the signs of minority groups from public life, and the development of a homogeneous Polish society. It was only the political transformation and systemic changes after 1989 that resulted in a change in the attitude of plotics towards minority groups, which ceased to be perceived as "non-Polish and hostile". In the meantime, multiculturalism became an asset of many urban centres, and also the role of the cultural heritage associated with it became more and more recognized. This is also the case in Białystok. The *Strategy for the development of the city of Białystok for 2011–2020 plus* reads as follows: *"A very important criterion for the adoption of spatial solutions at any scale must be the consideration of the conditions stemming from historical heritage and cultural aspects. Only in this way can we ensure the preservation, and where necessary, restoration of identity of the city's space"* (Strategia Rozwoju Miasta Białegostoku... 2010, p. 96).

The term 'multiculturalism' in itself is vaguely defined (Bhikhu, P. 2002; Trotman, C. 2002; Modood, T. 2007). The issue of multiculturalism appeared in politics after 1945 and was most often analysed in the context of political and social consequences (Rex, J. and Singh, G. 2003; Arneil, B. 2006; Banting, K. and Kymlicka, W. 2006; Hero, R. and Preuhs, R. 2006; Laden, A.S. and Owen, D. 2007; Phillips, A. 2007; Arneil, B. and MacDonald, F. 2016). There is no clear definition of multiculturalism in the literature either. Depending on needs, each researcher defines it differently. With regard to Białystok, the authors of this paper believe that the best perspective is the one proposed by Tiryakian, E.A. (2003): "*I begin by the assertion that the term 'multicultural' is an empirical demographic condition referring to a society (which may or may not be a nation-state but may also include an empire) having two or more ethnic groups, each having cultural traits that may have some overlap with the other group(s), yet is distinctive enough to form a different cultural identity and community*."

This concept of multiculturalism is also referred to by Marotta, V. (2007). Multiculturalism is not a new phenomenon. It can be analysed at different spatial (e.g. country, region, city) and temporal scales, in historical or contemporary terms. Examples of multicultural empires have been known since ancient times (e.g. Alexander the Great's empire, Roman Empire, Ottoman Empire, Commonwealth of Nations). Today, we can also find multicultural states, well-known examples are, inter alia, the United States, Canada, Germany, Australia (Rex, J. and Singh, G. 2003), Belgium, Switzerland (Tiryakian, E.A. 2003). There are great number of examples for cities inhabited by different ethnic, religious and language groups, and there have been many examples of city districts in the history which were inhabited by minorities, such as the Jewish Quarter of Alexandria, or the Ghetto Nuovo in Venice.

A city's multiculturalism can be analysed from many different aspects, including economic, political, and social ones, as well as that of national heritage. The first papers dealing with the multiculturalism of cities were mostly statistical and descriptive, and the differences were presented mainly in the

religious context. It was first Richard Florida (2002) who drew the attention to its economic impacts. The author pointed out in his work that multiculturalism can contribute to the development of creativity which can indirectly influence the growth of local economy. The political aspect of multiculturalism is particularly relevant today as it addresses the issue of integration of different social groups with distinct linguistic, religious or ethnic character.

In Polish literature, there is no uniform definition of multiculturalism either common to all researchers. The traditional understanding of this term is related to the pattern of social relationships in which a number of different ethnic, national, or religious groups with distinct cultures inhabit a given territory. Such a perspective on multiculturalism in most cases leads to the presentation of the coexistence of different cultures as a harmonious, conflict-free, coexistence of equal communities. Newer and more complex definitions of multiculturalism are more diverse. One of them by Sadowski, A. (2013) defines multiculturalism as a system of social relations based on long-term and lasting intercultural relations and integration within a single society of different cultural groups that together form a qualitatively new culturally diverse whole. Another definition is provided by Dolińska, K. and Makaro, J. (2013), according to whom multiculturalism can be viewed on four levels:

1. "real diversification",
2. consciousness (awareness of the presence of others experienced in everyday life),
3. political (multiculturalism or political multiculturalism),
4. marketing (marketing use of multiculturalism) (Pasieka, A. 2013).

Yet, another aspect of the phenomenon of multiculturalism was exposed by Łaguna-Raszkiewicz, K. (2012) who understood multiculturalism as cultural pluralism, in which "each culture has its unique values to offer the others, and it is only through the coexistence of this diversity that human potential is fully realized." In this study we apply Łaguna-Raszkiewicz's perspective and we carry out an analysis of multiculturalism in the context of national heritage in the case of Białystok. Thus, multiculturalism means cultural diversity, i.e. the occurrence of a certain number of cultures in a particular area. Multiculturalism is understood here as the co-existence of many cultures, which may significantly increase the tourist attractiveness of a particular area, and thus become an impulse for the creation of a tourist function and the promotion of the area for cultural tourism (Caffyn, A. and Lutz, J. 1999; Pizam, A. 1999; Reisinger, Y. 2009; Puchnarewicz, E. 2010; Duridywka, M. and Kociszewski, P. 2013; Irimiás, A. and Michalkó, G. 2013). The occurrence and co-existence of two or more groups with different cultural values within the same area seems to be important factor for the development of tourism. The multiculturalism of cultural heritage supported by actions for its protection and promotion may be an important factor supporting the development and tourism in the region. The main aim of this paper is to present the multiculturalism of Białystok visible in the landscape of the city. Attention will be paid both to the currently functioning minority groups, and to the way to perpetuate the memory of the formerly very numerous, and now almost non-existent communities, mostly Jewish.

The denominational structure of Białystok

Over centuries, the denominational structure of Białystok changed radically, with the biggest changes occurring in the post-World War II period: After 1945 Catholics became the dominant religious group in the city, along with the presence of the Orthodox and Muslims as religious minorities. Followers of the Orthodox Church represent about 12 per cent of the city's population, constituting one of the largest Orthodox communities in Poland. The number of Muslims is estimated to be at 2,000 people, most of them being Polish Tatars historically associated with the Tatar settlements in the Podlasie region, dating

back to the 17th century (Sadowski, A. 2013). In addition to these groups, the cultural heritage of the city was also co-created by other religious communities, especially the Jews. At the beginning of the 20th century, Białystok was a predominantly Jewish town, and in the interwar period, following the regaining of independence by Poland in 1918, a Polish-Jewish one (Sadowski, A. 2013).

The first mention of the Jewish population in Białystok dates back to 1658. It was a small group belonging to the kehilla in Tykocin (Dacewicz, L. 1997). After Białystok gained town status in 1691, the Branickis encouraged Jews to settle the city by building them houses and shops (Shmulewitz, I. 1982). In 1711, the first wooden synagogue was founded in the city, and in 1745 Klemens Branicki made the rights of the townspeople and the Jews in Białystok equal. In 1765, 756 Jews lived in the city constituting approximately 22 per cent of the total population. At the end of the 18th century, Białystok counted 6,200 people, including 4,100 Catholics, 1,900 Jews, approx. 150 Orthodox, and 30 Uniates (Dacewicz, L. 1997). In the following century, the Jewish community grew rapidly. The period of its greatest growth was at the end of the 19th century and in the first decade of the 20th century, when from 41,900 people (63.5% of the total population) in 1897, their number increased to 70,500 (82.0% of the total population) in 1911. In 1921, Jews still constituted the majority of Białystok's inhabitants (51.6%), but ten years later their proportion fell to 42.3 per cent (Bilska-Wodecka, E. 2012; Byelostok 2002–2011). The reasons for this phenomenon must be sought, among others, in the inflow of the Polish population after 1918, and the emigration of Jews to Palestine, as well as the change of the city boundaries and enlargement of its area. At that time, the Roman Catholic Church ranked first in terms of the number of believers (41,500 and 45.5% of the total population). The most tragic period in the history of the Jews in Białystok was the Holocaust. In 1941, on 27 June, the Nazis set fire to the Great Synagogue, inside which they had previously locked at least 700 Jews. On 1 August 1941, about 60,000 Jews were deported to the ghetto, the majority of whom were killed and the rest deported to concentration and labour camps (Klimczuk, A. 2012).

After the end of the war, in 1946, approximately 1,500 people of the Jewish denomination lived in Białystok, but many of them stayed there only temporarily, on their way to Palestine or to other Polish regions. In 1951, only 165 Jews lived in the city (Sadowska, J. 2015). The last wave of emigration to Israel took place in the late 1960s when 100 people of Jewish origin left the city and, thus, the centuries-old Jewish community in Białystok virtually ceased to exist.

Today, the largest religious minority in the city is connected with the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church. The institutional presence of the Eastern Rite in Białystok is not confirmed in historical sources before the 18th century. However, in neighbouring Dojlidy (today part of Białystok), an Orthodox temple existed already in 1571. The first Orthodox church in Białystok, St. Nicholas' church[3], was founded by the owner of the city, Jan Klemens Branicki, as a chapel of ease in the Dojlidy parish. The earliest mention of it dates back to 1727, and was made on the occasion of making an offering by the clergyman holding pastoral ministry in it. However, there are reasons to date the establishment of the first Orthodox church in Białystok earlier, i.e. at the end of the 17th century, or at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries (Czyżewski, P. 1997). Sosna, G. and Troc-Sosna, A. (2004) indicate that such a situation might be related to the denomination of the rulers of the city (the Branickis considered themselves zealous Catholics), since in the sources there is no mention of the erection of this Orthodox church for subjects (Sosna, G. and Troc-Sosna, A. 2004).

[3] Initially, it was a Greek-catholic Uniate church. In 1596 in Brest, the Orthodox Church in Poland entered into union with the Catholic Church, under which some Orthodox bishops adopted the Catholic doctrine and accepted the supremacy of the pope. The last Uniate churches in northern Podlasie existed until 1839 when, by the Tsar's decision, they were incorporated into the Orthodox Church.

In the 19th century, when Białystok formally belonged to Russia, the number of Orthodox Christians in the city increased significantly. As in other large cities of the Russian partition, a significant proportion of Orthodox Christians were ethnic Russians working in the state administration at various levels. The second group of the Russian Orthodox Christians included custom-officers, and the third – soldiers and families of the commanding personnel. The number of the police and army troops stationed on the Polish territory increased significantly after the January Insurrection and the revolution in 1905. During World War I, most of the Orthodox Russians left the city (Bilska-Wodecka, E. 2012).

The native Orthodox population was not associated with the Tsarist administration. They were mainly people from Belarus and Poland. In 1897, the Orthodox constituted approximately 12 per cent of the total population *(Table 1).* After a period of decline in the years 1910–1921, when their number was less than 5,000, in 1931 ca. 7,500 Orthodox believers were recorded again, half of whom, at least officially, were Poles (Kalina, M. 1995). Today's Orthodox community (approx. 35,000 people) was formed mainly in the post-war period in connection with the development of the city and a strong migration of people from rural areas and smaller towns to the centre of the region, Białystok.

