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Thematic issue: MYTHS AND "REALITY" OF CENTRAL-EUROPEAN CITIES

The issue is dedicated to Czech historian PhDr. Květa Kořalková, CSc. (1930–2008)

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KVĚTA KOŘALKOVÁ

May 30, 1930 – December 24, 2008

Photographic portrait
of Květa Kořalková (1930–2008).

The historic work of Květa Kořalková was influenced by her family origin in a workers' environment in Northern Bohemia. Experiences from her childhood in a family of an often-unemployed worker where the basic livelihood was provided by her mother, a factory worker, are projected – along with in-depth excerpts from archival and printed sources – in her first book *Hnutí nezaměstnaných v Československu v letech 1929–1933* [Movement of Unemployed in Czechoslovakia in the Years 1929 to 1933] (Prague: Práce 1962). After the end of her university studies in 1954 she took active part as an assistant in the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University in Prague in research of the way of life and public activities of miners in Northwestern Bohemia. Her lectures on the social and political development of Central European countries of the Soviet bloc after World War II, included in the program of the Faculty in the fall semester of 1956, earned unexpected relevance as a consequence of the political shake-up in Poland (May 1956) and in Hungary (October 1956), so many times more students than were enrolled attended her lectures.

This experience led the evaluating committee of the Faculty at the beginning of 1958 to the conclusion that although Květa Kořalková was professionally first-rate, politically she was not suitable for lectures to students. Therefore she involuntarily left the Philosophical Faculty and continued her work as a research assistant at the Institute for International Politics and Economics in Prague. The result was mainly her 80-page internationally recognized study *Vytváření systému dvoustranných spojeneckých smluv mezi evropskými socialistickými zeměmi (1943–1949)* [Creation of a System of Bilateral Allied Agreements among European Socialist Lands 1943–1949] (Prague: Rozpravy ČSAV 1966),

Free time. Botanical Garden in Addis Ababa, March 16, 2003. On the reverse side of this photograph Květa Kořalková wrote, "Everything is in bloom."

At a scientific conference at the University of Oldenburg with her husband Jiří, a historian, in June 2, 2005.

based mainly on materials of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a number of articles in journals and yearbooks.

In March 1970 Květa Kořalková, together with the majority of the employees of the Institute for International Politics and Economics, was dismissed from her job. She did not find employment in the field of history and, until her retirement in the autumn of 1987, she earned her living as a clerk in the hair-dressing communal enterprise. She tried from then on to work on social historical research in cooperation with the Institute for Ethnography and Folklore Studies of the Academy of Sciences and with professional associations. She put together the history of the professional association in which she was employed under the title *Třicet let Odborového svazu pracovníků místního hospodářství* [Thirty Years of the Professional Association of Workers of the Local Economy] (Prague 1977); three years later she was the chief compiler of the historical survey *Třicet let místního hospodářství* [Thirty Years of Local Economy] (Prague: Práce 1980), even if she could not be credited as the author.

She paid a lot of attention to the mass movements of the population after 1945, mainly the re-emigration of Czech emigrants, but only after 1989 could she publish the results of her research, which had remained in manuscript form, in the study "Czechoslovak and Polish re-emigration after World War II. An attempt at ascertaining identical and different characteristics" (*Slezský sborník* 88, 1990). In cooperation with her husband in the years 1993–1995 she participated in extensive research on the way of life and public activities of Czech miners in Rhineland and Westphalia (yearbook *Češi v cizině* 10, 1998). Through twenty years of collaboration with the Hussite Museum in Tábor, she published a number of serious articles in the yearbooks *Táborský archiv* and *Husitský Tábor*, e.g., about demonstrations in Tábor 1938–1939 or changes of religious circumstances and activities of all churches in the region after 1918.

Jiří Kořalka

MYTHS AND "REALITY" OF CENTRAL-EUROPEAN CITIES DURING THE FORMATION OF IDENTITIES

One of the accompanying features of the modernization of society is its urbanization (HOHENBERG – HOLLEN LEES 1985). Anthony Giddens (1999: 445) characterized it as a global process. Urban ethnography (later also anthropology), developed in Czechoslovakia and Poland at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, paid attention until then to partial problems in the development of cities and the lifestyles of their inhabitants. Numerous micro-analyses concerning the city in a certain period also corresponded to it, mainly in the time from the 19th and 20th centuries. Various aspects of material culture (e.g., inhabitants' ways of dressing, eating, and living) were also studied. In the case of spiritual culture, attention concentrated on urban celebrations and entertainment, exhibitions, folklore, urban educational, theatrical, corporative and family systems. Ethnographers and anthropologists, like historians and sociologists, also studied the lifestyles of the inhabitants of the city (e.g., lifestyles of workers, ethnic minorities, women, marginalized groups [prostitutes, beggars], workers' and Jewish families, the middle class). In the last decade research has also begun on meeting places in cities as well as urban non-places, research of functions of individual parts of the city, impact of modernization on the mentality of the people. Current urban anthropology is further characterized by research of individual elements of the identity of a city, the quality of urban dialogues, in Czech anthropology mainly ethnic, research of sacral and profane places in the city, specific natural formations, monuments of individual groups of ethnic and national minorities. One monument can exist at the same time in the discourse of several nations and minorities.[1] Inclination toward the contemporary city prevails. Productivity of the indicator of myths in cultural activities of European cities was demonstrated last year in two conferences:

those in Krakow[2] and Prague (Evropské město: obraz, stereotyp, mýtus. Co lze mýtizovat ve městě? [European city: image, stereotype, myth. What can be mythicized in a city?]). Through a flood of articles, studies and books anthropologists in recent times have arrived at a comparative view of the city.

The indicator of myths as a tool for analysis was chosen for its ability to present **the city in its entirety and wholeness**. (Existing Czech, Slovak and Polish ethnographic and anthropological research tended rather toward clarification of partial, although often very important, problems connected with life in a city.) We understand **myth** to be a verbalized ideological idea of one or more generations, an idea with whose help are asserted, justified and reproduced majority and minority group interests and values and/or as a verbalized concept with the help of which society compensates for real or imagined injustice, tragedy, etc. Our concept is thus close to the understanding of the British anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski (1936), who characterized myth as a social charter which clarifies the development of the world and concurrently morally shields the interest of the powerful and, in our case, also the powerless. The idea of conflict of interests was later developed by Georges Balandier (2000). As methodologically very inspirational we also assess the semiotic concept of Roland Barthes from the 1950s which defends the thesis that myth is a certain narration (system of communication). Anything could be transformed into myth, while a myth does not need to have an oral character. The most various matters of mythic narration are grasped by myth as a global sign. According to Barthes myth contains a linguistic system (language) and myth by itself (meta-language). Meta-language represents a secondary language. Myth converts meaning to form; it is theft of speech. The main principal of myth is thus complexity, definiteness, a suggestion of entity, elaborated distortion of the thought and feelings of society. Some researchers, however, can also support the classical concept of myth of French ethnologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, who saw in it material leading to the recognition and understanding of the functioning of social laws. Myths are the narration of stories with the help of which we can discover the meaning of our world.

The question of the relation of myths that emerged around and in cities and national and transnational identities is already posed in regard to the

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[1] Cf., e.g., KILLIÁNOVÁ 2005.

[2] Cf. GODULA-WĘCŁAWOWICZ 2008. The volume contains, among other things, an analysis of the myth of Paris in Polish literature, the Polish idea of Vienna in modern and post-modern times, villagers' stereotype of Warsaw in the mid-20th century.

fact that (1) complicated processes of formation of national minorities, modern nations and transnational societies are connected primarily to cities, (2) components of national and transnational identities are also auto-stereotypes, stereotypes, myths of various character (e.g., elements of myths bearing fixed images about their own as well as "alien" cities), (3) there exist mutual bonds between urban, national and transnational identities, (4) comparison of evolutionary chains of myths created around and in cities in historically similar and different situations of nations, national minorities, social groups and states provides us with the possibility of analyzing the individual and the general in each society, state, region. At the same time, the results of each distinct socio-political change will be explained.

By the term **urban identity** we understand (self)categorization and anchoring of a city in the changing social reality of a nation, state, region and/or the reality of a given city, its fiction and the projection of images about it to the subconscious of its inhabitants and the inhabitants of other cities and states. These images are declared primarily by representatives of the metropolis (city hall), the state (government), and/or other influential organizations and institutions (political parties, press, associations, clubs, institutions) and, further, personalities from the ranks of politicians, artists and intellectuals. It is, however, a question whether, to what extent and for how long a declaration of the "powerful" may become a component part of the general subconscious and/or the subconscious of a certain special-interest group (special-interest groups) in the society.

The subject of our analysis in this and the following English issues of the journal Lidé města / Urban People will thus be:

1. the history of the development of myths concerning cities and in cities,

2. the function of myth concerning cities and in cities connected to (a) the city (ability of myth to change the appearance, character, and atmosphere of a metropolis, its individual neighborhoods and in distinct times) (b) the inhabitants (experience of the metropolis by its inhabitants, structured according to the interest of the ethnic, political, social, etc.), (c) the majority (i.e., the political victors) and the minority (i.e., the politically handicapped) society, (d) transnational societies (state, region, Europe),

3. universality and specificity of metropolitan myths, their formation and function in relation to historic and social contexts,

4. causes and consequences of refusal and/or revitalization of older myths, their involvement in the ideology of contemporary societies,

5. way of reflection of "reality" in myths,

6. position of historical traditions in myths of the metropolis,

7. role of emotions and symbols in individual types of myths,

8. methods and tools for their consolidation (public celebrations, speeches, tangible monuments, art events [exhibitions, concerts, media activities], commercialization of myths [e.g., in Prague, Franz Kafka on souvenirs for tourists], etc.).

Thematically, we will divide myths in the city into myths connected to: (1) modernization and post-modernization of the metropolis (e.g., the positive myth of the airy, clean, transparent, comfortable city, but also the negative myth of the anonymous, alienated, chaotic, dangerous city), (2) situation of its national and ethnic groups and communication between them (e.g., Prague Czech, Slavic, multiethnic and multicultural) (3) its historical fate (e.g., Cinderella Prague [myth created in the last quarter of the 19th century], Prague – the metropolis of the state [myth created after 1918], Prague suffering and heroic [myth created after the Second World War], socialist Prague, Prague as the center of Christian Europe [after 1989], (4) its declared relation to other cities and regions (e.g., Mother Prague and Prague as a host, Prague as the heart of Europe, (5) its appearance (e.g., Prague of a hundred spires, beautiful Prague, antique Prague), (6) its supposed and real virtues and abilities (e.g., musical Prague, Prague – the conservatory of Europe, multicultural Prague), (7) famous personalities living in the metropolis and its important native sons (e.g., Prague as the city of Franz Kafka, Prague as Masaryk's city), (8) the ambitions of minorities living in the metropolis (e.g., Jewish Prague, German Prague, Prague as a city of the German Reich), (9) ambitions of the metropolis toward other, foreign metropolises and rival cities (e.g., the Czech myth of Vienna as the stepmother from the last quarter of the 19th century, the international myth of Vienna as the cradle of the Austrian social democratic party of the last decade of the 19th century, the Czech myth of friendly Paris of the beginning of the 20th century, the Czechoslovak socialist myth of brotherly Warsaw, Moscow). One of our tasks will be to confirm the temporality of these myths, reasons for the length of their existence – all this combined with their changing of identity. Besides these myths about metropolises we are also going to research mythicized places in metropolises. According to Pierre Nora (1990: 7) it is a matter of the space in which, in some specific way, the memory of a nation is condensed, presented or crystallized. These places can be individual buildings or building complexes (e.g., Vyšehrad in Prague [the fictitious

cradle of Czech education], the Castle [symbol of Czech statehood and its restoration], the National Theater [symbol of the exceptional and indestructible Czech cultural character], squares, monuments, statues, cemeteries, exceptional natural formations (rivers, rocks, etc.). One of our goals will therefore be to describe the process of the rise and thematization of these places, their symbols, their placement in the context of other symbols during the construction of the cities, and of national (MACURA 1983: 154-167) and transnational identities.

In our analyses we will start from the fact that myths concerning cities and in cities have never existed individually but, on the contrary, in certain hierarchized "complexes." An analysis of the causes of the changes of their content and the hierarchy of individual myths taken together thus offer an original way of perceiving the impacts of socio-political turns of events in the lives of metropolises as specific organisms and the fates of their inhabitants.

We see the main up-to-datedness of our research, however, in the possibilities of deciphering myths as ways of political mastering the present and future, as means of legitimization of interest groups in various states and national contexts (e.g., merged Czech national and state society 1918–1992). Through an analysis of what from past myths did or did not survive until the present, we will better arrive at possibilities of affecting present national identity, perspectives of their preservation and development, the measure of intensity of their tension towards the past and toward the projected "European" future.

Our future research will be directed toward the following periods: 1. the time between the two world wars, 2. the period of World War II (1939–1945), 3. the period from 1945 to 1989, which we understand as a period with several distinct turning points (polarization of Europe into West and East at the end of the 1940s, social relaxation in the 60s, reverberations of the so-called perestroika in the mid 80s), 4. the period after 1989.

At the moment we intend to deal with these problematics in the next four or five issues of the journal Urban People (Lidé města). The first issue will be on the subject *Myths in the formation of identity of interwar metropolises and societies. Paradigm of a metamorphosis of majority and minority cohabitation in cities (2010);* the second issue on *Metropolitan myths during the Second World War. Collaboration, powerlessness, heroism (2011);* the third on the topic *Myths and "reality" of socialist metropolises. Conceptualization of cities in the struggle for a new present and a happy future (2012);* the fourth issue on the topic *Myths in post-socialist Central-European metropolises as components of political memory.*

On the problematics of the phenomenon of historic revitalization (2013). The final issue will deal with the problem *Myths of Central-European metropolises in the processes of formation of ethnic, national and transnational identities. General and specific sources of Europeanness (2014).*

According to French researcher Marc Augé (1999: 110), the city is a closed world, a symbolized space with its own symbols, signs, myths. The research starts out from the thesis of Petr Alter (1993: 33) concerning metropolises as creators of myths. It further supports the thesis that actually key myths in themselves – according to Malinowski – concentrate ideological-political justification for basic directing of society. In structured society, then, there also exist counter-myths as emancipating factors of minority identities.

Our magazine will follow myths and their formation in socio-political, ethno-political and national-political contexts of all of our chosen periods and cities. We will consistently bind stimuli of the birth and typology of myths to their hypothetical function, impact and/or to the characteristic and ambitions of their creators, to the correlation with historic change. The research starts out from the necessity of comparative analysis which will enable the determination of the general and specific during the formation of myths (in connection with urban problems there remains in the participating states a method that is hardly used), and/or the general and specific during the creation of urban, ethnic, national and transnational identities. A **comparative view** will also bring us to an analysis of various traditions – approach to Europe and the cause of occasional difficulties during the building of an umbrella European identity at the present in Central European societies and/or to clarification of rivalries between individual cities within the frame of one nation and one state. The object of comparison will be myths as a component part of the strategy of individual societies (urban, ethnic, national, transnational) during the building of their identities as well as their rejection of social rivalries. The object of comparison will also be the relation between myth and "reality," and/or causes of agreements and differences, conditions of individual regimes and their "national" forms in relation to myths as well as the relation between majority and minority myths. We are interested not only in the process of the rise of myths along time lines, but also in the structure of that phenomenon. To compare myths we will proceed diachronically, but also along horizontally historical times. It is clear that we will not be able to dispose of the same collection of sources for all our cities. The criteria of comparison will be: sources of the rise of myths, characteristics of their creators, typology and hierarchy of myths, the ways (instruments) of their advocacy

and functioning (including formation of their tangible monuments, symbolics of celebrations which are revitalized by communication events (ALTHABE 1990: 131), but also of transformations of the city as a whole: changes in the appearance of cities, in their architecture, relations to the urban center and to the periphery, relationship to monuments, generally and also relationship to uniformity and human individuality), the shape of the city in connection with important places, relationships between majority and minority myths (myths of ethnic, social, political, etc. minorities), relationships between governing myths and powerless myths. With the help of myths it is possible to interpret contemporary tangible monuments and the tension between the past and the present. Thus our approach is based on the theory of mythologization of the present as Andreas Langenohl (2000) presented it.

Our aim is thus interdisciplinary analyses of myths, interconnected mainly from the anthropological, historical, ethnomusicological and folkloristic perspective.

The studies we have included in this introductory issue about cities and myths came out of various influential concepts of myths. Our intention was to point out all that can be mythicized in the 20th and 21st centuries. And finally; we wanted to point out various creators of myths (the ideological ruling party, the business elite, inhabitants of a city, management of a city and its culture) and their various intentions (expected meanings of myths). The anthropologist of history Blanka Soukupová analyzed the charter of the beautiful socialist city of the future which the ruling team of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia began to promote after the February Revolution. This myth, according to Malinowski, changed the city as a whole physically and symbolically through various forms and mechanisms – through changing of meanings of memorials. In practice the myth of a large-scale industrial and worker city, however, came into contrast with the reality of the socialist economy and suppressed civil society. The Brno sociologists Lucie Galčanová and Barbora Vacková introduced the topic of the background of the rise of myth of Baťa's Zlín during the First Republic and the concrete phenomenon of family houses in which the Baťa ethos was markedly reflected. Barthes' definition of myth as a deforming message without a lateral plane takes the shape, in the case of Zlín, of elevation of the ethic dimension of strenuous work, capitalistic democracy, the decent worker and the appreciative entrepreneur. The underside of relative prosperity became disciplined and controlled city space. The authors further dealt with the use of the material heritage of the ideal industrial city by contemporary

inhabitants. The Lodz ethnologist Grażyna Ewa Karpińska described the development of the shapes of a central Lodz street which was considered to be the center of the city during the socialist period. The shape and importance of the street were always a reflection of the ruling social regime. During socialism an image of the satisfaction of all the needs of the city's inhabitants was projected onto this street. Malgorzata Karpińska-Krakowiak of the Lodz department of international marketing, using the example of this same city, analyzed contemporary myths (multicultural Lodz equals tolerant Lodz and film Lodz), which are copied and multiplied through city festivals as a favorite form of popularization of cities. The myth of musical Prague, freely connected to the article about festivalization of Lodz, is presented by Zuzana Jurková from the point of view of the myth of Romani music in Prague. The concept of music of the Prague ethnomusicologist is close to the concept of Claude Lévi-Strauss about myth as a cultural expression with the highest potential: with the ability to reveal laws of the human spirit. According to Jurková, music has its cultural and hidden face and, like myth, establishes its own time. In the empirical part of the article, she presents an overview and classification of performances connected with Romani music, and she submits that "Romani" music in Prague is influenced, among other things, by romantic myths about Roma.

Blanka Soukupová

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FATHER FROST WELCOMES YOU OR THE MYTH[1] OF NEW PRAGUE AS A BEAUTIFUL CITY IN A SOCIALIST WAY 1948–1953, until the deaths of Stalin and Gottwald

Blanka Soukupová

Motto: "*Today we are at a crossroads. Either Prague will be a city with socialist-conceived development or it will be a big city of disharmony and mediocrity ... Prague for progressive architects is not only the Golden Prague of beautiful views of Hradčany, the pride of the Baroque Lesser Quarter. There is also a different Prague and it is an incomparably larger Prague with the infinite poverty of housing in Žižkov, the Old Town, Holešovice and all the dark corners of Prague and makeshift barracks on the extreme outskirts where behind a wooden wall, just like a wall of noble plaster, is the maimed life of children, where every rebellion on the road to a better tomorrow is suffocated by the dirty air of courtyards into which the sun vainly finds its way to windows of human dwellings. And that is Prague, which aches, which irritates and which stirs up resistance.*" (Kříž, J. [1949]. Towards a New Prague. *Architekt*, 1-XLVI, 2, March, 18.)

"*The castle and the settlement below the castle and its parts in front of and under the ramparts, the later city and paupers' quarters, proletarian quarters... these are the sad distinctions of architectural dissimilarity of those times...*" (Krola, J. [1950]) A socialist engineer, a socialist architect, socialist builders, socialist architecture. *Věstník SIA, Časopis spolku čs. inženýrů a techniků*, 18, 12, 31.12., p. 117.)

"*The sense of construction of new Prague is the care for the needs of the working man, an attempt to make Prague a more beautiful and well-known city.*" ([1951]. Letná, the first construction site of socialist Prague. Prague: The Central National Committee of Prague, p. 5, from a speech of Gustav Bareš.)

"*Socialist Prague will be a dignified picture of Libuše's prediction and a dignified monument of the great era of construction.*" (Fleissig, J. [1951]). Up with the first construction site. *Nová Praha*, 54, 3, 4.2., 50.)

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[1]   The term myth is used in this study in the sense of a social charter which clarifies the development of society and at the same time morally justifies the interests of the powerful, that is, in the concept close to Bronislav Malinowski, the British anthoropologist. Its shaping function, its key importance in forming its identity is the most important characteristic of a myth.

"The West is preparing an atom bomb to destroy the cultural values in Europe and we answer that threat this way: that we are not only protecting the cultural monuments of the glorious past, but we are renovating them for the next generation. We are also laying foundation stones for the peaceful construction of the people's democracy under the leadership of our greatest friend and protector, the Soviet Union." ([1951]. We are renovating the cultural values of the past. *Nová Praha*, 54, 2, 26.1., 28.)

Abstract: ***The study applies the proposition of French anthropologist Marc Augé that the city is an exemplary object of the imagination to Prague after the Communist Revolution (1948), when the Communists quickly reinforced their position as the leading political power. In Prague they offered an image of the beautiful socialist city of the future. Specific fulfillment of this myth meant the factual and symbolic occupation of the capital. The Communists won decisive influence in communal politics, nationalized numerous buildings in the city and their inventory, eliminated urban tradesmen. A harsh centralized bureaucracy and service went hand in hand with a transformation of the urban space. A myth could fill only a city with a well-arranged plan, with generous high-rise buildings, with extensive residential buildings, with purpose-built infrastructure, with new historical traditions and with new symbols. The socialist city went the way of balancing social differences with extensive investments in its outskirts. The center of the city, earlier inaccessible to the lower social classes, decayed. The Communist myth of the socialist city was an inseparable part of the Party ideology. In practice, however – and in view of the inefficient economy and investments in preferred parts of the state – in Prague it clashed with daily reality. In its light although it appears homogeneous, at the same time, however, it appears like an empty ideological-political construct.***

Keywords: ***socialist city, Prague, myth.***

Mircea Eliade, a historian of religion of Rumanian origin, attempted an analysis of communism and its acceptance among the lower social classes (in his terminology "folk") from an eschatological position. In the structure of communist ideology he recognized the renaissance myth about the golden age, a myth with which the beginning and the end of history were connected. Karl Marx, according to Eliade, further detailed this myth as a myth of the proletariat as a modern Messiah who leads humanity to the removal of tension in

society. (Eliade, 1998, p. 15)[2] The megalomania and optimism of the communist myth were, however, a very contagious phenomenon, especially after 1945. The tragic war interruption, which drastically disrupted European spiritual sources, led (not only) Czech post-war society to search for absolutely new values, patterns of human behavior, new symbols and/or new social structures. In the lower and middle social classes there was, to a certain extent, a naïve, absolute reappraisal of the social situation connected with the spontaneous support of communist ideology.[3]

The victory of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the election of May 1946, confirmed in February 1949, was reflected at the same time in the position of the new governing team toward the city and its inhabitants. However it is impossible to state that all the ideas asserted after the February Revolution were new.[4] The communist myth in the city was demonstrated (although different urban myths of various time layers survived beside it in managed and unmanaged ways) especially 1) in purges on the level of communal politics,[5] which were to guide "new" people (general employees were bound to a promise that they would be *"in ideal unity with working people"* – intensively work for the building of socialist society)[6],[7] 2) in the evaluation of factories and plants with

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2   According to Eliade, myth is an explaining narration about what really happened, what leads to imitation and to bringing the past into the present. (Eliade, 1998, pp. 8-9, 13-14).

3   Within the framework of Jewish studies we have already repeatedly pointed out this unpopular fact. The implication of mass emotions, patterns of behavior and experience during the establishment of the totalitarian regime after World War II have also been pointed out by Czech social historian Jiří Matějček. (Matějček, 2008, pp. 377-386

4   The Council of the Central National Committee of the Capital City of Prague was already elected on July 1, 1946. It developed a program of renovation and construction of liberated Prague. It was to be a socially just plan (e.g., they counted on a revision of residential space), confiscated property of the Germans was to pass to the Prague community. The plan counted on generous complex construction, part of which would be day-care centers, youth centers, laundries, heating plants, services, health centers, maternity clinics. There were to be established children's playgrounds within housing developments and retirement homes. Extensive modernization of city transportation, including the construction of an airport and a bridge across the Nusle valley (1946), were planned. *Budovatelský program rady ústředního národního výboru hlavního města Prahy. Praha*, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12.

5   Re: the purge of the municipal government in Prague, cf. Dějiny Prahy II., 1998, pp. 450-451. – These purges also concerned the sphere of education. *False defenders of folk, disseminators of poison, silencers of Socialist thoughts, kitsch makers and pornographers were separated from the ranks of educators and are also forcefully expelled from associations,"* wrote Josef Kabát. (1948). View into Prague Education. *Věstník*, 51, 12, 27. 3., 267- 268.