The presence of Protestants in Białystok is associated with the city's belonging to Prussia (1795–1807). In the early 19th century, a group of soldiers from Saxony settled down here, mainly specialists in weaving and spinning, who set up numerous workshops, thus, giving rise to the development of textile industry. Prussian authorities made efforts to establish a Protestant religious community. This happened in 1804 when the number of Protestants in the city and its surroundings was approximately 1,000 people, which seems to be highly overestimated (Małek, A. 1999). The combination of the modest capital of the settlers with the local Jewish capital resulted in fact that Białystok became the third largest centre of textile industry in Russia, after Moscow and Łódź.

In the first three decades of the 20th century, the number of Protestants declined steadily, from about 3,400 in 1910, to 2,500 in 1931. In

Table 1. Religious structure of Białystok (1897–2005)

Confession	Population						
	1897	1911	1921	1931	1960	2005	2015
Roman Catholic	12,519	7,740	29,673	41,493	46,000	202,201	186,970
Orthodox	7,947	4,300	4,770	7,502	5,000	34,695	38,400
Protestant	..	3,440	2,550	2,633	412	860	1,800
Judaism	41,905	70,520	39,602	39,165	–	–	–
Other	3,661	..	18	158	300	1,300	2,900
No affiliation*	..	..	39	24	69,209	49,638	65,911
Total population	*66,032*	*86,000*	*76,792*	*91,101*	*120,921*	*288,694*	*295,981*
Population in percentage							
Roman Catholic	18.96	9.00	38.64	45.55	38.04	70.04	63.21
Orthodox	12,04	5.00	6.21	8.23	4.13	12.02	13.00
Protestant	..	4.00	3.32	2.89	0.34	0.30	0.60
Judaism	63.46	82.00	51.57	42.99	–	–	–
Other	5.54	..	0.02	0.17	0.25	0.45	0.98
No affiliation*	..	..	0.05	0.03	57.23	17.19	22.21
Total population	*100.00*	*100.00*	*100.00*	*100.00*	*100.00*	*100.00*	*100.00*

*The difference between the total population and the total number of persons belonging to religious associations shown above. .. = No data. *Source*: Author's work based on Bilska-Wodecka, E. (2012) and data of religious associations.

this group, Lutherans were the most numerous. Today, the Protestant community is relatively small (about 800 people) and is represented by several Protestant denominations (Baptists, Lutherans, Adventists, Pentecostals).

The rapid increase in the number of Catholics was visible from the 1920s (Bilska-Wodecka, E. 2012) and according to census figures in 1931 they were already the largest religious community in Białystok[4]. The beginnings of the Roman Catholic Church in the city go back to the establishment of a settlement here in the first half of the 15th century. Over a hundred years later, in 1547 the first wooden Catholic church was erected. Following the burning of the temple in 1617, the construction of a brick church was started. After its completion in 1626, an independent parish of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary was established in Białystok. At the end of the 19th century, the church was expanded by erecting an addition which was much bigger than the current temple itself. This action was dictated by the refusal of the Russian authorities to erect a new temple. In the interwar period, in the restored Polish state, St. Roch's parish was founded and its new modernist church was erected. However, the period of the strongest development of the parish network, and the creation of new objects of worship, began in the 1970s.

The Tatars, present in the Podlasie region since the second half of the 17th century, did not appear in Białystok in larger numbers until the late 1950s and 1960s. According to the 1921 census, there were only 11 people of Tatar origin in the city (Miśkiewicz, A. 2011). The development of the Tatar community in Białystok was the result, among others, of the territorial changes after World War II, when most of the Tatar people found themselves in the Soviet Union, and they started to emigrate from these areas to Poland as well as the influx of people from the rural areas of the Białystok province. Immediately after the end of the war, the Tatars started to migrate mainly towards the formerly German areas of northern and western Poland (incorporated into the Polish state in 1945). Unable to settle in the new conditions, however, they often left these regions and moved back to Białystok. In 1964, the Białystok community of Polish Tatars counted 285 residents (approx. 90 families). In 1962, a separate religious community was established in the city. Within 20 years, the number of Tatars increased almost sixfold, reaching 1,800 of the faithful in the Białystok community in 1985. Since then, the size of the community has remained at this level, with a slight upward trend (approx. 2,000 Muslims live nowadays in the city).

Concluding the discussion of the religious structure of Białystok, it is worth noting that it is still a relatively diversified city according to religion, standing out among other Polish cities especially regarding the high proportion of the Orthodox people, and the relatively low proportion of Catholics (as for Polish conditions), even though they are still the absolutely dominant group in Białystok.

Religious heritage in the urban landscape

The centuries-old coexistence of different religious groups in the city is not without impact on the urban fabric and the emerging urban landscape. The preservation of the heritage sites has depended on numerous factors, mainly of historical, political and social characters. Białystok is a showcase where the discussed factors caused within quarter of a century (1939–2015), fundamental transformations both in the composition of its residents and the organization of urban space. The occurring changes were multidirectional, of which three main phases can be distinguished in chronological order:

1. The period of German occupation: extermination of the Jewish population, destruction of most Jewish objects of the cult, including the burning of the Great Synagogue, the formation and liquidation of the Białystok ghetto. Among the many synagogues only

[4] However, the difference between the share of the Jewish followers and the Catholics was very small at that time, within the range of 2 per cent.

three have been preserved, i.e. the Cytron, Piaskower and one in Branickiego street.

2. The period of the communist rule (1945–1989): as a result of the one-nation state policy, Białystok became a typical Polish city. After the war the remaining small Jewish community left the city, and its few institutions finally ceased to function in the 1960s. Thus, the Jewish district and other places associated with this religious group vanished from the city-scape. The authorities deliberately pursued a 'policy of oblivion,' both in space and in the awareness of the city's new residents. At the same time the communist ideology and its aesthetic aspects became widespread, simultaneously religious communities were not fully guaranteed their rights. Despite the demographic and territorial development of Białystok, authorities did not allow the construction of Orthodox and Catholic churches for a long time. It was only in the 1970s and 1980s that new objects of worship began to appear in the city landscape.

3. The period of political transformation to the present day: a fundamental change in the policy towards national, ethnic and religious minorities where the multicultural nature of the city tended to become an asset for urban development. The effect of this is, on the one hand, the development of religious communities and associations, i.e. the extension of the parish network and erection of objects of worship of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, the development of the Muslim community and, on the other hand, the displaying of their cultural heritage in the city, among others, through the creation of thematic trails.

According to the above mentioned distinctions, the beginnings of significant changes in the urban landscape of Białystok can be associated with the outbreak of World War II in 1939. In the second half of September 1939, Białystok came under Soviet occupation. At the same time, many Jewish refugees from the General Government and the territories occupied by Germany, among others from Łódź or Warsaw, arrived in the city. The Soviets did not persecute the Jews in any special way, however, they did close down Jewish religious institutions and banned political parties. The Jewish population was also affected by deportations to the Soviet Union. However, it was only the outbreak of the German-Soviet War in 1941 and the subsequent German occupation that resulted in the most tragic events in the city's history. The Germans entered Białystok at the end of June 1941 and within a few months damaged and destroyed it irreversibly. On 27 June, the famous murder of Jews in the flames of the torched Great Synagogue took place. The biggest Jewish cemetery was also destroyed.

It is worth noting that, under these circumstances, the Jewish population attempted to lead at least a substitute of normal life. In the ghetto, factories operated, vegetables were grown, and cattle were grazed. An attempt to engage in armed combat was also made, but the uprising was suppressed after a few days. Those who survived were then deported by the Nazis to the concentration camps in Majdanek and Treblinka (Lechowski, A. 2009). Shaped by centuries, Jewish Białystok was, like its residents, doomed to annihilation.

In the first years after the war, Jewish survivors still hoped against all hope for the possibility to rebuild their city. Organizations embracing pre-war emigrants from Białystok, among others the Białystok Centre in New York founded in 1919, allocated significant funds for this purpose (Kobrin, R. 2014). The initial activities of the communist authorities seemed to be moving towards ensuring the normalization and stabilization of Jewish life in the city. The synagogue was re-opened. However, facing the increasingly growing anti-Semitism among Poles, which led in 1946 to anti-Jewish riots and the death of more than a dozen representatives of the Jewish minority, the revival of this community proved impossible. An expression of the longing for, and relations of Białystok Jews with this city was the foundation of Kiryat Bialystok in Israel. The consistently pursued policy of the municipal authorities led to the fact that, in the 1970s, so rich and distinc-

tive in the past 'Jewish landscape' became a landscape of oblivion, in the full sense of the word. Jewish street names were removed, the remaining synagogues changed their functions, and in 1971 the ghetto cemetery in Żabia street was liquidated and replaced by a new park (Klimczuk, A. 2012). A new history of the city was created, in which there was no room for the discussed community any more. This is confirmed even in Białystok guidebooks published in the years of 1950 to 1980. None of them mention, or just very briefly the former Jewish residents of the city and their culture.

The authorities did not openly conduct a similarly hostile policy against representatives of other nationalities and religions. For instance, in 1962 the Muslims managed to establish a religious community in Białystok, yet we have to remember that they were Polish Tartars, who had been long assimilated in the Polish society, they recognized themselves as Poles and declared their loyalty to Poland. In addition, the establishment of the Muslim community in Białystok in a sense weakened the traditional Muslim centres in Bohoniki and Kruszyniany. In 1981, the city authorities donated a historical house for the needs of the community, which became a House of Prayer and a cultural centre of the community. The reluctant attitude of the authorities towards religious associations manifested itself primarily in not issuing permits for the foundation of new parishes and the erection of temples.

In the 1970s, four new Catholic parishes were established, whereas already existing temples were being used as parish churches, or their construction began in the following decade. Until the political transition of 1989, another 5 parishes were founded, however, in the entire period discussed, the construction of 5 churches was started, of which only 1 was completed (Christ the King's church). In the case of the Orthodox Church, the first 4 parishes after the war were founded in the 1980s. The construction of 2 Orthodox churches was also begun (the churches of the Holy Spirit and the Divine Wisdom).

After 1989, the religious and cultural landscape of the city experienced the biggest changes since the end of World War II. Most noticeable was the progressive sacralisation of urban space associated with the construction of new centres of Christian worship. Until 2016 20 churches were built, and a few more were planned. 9 Orthodox churches were built or completed[5] (i.e. 8 parish churches and one chapel of ease), including the largest Orthodox church in Poland, the Church of the Holy Spirit. Also the Muslims acquired a second house of prayer, this time belonging to the Muslim League registered in Poland since 2006. Unfortunately, the project to build a mosque in the city failed since the Muslim community was unable to cope financially and the land had to be sold.

In developing the multicultural identity of the city, activities integrating the community around this issue and allowing the creation of relationships of mutual understanding and tolerance are of paramount importance (Sadowski, A. 2013). Białystok also having been heading in this direction in recent years. The first significant initiative in this regard was the turn towards the Jewish cultural heritage and the marking out of the Jewish Heritage Trail in the city space *(Figure 1, Photos 1–3).* It is an independent social initiative undertaken by volunteers and employees of the University of Białystok affiliated with the Foundation of the University of Białystok. A ceremonial promotion of the trail took place in 2008 (Nziołek, K. 2008). Hence, the landscape of oblivion is slowly becoming a landscape of remembrance. On the trail, comprising 36 places of interest, there are important historical places (preserved synagogue buildings, old Jewish schools, a hospital, a cemetery) and places commemorating the Holocaust, including the monument of the heroes of the ghetto and the Monument of the Great Synagogue.