6   The purges, however, also proceeded in the bureaucratic machinery, in security, in the army, in the universities, in Sokol. (Kaplan, 1991, pp. 19-11, 14)

7   The new mayor and his second vice-mayor were members of the Communist Party. (1948). The newly constituted board of the Central National Committee of Prague. *Věstník hlavního města Prahy (Věstník)*, 51, 10, 13.3., 219

STAVBY IMPERIALISMU...

...A STAVBY KOMUNISMU   Kreslil K. Vaca
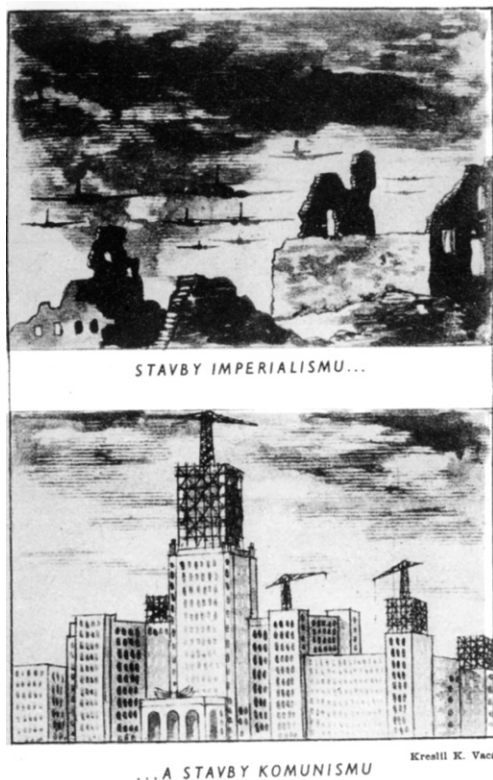
Ruins of cities as a symbol of the capitalist relation to cities and tower-like constructions as a symbol of socialist cities. Drawing: K. Vaca. (1951). *Dikobraz*, VII, 45, 4. 11., 5.

young male and female shock-workers as the most important part of the city organism, in evaluation which corresponds to state goals through extensive development of heavy industry, which did not need a too-highly-qualified work force, 3) in the propagation of "voluntary" physical work in so-called *national shifts of victory* as one of the main ways of creation of city values, 4) in rehabilitation of the outskirts, 5) in forcing into conformity and in consequent control of city institutions, alongside boards of associations, schools,[8] cinemas, museums and theaters as *people's gathering places,* 6) in forcing into conformity the need of the population of the cities in the sphere of living, the way of food consumption, transportation, shopping, experiencing festivities and entertainment, 7) in the positive evaluation of new historic traditions of the city.

Already at this time, however, there appeared in public programmed, directed and relatively sharp criticism under the proclaimed slogan *"criticism guarantees us that we will not stop,"*[9] bad organization of part-time work, unwillingness and dishonesty of employees in restaurants, stealing in enterprises, possible criticism of the uncultivated behavior of the inhabitants of big cities (pollution of sidewalks, devastation of green parts of the city). Such

Volunteers as a symbol of socialist Prague. National exchange on Klárov 1955. (1955). *Večerní Praha*, I, 3, 4. 4., 1.

expressions of general coarseness of post-war society, however, were judged to be a result of the survival of the amoral bourgeois regime which needed to be eradicated. An insufficiency of construction (long-term construction, wasting of material, high costs) and services (insufficient quality and costliness, as well as long waiting times) proved to be so serious that they were also brought up on the level of Party meetings.[10] Instead of criticism of their own regime, however, in this way they created the illusion that it was actually the Communist Party that really cared strongly about improving the social situation.

Unique propaganda means were undoubtedly also thousands of hours the communists dedicated, e.g., to the cleaning up of Prague after the Second World War.[11] Prague city government employees then regularly and with appropriate publicity went out on so-called coal brigades.[12] With general agreement, public use was made of confiscated property: at least some former millionaires' villas spectacularly housed day nurseries (e.g., the confiscated villa on Russian Avenue or the villa of the actor Vlasta Burian in Prague)[13], nursery

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[8] Cf., e.g. Jaroš, V. (1948). Unified school – bridge to a happier future of the nation. *Věstník,* 51, 15, 17. 4., 337

[9] Zich, R. (1950). We develop criticism and self-criticism on a mass scale. *Praha,* 53, 2, 9. 1., 13

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[10] (1960). *Resolutions and documents. Central Committee of the Communist Party. From the eleventh meeting to the whole-state conference 1960*. Prague. State publishing house of political literature, 25 and 51. – E.g., still in 1957 one residential unit was built in an average of fourteen and a half months. Despite all efforts, from 1948 to 1957, "only" 414,000 apartments covering million square meters were constructed. *Resolutions of the eleventh meeting of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, June 18-22, 1958*. Ibid, 100 and 103.

[11] In autumn, 1948, the Communist cemetery near the Veletržní Palace in Prague was fixed up (1948). The Communists fixed up the cemetery, *Praha* 1, 12, 5. 11., 2.

[12] (1948). Coal brigades 1948 – participation of public employees. *Věstník*, 51, 27, 10. 7., 617. (1948).

[13] (1948). Vršovice children got a villa. *Praha*, 1, 3, 27. 8., 7; Ledrová, Z. (1948). The villa of Vlasta Burian to the children of workers. *Praha*, 1, 6, 24. 9., 6-7.

First of six prefabricated houses in Prague – Pankrác. (1955). *Večerní Praha*, I, 22, 27. 4., 1.

schools,[14] or health centers.[15] The famous Prague night enterprise "5P" turned into a children's home.[16] City halls, headed by communists, proclaimed no less than a populist fight against black marketeers (this is even how Prague communist mayor Václav Vacek assessed the February Revolution)[17]. Of course, the extension of official hours in city agencies to evenings as well as the declaration of the reduction and humanization of the bureaucracy[18] were accepted with the agreement of the majority. At the post-February meeting of the National Committees in Kroměříž they abolished housing rights; appealing requests for humanization of offices and a sufficiency of apartments, as well as a suspension of so-called black construction were proposed.[19] These were even called the greatest disincentives of the biennial plan.[20] On the contrary, hidden from public view was to be the fact that the secretariat of the Czechoslovak Communist Party got buildings, automobiles and furnishings from nationalized enterprises (Kaplan, 1993a, p. 70)

Socialist symbols and cultural phenomena allegedly corresponded in cities to the new relation of the regime to the people. We can divide them into

1) ornamental symbols (the five-pointed red star shining until night on the enterprises which fulfilled the plan, but also on numerous buildings, including the Černín Palace in Hradčany,[21] Soviet flags flying together with Czechoslovak flags on state holidays, posters with portraits of the builders of the new regime, etc.), 2) architectural symbols (high-rise buildings and constructions of socialist realism, prefabricated housing developments), 3) symbols, monuments of representatives – tolerated national culture and representatives of Marxist and Communist ideology, as well as the Soviet liberators, for whom streets were named, 4) symbolic public festivities (mainly political celebrations: May 1, May 9, November 7, state visitors from Socialistic states, and, further, the birthdays and death dates of communist and blue-collar politicians), but also selected folk celebrations (especially harvest festivals, grape harvests and also, after 1955, the Spartakiade, which replaced the gymnastic organization Sokol shows) 5) symbolic artistic events (exhibitions, theatrical performances), 6) "new" institutions allegedly serving citizens (offices, ministries, department stores, communal services into which were also "socialized"[22] trade and crafts),[23] 7) city scenery (improvement and creation of green spaces for the healthy socialist man or beautification of the outskirts, 8) verbal city symbols and political folklore (mainly mottos, an anecdote or an easily remembered jingle – a short form of some sort of propaganda, 9) the symbolism of the names of streets, squares, embankments, parks (e.g., in 1948 in Prague Bredovská Avenue was changed to the Avenue of Political Prisoners, the Rieger embankment became Gottwald, Rieger Square became Jirásek, the Park on Poříčí became

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[14] This concerned fifteen nursery schools. -Rg- Pražská kultura včera, dnes a zítra. *Věstník*, 51, 18, 8. 5., 436.

[15] (1950) The National Committee of Prague district into the second year of the five-year plan. *Pražský kraj*, 2, 1, 1. 1., p. 2.

[16] (1949). *Praha*, 36, 5. 9., 7

[17] Vacek, V. (1948). Dear Fellow Citizens! *Věstník*, 51, 8, 28. 2., 169..

[18] -Rg- (1948) Citizens, the administration must serve the people! *Věstník*, 51, 13, 3. 4., 296.

[19] (1948). Less paperwork and more services for the people! *Praha*, 1, 3, 27. 8., 3, 4, 5.

[20] (1948). *Praha*, 1, 3, 27. 8., 11.

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[21] Later the stars were limited. (Kohout & Vančura, 1986, s. 174)

[22] In reality it was nationalization with central steering.

[23] From 1949 to 1954, the first stage of liquidation of private small-scale production was under way. (Kaplan, 1993, p. 220) It launched its operation with the first twelve communal enterprises of Prague on June 1, 1949 (a construction company, an apartment enterprise, a transportation enterprise, an auto service, a guard business, a horticulture company, water works, a mortuary, an employment agency, a purchasing center, a spa recreation service, Prague hotels and restaurants. Communal enterprises were defined as national property in the hands of management of the people. They were part of the socialist sector of the economy, supplementing national enterprises. The National Committee provided them with financial means; part of their profit belonged to it; it did not, however, share in their losses. (1949). The first communal enterprise established. *Věstník*, 52, 2, 7. 1., 3-4. Gradually there appeared Pramen, Kovomat, Tep, Textilia, Clothing Outlets, Jas, Zdar, Glass and Porcelain, in 1949 Pastry Shops ([1949] Prague Pastry Shops – a new communal enterprise. *Praha, 11, 31. 2., 9*), two years later, Chemodroga, Elektra, the SBS Mír Publishing House, Kovoslužba, Autorenova, Obnova, Elektra, Narpa, Mototechna, Sanitos, the Pramen chain, movable shops (from October 1949). At the beginning of 1951 there were already 15 communal enterprises (1951). Prague communal enterprises in the third year of the five-year plan. *Nová Praha* 54, 1, 12. 1, 6.

On the location of a closed bourgeois bar they are opening a workers' factory kitchen. Bourgeois loungers and prostitutes are thrown onto the street. Above the city it is becoming light. (1949). *Dikobraz*, V, 4. 1., 1.

the Jan Šverma Park, Holešovice Square became the Square of Jiří Dimitrov, etc.[24] 10) symbolism of city photography which appeared in the daily press and in magazines on newsstands, but also on public notice boards of factories and enterprises, 11) symbolism of myths concerning the city – after February, e.g., the anti-German myth of the famous old Slavic city[25] and the myth of our Mama of cities[26] or the myth of Prague as a lovely woman and good housewife[27] were used for Prague.

Symbols of the people of the city also corresponded to the new (or seemingly new) socio-political situation. In terms of the program, one of the symbols that were created of the socialist city became manual factory workers, in the optimal case miners (in 1949-1953 the economy was subordinate to the *concept of iron and steel* [Renner & Samson, 1993, p. 33]), or volunteers, with the help of shovels, a pickaxe and old brooms, beautifying the old or perhaps creating a "new" city. A further symbol was the smiling and obliging saleswomen in department stores and in public canteens. These new signs and, in addition, emphasized examples corresponded to the mentality of lower social classes – supports for the new regime which traditionally, according to socio-historic research, overestimated handwork. (Matějček, 2008, p. 380)

"... *a large city … it is an exemplary object of the imagination*" wrote the French scholar Marc Augé (Augé, 1999, p. 109) about one of the new worlds of contemporary anthropology. The extraordinarily skillful communist propaganda meanwhile gained control of the whole city which very distinctly separated the old town from the new socialist, communist town. Here it also placed the outskirts in perspective, allegedly a symbol of the alarming bourgeois treatment of undesirable parts of the city organism. The communist image of the bourgeois city placed in contrast the center–outskirts, wealth–poverty, or the pampered center and shunned outskirts, a detested or at least hardly prestigious, hopeless place where the bourgeoisie took its trashy entertainment – an amusement park. Workers' colonies (in Prague, e.g., Na Krejcárku or V Číně, Arizona in Jinonice) were to be liquidated as remains of capitalist poverty. From this intellectual source, then, came the unfriendly relation of the new regime to the city centers, heretofore virtually unattainable for the lower social classes. During the Second World War and immediately after it these centers lost their original owners and inhabitants (as a result of the Shoah, the displacement of the Germans, the forced evacuation of the politically handicapped population to the country) and its former importance. The slump, however, also had to do with the fall of the living standard: while new construction (in Prague, e.g., the Prosek housing development [from 1949] with its own heating plant, park and playground, Kobylisy, Strašnice, Vršovice with prefabricated houses with blocs of 16,000 inhabitants, skeletal houses in Dejvice, later housing developments in Břevnov, Michle and Vysočany)[28] offered relative comfort: apartments with central heating and hot water, kitchens with built-in furnishings and with an electric stove[29]; the city center, where almost nothing was invested, decayed. The prototype of housing under capitalism became the bloc of apartment houses with courtyard porches and with one tap with running water and one toilet per floor.[30]

Hatred, however, was also directed toward the solvent inhabitants of the city. The new town was to house new people. A program of change of the social structure of Prague to the benefit of the working class was presented by Rudolf Slánský, the secretary general of the KSČ (Czechoslovak Communist Party)

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[24] (1948). New names of Prague streets. *Věstník*, 51, 14, 10. 4., 322; 16, 24. 4., 362.

[25] Telegram of the Prague mayor to the Soviet army. *Věstník*, 51, 8, 28. 2., 170

[26] (1948). *Věstník*, 51, 17, 1. 5., 391.

[27] (1948). Prague cleans up before the Sokol gymnastic meeting. *Věstník*, 51, 24, 18. 6., 565.

[28] For Prague housing developments, cf. Dějiny Prahy II (The History of Prague II), 1998, pp. 454-455, 458-459.

[29] Cf. Information about Prosek. (1950). The model housing development in Prosek. *Praha*, 53, 1, 2. 1., 2.

[30] (1949). The biggest home owner in Great Prague. *Praha*, 10, 17. 3., 12

Construction site at Letná – the first important collective Prague building. Propaganda drawing O. Mrkvička. (1951). *Dikobraz*, VII, 7, 13.2., title page.

in the Fifth regional conference concerning administration of the people in May 1949: "*Prague must become a state of working people ...We will create a plan of systematic bolstering of the percentage of the working class in the population of Prague, and, and, tenaciously and, more quickly than till now, we are going to drive out of Prague all parasitic and reactionary elements. A social and class analysis of Prague shows that the percentage of workers to the entire population is only 30 percent. That is an incommensurate number of members of the blue-collar ruling class which must give character and determine the tone of the capital. Our shock-workers, the cream of the working class, must have priority for the best apartments.*"[31]

A similar request was also repeated at the plenary session of the Central National Committee: Prague was to become a city of working people, the capital of the people's democratic republic heading for socialism.[32] On March 26, 1952, the Communist Center decided about the eviction of the politically unsuitable population of Prague within the framework of Operation B. In reality, the operation followed the assurance of apartments for army officers and the State Security and for leading communist functionaries. (Kaplan & Paleček, 2001, pp. 30-31)[33] (Kaplan, 1992)

We have to start our analysis of how Prague coped with its own historical tradition and with the pressures of the "new" times by the affirmation of

the fact that even in post-February Czechoslovakia the eccentric location of the capital[34] remained respected as well as its front row cultural and educational function. (The identity of Prague under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and partly during the First Republic was formed from the rivalry with Vienna). The new constitution confirmed the status of Prague as the capital (paragraph 168), seat of the legislators (paragraph 39), main seat of the President (paragraph 67), and regular seat of the government (paragraph 80).[35] The establishment of the districts actually diminished the power of Prague. The importance of Prague as the capital was, thus, still not permanently appreciated. (Kohout & Vančura, 1986, p. 171) The greatest financial resources were, in addition, spent on the construction of Slovakia, the Ostrava region and the border area. (Kohout & Vančura, 1986, p. 170)

On March 30, 1948, the Central National Committee of Prague approved the action program, on the basis of which systematic construction of apartments that counted on volunteer workers was to have begun. Physically able Prague Germans[36] were also to join in the public works. That is, Prague was desperately short of apartments[37] (8,000 of them were destroyed during the war; expropriation of apartment spaces soon turned into into offices, seats of new state institutions and cultural organizations.[Kohout & Vančura, 1986, 170]) The action program counted on the transformation of nine brothels into rooming houses. Endowment houses and confiscated property were to fall to the municipal apartment organization.[38] Not even this measure, however, could solve the apartment shortage. On April 28, 1948, the management of city apartments had to be regulated by law, which counted on the creation of a list of applicants for apartments and assigned apartments, with apartment inspections, with tenants assigned to larger apartments, with division of apartment units.[39] Of course the insufficiency of apartments was used for propaganda purposes. The communist mayor Václav Vacek attributed the greatest blame for the apartment scarcity in Prague to "*destructive activity of reactionary*

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[31] (1949). Prague conference on people's administration. *Praha*, 52, 21, 20. 5., 3.

[32] (1949). Action program of the Prague people's administration. *Praha*, 52, 27, 4. 7., 1.

[33] The operation lasted until August 1953. During that time, only in Prague, for example, 3700 to 4000 people moved out. (Kaplan & Paleček, 2001, pp. 30-31)

[34] This led, e.g., to the consideration of the necessity of constructing a new Prague airport. Pour, I. (1948). Will Prague have a new airport? *Věstník*, 51, 9, 6. 3., 201

[35] (1948). The gates of the Slavic agricultural exhibition are opening. *Věstník*, 51, 17, 1. 5., 391.

[36] (1948). Action program of the Central National Committee of the Capital, Prague. *Věstník*, 51, 13, 3. 4., 289, 290.

[37] This was allegedly the greatest apartment crisis in the history of the city. (Dějiny Prahy II., 1998, s. 453)

[38] Ibid, 290.

[39] Bäumel, F. (1950). Care for apartments in the Prague district. *Pražský kraj*, 2, 1950, 3, 1.2., 39.

On Letná, the so-called first construction site of socialist Prague, mothers with little children also worked (1951). *Letná, first construction site of socialist Prague.*

elements that infiltrated into the top places... of the National Committee. [40] It was necessary to crack down firmly on alleged members of the bourgeoisie. An apartment official, J. Lutovský, promised harsh punishment for non-declaration of over-sized apartments, inhabitancy of apartments without certificates, etc. [41] In the autumn of 1949 inspections were launched of apartments in Prague's Vinohrady, [42] which riled the new political higher-ups as a bourgeois district. Negative features were to be balanced with positive activities. Bars became clubs for workers. [43] With the help of volunteers thirty children's playgrounds, week-end youth camps, and a swimming pool in Vysočany were to be constructed; suburbs were to be improved; lawns and parks were to be opened... They expected improvement of work of district and factory doctors, completion of construction of Bulovka and Krč hospitals, completion of the reconstruction of the Podolí sanatorium. Museums and galleries were to be opened for workers. [44]

The new city rulers harshly criticized the capitalist era of the city in which its structure was allegedly damaged and disfigured. The bourgeoisie allegedly had not had respect for medieval Prague, which it had demolished and reconstructed feelinglessly. Above all, however, there was no concept of the development of the city. Prague had allegedly become a Babylon of opposing interests, an unhealthy, dangerous and inhospitable city. [45] Socialist planners rehabilitated unperceived localities that were to become "*the innovative places of our time.*" Urbanists sketched a transportation loop, bridging the Nusle valley, [46] a university city, expansion of Ruzyň airport, green belts, mainly, however, miles of new housing developments with a sufficient number of day-care centers, nursery schools, schools with their own playgrounds, apprentices' and student housing, swimming pools, a Prague recreational area in Jevany [47] – a former middle-class resort. The guiding plan for Prague of October 28, 1948, arose like a synthesis of First-Republic and post-war concepts of construction and development. [48] (Kohout & Vančura, 1986, p, 171, 178)

Notice was given that the wound of Prague remained as the railway network did not connect Prague to other world-class cities. Letná standing 30 meters above the level of the city, a housing crisis (in 1949, 70,000 applications for apartments were registered), obsolete districts. [49] Therefore architects counted on globally strengthening the industrial character of the proliferating city at the same time, however, that they counted on the development of transportation and green areas and on the stripping of the differences between the center and the outskirts. [50] The city was to be divided into parts for the requirements of work, living, transportation, administration, culture, services and recreation. [51] A very successful publicity attraction was the opening of reconstructed noble gardens on the basis of the governmental resolutions of February 15 and July 13, 1949. (Kohout & Vančura, 1986, p. 173) [52] More green space appeared with the fixing up of in-bloc gardens in the framework of the self-help project "M." [53] Attention was paid especially to the green areas on the outskirts. "*In Vysočany, among the shacks, fences, hovels – hotbeds of wheeling and*

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[40] Action program .... Quoted article 289.

[41] (1948). *Věstník*, 51, 17, 1. 5., 385.

[42] Fleissig, J. (1949). *Praha,* 25, 15. 10., 9.

[43] Ký. (1949). *Praha*, 5, 28. 1., 6-7. – The first club appeared in an adaptation of the nightclub Ermitáž on National Avenue. (1949). *Praha*, 9, 25. 2., 8.

[44] Action program ..., Quoted article 290.

[45] Chamrád, V. (1951). Towards a new, beautiful Prague. *Nová Praha*, 54, 1, 12. 1., 3

[46] Development of the project was commissioned in the middle of 1948. -Rg- (1948). We are realizing ten-year-old plans. *Věstník*, 51, 24, 18. 6., 553.

[47] Dream ... Prague yesterday ..., Quoted article 5.

[48] Until April 1948 more than 1,200 construction firms were nationalized and the creation of state construction and planning firms came into being. (Kohout & Vančura, 1986, p. 172)

[49] Havlíček, J. (1949). Urgency more than urgent – planning of the capital. *Architekt*, I - XLVI, 2, March, 18.

[50] (1949). Prague of the future. *Architekt*, XLVII, 1, April, 1, 7, 8..

[51] Vomastek, F. (1950). We are building recreation for Prague workers. *Praha*, 53, 4, 24.1., 8

[52] In 1949 the Portheim garden in Smíchov was accessible. flg. (1949). We are changing the face of Prague. *Praha*, 26, 24.4., 12.

[53] Until June 1, 1949, 199 playgrounds came into being. Beránek, E. (1949). Building of children's playgrounds in Prague. *Praha,* 33, 15.8., 4.

Václav Vacek, red Prague mayor, took part in a spectacular shift of the Central National Committee of Letná (1951). *Letná, first construction site of socialist Prague.*

dealing and black-marketeering, in short in the typical, neglected outskirts of the former capitalistic big city whose rich didn't care about the way a worker lives in the Prague West End, in the middle of this junk on which the District National Committee of Prague 8 will cast light as soon as possible, there was erected a wonderful, perfectly fixed-up recreational area for worker's children and their parents," wrote *Praha,* the weekly publication of the Central National Committee of the Capital, Prague (came out on June 30, 1949).[54]

Letná became a symbol of the new Prague, demonstratively fixed up by volunteers starting February 1, 1951. Among the volunteers was Gusta Fučíková, widow of an executed communist journalist, the mayor Václav Vacek, but also the rector of the Theological Faculty Tripský. "*Let the agitators explode as well as those who hope that this work will not succeed. We, under the leadership of our Communist Party and our President, Comrade Klement Gottwald, are building Prague the beautiful, the happy, socialist Prague!"* commented, "*the great initiative of the Prague people"* engineer Vladimír Chamrád.[55] The first swallow of the new architecture was a four-story prefabricated house on Zelená liška in Pankrác, the so-called house from a construction kit of the Stavosvit company in Gottwaldov.[56]

On the contrary, Wenceslas Square, a modern Prague boulevard, was considered a place which had arrived under capitalism with repeated suppression by the gendarmerie of the working class and with roundups of communists. Therefore, here in 1949 the Communists placed an *exhibition of the construc-*

tive efforts of Prague,[57] which was to document the changes in the city under the leadership of the KSČ, and thus symbolically change the space.[58] But the aversion to Wenceslas Square lasted. In 1951, there appeared for the first time in the press the term ideological center of the city. This was to be on the axis of Čech bridge. The ideologists assumed that it would lessen the importance of Wenceslas and Old Town Squares and create an important counterpart to the Prague castle.[59] The new attributes given to Prague also corresponded to this idea: Prague of Klement Gottwald, the first worker President; Prague, the city of the issuing of the nationalization edict; Prague, the city of the February Revolution, congress of council of enterprises, congress of farmers, the ninth congress of the KSČ. The castle was to be perceived as the place of election of the first worker President and the space for the meetings of the Central Committee of the KSČ.[60]

In the new era at the same time was born and established a symbolic picture of Prague, the city in which "*brotherly friendship was sealed forever*" between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.[61] This image was then and henceforth codified with frequent memorials of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship: e.g., from May 1945 to November 7, 1947, a burial ground of honor was built for 435 fallen soldiers of the Red Army, a cemetery respecting the rules of Soviet military cemeteries. In March 1948 a memorial was unveiled on Velvary Road in Dejvice, where the Red Army first crossed the border of Prague in May 1945.[62] Not less important were also public activities of the socialist states – Soviet satellites (e.g., the Slavic agricultural exhibition, 1948) and the unconditional taking over of the Soviet cultural model (e.g. the introduction of a unified school in 1948[63]). In the first post-February months, indeed, the traditions of the democratic First Republic (celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the legions in Italy on Old Town Square,[64] the Sokol show in

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54   flg. (1949). We are changing the face of Prague. *Praha*, 26, 24. 6., 12.