[5] For comparison, in 1945, there were 4 Catholic parishes and 3 Orthodox ones within the city limits of present Białystok. The Catholic Church had 4 churches and the Orthodox Church had 4, too. Currently, there are 32 Catholic churches and 13 Orthodox ones.

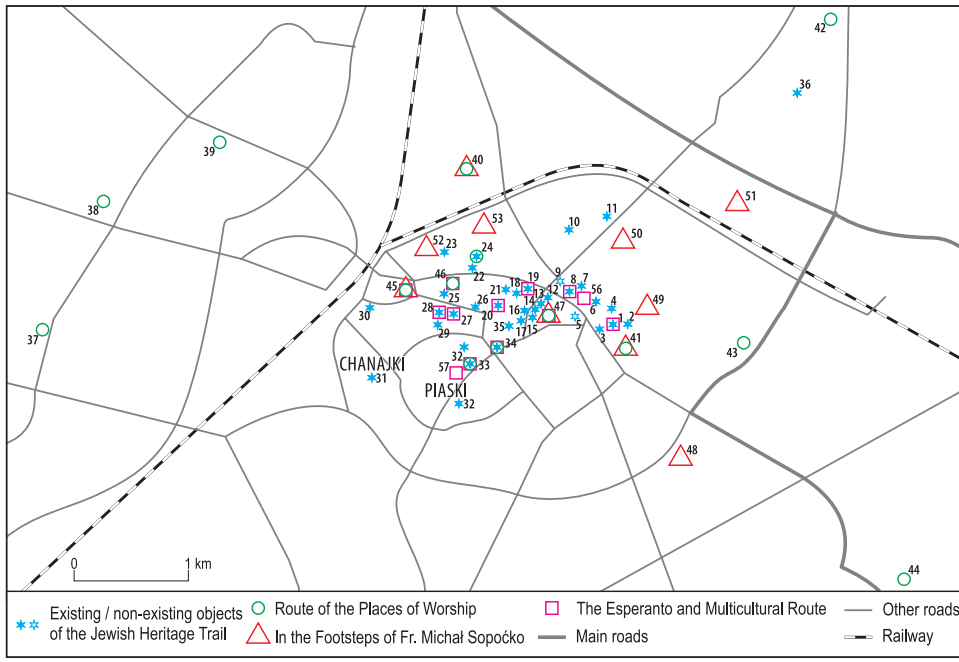

Fig. 1. Attractions and tourist routes associated with religious heritage in Białystok (edited by the authors). A) Objects of the Jewish Heritage Trail: 1 = Cytron Palace (today Historical Museum); 2 = Tobacco Factory of Faiwel Janowski; 3 = Shmuel Synagogue; 4 = Jewish Female Gymnasium of Zinaida Chwoles; 5 = Białystok Palace Theatre; 6 = Jewish Hospital (now Maternity Hospital); 7 = Białystok Trylling Palace; 8 = Zygmunt August Gymnasium (now Sigismund Augustus High School); 9 = Sholem Aleichem Library; 10 = TOZ Sanatorium; 11 = The Hebrew Gymnasium (now Municipal Hospital); 12 = Mansion (ul. Sienkiewicza 26A); 13 = Apollo Cinema; 14 = Mansion (ul. Sienkiewicza 26A; now State Theatre Academy); 15 = Gymnasium of Jozef Zeligman, Jozef Lebenhaft and Jakub Dereczynski; 16 = Gilarino Miniature Theatre; 17 = Mansions of Isaac Zabludowski; 18 = Linas Chailim Charity Association; 19 = House of the Zamenhof family; 20 = Monument to Ludwik Zamenhof; 21 = Yitzhak Malmed Plaque; 22 = Druskin Gymnasium; 23 = The Heroes of the Ghetto Uprising Monument; 24 = Cytron Synagogue (now Art Gallery of the Slendzinskis); 25 = Warynskiego Street; 26 = The Modern Cinema; 27 = House of the Jakub Szapiro family; 28 = Nowik Palace in Białystok; 29 = Tarbut (today Maria Grzegorzewska Craft School); 30 = The Barbican Mission (today Syrena cinema); 31 = Białystok-Chanajki Quarter; 32 = Piaski Quarter; 33 = Rabbinical Cemetery (today Central Park); 34 = Piaskower Synagogue; 35 = The Monument of the Great Synagogue; 36 = The City Hall; 37 = The Jewish Cemetery (Wschodnia Street) and the Cholera Cemetery in Białystok. B) Objects on the Route of the Places of Worship*:* 38 = Church of the Resurrection; 39 = Orthodox Church of the Resurrection; 40 = Orthodox Church of the Holy Spirit; 41 = Sanctuary of Divine Mercy; 24 = Cytron Synagogue; 42 = Church of St. Wojciech Bishop and Martyr; 43 = Orthodox Church of Divine Wisdom; 44 = Muslim Prayer House; 45 = Church of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in Dojlidy; 46 = Church of Christ the King and St. Roch; 47 = Orthodox church of St. Nicholas; 48 = Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; 34 = Piaskower Synagogue; 35 = The Monument of the Great Synagogue. C) In the Footsteps of Fr. Michał Sopoćko: 46 = Church of Christ the King and St. Roch; 48 = Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; 49 = Chapel of the Sisters of the Shepherdess; 42 = Church of St. Wojciech Bishop and the Seminary; 50 = Former building of the Seminary; 51 = The house of Fr. Sopoćko; 52 = Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus; 53 = Monument – cross at the track; 54 = Chapel of the Sisters of Merciful Jesus; 41 = Sanctuary of Divine Mercy. D) The Esperanto and Multicultural Route: 20 = Monument to Ludwik Zamenhof; 19 = House of the Zamenhof family; 48 = Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; 55 = Guest House; 56 = Centrum Ludwik Zamenhof; 8 = Former gymnasium in which Ludwik Zamenhof studied; 1 = Cytron Palace; 35 = The Monument of the Great Synagogue; 34 = Piaskower Synagogue; 57 = Sienna Market; 29 = Tarbut Jewish School; 46 = Church of Christ the King and St. Roch; 28 = Nowik Palace in Białystok; 27 = House of the Jakub Szapiro family; 47 = Orthodox church of St. Nicholas

Photo 1. Cytron Synagogue (now Art Gallery of the Slendzinskis) (Photo by Bilska-Wodecka, E.)

Photo 2. The Monument of the Great Synagogue (Photo by Bilska-Wodecka, E.)

Photo 3. The Jewish Cemetery (Wschodnia street) (Photo by Bilska-Wodecka, E.)

Next to the Jewish Trail, other thematic routes focusing on the multicultural character of the city were also created, e.g. the Ludwik Zamenhof and Many Cultures Trail or the Białystok Temples Trail, showing the city's religious and architectural diversity *(Photo 4–5).*

Interesting buildings and places, neatly crafted boards, interesting plastic solutions (e.g. murals), along with the information they convey, make the trails an attractive offer for both residents and tourists. In the post-war period Białystok also became the Tatar capital of Poland; numerous cultural events that allow to get to know the Tatar heritage are held here, including, since 2008, the annual Podlasie Days of Muslim Culture. In the Historical Museum, the only Polish permanent exhibition of memorabilia of their culture is open for visitors. In a sense, the trail of Father Michał Sopoćko, a great supporter of the cult of Divine Mercy, who lived in Białystok and was buried there, also fits in with the city's multiculturalism.

Photo 4. Church of St. Wojciech Bishop and Martyr (Photo by Bilska-Wodecka, E.)

Photo 5. Orthodox church of St. Nicholas (Photo by Bilska-Wodecka, E.)

Conclusions

Multiculturalism provides a great opportunity for Białystok, enabling it to become known in an increasingly globalized and uniformized mass-culture and, on the other hand, increasingly diversified world. The transition from multiculturalism bringing about isolation and division to unity in diversity is not easy, but it seems possible, which we attempted to demonstrate in this article. It is also a counterweight to the aggressive nationalistic behaviour, many examples of which can also be provided from the recent history of Białystok. Offensive slogans raised against the Jews and Chechens, setting fire to the Muslim Cultural Centre and, unfortunately, numerous attacks on foreigners are just some of the examples that will not bring fame to the city (Sacharczuk, J. 2014). Its cultural landscape, the landscape of memory reminding of what was and what is, bearing witness to past events and people differing in many ways, yet living in one space, is a recorded lesson of history and the present, from which a careful observer can learn a lot to better understand the reality that surrounds them.

Białystok is an example of a city in which, after the political changes in 1989, the potentials of both the past and the contemporary cultural diversity of its inhabitants began to be noticed. What was hidden in the communist period, what was attempted to be forgotten, and even 'erased' from the urban landscape, has become an asset making it possible to build the city's identity and its image. Similar activities can be observed in other urban centres in Poland, for example in Katowice, Łódź and Wrocław. Post-Jewish or post-German heritage is no longer shameful, and the new historical policy provides a different perspective from which to view the history of these cities.

Białystok, still a typical Jewish town at the beginning of the 20th century, has great opportunities to use this fact in creating a tour-

ist strategy for the city and the region. This is evidenced by the already established tourist routes, designed not only to preserve but also to expose remembrance in the space of this landscape. An undisputed value of Białystok is also the culture of the remaining, still present in the city, religious communities and ethnic minorities. There is no other city in Poland where there are more than a dozen orthodox churches, including one of the most important temples – St. Nicholas' church. Architecturally interesting catholic churches and sanctuaries attracting pilgrims complete the picture. Podlasie is also the only region in Poland with a historically shaped Muslim community of Polish Tatars. Thus, the cultural potential of the city is so rich that it can (and increasingly is) constitute a base for the development of tourism, not only on a local, but also nationwide, and even international scale. Contemporary Białystok is promoted as a city of tourist interest precisely because of its unique cultural values, and not only (as was the case in the postwar period, until the 1990s) because of one building that is worth seeing, i.e. the Branicki palace. In the case of Białystok, the analysis of multiculturalism in the context of national heritage seems most appropriate.

Multiculturalism is important for the promotion of tourism in the entire Podlasie region (Duridywka, M. and Kociszewski, P. 2013). Tourism is closely linked to the cultural heritage of the place. As suggested by many authors, traces of multiculturalism from the past can be a factor activating the promotion of tourism and tourist movement, if appropriate steps are taken (Caffyn, A. and Lutz, J. 1999; Pizam, A. 1999; Reisinger, Y. 2009; Duridywka, M. and Kociszewski, P. 2013; Puchnarewicz, E. 2010). Cultural tourism, tourism related to places of remembrance is one of the most dynamically developing forms of travelling today. The presented diversity of Białystok may be the basis for the development of tourism related to the history and culture of the Jewish, Muslim, Orthodox and other communities in the city.