55   Letná, quoted work, p. 16.

56   (1955). Houses from construction kits. *Večerní Praha*, I, 19, 23. 4., 1.

57   Kaucký, F. (1949). *Praha*, 52, 20, 13.5., 3.; Bonhardová, N. (1949). Exhibition of Socialist construction. *Praha*, 52, 23, 3. 6., 6-7.

58   Two years later there was an exhibition at the Liberation Monument in Žižkov. 30 years of the *KSČ*. (1951). *Nová Praha*, 54, 10-11, 1. 6., 182.

59   (1951). Plans of the socialist city are born. *Nová Praha*, 54, 25-26, 21. 12., 482.

60   (1952). Letter from the president of the Republic to Klement Gottwald. *Nová Praha*, 55, 1, 9. 1.

61   Telegram, cited article.

62   Mollik, Z. (1948). Monuments of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship. *Věstník*, 51, 9, 6. 3., 194.

63   On April 26, 1948, pupils and teachers organized a manifestation of appreciation for the introduction of the unified school in Old Town Square. (1948). *Věstník*, 51, 18, 8. 5., 415.

64   (1948). *Věstník*, 51, 18, 8. 5., 398.

Gigantic monument to J. V. Stalin in Prague on Letná. Condition in 1955. (1955). *Večerní Praha*, I, 24, 29. 4., 1.

1948) were still taking place; the following years were, however, already under the sign of the unambiguous Sovietization of Prague. In April 1948 a meeting of the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship[65] took place in Prague. The May Prague Uprising was interpreted as a matter of communists and leftists opening the way to massive nationalization, to the displacement of the Germans and to the demonstrative denial of Prague German culture.[66]

The biggest symbolic tendency to the new lifelong friend was, however, the Stalin monument, a work of the sculptor Otakar Švec and the architect Jiří Štursa, unveiled for May 1 and May 9, 1955, under the official nickname *Monument of sincere gratitude*.[67] Preparations for the construction of the monument, however, had begun much earlier. The idea of building a Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin monument was updated on September 1945 at a meeting of the Central National Committee in Prague by the then-mayor Petr Zenkl (Hojda & Pokorný, 1997, p. 205) On April 7, 1949, the Central National Committee of Prague announced a contest for a monument or a memorial which would "*ideologically express the personality of Generalissimo Stalin.*" "*It would actually be a state obligation to construct to Generalissimo Stalin the most venerable monument in Prague as the throne of our republic*," commented minister Václav Kopecký on the decision.[68] Finally the project won which allegedly most clearly connected Stalin's personality with the people and

as the only one whose solution mastered the Letná hillside.[69] Stalin's birthday was also celebrated every year: forums, meetings, lectures, small Stalin exhibitions, theaters, concerts and short political meetings. This was not only the case in Czechoslovakia. 1951 saw a monument to Stalin by Sándor Mikus in Budapest. (Hojda & Pokorný, 1997, pp. 211-212) At the same time, East Berlin renamed Frankfurt Avenue *Stalin Avenue*. The architect Hermann Henselmann proposed for this prestigious avenue buildings in the style of so-called confectionary architecture (Buffet, 1999, pp. 334-335) The panorama of Warsaw was dominated by the J. V. Stalin Palace of Culture and Science.[70]

A symbol of the new era and Sovietization of Prague was also supposed to be the first high-rise building in the city: the 88-meter-high Hotel Družba in Podbaba, a collective work of so-called socialist realism from the years 1952 to 1956, architecturally imitating high-rise buildings in Moscow. (Kohout & Vančura, 1986: 172) The unaccustomed height and its non-human dimensions, gaudy, in regard to the post-war situation, costly decorations (brown and red sgraffiti, gilded linden leaves) were explained to Praguers through the purported objective of the building, "... we are building not only for today. We are building for Communism."[71] The socialist city was to be proud of nine- to eleven-story buildings on broad boulevards with stately avenues. Tower-like buildings were called the new silhouettes of the city.[72] "*It is a true expression of reality in its revolutionary development. It presents an organic synthesis of realism with revolutionary romantic. It includes in itself the pathos of construction and struggles; it tries with its means to change reality; it agitates for its ideal happiness.*" This is how Julius Šif described socialist realism in Soviet architecture in 1948.[73]

An image of Moscow as an ideal *city of victorious socialism,* the Prague model, was concocted. It was constructed on the implacable bipolarity of the world: "Look at capitalist London, New York or Paris! Everywhere there we see the same picture: unforgivable contradictions exist there coming from the capitalistic social order. *"On one hand the rich – exploiters with their ways of luxurious ostentatiousness, on the other hand the poverty of the masses, unemployment,*

65   (1948). *Věstník*, 51, 18, 8. 5., 422.
66   Pražák, A. (1948). Five May days. *Věstník*, 51, 18, 8. 5., 409.
67   (1955). Monument of Sincere Gratitude. *Večerní Praha*, I, 26, 2. 5., 1.
68   (1949). A Work of the highest honor. *Praha,* 43, 24. 10., 1.

69   (1950). Prague is going to have a monument to Generalissimo J. V. Stalin. *Praha*, 53, 1, 2. 1., 6-7.
70   (1955). Warsaw yesterday and today. *Večerní Praha*, I, 36 ze 13.5., 2.
71   Vojtěch, J. (1955). A high-rise building in Prague. *Večerní Praha*, I, 21, 26. 4., 2.
72   Chamrád, V. (1953). Prague of tomorrow. *Nová Praha*, 56, 18, 9. 9., 278.
73   Šif, J. (1948). Socialist realism in Soviet architecture. *Architekt*, 1 – XLVI, 6, March, 85.

First high-rise building in Prague. Hotel Družba in Podbaba (later Hotel International, today Holiday Inn). Condition in 1955. (1955). *Večerní Praha*, I, 21, 26.4., 2. Photograph E. Einhorn.

living under bridges and hunger. Socialist Moscow provides a quite different view, a city of workers who, with their work, provide everything and on their streets, in the metro, in factories, shops, apartments in the care of the working man we see the character of the socialist capital." [74] The year 1952 saw Sovietization and the anniversary of folk tradition. The Infant Jesus disappeared from the pre-Christmas city and was replaced by Father Frost. In Prague they began to organize *Father Frost Markets*. In them were sold desired electric goods, stainless-steel utensils and washing machines as well as fruit (a limited number of baskets of apples) and meat. In the Julius Fučík Pioneer House a Father Frost factory made Christmas decorations.[75] Socialist Christmas was to be rich because it was to document the successes of the socialist economy. Father Frost alone was named as the messenger of plenty.[76] As the communist mayor Václav Vacek said in 1952, *"...(Father Frost – note of BS) does not like empty shops and an unset table. Father Frost is the messenger of plenty, of course not for some privileged class of people, but the messenger of Soviet plenty for all honest workers. Father Frost is also a symbol of a good reward for well performed work, a symbol of real love of children which we can express with deeds because we have enough for them!* [77]

The image of historic Prague also conformed to the needs of power of the new ideology. The first post-war graduation in the renovated Karolinum in April 1948 (its longtime reconstruction based on the plan of architect Jaroslav Frágner began in 1946) was arranged as a demonstration of the warm communist relation to education, which was to become the people's property.[78] Poor, however, was the list itself of emblems of the communist reflection of historic Prague. On the list were, next to the historic university building, above all mainly the Lesser Quarter[79] and Old Town Square, which was, however, conceived as a backstage for communist demonstrations. Of the monuments from the end of the 19th century there was the popular Výstaviště space, converted into the Park of Culture and Leisure with *an Avenue of Socialist Trade,* the Czech cousin of the Polish Stalinogorod. In a certain shadow stood the National Theater. Monuments to Charles' time were tolerated: the Charles IV monument at the Charles bridge, the ruler's tomb in St. Vitus' church in Hradčany.[80] Exceptional attention, to the credit of Zdeněk Nejedlý, under the motto "We will outshine in all directions the old bourgeois society,"[81] was paid to the Bethlehem chapel, which was newly opened in 1955 after reconstruction (1950–1953). The communists proclaimed themselves to be the heirs of the Hussite tradition and the Bethlehem chapel was to become a place of national pilgrimmage.[82] With his authority, Zdeněk Nejedlý promoted the Hussite movement as a national, not as a religious movement. National all-inclusiveness of Hussitism, according to Nejedlý, was expressed in the Hussite understanding of the times of Charles IV as a time of strength and power. (Nejedlý, 1952, pp. 62-63) The Hussite revolution itself was, according to his article *Communists – heirs to the great traditions of the Czech nation*, published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, "*a fight of the exploited against the exploiters and a fight against the bad old order for a better new order – a fight which we know in new forms even today."* (Nejedlý, 1952, p. 22)[83] Ing. Bedřich Spáčil came up with an even more daring updating: "*If we read the letter of the Papal legate Cardinal Brando against the Hussites, then we see in it almost all the arguments which the English and American radio use today against communists and mainly against the guarantee of socialist*

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74   We are developing on a mass scale...
75   (1956). *Večerní Praha*, II, 297, 14. 12., 1.
76   (1953). *Nová Praha*, 56, 25-26, 18. 12., 398.
77   (1952). What Father Frost is preparing for Praguers this year. *Nová Praha*, 55, 25-26, 26. 11., 414.

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78   Zdeněk Nejedlý also expressed himself in this spirit. (1948). *Věstník*, 51, 17, 1. 5., 397.
79   (1948). A dream that became reality. *Věstník*, 51, 22, 5. 6., 506.
80   The Prague mayor finally visited this place on the occasion of the 632nd anniversary of Charles IV's birth in 1948. (1948). *Věstník*, 51, 22, 5. 6., 518.
81   (1950). We are renewing the Bethlehem chapel. *Praha*, 53, 2, 9. 1., 7.
82   Kubíček, A. (1955). Hus' Bethlehem. *Večerní Praha*, I, 8, 9. 4., 1. – The chapel was labeled as a shrine of the nation. (1955). In the shrine of the nation. *Večerní Praha*, I, 89, 12. 7., 1.
83   Realization of this historic tradition, cf. in summary Rataj, 2003, pp. 99-100.
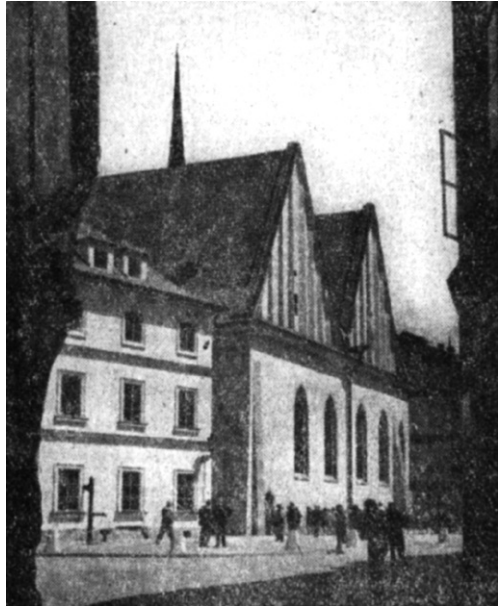
Bethlehem chapel in Prague after reconstruction. Condition in 1955. (1955). *Večerní Praha*, I, 8, 9. 4., 1.

construction of the world, against the USSR. If we see that in the Hussite movement are contained all the fundamentals dear to us of the socialist revolution, then we understand why the Czech bourgeoisie was not in a rush to renovate the Bethlehem chapel." [84] Attention was also paid to the personality of Jan Žižka, a Hussite military leader. In 1949, the idea arose of a representative square opening onto the national monument in Žižkov. Here one year later the Žižkov monument was erected. (Kohout & Vančura, 1986, p. 172) On the other hand, the slump of localities of revivalist Prague was typical: primarily Vyšehrad, but also the Vltava and partly also the Charles bridge, but mainly the symbol of Czech statehood – the Prague castle. Žižkov, Nusle and Košíře, considerable parts of which were to be demolished,[85] symbolized capitalist attributes of Prague to the Communists. To these Prague localities were joined the aggressivity of bourgeois entrepreneurs and a negative esthetic impression. The na Františku monastery, the first evidence of Gothic architecture in the Czech lands, in the thinking of the period, however, "*the Prague reservation of rats and sewer rats*" [86] and the famous Union coffee house on National Avenue at Perštýn, were also destined to be torn down [87],[88] The violent end of the "Unionka" was explained as a victory of life: "... *the Brauner house must make way to the more valuable – life ... we are acting then without sentimentality and without tears because here in Prague we are sav-*

ing human life."[89] The dům U Kaštanu (House at the Chestnut Tree), now the Museum of the Beginnings of the Czechoslovak Workers' Movement in the Břevnov district of Prague (1953),[90] was to recall older worker traditions. In that inn, in 1878, the Socialist Democratic Party was founded. In 1951 the museum of the novelist Alois Jirásek was opened in Hvězda.[91] On that occasion Antonín Zápotocký emphasized that Jirásek had popularized the fertile revolutionary tradition.[92] If in May 1948 it was still expected that in Prague there would stand a statue of T. G. Masaryk,[93] the first President of the Czechoslovak Republic, and they would deal with the debts of the First Republic (Hojda & Pokorný, 1997, pp. 200-201), in future years this was already unreal. Gustav Bareš, the deputy central secretary of the KSČ, at the constitutent city conference of the Party in 1950 promised a memorial only to the writer and journalist Jan Neruda, the composer Vítězslav Novák, and Jan Žižka. The memorial to the founder of Czech historiography František Palacký was to be renovated. The painter Josef Mánes,[94] the writer Božena Němcová, the painter Mikuláš Aleš, the proletarian poet Jiří Wolker, the composer Antonín Dvořák, and the communist politician Jan Šverma[95] were also to be remembered.

The Sovietization and the forcing into conformity of society, of which only three large groups existed: workers, other employees and cooperative farmers (The history of the population of the Czech Lands, 1998, p. 339), proceeded – alongside housing – on the level of further material and spiritual needs of society, in pubic alimentation and entertainment. In factory dining rooms 200,000 Praguers were to take their meals.[96] Taverns, which replaced the people's dining rooms, appeared toward September 1, 1949.[97] The declared objective was to create a casual environment in which Prague consumers would not be socially segregated according to their clothing and money. The

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84   Spáčil, B. (1950). Renovation of the Bethlehem chapel. *Praha*, 19-20, 4. 8., 7.

85   Dream ...

86   (1948). Pickaxes and František! *Praha*, 1, 4, 8. 9., 6-7.

87   (1948). "Unionka" on Perštýn will be torn down. *Praha*, 1, 10, 22. 10., 5.

88   -ego-. (1948). Prague yesterday ... and tomorrow. *Praha*, 1, 30. 7., 4.

89   (1949). Not even the "Unionka" can be eternal. *Praha*, 4, 21. 1., s. 9.

90   (1953). Opening of the museum of the beginners of the workers' movement. *Nová Praha*, 56, 8, 22. 4., 127.

91   Jirásková, A. (1951).Prague pays back its debt to Alois Jirásek. *Nová Praha*, 54, 14, 13. 7., 257.

92   (1951). Jirásek museum in Hvězda open. *Nová Praha*, 54, 18, 14. 9., 325.

93   The city council decided on it on August 14, 1947. Kozák, B. (1948). TGM: I am going to look at you. *Věstník*, 51, 19, 15. 5., 433.

94   His monument, a work by Bohumil Kafka, was unveiled in December 1951 on the Aleš Embankment. (1952). Nová Praha, 55, 1, 9.1.

95   (1951). Prague pays back its debts to its forefathers. *Nová Praha*, 54, 1, 12. 1., 11.

96   (1948). *Praha*, 15, 5. 12., 5.

97   (1949). *Praha,* 34, 22. 8., 9. – By January 1, 1950, 17 were to be found. (1950). *Praha*, 53, 4, 24. 1., 14.
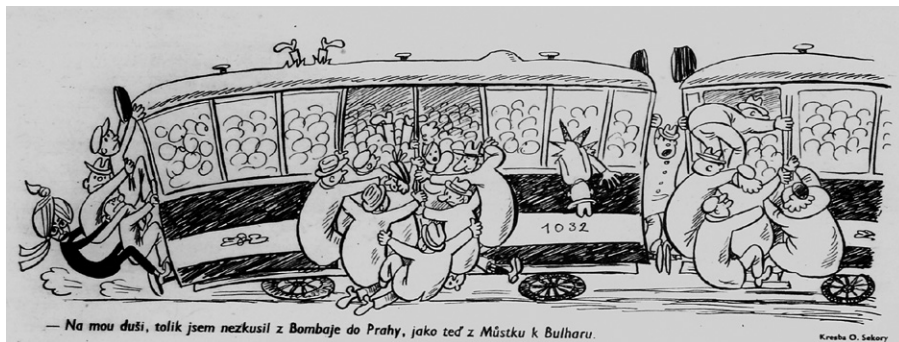
Prague tram in the city center during rush hour. Drawing O. Sekora. (1946). *Dikobraz*, II, 6, 6.2., 2.

Koruna and the Vltava buffets on Wenceslas Square became institutions of contemporary Prague. The Tavern in Družba was famous for its pancakes and night service (until 1 a.m.).[98] The differences among people were also removed in clubs of workers and enterprises for people's entertainment: "*Workers of all layers and occupations: worker, official, student, soldier and artist and members of all other professions and of all ages will meet in them. Through mutual contact, recognition and understanding, social casteism which is inadmissible in a Socialist state will be remove … In former bars, then, working people will sit in the place of capitalists, loungers and black marketeers… After finishing work they will come and enjoy themselves with the awareness that despite the differences in occupation there is equality among them, among people who earn their living through honest work, whether with their hands or their minds.*"[99] Such unanimity was, in the meantime, to be pleasurable: e.g., in 1950 bands of some Prague enterprises played for the workers on their way to work in the new year, in the second year of the Gottwald biennial plan.[100] The city radio, from whose loud speakers resounded optimistic, constructive marches and constructive mottos joined the enterprises.[101] A specific form of street propaganda was the puppet theater of the Prague employment office. Under the Christmas trees in 1949, they played the scene *A Happier Christmas of the First Five-Year Plan*.[102]

In the following year on Wenceslas Square one could see the puppet show *In Need You Know Your Friends,* adoring the Soviet Union.[103]

Despite the effort of the new ideologues and rulers of the city, however, in the opinions of many of their population their memories of the interwar city lived as some sort of lost paradise. Complaints of Praguers about the abundance and neatness under the First Republic were rejected by saying that the abundance was only for the narrow group of the bourgeoisie. For example, a resolution of the whole-state conference of the KSČ in 1953 declared: "… president Preiss of the Mercantile Bank… himself acknowledged that he had a yearly personal income of five million. This parasite could spend daily as much as about what 8,000 people eked out – miners and their families, who slaved away for their bloody earnings. Such was then the life of people under Masaryk's 'most democratic democracy,' during the old 'golden times,' when 'there was enough of everything.' Yes, there was enough of everything, but only for the fat paunches of capitalists, bankers and landowners. There were also enough scraps, fallen from overstuffed tables of gluttonous millionaires for their lackeys and ploughboys. But life of the working class was full of poverty, hunger and tuberculosis, life in holes and under bridges."[104] The communist press then published hundreds of adventures of unemployed workers who compared the joy of the present with the bitter past. The current alleged prosperity was even documented by the communist central with statistics: "*During four years of the five-year plan there were sold in the business network a further 880,000 radios, over 40,000 electric washing machines, 30,000 refrigerators, over 130,000 sewing machines, a further 640,000 bicycles, more than 118,000 motorcycles and nearly a half million arm-band and pocket watches.*"[105] On October 1, 1948, the state began to pay out pensions (in Prague approximately 25,000 people had a right to one). "*The last beggars who sporadically reminded us of the 'golden old' prewar republic disappeared from the Prague streets,*" the press commented on an administration law about national security.[106] Already on March 25, 1948, a law was passed relating to state support of newly-weds.[107] At the same time the phrase was heard in the city about the

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98 (1952). Czechoslovak tavern serves workers. *Nová Praha*, 55, 1, 9. 1., 13.
99 Ký. (1949). Prague hotel business. *Praha*, 52, 5, 28. 1., 6–7.
100 (1950).The people's administration salutes the second year of the biennial. *Praha*, 53, 2, 9. 1., 7.
101 (1950). The city radio played for the workers. *Praha*, 53, 2, 9. 1., 15.
102 (1950). Puppet scene of the employment office under Christmas trees. *Praha*, 53, 2, 9. 1., 15.

103 (1950). Six weeks of the puppet show "In need you know your friends." *Praha,* 53, 3, 17. 1., 14.
104 (1953). *Resolution of the state Conference of the KSČ about ideological propaganda*. Praha: Rudé právo, vydavatelství Ústředního výboru KSČ, 28.
105 Idem, p. 34.
106 -Rg-. (1948). Volunteers unlike any here before. *Věstník*, 51, 1948, 24, 18. 6., 561.
107 (1948). What do you need to know? *Věstník*, 51, 1948, 24, 18. 6., 564.

Free sale of eggs in caricature. *Dikobrazu*. Kresba J. Popa. (1949). *Dikobraz*, V, 9, 1. 3., 6.

liberation of the working woman from the requirements of the household: in shops, ready-to-cook foods were found,[108] in 1951, the cooperative of Liberation from Housework opened a large laundry in Strašnice.[109] However, women might have to wait for a few months for their wash; laundry got lost, exchanged or returned damaged.[110]

Conclusion or **Myth versus reality.** "*We want Prague not only with a hundred spires, but mainly clean, healthy, beautiful!* Called the post-February Prague city hall transformed into the Central National Committee of Prague.[111] "Only *communists accomplish Libuše's prophecy: I see a great city whose fame reaches the stars!*" announced Gustav Bareš at the constituent conference of the City Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in December 1950.[112] "*Former capitalist Prague, the center of exploitation and oppression, a city of rich people and palaces, but also of thousands of unemployed workers, tattered children, a city of alms and beggars, has become today, under the government*

of workers, a beautiful city with generous socialistic perspectives," wrote *Nová Praha* in 1952.[113]

The idea of a model socialist city, as professional literature observed, however, first came into existence and was tied to harsh conflicts with reality. Moscow itself, to which the vision of the communist rulers of the city became attached, might immediately after the Second World War make an impression with its circular boulevards and underground railway system, but in no way with its wooden buildings. In communist myth Prague was therefore conceived of as the city of the future: it was to be industrial, fewer than one million inhabitants, full of green and streams, with electrified transportation, circular communication and functioning integrated mass transportation, with modern living standards. It was to symbolize not past glory, but future prosperity. Sentiment was replaced with the creative optimism of the new regime. Communist rhetoric corresponded to generous treatment with the height and with the space in the city, just as with its symbols. While old Prague – *a stone fairy tale* [114] – is not appropriate as a solid symbol for the whole of communist declared values, its factual rival, new Prague, was unreservedly applicable. It is therefore logical that the regime for its confirmation chose only certain places from old Prague that worked appropriately as part of its propaganda. Metaphorically said: the myth of the hundred-spired Prague was basically less important than the new myth of Prague – Great Prague – as the most western socialist city, "*the most western guard of the socialist order.*"[115] The emblem of new Prague became prefabricated houses as a symbol of socialist living, in contrast with family houses as a symbol of luxurious uneconomical bourgeois living,[116] bourgeois hotels,[117] coffee houses and villas transformed into housing for workers and, finally, also rejoicing demonstrators celebrating the clear present and even more glorious tomorrow. For it, from 1949-1956, Praguers worked twelve million volunteer hours (Hlavsa, 1960, p. 23).

Of course reality was different and this difference also had its undesirable symbols. Pokorný's statue Becoming Close Friends, a homage to the Soviet

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108 E.g., Krutina, F. (1951). About some tasks of organizations of the KSČ in Prague. *Nová Praha*, 54, 4, 23. 2., 63.

109 -KF- . (1951). Factory for the convenience of Prague women. *Nová Praha*, 54, 5, 9. 3., 85.

110 (1951).To liberate the working woman from major cleaning. *Nová Praha*, 54, 7, 13. 4., 125.

111 -Rg-. (1948). *Praha*, 1, 7, 1. 10., 6-7.

112 Letná, quoted work, p. 4; (1950). Construction of Prague. *Praha*, 53, 29-30, 19. 12., 5.

113 (1952). Long live Comrade Dr.Václav Vacek! *Nová Praha*, 55, 17, 15. 9., 277.

114 Prague yesterday…, cited article

115 Dream …

116 Eng. P. (1948). We will live better … *Praha*, 1, 15, 5. 12., 6-7.

117 February gave apartments to students, was one of the titles of *Praha*. The article gave information about the transformation of prostitute hotels into student houses. Such was the fate of the Atlas Hotel on Melantrichová Street and the famous Jewish Hotel Bristol and the Hotel Chaloupka on Řeznická Street. (1948). *Praha*, 13, 11. 11., 6-7.

liberators of Prague at the Main Station, fell into disrepair.[118] Father Frost was not accepted, even by the majority of communists. (Franc, 2008, p. 241) Still in the mid 1950s in the seedy center of Prague could be seen remnants of the protectorate.[119] In the Prague center, for years attired in scaffolding, shops closed behind blinds.[120] Neither the insufficiency of apartments nor the burdensome transportation situation was eliminated. Until the end of 1945, 14,000 apartments were indeed assigned after the Germans' departure, 8,000 apartments made available after the Czechs' departure, and 2,100 rental apartments, but the need exceeded the availability. The overwhelming majority of apartments (76 %) contained only one room with kitchen.[121] Water pipes in houses were old and often collapsed. At Christmas 1951 the cause of the breakdown was attributed to Christmas carp which Praguers kept in bathtubs and which allegedly broke down the pipes.[122] Despite the declared equality of people, workers and, mainly, shock-workers had preferential treatment in the allotment of apartments.[123] New housing developments, however, lacked infrastructure. City mass transportation was also insufficient. Between 7 a.m. and 8 a.m. and 4 p.m. and 5 p.m. trams, buses and trolley buses were crowded.[124] A great problem that also remained was supplying food to the city. Bananas from Ecuador and Colombia appeared in Prague and other big cities only before May 1, before the meeting of the KSČ or before celebrations of the October Revolution. Oranges, citrus fruit and nuts (as a rule, peanuts from China), but also better apples were a matter of Christmas markets. And after the cancellation of the ration system (1953)[125] there was a frequent insufficiency of groceries. In 1952, as comically witnessed in *Nová Praha* by one of the house custodians. concerning the newly established institution: "*A representative of the Brotherhood in the district pointed out how working women don't profit sufficiently from the advantages of prepared shopping bags. He also complained that women want*

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[118] (zf). (1955). What does not do honor to our city. *Večerní Praha*, I, 12, 15. 4., 2.
[119] Balak, K. (1955). Prague is still haunted by... *Večerní Praha*, I, 22, 27. 4., 3.
[120] Idem.
[121] Beránek, E. (1949). Apartment politics in Prague. *Praha*, 52, 36, 5. 9., 6-7.
[122] Hulinský, J. (1952). Presentation of the work of one year. *Nová Praha*, 55, 2, 23. 1., 25.
[123] In 1950, (until Sept. 1) 57% of apartments were assigned to workers' families, 21% to civil servants, and 22% to others. Shock-workers received 887 apartments (1951). Day by day life of Prague people is richer. *Nová Praha*, 54, 8, 27. 4., 147. – Apartments were assigned in cooperation with trade unions. (1951). Assignment of new apartments. *Nová Praha*, 54, 9, 18. 5., 173.
[124] (1950). We are going to travel to work more comfortably. *Praha*, 3, 17. 1., 15.
[125] In September 1948 they ended ration tickets for bread, flour and potatoes. In December milk, butter and eggs were available on the open market. (Procházka, 1991, p. 49)

only goods that are hard to get."[126] Constructed housing developments lacked infrastructure. The activity of the communal enterprise *Restaurants* was criticized as insufficiently clean in the dining area, zero initiative of the innkeeper.[127] But other services (laundry) were also of poor quality. The dream of prosperity for all workers of the city, as well as the whole myth of the socialist city, socialist Prague, vanished in the difficult everyday reality. Probably the most oppressive was, however, the fact that the socialist city was created as a city without a plurality. Marc Augé presumes identification with a certain district as a basis for belonging to a city. (Augé, 1999, p. 113) For the present, however, we lack research on what importance the fact that the socialist city was surrounded by uniform housing developments had on city identity.

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[126] (1952). *Nová Praha*, 55, 6, 19.3., 100.
[127] Berger, J. (1949). About the development of Prague communal enterprises. *Praha*, 26, 26.10., 4.

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SINCE NOW A CITY IS THERE: REMARKS ON A CITY CENTER.
Examples from the City of Lodz

Grażyna Ewa Karpińska

Abstract: *Every city has its center. The heart of a city and its center is usually a street or a square or both. In Lodz, one of the biggest cities in Poland, this role was played for a long time by Piotrkowska Street. This is the most famous Polish artery, which not long ago would be associated with the Lodz of labor and textile manufacturing, for the lot of Piotrkowska Street and the history of the city whose face and personality shaped the industry were intertwined. Today the street is an important element of the city; however, it does not determine the character of the city and has lost the function of concentrating public activities. Moreover, it is no longer recognized as the place where the most important events in public life take place (and that feature, according to Aleksander Wallis, characterizes a city center). Today, other spaces of Lodz have taken over the role of the city center and have brought together on their territory the cultural practices of the urban community. What is the cause for that state of things and where is the city center situated today? The article addresses these issues.*

Keywords**: *city center, mythologization of a city center, culture area*

1. To go or to walk "to the city" means to move in one direction – to the center, i.e., to the place in a city *"where something is gathered or concentrated"* (*SŁOWNIK*… 1978:241). As Tadeusz Sławek emphasizes: *"one cannot avoid the conclusion that thinking about a 'city' must presuppose a reflection about some kind of centralization, about a point around which particular elements/surfaces of a city/crystal are congregated, and of which a non-urban space is deprived"* (SŁAWEK 1997:11). The center is a place *"where multiplicity is translated into unity, since in the center exactly a city earns its face and gives an opportunity to*

be remembered; it is the center that makes a city precisely what it is, this unique city which can be distinguished from others" (SŁAWEK 1997:18). When I know where the center is, I cannot get lost because the center orients the city, organizes the topography, and confirms geographical directions, harmonizes all relations between the city and the world; in the center the urban order, confirmed by *"the presence of lamps and police patrols,"* is accumulated (SŁAWEK 1997:16-17). The center is a place about which Roland Barthes wrote that it is stigmatized, for *"there exactly assemble and summarize values of civilization: spirituality (churches), power (offices), money (banks), commerce (malls), a word (agoras: coffee-houses and promenades); to go to the center means* [...] *– to participate in a glorious completeness of 'reality.'"* (BARTHES 1999:82).

A Nestor of the Polish sociology of the city, Aleksander Wallis, several decades ago in his book *Information and Hubbub. About the City Center* (WALLIS 1979) formulated general statements which, according to him, can be regarded as enduring traits of the city center. The center – according to his own words – is a small part of the city, distinct from the rest of urban space with respect to architectural and town planning aspects, as well as an institutional infrastructure; it has the best location with respect to transport accessibility, and it is of fundamental importance to functioning of the urban community and *"to the community of an area dominated by the influence of the city"*; it is identified *"as an area where the most important processes of public life take place"* (WALLIS 1979:19) and where processes of public life reach the highest level of realization (WALLIS 1979:23) *"without which contemporary metropolis and contemporary society are incomprehensible"* (WALLIS 1979:7). Owing to the last characteristic, in every phase of its history the center has always played *"the central role in the course of integration and development of the urban community"* (WALLIS 1979:23-24); and the community, through the center, identifies with the city as a place. Since, for Wallis, the center (along with a residence and a temple) was the most important culture area, i.e., a space which represents successive generations and aggregates material, aesthetic, and symbolic values, and with which, almost organically, needs and cultural practices of particular groups (communities) are connected (WALLIS 1979:15-17).

Every city has its center. The heart of a city and its center is usually a street or a square or both. In Lodz, one of the biggest cities in Poland, this role for a long time was played by Piotrkowska Street, the street that runs longitudinally in a straight line and is over 4 kilometers long. This is the most famous Polish artery which, not long ago, would be associated with the Lodz of labor

and textile manufacturing, for its lot and the history of the city whose face and personality shaped the industry were unified. Today it is an important element of the city; however, it does not determine its character and lost the function of concentrating public activities. Moreover, it is no longer recognized as the place where the most important events in public life take place (and that feature, according to Aleksander Wallis, characterizes a city center). Today, other spaces of Lodz take over the role of the city center and bring together on their territory cultural practices of the urban community. What is the cause for that state of things and where is the city center situated today? This article addresses these issues.

2. In the past, Piotrkowska was a trail through the wilderness running from Piotrkow to Zgierz, which crossed a small agricultural and manufactural town, Lodz. It became a street at the beginning of the 19th century when, as the result of realization of government industrialization plans for the country, it was decided that near agricultural Lodz a factory settlement of the same name should be built. The street started from an octagonal marketplace and expanded southwards, together with the town, becoming from the very beginning Lodz' main artery, and in time it evolved into a factory route, facilitating contacts with the capital and industrial cities that hosted britzskas, carts, droshkies, and, after activation of the Warsaw–Vienna Railway, buses and electric trams were introduced. Soon after the street was demarcated, iron pillars marking the distance to Warsaw (RYNKOWSKA 1970:19) were placed along it, and Piotrkowska was illuminated with city lamps with metal reflecting mirrors that were located in particularly attended places (RYNKOWSKA 1970:52-53).

According to primary plans, Piotrkowska was to be a residential district. An industrial area was delimited in the southern part of the city, in the colony called Lodka, along the Jasien River, and in the southern part of the street that had not been completed yet (a later section from Emilia Street to the Main Marketplace). However, according to a regulation allowing industrial building expansion in the whole street, industrialization encompassed entire Piotrkowska (RYNKOWSKA 1970:35). Therefore, Piotrkowska became the street of drapers as well as cotton and linen weavers, masters, traders, and factory-owners who had just started their careers. In time, impoverished people moved to side-streets, giving up their parcels to more affluent citizens (RYNKOWSKA 1970:69). Manufacturers lived in wooden and brick houses

Postcards: Piotrkowska Street before Second World War.

of homogenous architectural construction which were at the same time their workplaces (houses had rooms serving as workshops). Zygmunt Manitius mentions that at the time when his father came to Lodz, one-story houses dominated Piotrkowska, and there were only a few storied buildings. One could find no shops on the street. "*On the other hand,*" as Manitius wrote, "*across a full-length of the street from every single building, window, and doorway one could catch a characteristic, and surely cherished in my childhood memories, clatter and clack of a thousand workshops. There was no sign of side streets, except for those few which led to the fields [...] On the right and on the left side of Piotrkowska, the paving ended, and a regular road ran, and a deep wide ditch separated paths (that replaced pavement) and the roadway* (MANITIUS 1928:43-44). In time, devices for finishing off raw fabrics were installed in courtyards, near the rooms that served as workshops; in addition, dye-works, print-works, and finishing-machines functioned (RYNKOWSKA 1970:35-37) because, according to Anna Rynkowska, plants located in the southern part of the city, by the Jasien River, "*did not manage to meet the needs of an increasing fabrics production*" (RYNKOWSKA 1970:35).

Although, Piotrkowska from the very beginning concentrated the whole life of the industrial city, for a long time it maintained a partly urban and partly rural character. Manufacturers who lived there were given some land where they could seed rye and potatoes, and in the courtyards they built barns and cowsheds in front of which one would see tons of waste and cowpat; moreover, they bred chickens, cows, pigs, and even horses. In the back of every parcel near Piotrkowska, one could find gardens where the citizens grew vegetables, as well as fruit trees and shrubs. Windmills and steam-mills were also located along Piotrkowska (RYNKOWSKA 1970:73-77). People who lived there threw away their litter right onto the street or into ditches and empty squares; for a long time only several fragments of Piotrkowska were paved (RYNKOWSKA 1970:55). Along the street you could not find many shops yet, and there were mostly spicy goods, herrings, fish, soaps, candles, dyestuff products, cotton yarns, and textile commodities in stock. Citizens of Lodz bought food in three marketplaces located by Piotrkowska, namely: the New Town Market, the Upper Market (situated at the southern end of the street), and the Factorial Market (located in the central part of Piotrkowska). Food was also available at taverns that – just like pubs – were situated near the markets and factories of Piotrkowska. Some of the taverns were also beaneries where one could eat a warm meal (RYNKOWSKA 1970:43-50).

It was not before the second half of the 19th century that Piotrkowska began to gain metropolitan features. It was a significant period for Lodz that was becoming at that time a textile power of the Congress (Kingdom) of Poland, and the city managed to maintain this status till World War II. Piotrkowska got sidewalks: initially – asphalt, and next – stone, and what is more, along her entire length trees (poplars, acacias, and chestnuts) were planted (RYNKOWSKA 1970:110,140-141). An installation of street lamps (originally – gas, and later – electric) increased the importance of the street allowing the traffic to last till late in the evening. As befits a city center, in Piotrkowska bookshops, printing-houses, photographers' shops, a theatre, the first city newspaper, the largest hotels in Lodz, cinematographs, a branch office of the Polish Bank, and a Commercial Bank were opened (RYNKOWSKA 1970:128-180).

The northern and central parts of the street were modernized first. At the time when industry abandoned Piotrkowska, open spaces between houses (so characteristic of the early rural landscape of the street) became more and more rare; the gardens disappeared and factories, multi-story buildings, and tenement houses took over their place. The second half and the turn of the 19th century are the best period in the history of Lodz and the street: it is the time of fabulous fortunes of factory-owners, and three industrial potentates – Scheibler, Geyer, and Kindermann – competed in order to build on Piotrkowska the most magnificent family residence (called "a palace" at the time). The street was presentable, and people who lived there built houses of the highest possible standard, with electric front elevations and Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo and sometimes Art Nouveau motifs. The architecture served as visible evidence of the financial resources of the owners, and talents as well as artistry of its creator. The street became exclusive; here affluent citizens would rent roomy suites with *"all possible conveniences: gas pipes, water sinks, toilets, and bathrooms"* RYNKOWSKA 1970:124); manufacturers, bankers, lawyers, doctors, engineers, and notaries lived on Piotrkowska (RYNKOWSKA 1970:189). To live on Piotrkowska was the dream of every educated person. Less affluent citizens lived in annexes situated in backyards resembling wells, and workers rented flats in the southern part of the street. Ground floors of the fronts of the buildings were reconstructed and adapted for commercial purposes, and for the first time in Lodz, one could see impressive shop-windows (RYNKOWSKA 1970:154). More and more shops were opened in the backyards, ground-floor – and even second-floor – apartments (RYNKOWSKA 1970:155). Teresa Klugman so describes the Piotrkowska shops just before World War II: *"Shops*

side by side, some shop-windows beautiful, and some – full of dust and goods. Ignatowicz's beautiful shop with lots of foreign liquors and sweet-smelling fruits, Kopcinski's bakery filled with the aroma of fresh bread and pastry, Dutkiewicz's dairy products, Dyszkin's shop with expensive charcuterie, and the shop owned by Kokinakis, the Greek, where you could buy the best halvah and brown bread with raisins in town. 'The Sesame toy shop where decorations in the shop-window were changed every week, the enchanted world of fairy-tales where – for free – you could watch and admire without limitations or moving a muscle" (KLUGMANOWIE 2004:7). Due to its very convenient, central location Piotrkowska was the most desired place for all institutions; consulates, offices, churches, money-exchange offices, warehouses, textile shops, and shops selling all kind of glass, porcelain, faience, haberdashery, tailors' shops, jewelry shops, delicatessens full of luxury goods available only to the most affluent citizens, several confectioneries, and restaurants were situated there. Since, in the words of president Pieńkowski, *"Piotrkowska is the city center, and the city's life is concentrated here"* (RYNKOWSIKA 1970:144), it was decided that Piotrkowska should have regulated traffic and a tram line.

The better Lodz industry and modern transportation did, the more crowded and full of shops fraught with fancy goods, trams, hackney coaches, billboards, and people Piotrkowska was. It was the city's showroom: cultural institutions and places of entertainment were situated here – in restaurants and coffee houses (referred to as "confectioneries"), and in café-gardens, or verandas opened in the summertime the local elite (writers, actors, merchants, bankers, and manufacturers) would meet to discuss the latest town news, to do business, to gamble, to enjoy chansonniers' performances, and to gossip (PAWLAK 2001:9-13). During every carnival, circus visit, or fete the street was filled with crowds looking for amusement (PAWLAK 200147-49). Piotrkowska became the favorite promenade of Lodz citizens. On Sundays, workers – even from distant parts of the city – would come here to have a walk, and that custom was delightfully depicted by Władysław Reymont in his novel *"The Promised Land"*; at that time, strolls after Sunday mass and meetings organized by young people were also rituals. People *"would come to 'Pietryna' to breath the metropolitan air of the street that one could feel, thanks to the original design of the buildings, sumptuous shop-windows, and intensive traffic. However, the vast majority of citizens did not carefully admire the splendid architecture of 'Pietryn,' but rather they were interested in the commercial aspects of the street which had the finest shops and storehouses in the city"* (PAWLAK 2001:83).

Postcard: Piotrkowska Street in socialist times.

Teresa Klugman remembered from her childhood "the *Majestic Grand Hotel and the Raspberry Hall that children did not even dream of entering, the neon lights switching on and off: 'Radion washes for you'; 'Persil Ata Imi,' 'Ola Gum?,' 'Pulsa Soap'; Trams rang, horses' hoofs tapped when droshkies drove the paved road, and along the paved street one could admire the local fashion-show: smiles behind veils, tapping canes, and hats constantly raised by gentlemen. A beautiful, elegant world. Salesmen ran with newspapers or balloons, women sold flowers in the street, and sometimes a trolley with ice-cream or oranges appeared"* (KLUGMANOWA 2004:7). The street was crowded and noisy in the evening as well. *"Maidens, fräuleins, and baryszkas were picked up constantly, with laughs, giggles, happy glances, loud comments on the beauty of the made-moiselles passing by, this one and that one got a flower, this one and that one was seized by the hand in the passage with indescribable gallantry, finally one would approach – and here again, a dream of a miracle: that this one would become the right one – the only one in the whole wild world"* (PAWLAK 2001:87).

3. Piotrkowska entered the era of socialism undamaged; together with the whole city, it was spared destruction of buildings during bombardments and

battles on the front line of World War II. Local authorities did not manage to take advantage of this fortunate position and did not try to earn Lodz the modern metropolitan status that the city had before the war. On the contrary, after World War II the city and the street were neglected. Authorities of that time made intellectual and cultural life difficult and forced the vast majority of cultural institutions, editorial offices, artists and intellectuals to leave Lodz; only industry and production were promoted, and the authorities did not care about dwelling-houses, sidewalks, or places of consumption and entertainment. Piotrkowska was a scene of economical paralysis and equal dullness that deprived it of its former magnetism and exclusiveness. The colorful neon-lights and beautiful shop-windows disappeared, and fancy restaurants were turned into sordid diners; the street was no longer "an elegant and beautiful world." During the decades of socialism previous tenants from the suburbs and basements moved into high-standard apartment houses; the street grew uglier by the year; the apartment houses and sidewalks slowly went to ruin. I can remember facades of the tenement houses in Lodz in the 1970s and 1980s – also on Piotrkowska – the sight of which was repulsive due to falling plaster and pieces of wall, or iron remains of balconies that used to have splendid ornamentation.

At the time of the Polish People's Republic, Piotrkowska was alive only during the working hours of shops, offices, and agencies. Its space was mainly defined by business and commerce because state-owned (mainly textile) shops – where you could sometimes find products better than anywhere else in the city – were located in ground-floors of the front sections of tenement houses. We would visit Piotrkowska in order to buy shoes, bags, jewelry, or clothes for our children (in Piotrkowska the only shop in Lodz with articles for children – the Child Domain – was situated) and in order to make all the necessary arrangements in offices and travel agencies. People from all over the country used to come to Piotrkowska to do shopping (mainly to buy clothes) in two storehouses, and black-market money changers (a significant competition for the official exchange at that time) would await their clients in front of commission-houses, hotels, and gateways offering gold and foreign currency. The vast majority of restaurants were located in Piotrkowska (they opened at noon, and at one p.m. alcohol could be sold, but the choice was rather poor, and beer was a rare product).

At the time of the Polish People's Republic, Piotrkowska had "users" who differed from those before World War II; people who had built the industrial

city and who were emotionally and physically attached to Lodz (factory-owners, merchants, bankers, artists, Germans, and Jews) did not walk along the street anymore. They were forced to leave the city for political and historical reasons (KARPIŃSKA 2002). After the war, the majority of the citizens consisted of new settlers who came to Lodz (mainly from the country) to work in textile factories. They lived outside the downtown area and visited Piotrkowska infrequently in order to make necessary arrangements in offices or do some shopping. Young people – students and school children – were frequent visitors of the street; for them a stroll along Piotrkowska used to be a pleasant interlude in everyday life. As far as they were concerned, "to go to the city" meant "to go to the Verve" (as Piotrkowska was named because it was the busiest street in the city, and on Saturday afternoons its delimited sector would turn into a pedestrian zone).

When I was at school (in the late 1960s and early 1970s) we used to play truants in "the Verve" because it was a perfect place to prowl around, to watch people passing, to meet friends and to make friends with someone new, to show off, and to observe shop-windows that were much more colorful than in the rest of the city. We used to stroll along both sides of Piotrkowska dressed in our all finery, obligatorily before parties, every Saturday afternoon or evening. With equal frequency, my friends and I visited Piotrkowska in our university years. We would sit in one of the restaurants. Our first choice was usually the place we could afford and where we could get some beer. For my generation, Piotrkowska was a place of significance, a place that shaped our characters and judgments, our way of thinking, and our self-perception. Piotrkowska made us feel *"safely anchored to familiarity, well-known to us and therefore, so dear, which let us feel 'at home' within the safety given to us thanks to a place of which we are a "glossa," a digression, and a point of reference; [this] place to us is an essence of our uniqueness; it is a place that we understand, and thanks to which we can express ourselves, since identification with a place is one of the elements of individuals' self-determination in the face of the magnitude and foreignness of the world"* (SENDEROWICZ 2004:172). Piotrkowska strengthened a group-bond and made our identification with the city possible; owing to Piotrkowska, we gained a sense of place and a sense of settlement, and we could learn how to admire a place. At home, many of us would listen to idealized tales of the street before the war: of the bustling street full of colors that everyone visited. At that time, the process of mythologization of Piotrkowska was established; it became the street that lived in our memories and not in the real world. And so

the urban myth as a source of emotional impulses was created, and it influenced the way of life of my generation powerfully.

4. Transformations related to the collapse of socialism caused changes in the principles organizing different spheres of life, including the economy's functioning. As the market economy was reinforced, and due to altered trade exchange with the countries of the people's democracy, the textile industry of Lodz falls apart. It is the end of the age of Lodz as a city of industry – factories are shut down, and employees lose their jobs – and so the myth of the workman's Lodz is over. Lodz loses its stable and distinct occupational structure, and factories – firm model of the urban space of the 19th century and visible evidence of the industrial city's power – are sentenced for destruction. Abandoned, lacking any conservatory, security, or adaptive pursuit, they soon became places deprived of "the breath of life," and many of them till now discourage a passer-by due to broken windows and walls.

Local authorities of that time made an attempt to create a city image based on the idea of Lodz as a "one-street city." It was then that Piotrkowska was embellished and, in consequence, for a short time her paramount position grew even stronger. Piotrkowska got a new sidewalk and stylish street-lamps; moreover, renovated facades of tenement-houses were illuminated, vehicular traffic was prohibited, and the whole street was turned into a promenade; restaurants, cafés, and pubs were opened, and now in the high season you can sit in tea-gardens; what is more, the state-owned shops do not exist there anymore, and money-exchange offices, banks, round-the-clock shops, car showrooms, computer stores, and clothes shops with big shop-windows, and colorful neon-lights have taken over their place. Also, following the famous example of the Hollywood Walk of Fame, the Lodz Alley of Fame was created, and sculptures were arranged into the Great Citizens of Lodz Gallery that – together with the Memorial of Lodz Citizens at the Turn of the Millennium, i.e., plates with names built in a roadway in the central part of the street – are now marks of Piotrkowska. The street got a new informative layout that influences her aesthetic and semantic value. Since 1992, the Lodz holiday (which is becoming more and more famous in Poland), the Techno parade (given up in 2003), New Year's Eve parties, happenings, artistic installations, juvenilia, marches, fairs, and feasts have been organized in Piotrkowska. For example, Thread Day was organized (and at that time a gigantic colorful spider web was hung over the street); for two days the street was turned into a sandy beach, with boats

Piotrkowska Street.
Photo by G. E. Karpińska,
2008.

and a pier, and in the middle of the summer (on the occasion of the Ice Holiday) within 48 hours, a three-story tall ice pyramid was built and it would not melt for six long hours (and contrasted with the eclectic image of the street).

The whole effort resulted in a new époque, both for the city and the street. New times and new local authorities brought life back to Piotrkowska: crowds of young and old citizens and tourists would stroll along the street on week-days and weekends, witnessing her metamorphosis and warming her up (so to say) with their breaths and body movements. People sat in pubs, restaurants, cafeterias and pizzerias which were (finally) situated where they belonged, that is, on the main commercial street; people walked along the street where they could meet and experience everything: they could take a stroll on the sandy beach, touch the ice pyramid, see the colorful spider web, have some beer in one of the tea-gardens, travel a long journey on a plane, ride the Ferris wheel, sit on the bench beside Julian Tuwim or at the piano with Arthur Rubinstein, or at the same table with the creators of industrial Lodz: Izrael Poznanski, Hen-ryk Grohman, and Karol Scheibler. As befits a true city center, Piotrkowska Street became a fascinating and attractive place for young and old people to meet, the place of hubbub where one could experience a certain thrill produced by the intensity of the crowd of people who realized their various passions and interests in that space, while enjoying their aesthetic activities and con-sumption as well. Piotrkowska once again became the city promenade (cf. KARPIŃSKA 1995). The street attracted visitors from all over Poland, espe-cially citizens of Warsaw who came to Lodz on Friday or Saturday evening in order to enjoy themselves in one of the clubs in Piotrkowska. Local authorities, designers, and city architects – with (a little) help from the citizens and tour-ists – made every effort to change the pre-war image of the street (captured in paintings) as the location for restaurants and cafés where owners of great fortunes had spent their time, and create the new notion of Lodz as a city that absorbs fresh trends and fashions, that is dynamic and open to the world. In other words, another myth was brought into existence and fostered in order to serve citizens as a reference point to imagine their future and the future of their city; a myth that should be a source of pride and contentment with the city and with the street. Citizens of Lodz and visitors created an image of Lodz as a city of fun and entertainment, filled with ludic spaces, and Piotrkowska – with all the restaurants, clubs, pubs, and discos – confirmed the notion. And at that time, the street earned another dimension: it began to be perceived as a space of consumption where people could satisfy their hedonistic needs.