The presence of heritage of ethnic and religious minorities is undoubtedly a great asset in the planning of further development and popularization of cultural tourism in Białystok. As the experience of the past shows, its future depends mainly on political factors. The majority of councillors from the right-wing party in the city council may have the effect of depriving the initiatives/events that promote the multicultural heritage of the city of funding and destroying many civic initiatives in this respect.

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Politics of street names and the reinvention of local heritage in the contested urban space of Oradea

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Abstract

Ethnically and culturally diverse settlements in Central and Eastern Europe often witness local power-struggles along ethnic/linguistic boundaries that may centre on the visibility of ethnic groups and minority languages in public space (Kettley, C. 2003; Brubaker, R. *et al*. 2006; Murzyn, M.A. 2008; Dragoman, D. 2011; Csernicskó, I. and Máté, R. 2017). The majority ethnic group, as the possessor of power is in a more favourable position to control and/or limit the access of minorities to be visually present in the cityscape. The aim of this paper is to show (1) how the public space is re-structured and ethnicised by politics and practices of street naming; and (2) how the contestation over public space contributes to the evolvement of alternative city-text. The research was carried out in Oradea/Nagyvárad, a multi-ethnic town in the Romanian-Hungarian border zone. After describing the spatial features and effects of contestation over street names, based on the analysis of press, interviews and survey data the research shows how the local political deal, the evolved individual/minority coping strategies, and the recent interest in tourism development have contributed to the reinvention of local heritage. Finally, looking at the intensified interest towards local heritage (on behalf of both local government and minority politicians) the question arises: whether heritage might enhance the dissolution of the ongoing conflict centred on street names?

Keywords: public space, toponymy, street names, local heritage, Oradea, Nagyvárad

Introduction

The relationship between power and public space has been one of the main interests of geographical research (Massey, D. 1994; Mitchell, D. 2003; Low, S. and Smith, N. 2006; Risbeth, K. and Rogaly, B. 2017). When explaining the importance of public space Staeheli and Mitchell highlight that "For those people who are marginalised, finding a space to be seen or heard, (…) is vital to their ability to develop a political subjectivity; (…) and to their struggle to gain recognition from the state and the political community." (Staeheli, L.D. and Mitchell, D. 2007, 809). The inherent social power of being visible in public space explains the conflicts centred on place naming, commemorative place names or multilingual inscriptions, as for a minority group these can be perceived as "struggle to be seen and heard within public space" (Alderman, D. and Inwood, J. 2013, 229). Tremendous amount of research has illustrated the struggle of minority or marginalised communities in place naming (Berg, L.D. and Kearns, R.A. 1996; Alderman, D. 2000; Merrimen, P. and Jones, R. 2009; Kitada, E. 2016), politics of place names in geopolitical conflict zones (Cohen, S.B. and Kliot, N. 1992; Kliot, N. and Mansfield, Y. 1997; Kadmon, N. 2004) or postcolonial setting (Yeoh, B. 1992, 1996).

Great body of research applies a different approach and study the place naming from the power's perspective. Political transformations go hand in hand with shifts in the symbolic landscape. The new possessor of power takes efforts to inscribe its hegemony into the landscape, in many cases by erasing or silencing counter narratives (Hobsbawn,

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E. 2015; Tátrai, P. and Erőss, Á. 2016). Symbolic space appropriation strategies can take various forms: demolishing the previous regime's symbols are usually followed by the installation of new symbols, reinterpretation or even appropriation of previously existing ones (Harrison, S. 1995). Naming and renaming streets is one of the generally applied symbolic acts as it proves the potency of "power to consecrate or reveal things that are already there" (Bourdieu, P. 1989, 23). Street names have a clear practical function (orientation); people use them in everyday situations (David, J. 2013) and this mundanity makes them so powerful. Only by mentioning a street name it appears in casual conversations, thus, unintentionally speakers communicate the official narrative and ideology. Consequently, street names "mediate between political elites and 'ordinary' people." (Azaryahu, M. 2009, 54) and can be perceived as manifestations of banal nationalism (Billig, M. 1995). Commemorative street names are especially powerful tools in urban landscape: they enable "an official version to be incorporated into spheres of social life which seems to be totally detached from political contexts or community obligations, and to be integrated into intimate realms and interaction and realities." (Azaryahu, M. 1996)

Since the birth of nationalism the previously ethnic neutral place designations have been replaced by the names connected to the ethnic based concept of nation. Thus, in settlements where more ethnic communities reside, tensions may occur over unequal representation (and access) of ethnic groups in the public space (Yiftachel, O. and Yacobi, H. 2003; Oktem, K. 2005). Ethnically and culturally diverse settlements in Central and Eastern Europe often witness local power-struggles along ethnic/linguistic boundaries that may centre on the visibility of ethnic groups in public space. The local majority – as the possessor of power – is in a more favourable position to control and/or limit the access of minorities to be visually present in the cityscape (Brubaker, R. *et al*. 2006; Zahorán, Cs. 2016). In such settlements, urban space can easily become the subject of power struggle between rivalling ethnic groups, where the majority dominates the relationship. In parallel, the minority group may keep alive an 'other', alternative urban space which contributes to the existence of a 'doubled world' (Barna, G. 2000) or an alternative city text (Azaryahu, M. 1996).

Talking about cities in CEE, the effect of post-socialist transformation also need to be addressed. After the collapse of the Soviet bloc, post-socialist cities went through rapid political, economic and social changes, which made general impact on urban spatial processes. While suburbanisation, gentrification, urban regeneration or recently re-urbanisation hit those cities in different scales and forms (Badyina, A. and Golubchikov, O. 2005; Kovács, Z. 2009; Sýkora, L. and Bouzarovski, S. 2012; Van Assche, K. and Salukvadze, J. 2012; Salukvadze, J. and Golubchikov, O. 2016), the redefinition of city image, the reassessment of cultural heritage and identity were equally necessary. The re-creation of (national) identity and city image is comprised by complex dynamics of remembering and forgetting that and can be traced in the restructuring of urban iconography (Azaryahu, M. 1997; Nadkarni, M. 2003; Light, D. 2004; Palonen, E. 2008; Diener, A.C. and Hagen, J. 2013; Erőss, Á. *et. al.* 2016). Similarly, important the reformulation of city image for tourism purposes (Putzkó, L. *et al.* 2007; Rozite, M. and Klepers, A. 2012; Grazuleviciute-Vileniske, I. and Urbonas, V. 2014). As tourism industry has developed to be a significant segment of economy in the globalising world, it further urged the articulation of policies and strategies in issues of heritage management and commercialisation or branding and marketisation of city image (Guzmán, P.C. *et al.* 2017). Consequently, in post-socialist cities the reformulation of city image is a diverse process in which the re-evaluation of socialist past and the (re)invention of heritage and identity is intertwined inviting various actors in different power positions to the discussion (Murzyn, M.A. 2008).

As recent studies of post-socialist cities, like Belgrade or Riga exemplifies "particular efforts have been made to highlight the diversity of all cultures, civilizations, social systems that left their traces" (Joksimović, M. *et al.* 2014, 229) in the cityscape. At the same time such an approach opens the floor to wide variety of cultural heritage interpretations (Rozite, M. and Klepers, A. 2012). According to one definition, heritage is "understood as the diverse ways in which material and intangible relics of the past are used by contemporary societies as social, political and economic resources" (Graham, B. 2000, 7). Even though, basically anything can be considered as heritage that somebody wish to pass on to the next generation (Howard, P. 2003), actually the list of cultural heritage is highly embedded into power relation and politics (Harvey, D.C. 2010), additionally in politics of identity (Graham, B. and Howard, P. 2008). According to critical heritage studies, heritage "embodies relationships of power and subjugation, inclusion and exclusion, remembering and forgetting", where the power wish to control not only the content what to remember, but also the interpretation of the past (Harrison, R. 2010, 1). Harrison makes distinction between official and unofficial heritage. In his view, unofficial heritage bears significance to individuals or communities, but it is not protected by legislation. Unofficial heritage can be a building, but can take a less tangible form as well, for instance "set of repetitive, entrenched, sometimes ritualized practices that link the values, beliefs and memories of communities in the present with those of the past" (Harrison, R. 2013, 14–18.)

The aim of the study is – by applying the example of Oradea – to illustrate how public space becomes contested and ethicised and in which ways local heritage can be reinterpreted in a culturally diverse city with rich cultural heritage. After briefly summarising the history of Oradea, the paper focuses on street names and the ethnicised contestation emerged on naming rights and visualisation of place names. By analysing interview data and questionnaire survey, the study reveals the diverse political and individual strategies evolved to tackle the contestation, contributing to the reinvention of local heritage.

Introduction of the research site, Oradea

Oradea (Nagyvárad, Groswardein), the seat of Bihor county in north-western Romania has a more than 900-year-old history. Founded in the 11th century by the Hungarian king, Saint Ladislaus. Before World War I it belonged to the Hungarian Kingdom and had a predominantly Hungarian population (about 90%). Throughout the centuries, it grew into a prosperous town with rich historical heritage of regional and even national importance. The golden era of modern Oradea was the last decades of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, when both the wealthy elite and the city council financed sizeable constructions. Grandiose art nouveau palaces and elegant public buildings in eclectic style were raised as spatial manifestations of boosting economy *(Photo 1).* Renowned figures of Hungarian and Romanian culture chose Oradea as a place of residence. Beside the temples of Roman and Greek Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant churches, marvellous synagogues served the sizeable, predominantly Hungarian speaking Jewish population.

After World War I, the Romanian Kingdom obtained Oradea, which became a peripheral border town in the enlarged state territory. In the interwar period, the city had to accommodate to the new political conditions while it also had to tackle consequences of economic downturn. Following the Second Vienna Treaty, between 1940 and 1944 it became part of Hungary again. During the last months of the Hungarian rule, the sizeable Hungarian speaking Jewish population, that played important role in the economic, social and cultural life of Oradea, perished in death camps (Remember…, 1985).

After 1945, Oradea was awarded to Romania. In the decades of communism, the proportion of Hungarians gradually decreased. Since 1973, Romanians form the

Photo 1. One of the architectural gems of Oradea, The Black Eagle Palace (Palatul Vulturul Negru/Fekete Sas Palota). Built in 1907–1908, architects Marcell Komor and Dezső Jakab. (Photo by the author)

majority in the local population (Varga, E.Á. 1999). Probably due to the lack of financial resources (Iuga, L. 2014), a great proportion of historic buildings in the city-centre could avoid demolition; the socialist urbanisation transformed rather the northern and southern parts of the town.

The collapse of the Ceausescu regime in 1989 hit hard Oradea: the closure of factories increased unemployment that resulted in the outmigration of the (mainly ethnic Hungarian) population. Nowadays Oradea is a municipality, with nearly two-hundred thousand citizens. According to the 2011 census, 23.7 per cent of its population declared Hungarian ethnicity, while the ratio of Romanians was 67.8 per cent.[2]

[2] http://ispmn.gov.ro/maps/county/26564_bh_limba2011_maghiar

All in all, in the last hundred years, Oradea went through several major regime changes, each was followed by the almost complete erasure of the previous regime's symbols (Fleisz, J. 2000) and introduction of a new toponymy and set of statues and commemorative tables (Erőss, Á. and Tátrai, P. 2010).