Piotrkowska Street: the founders of industrial Łódź: K. Scheibler, H. Grohman, I. K. Poznański. Photo by G. E. Karpińska, 2006.

Piotrkowska Street: Artur Rubinstein at the piano. Photo by G. E. Karpińska, 2006.

5. Today, the citizens of Lodz do not identify themselves with Piotrkowska Street. The street has lost characteristics and functions of the city's heart; it no longer bears signs of highly intensive economical and social activity of the citizens. It is no longer a place-as-a-whole, since the city was fragmentized; it is not perceived (as it used to be) as a city of industry and manufacture, or (as it was not long ago) as a city of amusement and entertainment. The city is now neglected and marginalized, partly because it has lost its former economical importance. Privileges of the main street as a place *"where one can go and return from* [...] *about which one dreams, and according to which one directs, in brief – orients oneself"* (BARTHES 1999:82) are taken over by different spaces in the city: first, by a shopping center, Lodz Gallery and, later, by a mall called Manufacture. The shopping and entertainment center Manufacture was opened in 2006. It was situated on the premises of a former factory complex owned by Izreal K. Poznanski, who was one of the Lodz textile potentates. On a twenty-seven hectare (66.7 acre) parcel thirteen historic post-factorial buildings of unplastered red brick were restored and completely rebuilt inside; now they host: the Museum of the Factory, the Modern Art Museum with (unique in Europe) a collection of 20th and 21st century art, *Cinema City* with fourteen cinema halls, a climbing wall, a bowling alley, children fun rooms, many restaurants, coffee shops, pubs, and a disco. In a newly constructed building, one can find a shopping gallery and, in the center of the whole complex, a three-hectare (7.4 acre) Market Square where galas, concerts, exhibitions, happenings, fashion shows, and outdoor parties take place. Entire design shares the intention of revitalizing actions popular in cities with an industrial past that aim at conservation of an urban atmosphere from the past in harmony with modern utilization of buildings. Manufacture has "taken away" from Piotrkowska Street the elements which made her conceivable, according to Manuel Castells, as a space of entertainment concentration, and of *"big city lights"* disposition. The whole thing is not only about restaurants, discos, and night clubs functioning but also, and perhaps mainly, about the issue of "sublimation of the city climate itself" attracting, thanks to a wide range of choices of consumption, leisure activities, and a prospect of surprises (CASTELLS 1982:235, 244). As shopping and entertainment centers have carefully planned scenery for the spectacle of a city's every-day life based on urban space organization standards (delimited streets, squares, sidewalks, street lamps, benches, fountains, exhibitions, greenery, parking lots, restaurants), and that all enables emotions which are evoked thanks to thoughtless wandering around the city and

The Manufacture. Photo by G. E. Karpińska, 2007.

rubbernecking. Moreover, these centers have techniques – which are brought to perfection – realizing the idea of consumption as a pleasant and amusing activity (air conditioning, light, tidiness, physical and emotional safety that lets you overcome the feeling of strangeness and intimidation, lack of beggars and homeless people). They want to be metaphors of the city center, and hence the terms: "center," "gallery," "temple," "cathedral." However, they are only a substitute for the center, its miniaturized copies, because they lack the attractiveness emerging from consolidation and intensity of interpersonal relations, from convergence of authentic values produced by many generations, and from the phenomenon of concentration of diversity which is characteristic of a city center (JARZĘBSKI 1999:418-423). Malls are private spaces, available to particular groups. Therefore, there is no chance of meeting with dissimilarity (for instance, homeless people or controversial events). As Marc Augé stresses, elimination (from shopping centers, among other urban locations) of danger and irritation – that are inseparable from the life in a city – goes hand in hand with rejection of all that is spontaneous or unexpected. Thus, all that has social, historical, and cultural meaning is replaced with experience generated artificially (AUGÉ 1997:100). Malls, by imitating the public sphere that is easy to

enter, join in creation of an illusionary image of the center's reality. This is one of the ways in which a city "turns its back on the center," and shopping and entertainment centers usurp the rightful position of the center (i.e, as sociologists say, we are witnessing the peripherization of a center, and centralization of periphery that result in the change of the urban space perennial cultural code) (JAŁOWIECKI 2005:33).

The social life of the city alternates as well – the old crowd that used to flood main streets and squares now disperses. In Lodz, people do not spend their free time, as they used to, in the center (i.e., on Piotrkowska Street). Instead, they visit various shopping centers, the shopping and entertainment center Manufacture, in particular. They are seduced by the colorful and attractive spectacle of Manufacture, which offers a new, safe, and cleaner version of Piotrkowska Street, which now faces progressive degradation and is becoming unable to meet social expectations. Manufacture and Lodz Gallery now attract crowds of pilgrims, and Piotrkowska is becoming empty on weekends.

Aleksander Wallis wrote that a cultural area plays the right role in the life of a community *"only if the community can use it freely, intensively, and systematically. In no other conditions can the area serve as a place and catalyst to conduct vital cultural processes. From this perspective, the cultural area can be at a stage of development, stabilization, or decline"* (WALLIS 1979:16-17). In what sense do the remarks refer to contemporary Lodz and its center?

Nowadays, when I say "I am going to the city," it means "I am going to one of the city malls" (i.e., to Manufacture or Lodz Gallery). Manufacture became an attraction for visitors to Lodz, one that you have to see and revisit every time you come to the city. Piotrkowska was erased from the memory of the people who experienced its hospitality, including those who came here to spend a pleasant evening or to have a meal and some beer five years ago. The street is no longer a popular place to meet, nor a place where citizens express the urban "we." Cultural life has abandoned Piotrkowska, which is not attractive anymore. The street stimulates negative reactions of citizens (such as aversion or objection) due to its filthiness and negligence; people do not like second-hand and junk shops, empty shop-windows, and street peddlers selling cheap bras and panties made in China right from cardboard boxes. Local authorities' incompetent plans to restore the splendor of the street did not earn the citizens' approval.

Today Manufacture is the place that concentrates an important part of the common history of the city and community symbols referring to the biography

The Manufacture.
Photo by G. E. Karpińska, 2006–2008.

of Lodz, and at the same time being a reference point for individual and collective identifications are gathered there; just to name few of these symbols: neatly cleaned façades of a spinning factory, a weaving plant, and a power station and, in addition, spaces that draw the urban public and unite memories of the past. On one hand, renovated walls correspond with the industrial past of the city and, on the other hand, people ascribe new meanings to the walls, supplying them with another semantic level and a new worth (not only when it comes to architecture, but also the local history) due to the introduction of new functions to the factorial spaces. Moreover, in the post-factorial complex of Manufacture a new spatial reality is created, designed not only for

leisure activities, but also arranged (thanks to cultural events organized there to promote various facts connected with painting, sculpture, theatre, music, dance, happenings, photography, and film) as a place of art, open to the latest ideas, trends, and staging conceptions. All these attractions prevent the new city center from becoming a heritage park for tourists where the past predominates over the future and where people come in order to see relics of the past, and not events of today (cf. WALLIS 1979:15). The place attracts mainly young people who do the shopping, watch a colorful show drinking beer and eating pizza in renovated post-factorial settings, and become active participants of the artistic sphere. Thus, Manufacture concentrates cultural practices of the urban community (i.e., undergoes the processes of culturalization), and, according to Aleksander Wallis, that is the constitutive feature of a cultural area. It means that a post-industrial space, until recently considered as "non-cultural," reached the status of a cultural area. Unfortunately, the area is turned backwards from the city, since it is not connected to any of its parts, including the nearby Piotrkowska Street.

6. Today, Lodz is a city without a fixed identity and without a permanent center. In order to gain distinctness a city needs aesthetics that are both immersed in cultural roots and created by modern stylistics and symbolism that offer new formal and aesthetic qualities. This kind of strategy is enclosed in a project aiming at the creation of a new city center around the railway station, Factorial Lodz, in a ninety-hectare (222.4 acre) parcel where today we have a devastated hundred-year-old power station, and the remains of a destroyed factory. According to these plans, the Cultural Center of World Art, confronting the latest ideas and trends, a festival and congress hall for four thousand people for the purposes of Lodz festivals – specially, Camerimage and the Dialogue of Four Cultures Festival – hotels, galleries, a Sound Theatre, a Museum of Technology, shops, and restaurants (among other facilities) will be located near a newly-created Factory Square. Realization of the above project will be another large step towards the renaissance of the city of Lodz and the formation of its identity. Thanks to the new center, the city has an opportunity to enter a new era and to gain a new face; by shifting to culture and art, it can become a cultural and artistic center, stimulating other cities in Poland. The project changes the way of thinking about the city and about ways of building its identity. The city will gain its character neither by building something totally from the beginning, nor by saving what has been lost. The former city

of textile industry has an opportunity to become a city of cultural services and a tourist attraction selling the Lodz of the 19th century as well as postindustrial because the city has huge post-factorial complexes of a scale which you find nowhere in Europe.

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THE PROJECT ZLÍN
Everyday life in a materialized utopia

Barbora Vacková, Lucie Galčanová [1]

Abstract: ***This article is based on a contribution to the "Město – mýtus – identita" (City – Myth – Identity) conference. In it we attempt to consider Baťa and Zlín as a specific kind of myth which is still alive within our cultural milieu. In the text which follows we will deal with one chapter from the overall story of Zlín: with the forms of worker housing, the original assumptions around its construction and its life in everyday currency (based on in-depth interviews with the residents). With this analytical look at this unique phenomenon we wish to peer under one layer of the Zlín myth.***

Keywords: ***Zlín, Baťa, modernity, myth, ideology, utopia, housing, family house.***

The Zlín of the Baťa[2] family is without doubt one of the most interesting projects to have occurred in the modern history of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic and also had considerable significance abroad.[3] It was built during the First Republic as a model town – it reflected contemporary thinking on the business ethos and quality of life which a modern town and its hinterland should provide. From the perspective of today's social science researcher Zlín is therefore from one point of view a kind of "preserve" of modernity: the purpose behind the construction of the town and its buildings is well known

and researchable. This "preservation" can serve as good comparative material for researching everyday life in the Zlín of today, which on the one hand refers frequently and with pride to its past, but on the other hand is trying, more or less successfully, to escape from the stereotype of an industrial town.

The second reason why we take Zlín to be a suitable environment for the study of these changes is the particular form of housing which Baťa provided for his employees. Family housing in Zlín, and then later in other towns, was provided in the form of standardized family houses. By historical coincidence it turned out that these houses, originally conceived as temporary dwellings to be replaced after thirty years or so to meet new living standards, continue to serve their inhabitants to the present day. The inhabitants of these standardized houses designed seventy years ago, with a view to the fastest possible construction and lowest level of costs, as minimal housing (a very topical issue in its day), are today "dealing" with these building techniques in seeking to achieve their own ideas of quality modern living. In these dealings are reflected the needs of individuals and families, shaped by a modern lifestyle, with its typical individualization and rhythm (influenced by technological progress and the diversity of social life), which is very different from the day-to-day habits of their grandparents' generation. So while in the first part we deal with the initial circumstances and starting point of these family houses, in the second we are concerned mainly with the topic of the *individualization of historical standardized housing by its present users*. In other words we are asking how the inhabitants of these typified housing developments are rebuilding them and what is their reasoning? In what directions are the inhabitants developing their homes while the basic inner dispositions and technologies of the houses are almost the same? How does the Baťa house function at the present time?

The myth of Zlín

Present-day Zlín came into being as a project on which leading architects and urbanists[4] worked and which was dictated by the interests and aims of the Baťa company. The plans of the town as a whole and the design and building techniques of the individual buildings reflected the Baťa work and life ethos and philosophy. The rapidity with which the town grew, together with its business success, which allowed the company to expand throughout the world,

supported the growth of the significant myth of First Czechoslovak Republic which "Baťa Zlín" undoubtedly was and is. In this context, let us mention the Barthian myth, which has its own characteristics. In this sense a myth is a speech which "has in fact a double function: it points out and it notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us." (Barthes in SONTAG 2000: 102)[5]. Myth is an instrument of naturalization of our social world. It legitimizes social inequalities and status quo. It is not a speech which speaks about reality directly. Its aim is not to capture reality objectively. The main characteristic of myth is that it "deforms" (ibid: 108) – it highlights some elements and suppresses others, but it covers nothing up and hides nothing. The myth of "Baťa Zlín" tells of the hard work, decency and appropriateness of the capitalist democratic system, of the figure of a decent entrepreneur and of the moral significance of labor. It positively does not hide the fact that the main policy aim of the company was profit, the development of a loyal workforce[6] and the overall disciplining of the town and its inhabitants. Of course the ethics of the capitalist method of manufacture is an alibi for disciplining. From the point of view of the myth it is not important who Baťa *really* was, how the people employed in his company *really* lived, and what were the *real* motives for his activities. On the contrary, Baťa's fate and the history of its enterprise became a symbol of the prosperity and success of interwar Czechoslovakia.

The totalitarian act of renaming the town confirms the strength of this *speech on success*: for 40 years (from 1949 till 1990) Zlín became Gottwaldov. The town, whose name was linked to the success of the young Czechoslovakia, was changed into a town whose name was meant to remind people of the new, communist Czechoslovakia. For this reason also the originally value-neutral name of Zlín, which gained its connotations through historical events, had to be replaced with the clear, unambiguous "Gottwaldov." The myth about capitalist success was to be replaced by a myth about a president from the working class[7].

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4   We should mention at the very least Jan Kotěra, František Lydie Gahura and Vladimír Karlík.

5   In his interpretation of myth Barthes refers to the concept of sign – the signifier – the signified (Barthes 2004). By analogy it creates a second (metalinguistic) level of significance for its own mythical discourse: signification – form – concept. In our case the form is Baťa Zlín and its history, the concept is the economic success and way of life which the factory, around which the town formed, represents.

6   In respect of the Zlín concept Novák speaks thus of worker housing: "A no less important fact which supported further efforts to secure better housing for the workers was that a satisfied worker who values the boss's efforts to provide him with a better living standard is more restrained in his desire for social reform." (NOVÁK 2008: 260)

7   Klement Gottwald (1896–1953) was a politician, leader of The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. After the February coup d'état he was elected the first communist President of Czechoslovakia.

The Zlín utopia

There is often talk of utopia in relation to the town of Zlín.[8] Even we have not avoided this designation in the title of this section. But we speak deliberately of a materialized utopia, by means of which we want to capture an important dimension of the whole Zlín undertaking, and that is the successful (albeit short-lived) attempt to achieve it. We can characterize utopia as a knowledge[9] type through its attempt to know society, understand its functioning as a unit and in particular in its attempt to propose an ideal form of social organization. A further sign is that in some of their forms utopias assume that the social life of society can be influenced by the material form of its environment. In other words an ideal society needs an ideal town. And finally, utopian knowledge to a large extent is emancipatory – it aspires to change society in the sense of improving its shortcomings. Nor was Baťa a stranger to all of this.

On the other hand one must realize that to talk of Zlín as a utopia is problematic. If we refer to Mannheim's concept of utopia, we cannot avoid the duality of utopia and ideology, which is key to understanding these types of knowledge. Put simply, Mannheim (1991) characterizes utopian consciousness as typical of that social group which has an interest in a change in the status quo of society, and by contrast ideology as the consciousness of the group which is satisfied with the current social arrangements.[10] A myth in Roland Barthes' conception is an ideological speech, not a utopian one. Without doubt Baťa tried to change the social reality and living conditions of his factory workers, but on the other hand he did not stand up against the underlying social order, indeed quite the opposite. This is the paradox which encounters anyone who attempts to achieve his plans for an ideal society. This is also analyzed by David Harvey (2000) in his book *Spaces of Hope*, in which he devotes one chapter to an analysis of various kinds of utopian consciousness and to attempts

to achieve utopia. In order for visions of society to be successfully achieved, many compromises are necessary which result from clashes with the everyday practice of social reality. The result of this is the "materializations of spatial utopias" (Harvey 2000: 164) which often lose much of their original emancipatory potential. The second paradox comes from the basis of Mannheim's concept: by being achieved the utopian nature of knowledge is lost, because the aim has been realized. By contrast it can happen that original utopian thoughts become ideological, as victims of historical changes and the social context in which they occur. In the end Baťa's actions must be considered more ideological. At the same time this ideology was supported by emergent speech, which we have called the *Zlín myth*.

Of course it must be admitted that Baťa and his company supported the discourse of utopia or more precisely the newly established ideal town. We can track this support at the level of practice and developed theory. As far as practice is concerned, it is clear that Baťa and his construction department built an entirely new town. The clearing of whole blocks of flats and streets in the original historic centre of old Zlín was accompanied by slogans on the walls declaring *We are building a new Zlín, Demolishing the old century*, while an entirely new town centre began to be built, focussed on the main entrance to the factory and conceived as a large square with the characteristic name "Labor Square." The factory became a (non-public) town centre. At the same time developments of model houses grew up for worker housing and of more sumptuous houses for managers of the town and the factory, all linked by the concept of a garden city.[11]

The employees and associates in the design and construction departments of the Baťa company (architects Gahura, Gočár, Voženílek and others) were concerned at the theoretical level with the concept of an industrial town. They were led to this particularly by requirements arising from the development and construction of the company's satellite towns. Novák (2008) mentions that in 1937 a three-volume publication, never published, was ready for print, entitled *The Ideal Industrial Town of the Future*. During this work there arose in the Zlín studios several designs for an ideal town, of which the best known is probably Gočár's design for an *Ideal Industrial Town for 10 000 inhabitants*.

His era is known as the time of Stalinism, political persecutions and encroachment on the democracy and freedom.

[8]   For example the work by A. Steinführer *Stadt und Utopie: Das Experiment Zlín 1920–1938* (STEINFÜHRER 2002). Another example is the *Utopie moderny: Zlín (Utopia of Modernity: Zlín)* symposium which took place in Zlín in 2009.

[9]   Karl Mannheim speaks of utopia as a characteristic form of knowledge and we understand it in the same way (MANNHEIM 1991).

[10]   By their nature these types of knowledge are value-based and cannot be objective: while utopians are unable to evaluate anything in social reality positively, ideologues are unable to perceive their defects, which would disturb their distorted picture.

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[11]   One should not forget that Howard's original idea for a Garden City had within it very strong emancipatory potential: his primary concern was to improve the living conditions of workers and their families. (e.g. HOWARD 1902)

The family house and the family in Baťa Zlín

In these concepts of the ideal town and in the actual construction great emphasis was placed on the shape of housing for company employees[12]. This emphasis was linked to the significance which Baťa placed on family life. For him the family functioned as a metaphor for a good working collective in the workshop (with the workshop boss as head of this close-knit working family). Architect Gahura recalled Baťa's creed like this: "An industrial worker is a servant when at work, so he needs the kind of private life where he can feel that he is king of his own castle." (Gahura 1944 in HORŇÁKOVÁ 2006: 35). This was a matter of securing for factory workers the best possible living conditions and quiet surroundings for family life; among other reasons, because a satisfied employee is a good employee. It was to this requirement that the kind of family housing and the conceptual internal layout and connection to the garden were directed. Baťa and his associates regarded a family house as the only suitable form of accommodation for a working family, guaranteeing an appropriate standard of living: "Everyone, if he does not live in a large city, should have a house to provide healthy living conditions, in accordance with today's living standards. This should be a house which can be built based on his annual income. At the moment we build houses to last 500 years which have throttled and suffocated future generations in the same way that houses built by our ancestors suffocate us. It is natural that a house built to last 500 years costs so much that a person could not earn enough in even over 20 years. And that is why the greater part of the nation lives out its best years, and the time when they are raising their children, living in hovels." (BAŤA: 1990: 113; speech dated 1931). This condition was met by the highest levels of standardization and rationalization when building the housing developments. There is of course no doubt that in quality terms the Baťa housing exceeded manifold the experience of his workers with other forms of their present housing.

A house was of course to be above all a place where a company employee would have the chance to recuperate and relax. This relaxation was linked to the so-called traditional view of the family, where the woman was a housewife and took care of the household and children, with responsibility for their private living space. The schoolgirls in his schools and unmarried workers in the factory were considered by Baťa mainly as future wives of his employees:

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[12]   Emphasis on the form of housing is key in classical utopias.

"But the upbringing of girls will follow a different course [from that of boys]. We must improve our cooking schools, since that is a science, the knowledge of which supports good health, while ignorance of it is damaging. We must give them greater opportunities to learn to sew clothing, to raise children, to manage a household. So far men cannot even imagine how far a reasonable and feminine housewifely spirit can contribute, to the point that women with their creative thinking are a complement to their men in good housekeeping. They should become the most sought-after wives for our young men for their practical education, for their moral sense, as well as for their social skills, and of course for their financial worth." (BAŤA 1990: 56). The role of women in the Baťa system was above all to create a suitable home environment. The equipment of a house was to provide suitable help in this endeavor. One of the main creators of the whole Zlín housing concept, the architect Gahura, put it this way when considering the future of housing: "The rationalization of domestic economy and complete equipping of the house with (labor-saving) aids will allow women to devote themselves more to their children and their other duties and to enrich their lives with ethical and aesthetic values. The use of free time for their own acquisition of such values. This is an economic, social and cultural prerequisite." (Gahura 1933 in HORŇÁKOVÁ 2006: 9–11). As the Swedish anthropologist Orvar Löfgren points out, this moral appeal calling for the opposition of the "rational and disciplined male operating in the public sphere" and "a loving wife and supportive home" was the basis for a (bourgeois) ideology of values of working life and the idea itself was driven by the effort to discipline the potentially dangerous working masses: "If only the working classes could be domesticated, if only their unrest and ambitions could be turned inwards, towards the home and family, many problems would be solved." (LÖFGREN 2007: 149)

So all Baťa houses were equipped with modern kitchens (with a sink and draining board, built-in cupboards, stove and worktop) and bathrooms (enamel bath, sink, tiled heating stove, toilet), living room (at least 15 square meters) and at least one bedroom with a built-in wardrobe (at least 13 square meters for parents, at least 11 square meters for children). They were not standardized just from the point of view of materials and construction techniques, but also in terms of their internal fittings. Musil (2003: 202 –203) includes the following minimum requirements to be met by each house:

"Layout requirements: Usable area of the dwelling to be at least 80 square meters; two floors above ground, the upper floor serving only for sleeping

4-apartment house.

Semi-detached house.

accommodation; [...] kitchen min. 6 square meters, with access from the corridor; bathroom, WC and larder of minimum size; in the basement a laundry, drying area for fuel; semi-detached houses with three rooms; entrances in semi-detached houses to be on opposite sides; detached houses with four or five rooms, with possibly a garage and terrace." It is clear from this that the social structure of town society was already reflected in the planned construction ("detached houses for senior managers"). At the same time there is emphasis on the need for individual private housing, for absolute privacy ("entrances in semi-detached houses to be on opposite sides"). It is exactly for this reason that the semi-detached house was chosen as the ideal type of housing. Gahura explained this choice in these words: "The choice was made of a house with two apartments, which allowed individual independent access to the apartments and had its own small garden, accessed by its own path directly from the street. This was to allow completely independent surrounds for the garden and the house, to be used in full only by one family. This kind of semi-detached house acknowledged the right of the employee to free individual development not only of a family life, but also of the employee's own personality." (Gahura 1944 in HORŇÁKOVÁ 2006: 35). For the same reason a semi-detached house

was conceived as housing using one half of a house: thus the families would not be living one above the other. On the contrary their status within the house was theoretically completely equal.

An integral part of Baťa housing was a garden. Originally the gardens were intended as agricultural plots for those inhabitants who came mainly from the countryside and were used to farm work. But with the growth of the factory this idea soon foundered: First, building had to be condensed in order to meet the demand for housing, and there was insufficient space for gardens used in this way. Secondly, it was shown that in the concept of a house as a space for recuperation, it was appropriate to use the garden only for relaxation. The gardens were maintained by the municipality, which was responsible for their upkeep and appearance, any form of subsistence farming (growing vegetables or keeping small animals) was not permitted. Over time three basic house types developed in Zlín for workers at the factory. The first two of these (semi-detached and four-apartment houses) can be designated blue-collar housing, detached houses as mentioned earlier were allocated to management employees, to the families of the doctors at the Baťa hospital and so on. The 4-apartment houses, as the name implies, are houses with four apartments,

with a bathroom, small kitchen and a living room on the ground floor and one larger or two smaller bedrooms on the first floor. Semi-detached houses (two apartments in one house) have basically the same layout, with the rooms being somewhat more spacious.

Research history and methods used

From a methodological point of view our research was in part inspired by the so-called "Show us your home" approach developed by Jane M Jacobs' team for a project researching life in high-rise blocks in Glasgow's Red Road (the *Highrise Project*).[13] This approach is based on the direct contextualization of an interview (in Jacobs' case using a video recording) in the location the interviewees are discussing. " 'Show us your home' (SUYH) is a method of gathering information about people in, and in action with, their homes. It works as a data-gathering method in conjunction with standard format interviews but it was adopted as a way of rupturing the relatively static framing of the interview. Basically, the provisional notion was to think about asking residents to show us their homes as a mechanism for activating the socio-materiality of the home, the lived event of the home." (JACOBS, CAIRNS, STREBEL 2008). Our research used a voice recorder and documentary photographs. The "static" part of the interview took place in one of the rooms which the interviewees considered suitable for this kind of "event." A further, "dynamic" part then took place as a tour of the house, its different rooms or spaces, a description of everyday activities which occur in them and their rough distribution in time, the people who use them and most of all, commentary on changes they have already made or are planning to make. It is an epistemological difficulty of research set up in this way that we capture practices using narratives about them – narratives which are always selective or partial, but they allow us "to get closer to people's lived experience" (MILLER and GLASSNER 1997: 103) using the technique of the open-ended interview. Therefore only the outline structure of the interview was set out in advance, the thematic areas coming from the definition of the underlying phenomenon: the individualization of historical standardized housing by its current occupants, to which the research is addressed and also to the interdisciplinarity which stood at the start of the research (the two interviewers are sociologists, the research was initiated by an architect). In our

opinion this form of research enables active participation of the interviewee, gives him/her space to input his/her own relevant subjects (PATTON 1990). In spite of this open form of interview we kept to a few basic lines mapping the history of life in the building, based on these research questions: 1. The story of their purchase, or acquisition, of the house and their moving in. 2. The circumstances around any reconstruction or more minor changes. 3. Day-to-day practices set in specific spaces of the house and performed by members of the household. 4. The street, the neighborhood and the district. 5. The town of Zlín and the use they make of other parts of it. Particularly for the third point, placing the interview directly into the house of the interviewees once more proved of great worth. Everyday practices taking place "at home" are often "invisible," are taken for granted.

To obtain suitable interviewees (both male and female) both personal contacts (one of the researchers currently lives in Zlín) use was therefore made of her gatekeeper position for the chosen locations and later we linked in with a technique based on the use of social networks – snowball sampling. The total number of interviews conducted in houses in the former worker districts of Zálešná, Podvesná and Letná was 10, with a further 2 detailing interviews being conducted outside.[14] The research also included the study of documents and two detailed interviews with experts (on the history and present day of the town of Zlín). All interviews took place in 2008, all participants signing an Informed Consent Form.

The City Transformation

For the current occupiers of the houses the town is an important context for their narratives. They often speak of their house in connection with the street (for any changes it is of great importance how the house is situated with respect to other buildings in the surrounding area and in relation to the road), and of the town as a whole, when they compare it with other kinds of houses in other districts. For a modern functionalist town regularity, the repetition of a certain element and also the frequency which reinforced the effect of this repetition were all characteristic. We can see this both in the urbanistic plan of the town and in the rhythm of its social life, which as late as the early 1990s was phased in line with the life of the factory. As Jan Sedlák mentions, typical

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[13]   See the project website: http://www.ace.ed.ac.uk/highrise/.

[14]   As of 1/30/.2009

Labor Square.

of the construction was "a thorough standardization and normalization, excellent organization of construction work and specialization of construction workers. With justification therefore they spoke of Zlín architecture as more like manufacturing than building" (SEDLÁK 1991: 57). The regularity of the built-up area, the lines of houses, the standardization of buildings was also the subject of criticism; on many photographs the built-up area is depicted as being organized into military lines, called a "modern flood" (see HONZÍK 1947 in SEDLÁK 1991). But as Rostislav Švácha points out, this does not fully apply to the Zlín area of family houses. Here there appear both the themes of regularity and repetition, but also a conscious breaking-up of this unity: "This disquiet model shows the continual efforts of the designers not to succumb a priori to the geometric outline, but to take account at each placement of a new building of the whole of its spatial and natural framework; these lines and individual buildings today spread out into all sorts of oblique directions. With its sympathetic irregularity it evokes the organically overgrown ground plans of villages, ancient cultural grounds and age-old towns." (ŠVÁCHA 1995:6).

Let us however leave these birds' eye reflections on the town and look at how it appears, seen from below. Zlín was built as a town, but it was far from the atmosphere of an organically grown town, even if according to Švácha it has its organic moments in some respects. In the theory of towns we find as the main characteristic of this social space a diversity, a variety of forms, groups, individuals and their mutual relationships (see for example ŠULÉŘOVÁ 2006). The prerequisite for such an urban space is its slow growth and layering. The speed and relative homogeneity, the "integral concept of the industrial town" brought into being as a "project" also leads to questions about whether Zlín is a "town." Alena Kubová-Gauché quotes an unknown French architect who took part in a visit to Zlín in the 1930s: "Zlín is built on human will. Zlín is simple, without any kind of error. [...] Now all they have to do is to turn Zlín into a town." (KUBOVÁ-GAUCHÉ 2002: 59). Zlín was not intended to be a town of variety; it was to be a town of modernity; homogeneity and clarity of purpose were part of its myth, the narrative of the industrial town. Some aspects of the "old town" had no place in it. Rostislav Švácha designates Zlín, thanks to this selective impact of its urbanism as a town where it is possible to find the "modern without the avant-garde": "Let's try to image members of the artistic avant-garde hanging around on Zlín's Labor Square or on the open space in front of the Baťa monument. [...] In the open spaces of Baťa Zlín, where everyone is hurrying along with his clearly defined work function, that kind of night-time avant-garde waster would stick out painfully like a sore thumb." (ŠVÁCHA 1995: 6) So we can say that within itself the town connects the two most significant features of (organized) modernity (WAGNER 1994) – its myth is perforce emancipatory; it offers a vision, a future, growth (but not however in the sense of a fundamental transformation of the social order). Its second also typically modern feature is then the creation of discipline, its visibility and control.

This regularity of the town's urbanism was however conditioned by the prerequisite social organization which was tied to the rhythm of the factory. In photographs of the period we often see crowds of workers bound for or from the factory complex or resting on the lawns[15]. This overspill of people in the spaces of the town and beyond it was still visible at the beginning of the 1990s, not long before the factory was closed down, as is illustrated by the following reminiscence: *"Actually it isn't any more the steel city* [16] *as it used to be. Me,*

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15 See as an example http://www.staryzlin.cz/.

16 This quotation probably refer to the famous novel *The Begum's Fortune* (French original: *Les*

I was goin' to work still in '88 through a live factory that was pourin' out at 2 pm everyday, simply through the gates when you went through, so big crowds, yeah. We used to go in '91 to "Aisy," in '92 to "Aisy," ye know it's a pub in the middle of the city, it's got a terrace and 10 p.m., there's my mate, takin'-off, fireworks, so we went out to the terrace, all the folks had a glass in the hand, and it was 10 past 10 and the fireworks started and from that bus park 50 buses pulled out. Yeah 'cause it was end of shift and the buses was flooded, so you was standin' with that glass and the working class was leavin', yeah (with a smile)." He used the word *firework* to describe the atmosphere of the end of the shift, when so many people were leaving the factory. Many of the workers commuted to the factory from other cities and villages in the region, so they used public transportation to get home. Nowadays the spectacle is different.

Let us complete this view (looking at the situation once more from somewhere above, aside from the action) with two more reminiscences. Those of their initial feelings after the arriving of a fifteen-year-old boy and girl at the factory and the town from the Vysočina highland region: *"Up in Vysočina we had some freedom, the kind of chores that some of the farmers' sons had, I didn't have any of those…. When I arrived in Zlín, at that boarding school, it was a bit like military service in a way, they kept an eye on us, in the room we had that, leader, mayor or whatever they called them then, who kept an eye on us, there was lights-out at night, and there was a roll-call before lights-out and so on. On Saturdays and Sundays, on Sundays we had to go on voluntary work parties…. I got used to it in the end, but when we first arrived from our villages at the age of fifteen, we were right twits."*

In this extract from a now pensioned-off employee of Svit *(post-1948 name of Baťa – Trans.)* who joined the factory just after the war, we can see the strong element of supervision, which he perceived from the position of a young future worker migrating for work from an area which at that time was dependent on agriculture. However another contemporary witness points out how strong an emancipatory charge it had for newly-arrived young people, however limiting it was: *"I really tried very hard, I wasn't going to go home. My dad had said to me, either you make a success of it there or you come home to herd the cows down to the brick factory…. I say, no I really must, I worked like a madwoman."* At another point, she makes the comment: *"We came here … those were runaways."* The

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Cinq cents millions de la Bégum). This title was published in Czech as *Steel City* and its author Jules Verne was/is very popular among young Czech readers.

Baťa myth worked on the principle of offering a future, hope and order. Within it, Zlín represented the chance of making money and a change in one's living standard, the gaining of experience; with its symbolic and economic power the factory drew hordes of migrant workers from many corners of Czechoslovakia.

However contemporary Zlín lost this magnetism as a consequence of the closure of the factory. Nowadays the city profiles itself as an administrative and university center; public life penetrates in the midst of the factory buildings and the city is a donator of huge constructions of buildings without a grain of the traditional brick aesthetics.

Contemporary reconstructions of Baťa family houses

American anthropologists Arnold and Graesch make the distinction between two kinds of investment which people make in upgrading their housing – the first is remodelling as a "complex, expensive, emotional, and fascinating process experienced by many homeowners. Major changes in home design may occur in response to family expansion or generational cycling, or perhaps major upgrades or modernization may be more closely related to 'keeping up' with trends and neighbors." The second is then beautification, that "encompasses upkeep rather than structural changes and includes fresh coats of paint, new furnishings, improved landscaping, and the like. Families of different backgrounds may have very different ideas about the degree to which such investments in their homes are needed and what forms they may take" (ARNOLD and GRAESCH 2002: 1-2). For the purposes of the present work it is mainly the first motive which is important; it relates more to the interaction between people and the material environment into which have been "imprinted" the cultural and social ideas and values of its builders. Reconstruction is also a long-term process; there is always something which is "*not quite done*," as Arnold and Graesch write, it is a process in which the builders are engaged not only financially and in terms of their time, but also emotionally; reconstruction can be seen in the context of building a home, a space for a present or planned family and its comfort: *"There are still lots of things to be finished here…It's like that, when it starts to get going, then you're pleased that you can take a rest from it, that's the way with any building, you are terribly tired, with all that sorting out and dealing with problems, I was taking pills, it got on top of me… here there are supposed to be some shelves, there's a wardrobe to go in upstairs, this door opening here is not finished yet."*
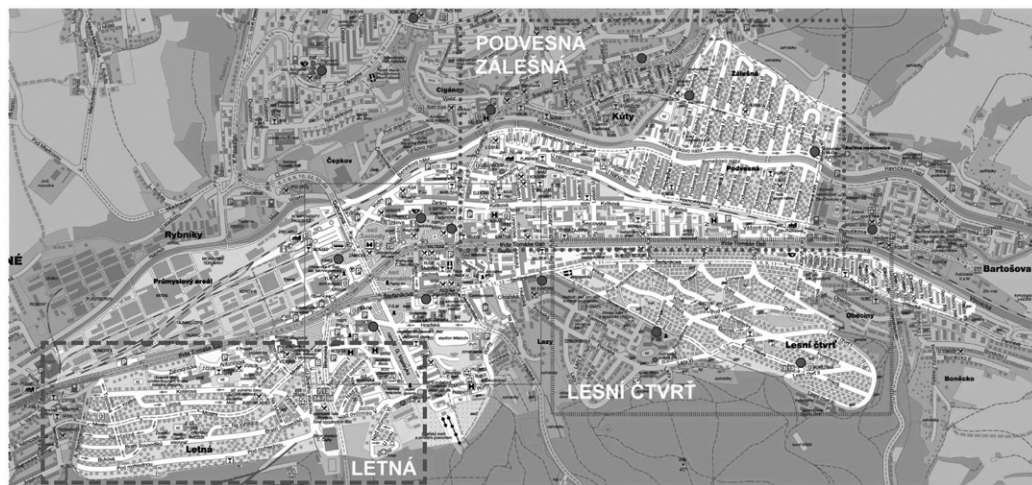
The boundaries of the urban heritage zone in Zlín.
Source: Town of Zlín, official website.[17]

In all the reconstruction (or remodelling) cases mentioned in the next part of this text, the houses concerned are located in the urban heritage zone, that is, in the area where the internal layout of houses can be changed, overall construction and insulation undertaken, but only if the exterior appearance is retained. To this end standardized extensions are available and each request to reconstruct is accompanied by relatively complicated negotiations between the builder and the town.[18] One important context for the realization of occupiers' ideas and the satisfaction of their needs is the formal "administrative" framework, which is formed mainly by the heritage preservation office for districts and buildings, which sets permitted dimensions and appearance for extensions, insulation options for houses and material to be used for cladding, windows, etc. So a significant player in the reconstruction process is therefore the "*authorities*" which in most interviews means the Town Hall, its Chief Architect's Office and the Building Department (which together with

the former approves any proposed reconstruction), and possibly the Culture Department (which has responsibility for the Program for the Regeneration of the Urban Heritage Zone, see Fig 4) and in conjunction with this, the National Heritage Office, which issues expert opinions on proposals.

The current owners of the houses, thanks to their progressive sale into private hands, make up an increasingly differentiated group of occupiers, who are distinguished on the one hand by the type of household in which they live, but also by their income and different lifestyles and values. At the present time living in the originally workers districts can be a relatively costly affair, with the prices of already reconstructed semi-detached houses reaching 4 million CZK. As one of our interviewees describes it, "*this semi is a kind of emergency measure within Zlín for living in the centre of town, with not far to go [to the center] and to have a bit of ground for these flowers*" saying that, originally, "*he wanted to live in a house on the edge of Zlín.*" This 35-year-old man talks of an emergency measure mainly because of the costly reconstruction into which he has invested some 2 million CZK. Another occupier who with his wife has owned a semi-detached house since 2000, summarized its condition before reconstruction in this very illustrative account: "*It was like this, there was just one gas heater for the whole building, more or less no kitchen, the bathroom sort of had tiles, but only just, well, it was just awful, you can't imagine how anyone could live in it, there was only hot water from a water heater, and the waste pipe hadn't been fixed in the kitchen, so that you could wash dishes in the sink. The kitchen floor was some sort of wood which had fallen in one place, it was creaking. When it was ripped out, they discovered there was a twenty-centimetre gap between the bath waste outlet and the main waste pipe, so water was everywhere.*" If we summarized the terms which interviewees, male and female, use to describe problems with living in these houses, they are mainly "*water*" and the linked "*rot*" and "*mould.*" and the "*chilliness*" and "*cold*" linked to the materials used. They mainly point out signs of decay: the house is getting old, changing. The walls are shifting slightly and are cracking. The building technique used is specific – brick walls normally of 30cm thickness (later increased to 45cm), plastered only on the inside[19] let in both winter cold and summer heat. Earlier cold was normal in other kinds of buildings as well; today however older residents think of their own recollections rather as unusual: "*There*

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17   Available on http://www.zlin.eu/upload.cs/0/03f5ce84_1_pamatkova_zona_zlin_hranice.jpg (cit. 21.2.2009).

18   For examples of permitted extensions for the Letná district see for example http://www.zlin.eu/page/37461.pristavby-ctvrtdomku-ve-ctvrti-letna-zlin/; for recommended changes to houses see the document issued by the Town Hall (NOVÁ 2006).

19   At one point they experimented with warm-air heating between the brick wall and a plastered inner wooden wall.

was no heating upstairs,[20] *so I remember that when it was frosty, the ice crystals would sparkle on the walls (laughs) and the spoons would freeze in our tea*." (Interviewer: "So it was actually freezing indoors?") "*Indoors, yes. We would make up hot-water bottles and winter socks, something to pop on our heads, a cap, and went to bed…*" The red brick material is an important visual element of the town, the streets and the houses. But it is also the thing that limits and determines the way of life in the house and the scope for modifications.

The size of the internal spaces of a house can also be perceived as giving rise to "cosiness." One example could be the narrative of a student, whose relationship to renting in one of the four-apartment houses can best be described with the word "tender": "*No one has looked after the house much for a long time, so the hot water doesn't work in the kitchen […] blocked pipe or something. But other than that – it's made up for in summer by the garden – and well, the house as a whole. It has its own charm.*" The specific circumstances of the building of the house and its appearance can also be used to justify satisfaction with the original layout of the accommodation: "*Well, the house is smart. […]I think these houses are pretty smart on the whole. There is not much space, but actually when you live here, you find you do not really need that much space. There is enough room here. That the bathroom is so small doesn't really matter, and the kitchen – well, it's enough. And that it's well put together.*"

Let us now look at specific examples that are the subject of the foregoing narratives, which also serve to legitimize the changes taking place in the houses. We have focussed on certain elements of the house which prove to be significant places in everyday use.

Stairs
Stairs are the place which is at the very heart of the house. Their function is purely connective, they are not used for people to live in; they are intended for movement "*up*" and "*down.*" The stairs are that part of the house which is most resistant to changes and withstands them best. At first glance they most resemble a ladder. They divide the house into two defined parts, and to a large degree determine their use. The stairs in the house can be perceived as an obstacle to be overcome on a daily basis, which affects the everyday practices of the occupants "*…at home, when I go downstairs, I go down to the bathroom and then,*

because I am still asleep, I wake up in the bathroom and want to get dressed and I go upstairs but then there, where the windows are, then I go back to the bathroom, take my things back down to the bathroom, where I get dressed […] then that is when the stairs bother me, because if I forget something, then I have to go back upstairs and then come down again." In view of the size or, more exactly, the smallness of the bathroom and the lower room of the four-apartment house this young woman living on her own maintains the habit of keeping her clothes in the upper part of the house in the bedroom, gathering her clothes in the lower part of the house during the week and generally laundering them with other things at the end of the week and putting them away again "*upstairs.*" The practicality of building separate apartments on two floors was, as we have mentioned, driven mainly by the effort to create two identical living units, the "upstairs" and "downstairs" being maintained within one apartment and not being the factor that differentiates apartments.[21]

The main feature of the stairs emphasized by the occupants is their dangerousness. "*I simply do not understand how she (the previous occupant) could carry the baby downstairs here – I am always afraid that when it starts toddling, that – that it might fall down these stairs or something – I really don't know – I was saying – that I would put in a fireman's slide here- it is the only thing I am afraid of really – because when you have children – it is a bit frightening – but I don't know – because we would want to make a children's room out of the study.*" As this extract from an interview with a 30-year-old woman shows, one has to deal mainly with its steepness and the banister, which is not suitable for small children. In some of the layouts, the stairs form a dangerous place – an open hole – at the upper end. If the occupants are older or ill, the stairs mean that they do not use the upper floor in practice, that they "*withdraw*" to the downstairs rooms. We met one elderly woman for whom the bedroom served as a storeroom to keep wreathes for several months before All Souls' Day, as a store for things she does not need too often, because it is too difficult and hazardous.[22] Another interviewee described the situation at

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[20]   The heater was in the bottom half of the house, with warm air let in to the upper floor through a ceiling vent. In addition, it was not possible to use the heating at night for reasons of safety.

[21]   In spite of the attempt at equality (indeed not so much equality as comparability) of the apartments, we find some features which are perceived as distinctive – not in relation to *upstairs/downstairs,* but linked to the relative positioning vis-a-vis the street, to the "*sunny side*" and to the points of the compass. A large part is also played by the size of the garden belonging to a particular apartment. This is not however even the result of the urban design of the surrounding area, as much as the aforementioned "use" and negotiation between neighbors.

[22]   This example does not however come from the research in Zlín, but from a visit to a standardized house in the town of Svit in Slovakia.

Stairs with rope.

Stairs with Wendy.

her parents, who live in a detached house: *"They had their bedroom upstairs because there it is simpler, being a detached house, it is better and they have an extension, so in essence they have two rooms downstairs, in one they have a bedroom, and in the other a room for their grandchildren when they come. So upstairs there are two rooms which are quite unusable. So they have furniture there, they clean, they heat it, air it, but no one lives up there and no one sleeps there."* Often it is the stairs which prevent changes to other parts of the house; in some types of house they go through the middle to separate the kitchen and the living room – two rooms which are often part of reconstruction.

Kitchen

The original kitchen was conceived as a workplace – mainly for women's work. It was intended for wives who would by their efforts create a domestic background for workers in the factory; their education within the Baťa system was aimed at this assumed role, since it was assumed that after marriage they would no longer be working outside the home. The image of the respectable working family was an integral part of the myth.[23] The justifications for changes to the kitchen are thus linked to a number of social changes which have taken place in Czech society since the time of Tomáš and Jan Antonín Baťa. Perhaps the most visible change is exactly the change in the position of the woman and the places in the home linked to her role. This does not mean that the kitchen has ceased to be a workplace; by all accounts it remains primarily a place for women's work, but it gains new significance within the house – we may say that it is re-integrated into the living room (in the same way, for example, as it was in traditional country buildings). The knocking through of the kitchen and living room, the two ground-floor rooms which are the same in the four-apartment and semi-detached houses, is brought about by the occupant's effort to increase

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[23] It is also interesting to follow how the change in this situation is reflected in occupiers' answers – in connection with the Letná district we heard "stories" about *"seamstresses,"* unmarried mothers living in the smallest houses: *"It was dreadfully hard work for next to nothing and these ladies, I'll call them ladies, OK? So in fact they did not hesitate to swear, because their life was so hard that they had no choice and that was the way they brought up their children. And those generations, they are still there. There, I can see how it has changed there, but two-thirds of the occupants are the originals, or their children"* and elsewhere *"There were these unmarried mothers, who had various men and a child with each of them and then stayed on living here, and then later left."* The narrative also contains an expression of the contemporary idea of the reproduction of social inequalities within the district, which our discussion partner mentioned in the context of talking about the problems she had with her neighbors at her previous house. In Barthian terminology these stories about seamstresses represent an evident countermyth.

Kitchen prior to reconstruction – semi-detached house.

Kitchen after reconstruction – four-apartment house.

living space ("*here [in a four-apartment house] there were a stove and a sink, but no worktop*"), but also by the demands of social life, which takes place in this altered place: "*It is pleasant for me, because most of my life takes place in the kitchen, just like for my grandmother in the semi. I just love it.*" An open space is created, its areas remain separate only in a symbolic manner. But in contrast to her grandmother this (50-year-old) woman stays at home to work, which she can do from home on her computer. The space which she uses every day is workroom, living room and kitchen – the various functions are defined as zones, rather than as rooms.[24]

Children's room

The need to provide or expand space for children is a further significant justification used by occupants in connection with reconstruction. "*Well I am looking forward to when we have that extension there; there will be a children's room, so all the toys and everything will go in there. The children, and when we have visitors, like a child, then they will not be going up and down the stairs dragging their pram and bed and can do that on their own here, and will not need so much help on the stairs.*" From the beginning the houses offered the option of creating two rooms "upstairs," one of which served as a children's bedroom. But the reminiscences of our witnesses contain no reference to a "children's room" as a separate place intended for their games, their privacy and personal development. In this respect the garden and the area surrounding the house were an important extension: "*Our children grew up on the street* [...] *I cannot imagine our children any other way, from very young. I had a small bed here as well, they would wake up early, I would put the pram out and would feed them, dress them, everything, then they just came home in the evening. The same with eating, when they were older, we ate outside, they simply were not at home.*" This lifestyle was significantly different from the current everyday practices of the occupants.

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24 However her daily program once more reveals a division of the house into "upstairs" and "downstairs." The working day starts at 6.30 a.m. by "coming downstairs" to the bathroom, with a cold shower – with daily activities taking place more or less in the lower part of the house (the upper floor contains the bedroom and the room of her son, who now lives independently).

The idea of "home" was a major part of the Baťa myth. "Home" was not only a place of privacy and child care, but was, like other aspects of life in the town, subject to supervision by the authorities: *"Mummy said that they came and took a look at how she looked after me, how she looked after the child. And if the house was clean [...] If the children had clean things and so on [...] they were disliked, people were afraid of them."* In reminiscences the vocabulary of the communist era, *"screening,"* is often linked to the supervision which the Baťa administration (the company Personnel Department) applied to workers' families. *"They would come from the Department, on a visit, into people's houses and inspect their accommodation, always asking: well, how are you getting on, are you saving, what have you bought recently, these were points [...]Those were plus points if they were considering promoting someone, if they were saving, buying things, doing something for their family and taking care of them, then if two people were up for a position, then it was about who had more of these points."*

Conclusion

In the first part of this article we presented myth and utopia side by side. Myth as a specific form of speech which has the character of constituting the world, justifies and naturalizes social rules. Myth gives the world the quality of naturalness. If we think of it in conjunction with utopia, which by contrast calls the existing order into doubt and points out its social origins, we can say that it is resi-ideological.

We have shown that Baťa Zlín can be considered under both categories – mythical and utopian. It seems that a story which has the function of a myth can also under certain circumstances support utopian endeavors and that in the historical vicissitudes of Czechoslovak society there thus arose the basis for a myth about the "Shoemaker who conquered the world" (ERDÉLY 1990). Just like any myth this narrative is of course also ideological (and has its "countermyth" (BARTHES 2004) mainly in the story of Baťa's collaboration – see footnote 2). Therefore, alongside the undoubted benefits in the shape of improved living standards, access to education and so on, we do not want to forget this emancipation had another side to it: that of firm discipline. As we pointed out, the specific socio-economic system was imprinted in the material site of the city and into its urban design – as a "materialization of spatial utopy" (in David Harvey's words).