Power of street names: major shifts in toponymy

Data shown in *Table 1* reflect the hegemonic endeavour of consecutive power formations. Analysing relationship between the ethnic structure of the population and the ratio of street names with ethnic connotation, one can find that these two indicators only coincided during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Nev-

Table 1. Relationship between the ethnic composition of the inhabitants and the ethnic connotation of street names** in Oradea/Nagyvárad, 1900–2006.*

Year	Romanian %	Hungarian %	Year	Romanian %	Hungarian %
1900*	6.4	89.6	1956*	36.0	59.0
1902**	2.1	97.7	1957**	62.5	37.5
1930*	26.3	53.7	1977*	53.9	44.1
1931**	92.7	7.3	1980**	93.3	6.7
1941*	5.2	92.1	2002*	70.3	27.6
1942**	0.9	99.1	2006**	89.9	10.1

Source: Erőss, Á. and Tátrai, P. 2010.

ertheless, even in that period the local Hungarian government made effort to monopolize the street names favouring Hungarian figures, excluding the Romanian or other ethnic groups.

Nationalising states have an endeavour to monopolise the public sphere in ethnic-cultural terms by erasing or appropriating spatial memories of other ethnic groups in cities like Wroclaw/Breslau or Lemberg/Lviv (Lagzi, G. 2013) or Cluj/Kolozsvár (Benedek, J. and Bartos-Elekes, Zs. 2009; Bartos-Elekes, Zs. 2016). Minority initiatives to gain visibility are traditionally perceived as threats or at least acts questioning solidarity towards the state. As Dragoş Dragoman noted "ethnic struggle between Romanians and Hungarians in Transylvania lately became symbolic and non-material. It now uses mechanism of differentiation and power in order to spatially mark the dominance by items as flags, road signs, street names, churches and statues." (Dragoman, D. 2011, 121). This leads to the ethnicisation of public space (Hofman, M. 2008), that is reflected in the street names of Oradea. *Figure 1* shows street names according to their ethnic connotation. (Rule of selection: historical and cultural figures, events, dates, places that clearly belong to either Romanian or Hungarian culture marked with purple or yellow colours). In 2005 Oradea had 739 streets, out of which 57 per cent was ethnically neutral. Street names with Romanian connotation dominated the city centre, while Hungarian names concentrated in such areas, where they traditionally live in higher concentrations.

Only two important public places had Hungarian related names commemorating mainly artists and/or figures with local links (was born or lived/worked in Oradea) rather than representative figures of Hungarian national culture.

Politics of street names in Oradea

An interview conducted with a Hungarian member of the local government in 2013 shed light on the political dimensions and local deals of street naming. As he remembers, in the early 1990s "there were huge fights" in the city council, because the idea to name the main square after St. Ladislaus, the Hungarian king, who had found the town in 11th century, was absolutely unacceptable for the Romanian majority. While "Ady[3], of course, could be awarded, as he had made love here, he had become a big poet here, no problem." Eventually – following long debates – a narrow, peripheral street was named after St. Ladislaus and a long, frequently used street in the centre became the Ady Street. The case reveals the different symbolic value of commemorative street names: even though St. Ladislaus was the one who established Oradea, he was also perceived as a key figure of Hungarian national history, which made

[3] Endre Ady (1877–1919) is one of the most important Hungarian poets. He worked as a journalist and published his first successful volumes while living in Oradea/Nagyvárad. Importantly he met his muse and lover, Adél Brüll during his stay in the town.

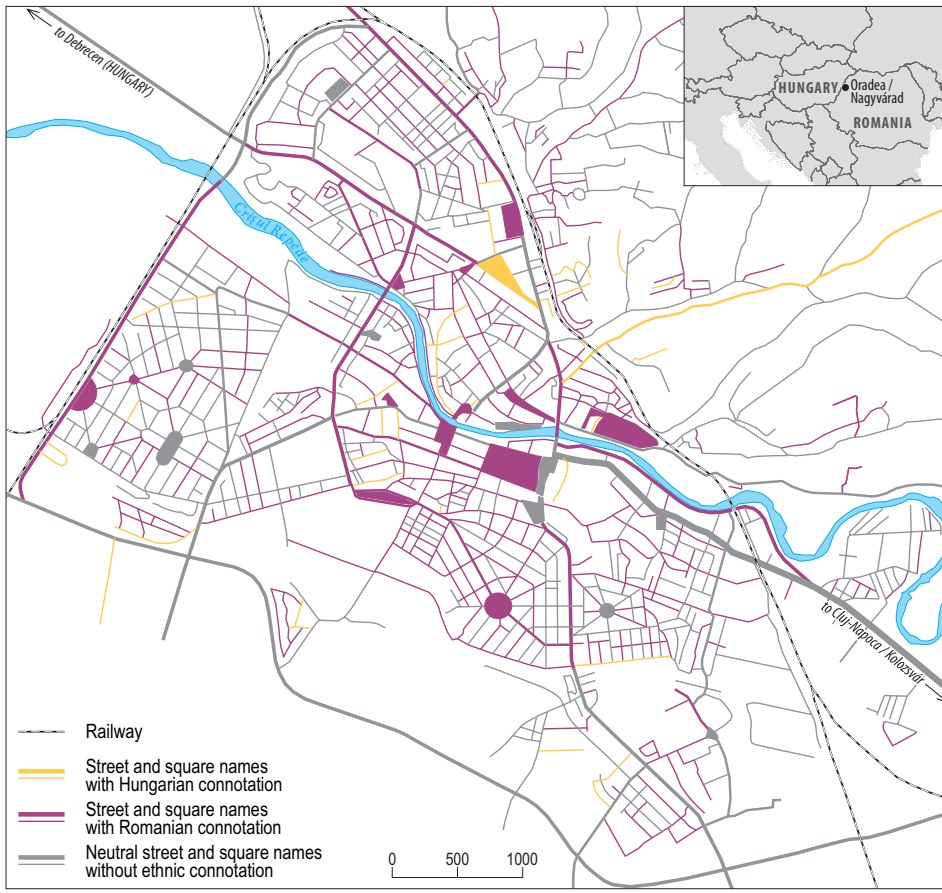

Figure 1. Street names in Oradea according to ethnic connotation in 2005. (Edited by Tátrai, P.)

his figure less acceptable to the Romanian majority (i.e. as it might evoke national sentiments). Whereas Ady, strongly related to the Hungarian culture and the history of the town, was primarily seen as a poet and journalist, who lived in Oradea. Thus, by highlighting his local relevance, embeddedness in Oradea's history, he was accepted in the pantheon of local heroes, and commemorated in a central street.

Nevertheless, the *spatial* differentiation in the aforementioned case points to the importance of location of commemorative street names: to be visible in the centre usually carries greater symbolic value. Nevertheless, when analysing the debates over naming streets after Martin Luther King Jr. in Greenville and Statesboro, Alderman and Inwood pointed to the ambiguous nature of the deals. The streets in the two cities named after King was either in the periphery, or – even though a wide avenue got baptized after him – it was actually far from the previously used space of African American commemorative events. Eventually, they conclude that both cases contributed to the reproduction of the already existing racial boundaries and spatial segregation in urban space, – the opposite of King's legacy (Alderman, D. and Inwood, J. 2013).

Apart from the ethnic connotation of street names, their *visualisation* and visibility also need to be addressed. Romania ratified laws and regulations that guarantee minority language use, including the display of bilingual or multilingual settlement names, street names or names of institutions in settlements where the share of ethnic minority reaches 20 per cent or more within the local population (Veress, E. 2006).

In practice, the implementation shows great variety in regions of Romania and highly dependent on local political relations (Dragoman, D. 2011; Creţan, R. and Matthews, P.W. 2016). In Oradea bilingual street name plates are still under negotiation, so as the demand of certain Hungarian politicians and civic activists to increase the share of Hungarian related street names until it would coincide with the ratio of Hungarians in the population.

Since 2007, the tension left the chambers of local council and entered the streets of Oradea. The Hungarian youth association, called EMI (Erdélyi Magyar Ifjak / Hungarian Youth in Transylvania) launched street actions: they painted the old, once existing Hungarian names on buildings (family houses or shops) with the owners' previous consent.

For the next couple of weeks the streets in Oradea turned into a 'playground' between 'painters' and 're-painters', latter ones perceived the street action as an illegal aggression against the majority/existing rules *(Photo 2).*

Photo 2. Scenes from the EMI activists' street action. The official (Romanian) street names above, below the once existing, Hungarian street names. The painted signs were either repainted or carved. (Photos by Kocsis, K.)

The conflict over street names in Oradea has not ended: Hungarian associations or parties from time to time fix Hungarian street name plates below the Romanian ones, accompanied by great media interest (*Photo 3).*

Meanwhile, a silent deal was accepted in the city council: names of newly opening streets follow the ethnic proportions (ca. 25% will be named by the Hungarian community, 75% by Romanians) – without ethnically neutral names. However, the scope of proposed street names is limited: the local government has a strong desire to prefer figures (Romanians and Hungarians) who were notable in the local history of Oradea or Bihor County. Thus, names of personalities of Hungarian national history remains absent from the list of street names. As the same interviewee phrased: "To denominate [streets] after politicians are not our primary goal (…) we rather look for such persons who did something for Oradea."

The reinvention of local heritage in Oradea

The silent deal or agreement does not cover or solve all the debates about street names, but it leads to noticeable consequences. First, the visibility guaranteed by this agreement is limited, as new streets are opening in the outskirts of Oradea, so their symbolic power is weaker than of a street in the centre. Second, to compile a list of people with local relevance requires engagement in local heritage and tremendous amount of work. The Hungarian community has developed numerous civic associations, which are engaged both in research and dissemination of local heritage (for instance: For the scientific Bihar Research: http://eng.biharkutatas.hu/; Partium and Bánság Committee for monument protection and memorials: http://www.pbmet.ro/). The body of knowledge prepared by them is an important contribution to compile biographies of notabilities. They publish the results, organ-

Photo 3. Local Hungarian politician place a Hungarian street name plate on the building of the city council. *Source*: http://itthon.ma/erdelyorszag.php?cikk_id=20200. Accessed: 12.11.2017

ise conferences and with the student paper competitions they make efforts to engage with the younger generations. Another project worth mentioning is a Hungarian language course book, titled "My town, Oradea"/"Az én városom, Nagyvárad". It targets 8–10 year-old pupils introducing Oradea, its history, built heritage, famous personalities to the kids (http://csodaceruza.hu/?p=5865).