The concept of worker housing is also part of this strategy: the joining together of emancipation and disciplination. We believe that in studying the current form of life in these houses we can contribute an ideologically unburdened look at the whole Zlín urban and social project. In the second part of our work we were therefore interested in how the present occupiers deal with the original intentions embodied in the materials and form of the houses in which they live. Our main focus was on the inhabitants' perceptions of the houses and their remodelling concerning three examples that occurred to be important to our interviewees and their everyday experience in Baťa houses: the stairs, the kitchen and the children's room. The overall text is thus linked by descriptions of current practices and everyday activities, the reminiscences of eyewitnesses concerning worker housing and life in a "materialized utopia." It shows us the ways in which people come to terms with a disciplined (and disciplining) space[25]. We have tried to point out those layers of the Zlín myth which are connected to housing, the home and the family. This cross-fading illustrates the continuity of the living in these houses and at the same time it helps to understand the directions of its consequent development.

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25   We should not at the same time forget that, if the original form of discipline linked with the work of the factory has now disappeared, a new form has appeared linked to the workings of the urban heritage zone.

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FESTIVALIZATION OF THE CITY
Contemporary examples

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Abstract: ***There is unprecedented interest in festivals as a cultural phenom-
enon that contributes to urban images, identities, and myths. The article
addresses the role of festivals as image building-blocks and specifies a num-
ber of success factors for festivals aspiring to become the means of urban
image creation. Festivals integrate people and establish inner-communities;
they induce commonly shared experiences and encourage an atmosphere of
fun, pleasure and excitement. In this way festivals facilitate the processes of
transferring pleasant experiences onto other subjects, places or phenomena
related to them (i.e. onto a city). Festivals act as an urban image device. The
purpose of this paper is to present another dimension of festivals and describe
how they can perpetuate false notions and fake images about the hosting city.
The example of the city of Lodz is described, where the Festival of Dialogue
of Four Cultures creates an image of Lodz as a city of four cultures (which it
was not) and a national and cultural melting pot (which it was not).***

Keywords: *Festivalization of the city, urban image, urban identity*

The general idea of a festival is about organizing (mostly periodical) artistic
events which last several successive days in a year. It is a retrospective of achie-
vements in a given cultural domain, frequently combined in a convention of
a contest. What festivals offer to their spectators is a variety of forms of cele-
bration and possibilities to celebrate as well as to animate and dramatize the
world around them (PRENTICE and ANDERSEN 2003; ROBERTSON and
WARDROP 2004). They have become a means of creating urban images; they
transformed cities into spectacles and they also dominate the vast majority of
activities performed by urban communities. For this reason, more and more
frequently those who do research on culture use the phrase "festivalization

of the city" or urban "festival marketplaces" (HARVEY 1991; HANNIGAN
1998b; LAOPODI 2002; RICHARDS and WILSON 2004; RICHARDS and
WILSON 2006).

The article presents several examples of events which strongly influenced
the process of festivalization of the urban space of Lodz (Łódź). The first part
of the text describes the essence of these events as well as their distinctive fea-
tures. For the events have a great potential to strengthen the sense of belonging
to a wider social group; they also bring dynamic, vivid and engaging feelings
and most of all they create a landscape for urban experiences. In this sense they
become perfect building blocks for urban images and identity. In the second
part of the article the case of Lodz is analyzed in order to estimate to what
extent cultural events contribute to the image enhancement of Lodz.

1. Festivalization of the city

With the growing popularity of issues related to symbolic economy (ZUKIN,
1995) or experience economy (PINE II and GILMORE, 1999) an increas-
ing importance of culture has been pointed out as a major growth factor for
cities. In its variety of forms, aspects and expressions culture has become
a crucial part of urban tourism and plays a crucial role in transforming cities
into tourism destinations. Culture enables consumption of the cities, for it pro-
vides contemporary tourists – who are increasingly interested in finding new
stimuli, attractions and consumption pleasures – with a variety of forms of
urban experience. Generally speaking, culture has become the basis of urban
attractiveness; it proves its uniqueness and gives potential for articulating iden-
tity and constructing images, myths and narratives about the cities.

Contemporary cities have turned into commodities, "festival marketplaces"
offering a unique combination of vivid experiences, fun, feast and pleasure
(HUGHES 2000; HANNIGAN 1998a; HANNIGAN 1998b; LAOPODI 2002;
RICHARDS and WILSON 2004; RICHARDS and WILSON 2006). Qualitative
and quantitative development of festivals and other types of cultural events has
led to what is now called "festivalization." It reflects contemporary mechanisms
organizing and shaping urban social life and the type of entertainment for urban
residents and tourists. In recent studies, it is either considered as a result of peo-
ple's search for pleasure deriving from urban consumption or as a consequence
of local authorities' intentions to develop the city by means of festivals and their
potential to activate social and economic life. Festivalization leads primarily to

the predominance of festivals in a cultural urban landscape, and it reinvents urban identity on the basis of such forms of entertainment as festivals and other types of cultural events (LAOPODI, 2002; RICHARDS and WILSON 2004).

In the economic aspect festivals increase the inflow of tourists and other stakeholders into the cities. They support economic development in terms of job creation, improvements in infrastructure, lodging and restaurant facilities. They promote local cultural attractions (CROMPTON and MCKAY 1994), provide extensive media exposure, which directly attracts tourist attention (LAW 1996). From the social perspective, events activate local communities; they build a common sense of belonging and help celebrate and restore local customs and traditions (RITCHIE 1989; MASON and BEAUMONT-KERRIGE 2004). Festivals generate relatively high levels of commitment and emotional involvement among their "consumers" (predominantly – their regular spectators) as they proffer new reality with its own meanings, rules, and ambience. People participate in festivities in order to socialize and grasp creative and "authentic" experiences which extensively differ from their everyday routine. This has been thoroughly researched by urban anthropologists referring to the notion of carnival and play as a means of explaining human culture. Festivals provide sensory experience, *authenticity* and *uniqueness* and act as a point of identification (PRENTICE and ANDERSEN 2003). One may conclude that events affect the urban space in a multi-dimensional way and simultaneously they systematize and integrate urban images and become a common denominator for its identity.

Richard Prentice and Vivien Andersen conducted research on the image of Scotland and Edinburgh among tourists taking part in the most popular festivals in the region. They proved that the Edinburgh International Festival (a combination of separate art festivals presenting achievements of Scottish and international culture)[1] had been a factor in building the historical/cultural image of Edinburgh and helped in combining apparently opposing tradition with modernity. Due to the festival, fundamental perceptions about Edinburgh among the tourists referred to the city as a mix of modernity (in form of international art) and traditional "Scottishness" (represented by traditional Scottish art and culture and completed with typical Scottish landscape with its all spatial forms – e.g., monuments, relict buildings and streets, archaic squares – which evoke historical and contemporary events attached to these physical places). Prentice and Andersen also noted that regular participants of the Edinburgh

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[1]   www.eif.co.uk accessed 30 March 2004.

Festival (particularly foreigners) preserve a more sophisticated, coherent and meaningful image of the hosting city. Regular festival-goers share the meanings, motivations and particular value system as far as the festival and place imagery are considered. In the case of tourists less involved in the festival (incidental spectators), their images of the city were incongruent, simple and with more discrepancies (PRENTICE and ANDERSEN 2003). It could therefore be concluded that events enrich the cities and enhance their images; they provide a *decorum* for urban identity, often being its co-founders at the same time.

Festivals' impact on urban image can be influenced by a number of individual factors out of which the motivation of publics seems the most important one. In their essence, festivals serve as a means of collecting experiences and pleasures of one's spare time (HANNIGAN 1998a; HANNIGAN 1998b); however, on the basis of contemporary research results some additional motives could be distinguished:

a)   SOCIALIZATION: external group interaction and socialization, sense of belonging to the community, entertainment, relaxation, event excitement, unusual experience
b)   EDUCATION: cultural exploration, building up knowledge and professional skills, emotional development, curiosity, event novelty
c)   FAMILY TOGETHERNESS: family integration, known-group socialization, spending one's leisure time together with relatives (UYSAL, GAHAN, MARTIN 1993; MOHR, BACKMAN, GAHAN, BACKMAN 1993; BACKMAN, BACKMAN, UYSAL, SUNSHINE 1995; SCOTT 1996; FORMICA, UYSAL 1998; CROMPTON, MCKAY 1997; LEE 2000).

The classification presented above does not exclude further categorization, yet it provides cross-cutting information on people's motivation for taking part in festivals (whatever their profile may be). The above-mentioned groups of motives focus on interpersonal relations; they represent the meaning of links and interactions between spectators and show to what extent events affect social construction and relations. They clearly depict the potential of festivals to integrate people with different social and cultural backgrounds, to establish festival inner-communities, to induce commonly shared experiences, and to encourage an atmosphere of fun, pleasure and excitement. Such an atmosphere facilitates the processes of transferring pleasant experiences onto other subjects, places or phenomena related to the given events (i.e., onto a city). In this context festivals act as another urban image building and enhancement device.

2. Festivalization of multicultural Lodz

The Festival of Dialogue of Four Cultures was first organized in Lodz in 2002. This cultural event developed dynamically throughout the following years, eventually gaining the status of a flagship event in Lodz and attracting attention of more and more tourists, as well as city-dwellers. Organizers of the festival intend to refer to the historic co-existence of four nations (Poles, Jews, Germans and Russians) within a single city at the turn of the 20th century and to re-establish dialogue between communities of different origins which used to live in Lodz. Witold Knychalski, the initiator and founder of the festival, said: "*The idea grew up to recollect the dialogue which had lasted incessantly in Lodz for several decades. People, taking from four so different cultures, connected in this dialogue, used to build factories, temples, theatres, cinemas and arenas together. (...) The dramatic history of the last century abruptly broke this dialogue. The Holocaust, the exodus of the Germans and the drastic change of historic conditions dramatically stigmatized the city of Lodz. The idea of the Festival refers to the beauty of tradition of Lodz, common to several nations. (...)*" (http://www.4kultury.pl/history/pl/site/festiwal-2002.html dated August 30th, 2008). The festival is therefore based on the idea of simultaneous confrontation and dialogue, diversity and interdisciplinarity reflected in the program of the event. The essentials of the festival are greatly diversified in terms of genres: it is an international review of achievements in several domains of art and culture, both high and popular. Theatrical and movie shows, fine arts displays, concerts, meetings with experts in politics and economy, exhibitions of photographs are all joined within a single event. Michał Mierczyński, the Artistic Director of the Festival of Dialogue of Four Cultures stated in one of his interviews: "*I would call our festival a homogenized cottage cheese, in which a noble cream and a popular cheese are blended together to give a magnificent outcome.*" (*KULTURALNY MIKS. A DOBRE TO JEST?* 2005: 8)

The Festival was intended to teach – by means of the universal language of art – tolerance and to transfer knowledge about religions and cultures which used to constitute the city. The objective is to promote Lodz and its image as an internally coherent city without any sense of discrimination and hostility. Festival events tell a story of a city of four nations and refresh it year by year with every new edition. It presents Lodz as a multi-cultural and multi-national melting pot, in which traces of former interactions of **four** cultures – Polish,

German, Jewish and Russian – are still visible. The content of the festival, however, does not reflect the historic processes which really occurred in Lodz in the 19th and 20th centuries. The Festival creates an image of **a city of four cultures**. But the real past of industrial Lodz was slightly different...

Researchers in the history and culture of Lodz emphasize that this industrial city was built predominantly by **three** nations: Germans, Jews and Poles (MROCZKA 1987; *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi* 1991; KOPCZYŃSKA-JAWORSKA 1999; *POD JEDNYM DACHEM* 2000). In the early 19th century first German-speaking textile craftsmen came to Lodz from Saxony, Bavaria, Prussia and Silesia. As time went by, their descendants became owners of textile factories and staffed their technical posts. Descendants of German settlers also often administrated textile factories in Lodz. Germans dominated the city until the World War I. The number of Jews in the city increased steadily. They worked in trade, cottage industry and banking. They also established factories. From the late 1860s until the beginning of World War I Jews and Germans possessed ca 94% of all textile factories in Lodz (PYTLAS 1994: 52). Poles rolled in from neighboring villages and towns to become workers (mostly unqualified) in textile factories. In the 1860s 44% of the inhabitants of Lodz were Germans; 35% were Poles, and Jews 21% (JANCZAK 1988: 218). The presence of Germans, Jews and Poles was clearly observable in the visual environment of the city. It manifested itself in activities of cultural and social institutions, city ceremonies and feasts, as well as in plain day-to-day activities. Next to magnificent residences and factories they built tenement houses and housing developments for workers. They founded schools, orphanages and shelters, temples, shops and hospitals. They erected an urban monolith strictly related to the textile industry which comprised three religions, nationalities and cultures. Finally, these three nations created the myth of industrial Lodz – a capitalistic metropolis second in the Kingdom of Poland only to Warsaw.

Notwithstanding what the Festival of Dialogue of Four Cultures depicts, Russians were not a major part of the inhabitants of the city. In 1897 there were only 7,400 Russians in Lodz (at the same time there were 145,000 Poles, 92,400 Jews and 67,300 Germans). By 1913 the population of Russians decreased to 6,300 people (whereas the population of Poles grew to 251,700; that of Jews grew to 171,900 and that of Germans to 75,000). In 1921 there were only 700 Russians living within the city of Lodz, whereas in 1945 the Russian community comprised 1,718 people (with the total population of Lodz estimated at over 420,000) (GÓRECKI 1999: 18-20).

Russians lived their own lives in Lodz and established a rather closed community. They did not get involved in industry; they became neither factory workers nor factory owners (with the single exception of Vladimir Stolarov, a factory owner who eventually, after World War I, acquired Polish citizenship) (GÓRECKI 1999: 19). Their role in the city became more important after the failure of the January Uprising (1864), as a result of the Russification policy imposed by the authorities of the occupant. The Russians were representatives of the Tsar's administration and they established a state apparatus of coercion, which comprised the police and the army. Wojciech Górecki wrote: "*Inhabitants of Lodz of other nationalities often perceived the Russians as corrupted officials, a brutal constable (there was a gallows in the city) or a soldier. More aware Poles associated them with Russification and enslavement.*" (GÓRECKI 1999: 19). Therefore, the image of Russians in the history of Lodz is negative; they were perceived as an alien and oppressive occupant (POMIAN 2008).

Traces of Russian existence in Lodz can be found in architecture (two Orthodox churches and two cemeteries) and literature (in one of Julian Tuwim poems, *Polish Flowers*) It is the Festival of Dialogue of Four Cultures that introduced and embedded in the collective memory the image of Lodz built by the Russians. The fact that one of the editions of the festival was devoted solely to Russian cultural heritage strengthened this false image of the great input of Russians in creating the culture of the city.

The Festival of Dialogue of Four Cultures also creates **an image of Lodz as a national and cultural melting pot**, i.e., a city of co-operation, assimilation and harmony of four cultures. In its core it refers to assimilation processes which could be observed among the communities in Lodz. However, such terms as tolerance and openness of various nations living in Lodz towards "others" or "aliens" seem multidimensional and ambiguous.

Assimilation processes could have been observed among the Germans (particularly Roman Catholics), who were quickly attracted by Polish culture and tradition. Cultural researcher, Bronisława Kopczyńska-Jaworska, comments on this phenomenon: "*(...) as time went by, the privileged position of the Germans slowly faded away as a result both of spontaneous Polonization of the foreign settlers, mainly through marriages, and of regaining independence* (after World War I – note: M.K.K.)*, by means of organized educational and administrative activities of Polish authorities (e.g., enabling access to vocational education for Polish workers, compulsory Polonization of administration of factories, etc.)*" (KOPCZYŃSKA-JAWORSKA 1999: 59). Such processes of

assimilation and emancipation were also observed (far less frequently though) among the Jews. They were a result of the spread of ideas of the *Haskalah* movement (the so-called *Jewish Enlightenment*, pressing for better integration into European society and increased education). In the case of the Jews, however, Germanization instead of Polonization was a more common phenomenon (*ŁÓDŹ. PEJZAŻ ARCHITEKTONICZNY* 1992). Effects of interactions between cultures, religions and traditions can be found today, for instance, in celebrating typical German customs (such as the city carnival ball, St. Nicholas Day or the Easter Bunny) (KOPCZYŃSKA-JAWORSKA 1999: 50).

It needs to be underlined that nationalities of Lodz never constituted an integrated local community. Divisions among the inhabitants of the city were preconditioned by linguistic and religious distinctiveness, which made trans-national contacts very difficult. Other reasons for these diversities were different financial positions, as well as social and economic aspirations. Discrepancies between salaries, social statuses, education and linguistic competences made integration virtually impossible. All the nationalities that lived in Lodz without any doubt were dependent on others, yet it is very difficult to support a thesis that they established a single and uniform community:

a) At that time the Jews were the intellectual and economic elite; distinctions in language and culture made them an isolated community in Lodz;

b) Germans constituted predominantly a highly-qualified workforce in the industry of Lodz. Until the beginning of World War I they were the most needed group of workers, due to their education and high qualification (the majority of them graduated from technical schools in Mulhouse and Mönchengladbach). Such factors as the unwillingness of the Germans to share vocational qualifications and experience, as well as their growing sense of civilizational superiority observed particularly in the 1930s (in the context of growing fascination of the Third Reich) did not support integration processes at all (KOPCZYŃSKA-JAWORSKA 1999; POMIAN 2008). Another important factor was a mere lack of will to belong to the same nation as less qualified factory workers (mainly Poles).

The examples given above show how an event may transform into a great means of creating and disseminating urban image. It is worth considering which distinctive features of the Festival of Dialogue of Four Cultures were decisive in relation to its success as far as promotion of a multicultural atmosphere and tolerance is concerned. A few features have to be pointed out:

a) contemporarily significant **ideas and contents of the event** (tolerance, acceptance of differences, social sensibility, openness towards other cultures: such ideas are always trendy, useful and needed; they perfectly integrate and activate people);
b) **open formula** – allows the expressive presentation of the co-existence of four cultures in a single urban space. The Festival of Dialogue of Four Cultures dominates the city landscape year by year with several exhibitions, displays, parades, concerts, shows staged in various spaces, not necessarily related strictly to institutions of culture. The festival is in the streets and in pubs, in a synagogue and in churches; its events take place in industrial workshops and in ballrooms of factory owners' palaces;
c) **omnipresence** of festival activities and events gives an impression of co-operation, interdisciplinarity and harmony.

During the Festival of Dialogue of Four Cultures the pulse of the whole city beats to the rhythm of Russian, Jewish, German and Polish songs. The city takes part in ceremonies of various religions; people watch shows in four languages. It makes the story of Lodz – the city of four cultures – more suggestive, as it reaches the mass of people who constitute the festival community and whose sense of belonging to this festival community is incredibly strong.

3. Supporting the image of the city – key features

It needs to be emphasized that creative functions of events depend greatly on several organizational factors related to logistics of the event and its promotion, as well as the public's profile. A unique organizational formula and proper executive management of a given event may support the process of re-defining the city (ROBERTSON and WARDROP 2004). It has to be strategically tied with identity of the place and needs to stay consistent in the long run (HALL, 1992). Academics and researchers have underlined the importance of a strong connection between identity and image, as authenticity and consistency of images make them a forceful motivation and communication device (BENNETT and KOUDELOVA, 2001, p. 207). It is therefore important to convey a credible message which develops into a point of identification for city-consumers (e.g. tourists, business investors, residents, workers, etc.) in a crowded marketplace.

The fundamental success factors for events aspiring to become the means of urban image creation are as follows:

a) event size (including the number of dimensions, i.e., its scope, its length and the physical space occupied);
b) event marketability, including
   – media exposure (promotional appearance and effective media coverage significantly impact on people's perceptions, thus the higher probability of visitors forming coherent and powerful imagery of the event);
   – event ability to generate additional symbolic and valuable actions, celebrations or behaviors on the spectators' part (e.g., world-famous celebrities visiting the festival and the city, unveiling ceremonies of new monuments or commemorative plaques, building the walk of fame, renovation of some important part of urban architecture, additional trade shows);
c) event message, design and its context:
   – program content – its structure and attractiveness for the audience; professional status of lecturers, speakers and spectators;
   – costs of participation – as a function of time, effort and money spent at the event;
   – organizational values (meeting international standards in terms of the flow of coherent information, proper timing, professional event logistics, etc.);
   – community building power (development of the "festival society"; festival as a means of socialization; encouraging one's sense of belonging).

Additionally, consistency with expectations of the city inhabitants and with their sense of belonging to the city is another important aspect of every festival. Social acceptance and development of enthusiastic attitudes towards a given event effectively support the process of its inclusion into collective memory, as well as into public urban space.

All the factors mentioned above may influence the intensity of spectators' feelings and imagery, and eventually turn any festival into a mechanism that perpetuates urban image and reputation. The Festival of Dialogue of Four Cultures helped to create an image of Lodz as a multicultural city of tolerance. The advantages for the city are obvious: it began to be perceived (particularly by the "non-insiders," visitors, and external tourists) as open, hospitable, creative and versatile. Lodz – the city of four cultures and tolerance – remains a myth, yet a very useful and modern one, as it opens the city to the world and refers to a way of thinking and ideas which are clearly understood and promoted in Western Europe.

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MYTH OF ROMANI MUSIC IN PRAGUE

Zuzana Jurková

Abstract: *In today's Prague one can find a great variety of musical events and recordings labeled as Romani/Gypsy music – from classical music with "Gypsy" themes to* romano hip hop. *For meaningful understanding and organization of it, the article uses both the basic ethnomusicological model of Alan P. Merriam (1964) and Kay Kaufman Shelemay's (2006) concept of* soundscapes. *With their help, four "musical worlds" – soundscapes – are presented: the romantic image that non-Roma have of Roma; Romani coffee house bands; traditional Romani* bašaviben, *that is, playing for their own entertainment, influenced by popular music; and emerging Romani hip hop. Each of these worlds – however they influence each other – is at the same time internally coherent and thus it is easy to follow the connections among the original purpose of this type of music, the behavior of the musicians and the public, and musical sound.*

Key words: *myth, Gypsy – Romani music, soundscapes.*

I. Myth – music

In the following text I discuss the myth of Romani music in Prague. For the majority of readers the first association with the expression "myth" will probably be something unreal, opposing reality (whatever we understand by "reality"), some sort of chimera, and thus, in connection with Romani music, perhaps what non-Roma naively and erroneously imagine by the term "Romani music." It would be possible to present many examples; a striking one from the last ethnomusicological conference: Speranta Radulescu submitted two pieces of music by two famous non-Romani composers intended as explicit "representations" of Romani music: Ravel's Rhapsody *Tzigane* and the introductory section of Enescu's *Impressions*, for the perceptions of Romani musicians. Neither one of them perceived them at all as "Gypsy" (RADULESCU 2009).

This text, indeed, only partially deals with non-Romani concepts of Romani music. The introductory thoughts are, however, different: they discuss the phenomenon of myth and music in general, their bases and relationship, or more precisely, closeness. My basic concept of myth differs from that folk concept of myth as a "chimera." It is much closer to the concepts of the classics of Mircea Eliade and, especially, Claude Lévi-Strauss. As is clear from the following sentences, in this understanding, striking similarities, almost a twin relation of the music and the Lévi-Strauss myth, arise.

The first, basic, most striking and very surprising parallel in their relations is the realm of concepts, that is, the notions about what myth and music actually are. In the introduction to his Mythologica, Lévi-Strauss does not deal too long with the definition or delimitation of myth (which, by the way, is also typical of the ethnomusicological approach to music). Basically it is concerned with the factual narrative of some sort of events, often of a sacral character, which approaches not only the horizon, but also the meaning of the world[1], but the author, without too much hesitation, also includes in his research folk tales, legends, and pseudo-historical traditions (1983:4). At any rate, the essence is crucial: Myth (like – in my opinion – music) is, according to Lévi-Strauss, composed of concrete cultural material which, when properly analyzed, reveals the existence of laws (of the mind) operating at the deeper level (p. 10). These laws, elsewhere called the logic of sensory qualities or a code, have an absolute nature. *This code, like the others, has neither been invented nor brought in from without. It is inherent in mythology itself, where we simply discover its presence* (p. 12). Furthermore, these laws *become mutually convertible and therefore simultaneously acceptable to several different subjects; the pattern of those conditions takes on the character of an autonomous object, independent of any subject* (p. 11).

In contrast to ethnographers, who describe or trace motifs, Lévi-Strauss, equipped with his transcendental conviction, has the ambition *to contribute to better knowledge of objectified thought and its mechanisms* (p. 13).

In the whole second half of his extensive introduction – "Overture" – Lévi-Strauss devotes himself to music, its concept and mainly the *problem… of the fundamental causes of the initially surprising affinity between music and myth* (p. 15). … Music, from his point of view,… *operates according to two grids. One is physiological – that is, natural. The other grid is cultural: it consists of*

a scale of musical sounds, of which the number and the intervals vary from one culture to another. The system of intervals provides music with an initial level of articulation, which is a function not of the relative heights of the notes … but of the hierarchical relations among them on the scale … (p. 16).