Considering that local traditions and urban legends make places alive and liveable (De Certeau, M. 2011), the community work fostering reinvention of local histories might induce feeling of belonging and attachment to the place. Nonetheless, everyday practices legitimise places of remembrance: social actions transform a space into a place (De Certeau, M. 2011), shape individual and community place identity (Proshansky, H. *et al*. 1983) and engender attachment to places (Massey, D. 1994; Ehrkamp, P. 2005). In this sense, I argue that activities like digging up libraries to map a local figure's life, or followings blogs, attending public talk about the history of the town can be considered as social actions that induce affection, feeling of belonging to a place (Lovell, N. 1998). The growing consciousness about the history of the locality might contribute to the empowerment of local Hungarian community.

Finally, in the evaluation of the interviewee, the silent deal puts the Hungarian community in a relatively favourable position over Romanians: "since this was a Hungarian town for such a long time, for us it's not a problem to create a long list of figures with local relevance and importance. On the other hand, for Romanians, well…" This opinion suggests that even though Hungarian street names and figures of national importance have remained absent from the centre of the city the silent deal in a sense favours the local Hungarian community.

Do street names matter?

Taking into account the frequent changes of street names, the conflicts over street name plates and the overall contestation over public place the question arise: how people think about street names? What is the relevance of street names in their everyday lives? In the last couple of days there is a growing demand to study how street names are perceived by people (Azaryahu, M. 2011; Creţan, R. and Matthews, P.W. 2016).

In a research[4] conducted with local Hungarian and Romanian students who were born in or moved to Oradea, we found that inhabitants use landmarks to orient in the town, rather than street names. However, when referring to street names, they frequently use shorter or colloquial names instead of the official ones. In the questionnaire survey respondents were asked to name the meeting places where they usually fix an appointment. After evaluating the results (n=208) the representative main square, Piaţa Unirii (n=84) and the Strada Republicii (n=75), both situated in the centre, were named as favourite meeting points. Nevertheless, less than half of the respondents referred to these places by their actual official names. In both ethnic groups respondents favoured mentioning some iconic building as meeting point in the Piaţa Unirii (e.g. 'by the Vulturul Negru'), instead of the official name of the square. Hungarian respondents mainly used the Hungarian name of the Piaţa Unirii (n=52, Szent László tér / St. Ladislaus Square), while they referred to Strada Republicii (n=30) by its colloquial name [Main Street (n=18) or Pedestrian street (n=12)].

During the interviews it turned out, that Hungarian respondents sometimes did not even know the current official name of the given street or the use of official street names is rather situational: appears either in official-administrative context or when they

[4] The research was conducted in 2008, among Hungarian and Romanian students studying in Partium University and University of Oradea. The research was aimed to reveal ethnic differences in spatial practices of Hungarian and Romanian university students. We combined data from questionnaire, structured interviews and mental mapping surveys. The research was financed by the University of Bern. Participating researchers were Patrik Tátrai (geographer) and Krisztina Radványi (sociologist).

talk to Romanians. Beside colloquial names, local Hungarian youth refer to street names that were official in the times of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and thus, belong to the Hungarian past of Oradea. Keeping alive and using in everyday conversational situations, the Hungarian street names have become in-group codes, in many cases indicators of one's Hungarian identity. A similar phenomenon was described for instance in Cluj, the cultural centre of Transylvania. According to Réka Plugor (2006) many local Hungarians feel that using traditional Hungarian street names is a sign of respect towards past and signals a commitment and statement of being part of the Hungarian community. Importantly, since the Hungarian street names were absent from the public space and official documents for decades, their survival have been secured in the intergenerational communication, in the Hungarian community. The alternative Hungarian city text manifested in the virtual net of old street names might function as a cement of group cohesion for Hungarians (Barth, F. 1969) and a tool of out-grouping towards Romanians. However, it also symbolises a delicate line between local Hungarians and non *Oradean* Hungarians. Respondents, who came to study to Oradea from other parts of Transylvania mentioned that upon their arrival they faced difficulties when asked for orientation from local Hungarians, as the names mentioned by them were not indicated on maps or official papers. With time, they learnt the Hungarian street names. Thus, being Hungarian does not necessarily mean that one will be able to "read" this alternative city text. The knowledge of local Hungarian toponymy is a sensitive indicator of belonging to the local Hungarian community, being *Oradean* Hungarian (or "*váradi*" as they say).

Local heritage as mitigation of struggle over street names?

(Re)development and promotion of multilayered local heritage has been one of the most noticeable hence challenging processes in post-socialist cities (Rátz, T. *et al.* 2008). Traces of 'ancient' history, or signs of multiculturalism are reassessed, commercialised and capitalised (Narvselius, E. 2015). Such revival of the past is especially visible in the former Saxon settlements in Transylvania, Romania. In Sebeş, following the decision of the local mayor, the traditional German and (if exists) Hungarian street names were placed below the official street name plates, usually printed on a different table with different colours. According to the report, the historical street name tables intend to symbolise the multi-ethnic character of the community (Szucher, E. 2013). On the other hand, written in old German characters, these alternative street name plates serve as a visual proof of the ancient history and rich heritage of the former Saxon towns, a symbolic capital that conveyed value can quite easily be transformed into actual capital, as a commercialised heritage (Putzkó, L. *et al.* 2007). The potential financial benefits deriving from the multilingual street name plates transcend the comment of the mayor of Sebeş: before the decision was made about placing multilingual street name plates displaying historical toponymy, it was taken into account that majority of visitors were arriving from Hungary, whom would feel positively about looking at Hungarian street names (Szucher, E. 2013). Highlighting the (potential) economic benefits motivating or justifying (place) naming has been studied in the research of place naming as commodity (Light, D. and Young, C. 2014). Articles in present special issue also touch upon the role of heritage in local identity formation (Semian, M. and Novacek, A. 2017) and heritage as potential income generating factor in different types of tourism (Liro, J. *et al.* 2017; Jelen, J. and Kučera, Z. 2017).

Recently, arguments in the same vein seem to appear in policy documents, whereas the example of Saxon towns are widely referred to as good practices. Not long time ago, Oradea's cultural diversity and built heritage was rather overlooked by local government

as a possible source of generating income. In the last couple of years though, the development of tourism appeared in the local government's policy documents. Both the City Development Strategy for 2015–2020 and the Masterplan for 2030 tackles the renovation of built heritage and development of multicultural and historic tourism as the focal points of Oradea's future prosperity (Ţoca, C.V. and Pocola, B.M. 2015; Borma, A. 2016; Morar, C. *et al*. 2016). Interestingly, most probably not independently from the recent turn of the city council towards recognition and reinvention of multicultural character of the town, a local Hungarian politician started to campaign for Hungarian street names applying the example of Saxon towns (Az Erdélyi Magyar Néppárt Sajtóirodája 2017).

Conclusion

In local narratives, Oradea is labelled as a multi-ethnic place, where Hungarians and Romanian co-exist peacefully, and the conflicts are intruding from the top level, from the sphere of politics (Filep, B. 2016). If we consider that in the last hundred years Oradea went through numerous major political transformations, when each regime change was followed by a new toponymy, then we might assume that the reoccurring street name changes have been perceived by many local inhabitants as one of those top-down "intrusions" to their individual lives.

By analysing street names in Oradea, it was demonstrated how the urban space gets restructured into areas with different symbolic value. The importance of locality in the mutual acceptance of street names was also pointed out. As the case of Ady Street in Oradea shows, if the commemorated person is not political figure and has local connection, s/he is more acceptable for the majority, which is reflected in the more prestigious location of the street named after him.

To mitigate the conflict that regularly enters the streets, a silent agreement in the local government was achieved to commemorate persons with local importance, who were active in the local community, rather than historic persons or politicians. This policy induced a novel interest in local Hungarian minority to seek its heritage.

Nevertheless, street names, more precisely the maintenance of Hungarian street names can also be comprehended as an alternative city text. Inherited from parents to children, Hungarian street names secure and maintain a virtual link between different times of the existence of the community: they are able to recall past in the present, while by fostering and passing them to the next generation, they become 'investment' to thefuture of the community. Noteworthy, that the alternative city text often communicated via in-group codes, makes self-identification possible, probably strengthening in-group cohesion and safeguarding the ethnic group.

Recent developments show increasing interest toward local heritage. Policy documents tackle it as a possible source of income (heritage tourism). Whereas local minority politicians seem to perceive the heritage revival as an opportunity: by installing multilingual street name and information tables proving the rich heritage of the town, eventually minority language and culture might gain more visibility in centrally located urban spaces as well. Even though the approaches toward local heritage of local power and minority group is different, the question might arise: Whether local heritage can become a suitable to tool to dissolve the conflicts on this contested urban space?

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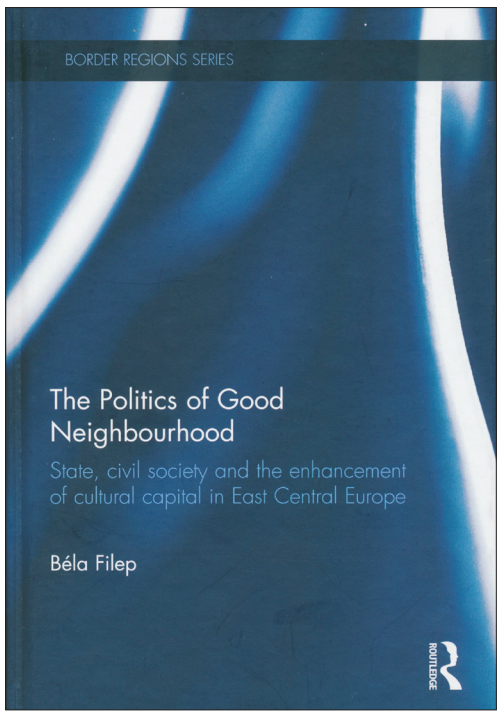
BOOK REVIEW

Filep, B.: The Politics of Good Neighbourhood. State, civil society and the enhancement of cultural capital in East Central Europe. Abingdon–New York, Routledge, 2017. 208 p.

Studies on inter-ethnic relations in East Central Europe have tended to emphasise problems and challenges (Wolff, S. 2002; Mungiu-Pippidi, A. 2008), and in contrast "this book pursues a solution-oriented approach, aimed at highlighting good-neighbourly discourses, strategies and practices" (p. 4). The author bases this on a "simple observation that the everyday life of people seems far removed from an emerging violent conflict in contrast to the nationalist state policies and rhetoric of leading politicians" (pp. 4–5). This is a promising and welcome approach considering that topics such as ethnic and neighbourly relations remain "very present in the political, public (and scientific) debate in East Central Europe, but also in 'Western' discourses on the region", even though "there are also 'good' examples, 'best practices', and peaceful 'normalities' to be found, which have received less attention" (p. 5).

It is not so much that inter-ethnic relations are no longer burdensome in East Central Europe, something Filep is well aware of (pp. 3–4). Ethno-nationalist discourses remain key elements of political rhetoric and – I would argue – partly also everyday life; ethnic groups such as Roma largely remain excluded (Ram, M.H. 2014); and, though perhaps temporarily, an East–West divide in Europe was apparent in the handling of the 2015 refugee crisis (*cf.* Balogh, P. 2016).



Yet considering certain realities, raising the question whether ethno-cultural identities matter more in East Central Europe than in the western parts of the continent can be legitimate (see Joly, D. 1998), for two main reasons. First, ethnicity-related issues have become or remained present in the West as well. Apart of sharpened debates around national identities and the integration of migrants and refugees, ethno-territorial claims keep contesting the unity of centuries-old states such as Spain or the UK, to a lesser extent Belgium and Italy. The second reason is that recent efforts of alliance-building among countries of East Central Europe (e.g. the Visegrad cooperation, the Three Seas Initiative, and the Balkan Four) have partly overshadowed their ethnic tensions. There is no doubt that the newly strengthened intra-regional cooperations remain as fragile as do inter-ethnic relations in the region. But as Filep notes, "inter-ethnic relations within these countries and the relationship between Hungary and its neighbouring states have generally improved in the years that followed the fall of the Iron Curtain" (p. 4). This might be related to the fact that most, if not all, East Central European countries host ethnic minorities whose kin-states are neighbours, thus one could say that being in the same shoes has taught them to "agree to disagree" on certain ethnicity-related issues.

Filep's main empirical research questions are "how good neighbourhood is understood and 'practised' by different stakeholders in a multicultural environment. What are their ideas and strategies for the building of good-neighbourly relations?" (p. 4) To investigate these issues, the author conducted more than 130 (!) qualitative interviews between 2007 and 2011 with a variety of stakeholders in two ethno-culturally diverse border regions in East Central Europe as well as in the European Commission and Parliament. But also since 2011, Filep has kept revisiting his study areas and engaged with locals. He has further enriched his analysis "with the help of scientific and popular literature, documents and strategy papers of EU institutions, national, regional and local admin-

istrations, cultural associations, newspaper articles, radio and TV interviews, other visual materials and online sources" (p. 4).

The author distinguishes his empirical research questions from what he calls 'analytical' ones, which are more theory-building. The latter are: "How can good neighbourhood or its politics be conceptualized for the East Central European context and beyond? What general factors define and contribute to the building of good-neighbourly relations? How can policy-makers then implement such a concept?" (p. 5)

Both of Filep's research sites have a Hungarian bearing. One is the relatively small town of Komárno in southern Slovakia, directly bordering Hungary; the other is the mid-sized city of Subotica in northern Serbia, only a few kilometres away from the Hungarian border. The author explains these choices in detail. One factor is that ethno-culturally, these places are "among the most diverse areas in these countries"; another is that "the border location also allowed investigating the inter-ethnic question from a different perspective, looking at cross-border processes and how they might influence the inter-ethnic relations" (p. 5). Further, "the Hungarian population in both countries served as a central comparative element. Many challenges in the neighbourly relations between the majority and minority populations (most prominently the Hungarians) … show similarities: educational matters, language-related issues, issues of collective rights and historical grievances, to name a few" (p. 5).

The author also acknowledges the differences of the two sites: "Slovakia and Serbia have experienced different paths to nation-building in the past 25 years and even their communist legacy differed" (p. 5). Czechoslovakia of course dissolved peacefully whereas Yugoslavia violently. Subsequently, "although both countries had been hostile towards minorities in the 1990s, in comparison to Slovakia, Serbia faced much greater challenges in the early 2000s due to its violent recent past" (p. 7).

At this point – i.e. still in the Introduction – Filep reveals one of his findings: paradoxically, "it was not in Slovakia, but in the violently disintegrated, post-conflict Yugoslavia (more precisely in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina in Serbia), where (more visible) good-neighbourly strategies have since been applied" (p. 7). The author relates this to two possible explanations. One, Vojvodina has a historically rooted multicultural character and remained peaceful even during the Yugoslav wars. Two, those wars can have "generated a necessity to actively 'repair' inter-ethnic relations and to engage in inter-ethnic rapprochement" (p. 7).

Filep mentions one more reason behind his choice of the research sites; namely the criterion to investigate an internal and an external EU border, "because the international framework in which the respective countries are embedded might influence the positioning of the different parties: states, political parties, minority or civil society organizations" (p. 7).

Conceptually, the author motivates his study by an observed lack of consolidation into a theoretical concept of the frequently used terms 'good neighbourhood', 'good neighbourly relations', and 'good-neighbourly policy' (p. 8). The author takes inspiration from Alan Henrikson, who conceptualised good neighbourliness according to three principles in inter-state diplomacy: neighbours are to be accepted as being equal; there is an implied acceptance or at least tolerance of difference; and non-interference in the internal affairs of others (p. 12). Filep partly accepts these principles and claims they can be applied not just to inter-state but also to inter-ethnic relations (within the same country). At the same time, he rightfully criticises the third principle for possibly leading to ignorance or passivity; instead, in his concept of good-neighbourhood contact between groups is a major condition (pp. 12–13).

At the core of the author's concept, however, is Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, which Filep divides into intercultural, cross-cultural, and multicultural capital (see below). Further sources of inspiration are Putnam's notion of bonding and bridging social capital; Kymlicka's ideas of multicultural societies; and Brubaker's and others' framing of 'everyday ethnicity' (p. 8).

The structure of the book follows the conventional logic. In Part I, the Introduction is followed by an overview of earlier studies of theoretical relevance. Part II provides a detailed portrait of the two chosen study areas (Komárno and Subotica), with an emphasis on *ethnicity* as a social category in various spheres of inter-ethnic neighbourly relations: politics, education, religion, cultural life, public space, and media. Part III (the lion's share of the book) largely consists of three chapters each devoted to intercultural, cross-cultural, and multicultural capital, respectively. The three together form the analysis, which – in contrast to Part II – builds on *culture* as the category of analysis, "since it is culture that constitutes the main element of the conceptual framework in which neighbourly relations in East Central Europe should be embedded" (p. 9). The final chapter is obviously devoted to the Conclusions.

In the Introduction to Part III, the author develops a model entitled 'the pyramid of good neighbourhood' that summarises the three forms of capital and the different components of the concept of good neighbourhood (p. 85, p. 186). The pyramid builds on Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, divided into three sub-categories by Filep. The first, intercultural capital, comprises proficiency in local languages, cross-cultural (historical) knowledge, and

civic education. The second, cross-cultural capital, can be generated and enhanced in everyday meeting places, in "scenes of cross-cultural contact and intercultural rapprochement" (e.g. events or programs), and through "cross-cultural social contact within the family and among friends" (p. 84). Finally, multicultural capital is expressed as "mutual respect, recognition and appreciation between ethnic (or ethnicized) neighbours", through promoting diversity, historic reconciliation, and granting minority rights (*ibid*).

According to the author, "a lack of intercultural capital involves a lack of mutual understanding" and interest (while its enhancement facilitates communication and raises cross-cultural interest); a lack of cross-cultural capital "results in ethno-cultural segregation"; and a lack of multicultural capital sustains resentment and results in discrimination (pp. 84–85). While all the different elements related to inter-ethnic coexistence raised by Filep are highly significant and relevant, they could probably be distinguished and visualised in other ways as well. Portraying the three different capitals and their sub-components in a circle for instance (rather than as a pyramid) might be just as good; at least it might make an impression of a less hierarchical order. In the Conclusions, the author explains the hierarchy (inherent in the pyramid model) by that "intercultural capital forms the basis of a good multicultural neighbourhood, while cross-cultural social capital and multicultural capital are a function of the first" (p. 186). Accordingly, "[t]he intercultural capacities of individuals are the starting point for them to form cross-cultural social capital, while the first two capitals form and at the same time are affected by the level of multicultural capital" (*ibid*). Thus, "the processes that enhance these different forms of cultural capital are not unidirectional; they influence each other" (*ibid*) – an insight that may have led Filep to modify the pyramid in the Conclusions, now featuring arrows in between each of the three different layers (i.e. forms of capital). In the last paragraph, the author acknowledges that "[i]t is difficult to make a priority of one of the forms of capital or one of their components" (p. 188).

Filep's main conclusion is nevertheless fair, arguing that *all* the components described contribute to the larger framework of a good neighbourhood. Language proficiency is surely a central element, but does not guarantee peaceful coexistence per se (consider e.g. the shared language in the former Yugoslavia). The author thus rightly emphasises the comprehensive nature of good neighbourhood and encourages policy-makers to "develop broad good-neighbourly strategies rather than focus on selective policies" (p. 189).

In my view, the book is missing some necessary elements. It basically avoids dealing with issues of positionality and (self-)reflexivity, which are even more pressing in a study largely based on personal interviews. We can only learn a little bit about the author's background in the Acknowledgments. A few lines in the Introduction indeed describe that "[t]he interviews with Hungarian interviewees were conducted in Hungarian; conversations with Slovak and Serbian interviewees were sometimes held in Hungarian, sometimes in Slovak, Serbian or English… For interviews in Slovak and Serbian, I was accompanied by an interpreter" (p. 9). But how could these have influenced the encounters and the accounts gained? What premises or preconceptions did the researcher have about his field (if any) at the start of his project? Did these change during the research process?

Although the number of interviews conducted is impressively large, at least a paragraph would have been in place in the Introduction on who these 'stakeholders' (p. 4) actually were. What was the selection process like, what criteria did it include? About how long did these interviews last, and in what kind of environments did they take place? Could any of these factors have influenced the encounters and/or the accounts gained?

Further, and relatedly, there is no section on the methodology or research design whatsoever. Were the interviews recorded? How was the material processed, was it transcribed? Were any data processed with the help of any software, for instance?

Finally, I find the Conclusions chapter a little too short (four pages). It provides an analytical summary of 'the pyramid of good neighbourhood', which is of course in place. But the conclusions tend to remain on a theoretical level. The examples meant to illustrate the model are largely abstract; concrete examples from the empirical material could have been taken. In the end, a paragraph or two would have been in place on the – admittedly difficult – subject of how policy-makers could implement the concept (which was after all one of the research questions). Filep also mentions that "many components described throughout the book are easily comparable to other settings" (p. 186), but no potential cases are named.

I have perhaps been too critical and picky: this volume is to be praised for a good number of aspects. The amount of (empirical) work behind it is truly outstanding. How many of us (in our mid-thirties) have conducted over 130 interviews on our own? And that in two different, not even adjacent countries; while living in a third, also nonadjacent one. And yet, the author only impresses with his thorough knowledge of the chosen study areas.

At the same time, the efforts at theory-building are also to be praised. Relatedly, this is a genuinely interdisciplinary work, with conceptual borrowing from fields such as sociology and international relations. This should further serve the enrichment and the open, interdisciplinary character of geography.

The book is well-structured and clear-cut. The number of illustrations and maps is well-balanced, and their quality is high. Last but not least, the author's proficiency in English seems at least to me up to the standards of a native speaker (it is probably the first book in which I have not noticed any spelling mistakes).

I recommend the volume for scholars interested in ethnic relations, reconciliation, as well as those interested in border cities and borderlands.

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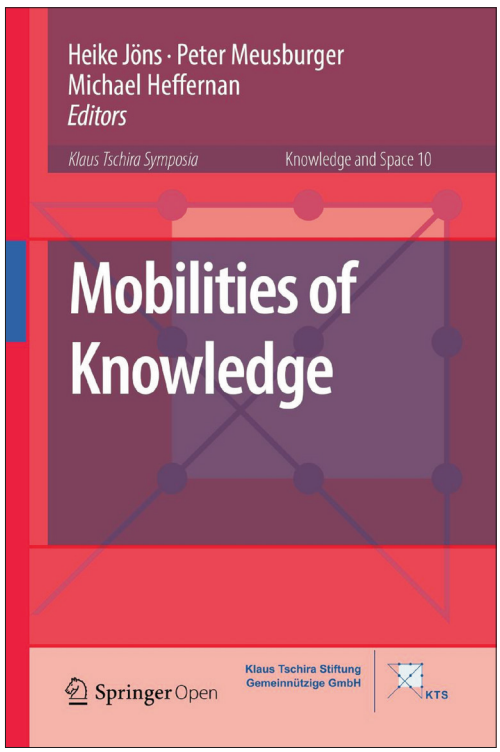
Jöns, H., Meusburger, P. and Heffernan, H. (eds.): Mobilities of Knowledge. Cham, Springer, 2017. 303 p.

The Klaus Tschira Foundation has supported the series of symposia entitled "Knowledge and Space" for more than a decade now, resulting in 17 events and 11 published volumes so far, with the last two, "Ethnic and Cultural Dimensions of Knowledge" and "Knowledge and Action", already reviewed in this journal previously (Illés, T. 2016; Sági, M. 2017). The tenth such symposium was held at the Studio Villa Bosch in Heidelberg under the title "Spatial Mobility of Knowledge" between 15–18 September 2010 (Meusburger, P. 2010), with the participants' submitted essays published in the volume "Mobilities of Knowledge" 6 years later. Despite the fact that half a decade has passed since then, the topics covered at the symposium are still relevant today, also for readers in Central and Eastern Europe, especially in the light of increasing interdisciplinary cooperation between researchers from Western, Central and Eastern Europe. Still, the majority of the contributors in this volume are from the British academia, without anybody from universities in countries once belonging to the Eastern Bloc.



The introduction written by the editors Heike Jöns, Michael Heffernan and Peter Meusburger sets out a conceptual framework to the following essays and provides a readily intelligible introduction to the main ideas around the entanglement of the geographies of knowledge and mobility studies (which in itself is a notable achievement). The authors wish to examine "the role of geographical mobilities in the production and circulation of knowledge in different historical and geographical contexts" (p. 2).

After Bähr, J. (2010), the authors define mobility much more condensed than it is usual in mobility studies, merely as "an entity's change of position in a specific system" (p. 2). Yet, reading the essays reveals that the reason behind such a simplistic interpretation was to escape unnecessary conceptual boundaries instead of circumventing the problem. The editors refer to an expanded version of John Urry's (2007) "five interdependent mobilities" (p. 47), including corporeal travel of people, physical movement of objects, imaginative travel, communicative travel, virtual travel, and knowledge transfer as a newly added category correcting Urry's neglect of the topic. These are each represented in the case studies of the volume. The introduction of knowledge transfer as a new category also symbolises the authors' critical reading of the "novelty claims and hyperbole of the 'new paradigm' language" (p. 4), and also that they emphasise and acknowledge the long-existing lines of enquiry (like Manuel Castells', 1996, concept of the space of places), the importance of which is often underestimated in the literature in favour of the more dramatic narrative of the 'turn'.

Knowledge, the second concept mentioned in the title of the volume, receives a more familiar treatment, as it is the core idea behind the book series. Following the work of Stehr, N. (1994), the authors adopt the interpretation of knowledge "as a capacity for social action" (p. 95), which in turn can relate to both codified (explicit) and tacit (implicit) forms of knowledge. This binary is critically dissected by Meusburger later in his chapter, but even in the introduction the editors point out that four different types of knowledge (secret, tacit, codified and widely available) should be differentiated based on their spatial ontology (Meusburger, P. 2000). As a conclusion of these theoretical considerations, the editors argue that the diverse mobilities of knowledge are characterised by a dialectic relationship between fixed centres and multidirectional flows. At this point they cite the more recent findings of Cresswell, T. (2006), Merriman, P. (2012) and Jöns, H. (2015), and connect them to the notions mentioned above.

The volume consists of 13 chapters and the introduction, divided into two parts (a bit arbitrarily in my opinion) following different trends in mobilities research. This division does not follow that of the original 6 sessions of the symposium, mainly since five of the original abstracts had not been developed into a full paper for this volume, whereas five new essays were included (namely the first four chapters and Chapter 13). In the first part (Chapters 2–7) entitled "Circulation, Transfer, and Adaptation" the authors assess the movement of knowledge and related (im)materialities, while in the second part (Chapters 8–14) "Mediators, Networks, and Learning" the essays focus on the interactions between these elements by analysing personal careers and collaborations between different disciplines.

The first peer reviewed essay is Peter Meusburger's study on the different forms of knowledge transfer mentioned before, with strong emphasis on the role of successful (or unsuccessful) communication and how it is shaped by different environments. In stark contrast with the more theoretical first essay, in the second one Jonathan Bloom traces the material and technological history of paper and, even more importantly, papermaking, shedding light on the construction of the Eurocentric myth that ancient Egyptian techniques were reintroduced to Europe through China.

The fourth chapter, written by Innes Keighren, presents the case study of the complex geographies of production, circulation and transformative reproduction of William Macintosh's book "Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa…" (1782). The author presents how the collection of Macintosh's letters was carefully edited and stylistically upgraded by the publisher John Murray. While not affecting the popularity of the book itself, this radical, provocative content filled with criticism geared towards Britain's imperial rule in India provoked an outcry among colonial officials, but locally met with sympathy after it was republished in Dublin and in German and French translation as well. These republications "were precisely what permitted the circulation of Macintosh's text, they are also what changed its meaning – placing emphasis on certain parts at the expense of others, offering new juxtapositions and contextualization" (p. 80), thus allowing the publishers to present the text in a politically comfortable interpretation.

Felix Driver's chapter deals with two different forms of the mobilities of knowledge: exploration and exhibition. The former, which is a geographical knowledge-making process that unevenly represents the subject matter, can be the basis for the latter, which serves as the primary means to disseminate the constructed knowledge to the public. His case study of the "Hidden Histories of Exploration" exhibition organised at the Royal Geographical Society with the Institute of British Geographers (RGS-IBG) in 2009 serves to exemplify how a critical representation of historical accounts can help question conventional narratives and reveal the hidden histories of European exploration.

In the following chapter the authors Trevor Barnes and Carl Christian Abrahamsson scrutinise the way the mathematical approach permeated spatial studies and geography. The essay is centred on a now legendary diagram (or map?) entitled "Quant Geog airlines flight plan", which first appeared in Peter J. Taylor's "Quantitative Methods in Geography" (1977), and follows the sites represented there. What that diagram lacks, according to Barnes and Abrahamsson, the mobility perspective that presents these relations as fluid and multifaceted, as "the disciplinary articulation of geographical ideas became caught up in events played out geographically on the ground" (p. 118). In order to understand these mobilities, "geographical ideas need to be developed to understand the geography of ideas" (p. 118). In Chapter 7 Peter J. Taylor argues that the social sciences and archaeology are focusing on the state as the frame of knowledge production, neglecting the role of cities in the process.

In the second part the volume essays shift our perspective toward people as mediators in the process of knowledge production and articulation, with Chapters 8 to 10 examining different aspects of the academic sphere in the British Empire. The chapter of Heather Ellis explores the different opinions of British and European scholars to the British imperial project, the facilities of which they actually used. The subjects range from supporters of the Empire to those propagating scientific internationalism to some who were openly critical of colonial practices. Ellis argues that the mobility of knowledge is often more closely linked to the infrastructural conditions of research than to the political position of researchers.

Tamson Pietsch addresses the changing nature of academic appointment practices in the British Empire in Chapter 9. With the expansion of progressive professionalisation and specialisation, the academia and universities gradually moved from a patronage system based on personal trust between highly regarded gentlemen toward a centralised committee-controlled approach. Although these practices meant that the academic system in the colonies and dominions became more independent from Britain over time, they essentially fostered the reproduction of an exclusionary, racialised, genderised and classed British academic world at settler universities.

Heike Jöns investigates the changing geographies of academic travel at the University of Cambridge. Her study shows that newly emerging research institutions in the United States as well as at imperial and other destinations were visited for different academic

reasons. Jöns uses the example of Sir Frank Leonard Engledow, Drapers' Professor of Agriculture, who greatly contributed to colonial reform movements in Britain and the African postwar empowerment, yet his research focus on the tropics prevented him from participating in the Americanised trends of academic travel at Cambridge.

Madeleine Herren scrutinises the underlying and hitherto uncovered happenings of knowledge transfer in Geneva between 1919 and 1945. She argues that because Geneva was not a capital city and therefore did not have a strong presence of official diplomats, the city was able to develop a high level of spatial connectivity. In Chapter 12, Jonathan V. Beaverstock focuses on expatriation, more commonly known as international assignments, which according to his analysis seem to remain a valued strategy for firms to exchange knowledge between subsidiaries and clients, irrespective of the rapid development of transport and ICTs. Since face-to-face communication is still highly regarded in business, world cities, where the TNCs are located and where business meetings are held, are going to reproduce themselves as the main global nodes where knowledge is created.

In her essay, Melanie Mbah examines "the triple nexus of education, migration, and integration" (p. 247) by studying migration patterns from Nigeria towards Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States. She suggests looking at education not only as a goal for migrants, but also as an important instrument to ease migration and integration. Although the migration of Nigerian university graduates is often seen as harmful for local education, Mbah points out that it can be productive as well with the resulting transnational links and the possibility to utilise the highly skilled migrants living abroad through diaspora organisations.

In contrast with the case where students need to mobilise themselves to gain knowledge, in the last chapter Johanna L. Waters and Maggi Leung investigate how knowledge is mobilised within TNE (Transnational Education) programmes, which can be seen as time-space compressors lifting the spatial barriers for immobile knowledge consumers (students). The authors challenge the view of these programmes as unproblematic, and argue that by the use of the flying faculty model knowledge transfer is hampered by that the internationalised presentations of lecturers are not always understandable for local students due to language barriers or locally irrelevant case studies. This drives the programmes to adapt to the franchise model, where more and more control is handed over to the local partner and knowledge transfer becomes thus more successful, but the transnational nature of knowledge is constrained.

The mere existence of this collection of essays demonstrates the potential of *placing* knowledge at the centre of mobility studies, which is supported by the elegant flow of topics throughout the volume. As one of its main goals, the Klaus Tschira Foundation "champions new methods of scientific knowledge transfer, and supports both development and intelligible presentation of research findings" (p. 287), and this volume fulfils all these expectations in the intersection of two very complex topics.

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