Particularly impressive is his poetic and many-layered expression of the famous ethnomusicological postulate that "music is made by listeners": … *music and mythology bring man face to face with potential objects of which only the shadows are actualized, with conscious approximations (a musical score and a myth cannot be more) of inevitably unconscious truths which follow from them…Thus the myth and the musical work are like conductors … whose audience became the silent performers.* (pp. 17–18)

On the author's clarification of the character of musical "grids," concretely their physiological "objectivity," and also arguing for the use of musically-analytical methods common in western musicology, in the analysis of myths, his little knowledge of musically-ethnographic material of non-European origin is obvious, and also his imprisonment in the contemporary European myth of music, which will be discussed later. Otherwise he would know that the bearers of information are not necessarily intervals, but, for example, timbre, and formal analysis, at least of this type, which is used in an analysis of Wagner's or Debussy's music is not relevant for the Saami *joik* or the singing of Brazilian Bororó Indians (with whose myth he begins his book). Not in vain is Lévi-Strauss considered to be a great ethnologist, but he is not a great (ethno) musicologist despite his knowledge of musical theory and his evidently great experience with listening to music.

Although Lévi-Strauss's instructions on the use of music for acquisition with "objectivized thought" or "codes" and their mechanisms are useless (or at least have not been used successfully), their concept is close to my way of thinking. In contrast to the majority of contemporary musicologists (who, however, mostly do not think in such categories) and ethnomusicologists (for whom music is mainly, if not exclusively, a cultural product), I understand music, or, more precisely, its sound (because ethnomusicologists and other groups also attribute other aspects to it which will be discussed below) as a doublet[2]. One of its faces is cultural – it is a system of (sound) symbols created and

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[1] See flap of the Czech version of *Mythologica* 2006.

[2] The hierarchical arrangement of both components seems probable: I presume that it is a question of culturally specific expression of an absolute principle (or absolute principles). However, because I am not able to argue concretely to the advantage of this hierarchicalness, I hold onto the vaguer expression "doublet."

understandable in a given culture. The existence of the second – hidden – face is pointed out by several facts. Of them the most important is undoubtedly that music, mainly such an unnecessary thing, is a cultural universal. Just as for myth, for music it is true that *it has no obvious practical function... it is not directly linked with a different kind of reality, which is endowed with a higher degree of objectivity than its own and whose injunctions it might therefore transmit to minds...* (LÉVI-STRAUSS 1983:10). And is it not a fact that something apparently unnecessary exists always and everywhere, and is thus a cultural universal, evident proof of fulfillment of a very pressing (although meanwhile hidden) need?

Another very striking parallel between myth and music is the transformation of time, the stepping out of ordinary time and the establishment of one's own. Eliade's *in illo tempore,* during the sacral times of the beginning, which primarily characterize myth, is actually applicable to music in the very same way. Not only that the first note of a symphony – and, even more, the overture to an opera – creates a new sound world with its own color space and language, but mainly with its own "life" tempo. This is true in exactly the same way, if not more so, for techno sets[3] and even for the most stupid and most commercial pop clip: its first note, first pulses create a new "first" beginning.[4]

After I pointed out the resemblance of such apparently different phenomena as myth and music, that is, of their ability to transform time and mainly of their dual character – cultural and "eternal" (which is approachable only by this cultural face) – I must still specify my understanding of these terms. As for myth (which I am not dealing with here too deeply) I must add only that, apart from narration, it must also have to do with important and further sustentative forming thought (thoughts).

The second note has to do with the cultural face of music. In the western concept, we tend to objectivize our understanding: music is for us a sound phenomenon. However, ethnomusicology in the last nearly half century tends more and more to the concept of music mainly as human activity. The basis of this concept is the triple model of Alan P. Merriam.

In one of the most influential ethnomusicological books – *Anthropology of Music* (1964) – Merriam presented a research model which shifts the understanding of music as an object toward the anthropological point of view. Music thus, according to him, is not primarily a sound object, but a culturally conditioned human activity, and therefore, when researching music, it is necessary to take into consideration *human and analytical evaluation ... relevant aspects of social sciences and the humanities and a variety of aspects of music – symbolic, esthetic, etc.* (MERRIAM 1964:35). The most apparent analytical level is musical sound itself. We are usually used to considering it as "music itself." However it is apparent that musical sound is dependent on a whole row of factors to which it is possible to give the overall term human behavior: the tension of the vocal cords, the vibrata of musicians' fingers on strings, and this again to the reactions of the audience, not excluding music critics.

However neither is this second layer – human behavior in relation to music – coincidental. On the contrary. It is influenced by the most varied notions, concepts that are connected with music, more closely or more loosely, and can concern relations of emotions and music or evaluations of emotions generally, but also concepts about the origin of music (and thus its values and meaning).

At the very basis of the difference of various music expressions stands the question of exactly what music is, that is, the concept of the phenomenon of music. In our culture we are accustomed to start out from its sound component. The majority of western musicologists would define music approximately as sound structure with esthetic information. Neither on that basis, however, do they agree with the point of view of ethnomusicologists (whose viewpoint in the past decades has shifted toward human activity)[5] nor with the viewpoint of those outside of western civilization who think about music. That is to say, the category of the esthetic is irrelevant to many of them. If music for Africans is often primarily "music making," i.e., social activity (in which their concept approaches the concept of ethnomusicologists), which by coincidence has a sound shape, then it is not surprising that that sound shape is different every time because many, for example, recreational (but also ritual) activities

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[3]   Vast sound areas, mainly electrically generated sounds, so very different from common, "natural" sounds, and also a special, separate place and its visual accessories evoke another world with different time *par excellence*.

[4]   Lévi-Strauss deals with these problems in perhaps too poetic a way on pp. 15-16.

[5]   It is understood, of course, that the camp of ethnomusicologists is not unified either. Bruno Nettl with the wisdom of a Nestor of the discipline in one of his last texts presents concurrently both lines: Mantle Hood's musicological with emphasis on the sound phenomenon and Merriam's anthropological: *Ethnomusicology is , on one hand, the study of world musical cultures from the comparative perspective and, on the other, it is an anthropological study of music.* Nettl 2002: 3.

also proceed differently every time. The fact that western culture introduced for that reality of variability the special term "improvisation," witnesses to its exceptionality. However to use such a term is somehow quite irrelevant in the place where it is a question of one of the basic features of musical practice.

And if for Australian Aborigines (like for some Amazon Indians) music is a certain way of transformation into another type of being or a way of transformation in time, not only is the esthetic aspect irrelevant, but the resulting sound shape of that process of transformation, that is, the resulting "song" – the same one – could differ from performance to performance.

There are numerous examples of the impact of the concept on the sound of music. That it is actually musical sound, like the activity around it, as a result of human concepts and thoughts about music is not particularly surprising. In a further part I will try to clarify how the western concept of music has formed in the past approximately two centuries and what kind of impact it has had on "music itself."

II. The myth of music [6]

In 1923, Leoš Janáček (1854–1928) composed his first string quartet, the "*Kreutzer Sonata.*" Although originally (based on sketches of the composition worked on starting in 1909), he wrote the composition for violin and piano, eventually he wrote it for a classic quartet. This quartet of strings – two violins, viola and cello – was used by composers for more than one hundred years as a "diaristic" ensemble, to which it was possible to entrust the most intimate thoughts. Besides, the next Janáček string quartet, one of his last compositions, was called "Intimate Letters" (originally "Love Letters") and it was the most emotional declaration of the old composer to his last love, Kamila Stösslová. Indeed, it is not possible to imagine a more appropriate interpreter for the most personal message: the homogenous instrumental combination evokes the impression of uninterrupted intimacy, string instruments capable of reacting to the player's slightest impulse seem perfectly ideal for the expression of those most subtle emotions. Janáček subscribed to this concept. He took over the classical instrumental combination and also the common four-movement form. However, with individual parts he handled his way – not only in

the field of tempo, but in his entire musical language: his work with musical motifs[7], harmony and generally work with color[8], and primarily a maximum of expression – each tone as if it expressed the most varied shades of joy or sadness, despair or resignation. As Milan Kundera (2004:26) writes precisely (and expressively): for Janáček only tone that is an expression, that is an emotion, has a right to exist. Janáček's string quartet, the "*Kreutzer Sonata*" was already the third link in the chain. The chain, which very clearly encompasses a change of concept of music during the last century and a half.

At its beginning, in 1803, Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827) the last classical composer with a step forward toward romanticism, composed the "*Kreutzer Sonata*" for violin and piano. The composition is famous for its technical demands; however, despite the fact that Beethoven's musical language was no longer classicistically symmetrical like his predecessors, only rarely today would this sonata be called unusually emotional or even passionate.

The second link of the chain is the eponymous novella by Leo Tolstoy (1829–1910). One of the basic themes here is passion, against which the narrator of the book argues for his life story, in which passion at first pretended, then let out like a genie from a bottle and nourished by music ruins lives. At the end of the book, the main character, emotionally (understand erotically) aroused by Beethoven's composition, during which she accompanies on the piano a friend with whom she begins an extra-marital relationship: the husband – similarly emotionally aroused – kills her.

Tolstoy appears here like a prophet warning against the destructive effects of passion, here passion evoked and strengthened by the music. Too late. In 1889, there was no longer the strength that would conquer the idea, maximally developed and supported by romanticism, about both sovereignty and the "sanctification" of emotion/passion – and also of their close connection to music.

Even if we did not know anything about Janáček's such romantically empathetic relation to the heroines of his operas Katya, Jenufa and Emilia, and even if we did not know the line from his correspondence relating to his first string quartet ("I had in mind a poor woman, abused, beaten, beaten to death, as the Russian writer Tolstoy wrote about her in his Kreutzer Sonata[9], from the first

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[6] I hope the ethnomusicological, not musicological character of this text is evident.

[7] Janáček uses some themes of the Beethoven sonata to work with them in his own distinct way, almost as with living beings.

[8] In the fourth movement there is, for example, a passage which is markedly reminiscent of the last scene of Katya Kabanova, the solo aria of Katya and the chorus backstage.

[9] Quoted according to: Havlík 2000.

notes of the music – the painful chord of the string instruments, and in general the entire Janáček language, full of dynamic and tempo changes which is the very essence of emotion – clearly convey whose side he is on. Away with Apollonian discipline! Feeling/passion/emotion is everything.[10]

It is difficult to imagine something else: Janáček's personality as if it were the embodiment perhaps of all the main romantic ideas: from the close connection to folk culture through maximally personal and creative individualism and long-term social non-recognition to numerous emotional outbursts at women. (By the way, Janáček's *Kreutzer Sonata* was not the last in the above-mentioned chain; in 2000 the Dutch writer Margriet de Moor wrote a romantic novel with the same title, referring to all of its "predecessors.")

But why do I present Janáček and the whole chain leading to the rise of his first string quartet in the context of music and myth? (My own interest in Janáček's music is certainly not a sufficient reason to set him apart in an essay about myth of music in an urban environment.) For two reasons. The first of them is the assumption that music DEFINITELY DOES NOT HAVE TO BE a "language of feeling," but it may be almost anything else (as will be clear later in this text). Thus the connection of music and emotion or even passion is one of those petrified ideas (often garbed in symbols) that are taken for granted even by Lévi-Strauss (18). For example, all concert- or opera-house programs confirm its dominance.

In support of the assertion concerning the possible diversity of musical concepts many examples are available. From European tradition, think of the Gregorian chant, the modest music (and personality) of Joseph Haydn, Johann Sebastian Bach with his contemporary relevant approach to music praising the glory of God (... *as with all music, so in the basso continuo there should be nothing else but the final and last goal which is God's glory and recreation of thought. Where this is not respected, no real music will arise, but only hellish noise, and bad fiddling will sound* – J. S. Bach 1738 – viz. Michels 2000: 101*),* and post-romantic ideas: the mathematical understanding of music of the serialists or the architectonic understanding of Ianis Xenakis.

If we looked around beyond the border of western art music, we would find even more different concepts: music as sound realization of the heavenly order,

that is, of the universal order in China; music as a kind of transformation from one type of being to another among the above-mentioned Amazon Indians; as bringing into the present memories of people or places among the Northern European Saami or as an objective device for reaching coveted "illumination" of thought – among many others.

A second reason for the introduction of the Janáček example is the illustration of the complexity of the musical phenomenon according to the Merriam model. Music, at least classical, has in the past century become an event which is excluded from the common, profane (in the romantic concept of the low and pragmatic) world, and it has reached the "higher" world of "sacred" emotions. This concept can well be read in the sphere of human behavior relating to music, for example, of a festive environment in which music is performed, or from the clothing of the musicians and listeners. (Tailcoats or morning coats of musicians during afternoon concerts sometimes strike the eye.) Another striking related characteristic is the sophistication of the musical language. The creation of a musical work is not commonly accessible to amateurs – it demands special training, just like the performing of the pieces these specially trained composers created. Extraordinariness, exclusion from normal life is expressed here, both with technical demands on the performer (who thus stands as a romantic hero outside of the majority society) and also a special "unnatural" quality of musical sound (one is strongly aware of it when one unexpectedly hears opera singing: in a daily environment a surprising sound, unlike anything else).

In the resulting musical sound – both, to a certain extent, contradictory tendencies – are present in our concept of music: disciplined refinement on one hand, and declared – and, in the framework of the presented convention presented – emotionality on the other hand.

Into these starting thoughts about the character of music in general and its form in Western classical tradition specifically it is now possible to insert a picture of what is presented in Prague today as Romani/Gypsy music and dance.

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[10] I also agree, however, with Kundera's characterizing Janáček as an "antiromantic" – but in the strict sense of Kundera, who understands romanticism as a false, "romantic" view of the world.

III. The myth of Romani music in Prague

As Romani music, I label everything which, in Prague 2008 (I did my research from May to November) was called Romani/Gypsy/Gipsy[11] music (song, dance)[12]. In other words, I am interested in what Praguers imagine Romani/Gypsy music to be or what they call it. An attempt at possible delimitation through the genre or style emitting from our preconceptions would necessarily founder, as we point out not only from collected material, but also older experience of other authors[13]. My point of departure was publicly available materials (cultural programs, flyers, Internet ads) announcing live performances. It is surely possible that I was unaware of some performances, but I do not supposed that that happened too often and that the resulting picture is too incomplete.

The other field that interested me was available recordings, in whose title or genre category appeared the word Romani/Gypsy/Gipsy.

So what was performed as Gypsy/Romani music in Prague?

1. Regularly repeated performances

a) Once a year – the last week in May – the World Romani *Khamoro* festival takes place in Prague. It is one of the five category A metropolitan festivals, like, e.g., the Prague Spring. In 2008 *Khamoro's* tenth anniversary took place May 25–31. Besides seven concerts (the premiere with two Czech groups, three called Gypsy jazz, three concerts of traditional Romani music; in them there were 13 bands from eight countries), there were also a Music and Minorities international ethnomusicological conference, a Spanish flamenco workshop in the Zambra studio[14], four exhibitions and two film showings.[15]

b) Once a week – on Sundays – the popular Lesser Quarter music club Popocafépetl presents so-called *Gipsy Nights*, during which two rompop bands, *Bengas* and *Gitans,*[16] alternate.

c) Also once a week – on Thursdays – in the Zambra dance center in Vinohrady women from 21 to 48 years old meet and eagerly learn "Gypsy dancing."[17]

d) Every week from Wednesday to Sunday in the restaurant "U sedmi andělů" on Jilská Street in the Old Town there is a trio of Roma who play violin, cimbalom and double bass. Evenings are advertised as *Today Live Gipsy Music*.

2. One-time performances

a) In August the Theater without Balustrades reprised[18] the musical *Gypsies Go to Heaven*. To a great extent the performance copies the famous Russian film from 1976 which, besides, can still be bought on DVD. A CD of the performance has been published with the songs of the show. Ida Kelarová is credited in the program as the author of the musical arrangement; her band *Romano Rat* also accompanies the singers on the CD.

b) As part of the "Prague Autumn" classical music festival there were, on September 20 and 21, three concerts of the Budapest Gypsy Symphony Orchestra, also called A Hundred Gypsy Violins. This orchestra has been part of "Prague Autumn" every year since 2003.[19]

c) On October 18 the Strašnické Theater premiered a "dance-theater project/social specific theater"[20] – "Gypsy Suite." In the performance are heard several songs by the late Romani singer Jan Áču Slepčík; the performance was dedicated to him.

d) On November 8, there took place in the Abaton club in Libeň the autumn part of the Sázava Fest, a well-known musical festival (the main part of which was held in the summer). As the main performer, the popular Romani rapper Gipsy.cz appeared here with a repertoire from his two latest CDs.

Commonly available musical recordings[21]:

In the category of "Romani music" I found recordings of a favorite Slovak band

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[11] In Czech I looked for the word cikánský/romský.

[12] In this text I am not going into an analysis of the use of the expressions "Gypsy/Romani"; I am convinced, however, that this is a promising research field.

[13] E.g. Reyes 1982.

[14] We will also discuss the Zambra studio in connection with Gypsy dance courses; flamenco courses are not usually advertised in connection with Romani/Gypsy music.

[15] For details, viz www.khamoro.cz.

[16] For details, viz www. popocafepetl.cz.

[17] I have details about the Gypsy dance course at Zambra from my student Pavlina Holcová, who not only takes dancing lessons there, but is also carrying out research about Gypsy dance for her bachelor's thesis.

[18] The premiere took place on April 15, 2004.

[19] After the first concert there appeared in *Romano Džaniben* an interview with the band leader and first violinist, Sándor Rigó-Buffó, viz *Romano Džaniben*, jevend 2003, pp. 208–211.

[20] Quoted from the invitation: To the question of what it means, the authors of the production explained that it is a theatrical work which strikingly reflects a social theme, here the Romani question (from the historiographic and comparative perspective)"

[21] I looked for recordings that would fulfill two requirements: 1) they can be bought immediately in physical form 2) they can be bought at non-specialized CD shops.

Diabolské husle, "Devil's violin of Berky-Mrenica: Gypsy Dance" and "Devil's violin: Greetings from Slovakia."

The term "Gypsy" is connected with two performers of Dvořák and Bendl Gypsy songs and Gypsy melodies (Roman Janál, Magdalena Koená), a Brno funky band *Gulo čar* CD entitled *Gipsy Goes to Hollywood,* altogether seven different recordings of the French *Gipsy Kings,* the pop band *Triny* with its *Gypsy Streams* CD, three CDs of the above-mentioned rapper *Gipsy.cz,* that is, *Rýmy a blues*, *Romano hip hop* and *Reprezent*, and also Lagréne Birelli, an exponent of Gypsy jazz.

Labeled as "romano" are the CD *Staré slzy,* one of the latest CDs of Ida Kelarová and *Romano Rat,* a mixture of genres and performers of the "Most beautiful Gypsy songs/ *Jekhšukareder Romane giľa,*" and *Gipsy Way,* the newest CD of the violinist Pavel Šporcl and *Romano stilo.*

Besides the above-mentioned categories, but clearly presented as Romani music, are also the two latest recordings of Věra Bílá and her group *Kale* (who, however, have not played together since 2005), *Rovava* and *C'est comme ça*, and also a CD entitled *Dža* by the *Bengas* band.

Soundscapes
At first glance it seems that the collected materials represent a whole continuum of possible musical approaches to the "Gypsy" topic. Despite this, I will dare to try to sort them out. As its starting point, I will use the contemporary concept of *soundscapes* of Kay Kaufman Shelemay. The resulting groups show a certain coherence, from the basic concepts, through human behavior and to the resulting musical sound. At the same time, however, it is true that the basic feature of *soundscapes*, relating to their continual variability, is their mutual influence.

The term *soundscape* is found in relevant literature with two basic meanings. The first is the musical-ecological, close to the idea and term *landscape.* The initial concept of its founder, the Canadian composer and theoretician Raymond Murray Schafer, is the perception of sounds (that is, any sounds at all, not necessarily meaningfully organized; meaningful organization is, however, considered to be the basic assumption of music) in a certain place, including their meanings and relations.[22]

For the organization of data relating to Romani music in Prague, there is, however, another more appropriate concept, the one of the Harvard ethno-

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[22] For details, including contemporary literature, viz Griger 2007.

musicologist Kay Kaufman Shelemay (2006). She uses the term *soundscape* in a more abstract and dynamic meaning and compares it to *seascape,* that is, sea scenery with its unpredictable changeability and multi-dimensionality. In addition she even injects into it the element of change in time, which is lacking in Merriam:

…here we will more often compare a soundscape to a seascape, which provides a more flexible analogy to music's ability both to stay in place and to move in the world today, to absorb changes in its content and performance styles, and to continue to accrue new layers of meanings. (p. XXXIV).

In the material that I presented I see three *soundscapes* that have existed for some time and one newly forming (at least in the Czech lands). I label it according to the original performer-listener pair. This pair, however, determined the goal of the music performed – and it formed (besides other things) the basic features of musical language.

Who for whom as key

We can locate a soundscape most easily through an encounter with a specific musical performance… [The best tangible traces of soundscape in human behavior and musical sound are there. Here one can deduct much about basic concepts.] To better understand a soundscape, we need to attend repeated events and to gather a range of additional information about their sound, setting, and significance. (Kaufman Shelemay 2006: xxxv)

1. Gadje for gadje about Roma
Magdalena Koená: Songs My Mother Taught Me

Magdalena Koená, today undoubtedly the most famous Czech opera and concert singer abroad, chose for her "personal" CD songs by composers from her native land. Near the beginning are three songs from the famous Dvořák cycle Gypsy Melodies, op. 55: "Songs My Mother Taught Me," "The Strings are Tuned" and "And the Wood is Quiet All Around."

On the recording can be heard, first, the mournful motif of the piano; then it is repeated and developed by the highly cultivated voice of the famous singer (so unlike untrained or folk singing); she sings of the feelings of a Gypsy mother, song, music and dance, sadness, nature and freedom. It is easy to imagine a live

performance during which this beautiful and always perfectly dressed woman leans on a shiny concert grand piano played by a man in a black jacket. The audience in the hall, dressed somewhat less elegantly than the performers, listens quietly; someone has on his lap a program in which he can check the text (which is not always easy to understand). For the majority of the listeners the music undoubtedly evokes some emotions, apart from the fact that the listeners are enthusiastic about the singer's performance and at the end they applaud enthusiastically.

This *soundscape* is undoubtedly the oldest of those discussed: Goethe (1749–1832) and Pushkin (1799–1837) had already written about what Gypsies experienced (more precisely, how non-Gypsies imagine what Gypsies experienced). The image of Gypsies/Roma ideally corresponded to the romantic values of the time: passion, abandon – and frequent professional connection to music, which in the contemporary point of view meant their status as "artists," strengthened this romantic image even more. It is not surprising that Gypsy literary inspiration appealed so much to the romantic composers Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826) and Mikhail Glinka (1804–1857) to begin with – and in our times ending, e.g., with Sylvie Bodorová (b. 1954) and her composition *Giľa Rome* (1980). Besides, the famous Russian film *Gypsies Go to Heaven* (1976), based on the novel/stories, *Makar Chudra* (1892) by Maxim Gorky and his subsequent innumerable variations are proof of the long-lasting popularity of this romantic myth.

The musical language of this *soundscape* is initially closely attached to mainstream musical language: not only do Antonín Dvořák in his songs or Giuseppe Verdi in his operas (Troubadour) not use Romani music idioms, but neither does Janáček in his later The Diary of One Who Disappeared (1916) in the singing of the Gypsy girl Zefka deviate from his musical speech. Specific musical language in connection with Roma appears in the music of Franz Liszt (1811–1886): exotic intervals or scales with augmented second (since his time in musical theory denoted as "Gypsy major" and "Gypsy minor") evokes the romantic image of some extraordinary thing, use of rubato rhythm which is not subjugated to regular meter, again free handling with time. Liszt's relation to the music of the Roma was, however, exceptional, mainly thanks to his connection to Hungarian culture. In it Romani musicians had the exceptional position of bearers and guardians (musically expressed) of the national specificity. Besides this, Liszt could be in relatively close contact with the contemporary expansion of Hungarian "Gypsy bands," whose style of playing he minutely detailed in the first systematic book about the music of the Roma (Liszt 1859).

Liszt's influence is important for this *soundscape* in one more sense: in his welcoming opening with the "foreign." Through him inspiration of the music of the Roma became more or less strong – from Béla Bartók to the above-mentioned "Gypsies Go to Heaven," whose folk-like melodies later became folksongs, mainly among Roma.

The essence of this *soundscape* nevertheless remains emotionally satisfying to listeners more or less accustomed to the idioms of classical music. Therefore, for example, in *Gypsy Suite*, which is dedicated to the memory of the Romani songster Jan Áču Slepčík, his music and singing are not sufficient: for "real" impression the directors had to supplement it with a romantic solo violin played, moreover, by a Rom in red shoes.

2. Roma for gadje
One hundred Gypsy violins
Rudolfinum, September 20, 2008 at 4 p.m.

Within the framework of the "Prague Autumn" classical music festival, in the Rudolfinum, the most prestigious concert hall in Prague, three concerts of the *Budapest Gypsy Symphonic Orchestra, also called One hundred Gypsy violins*[23] are taking place. As every year, all three are sold out in advance, and this is despite the fact that tickets in the orchestra cost about a thousand crowns.

The audience is extraordinarily varied, starting from parents and grandparents with children, to youths to senior citizens. (There are only a few Roma in the auditorium.)

With a ten-minute delay, which is not too common in classical music concerts, 100 musicians, among them two women – in white shirts, black pants or skirts and red or blue vests – arrive on stage. (Later it will become clear that the blue vests belong to the soloists – besides violinists, there are also one clarinet player and one cimbalom player.) For the second half of the evening the players put on classic black suits. Except for nine clarinets, the orchestra contains only string instruments: six large Hungarian cimbaloms, and mainly violins, violas, cellos and double basses.

On the program there are compositions, the majority of which can be heard in classical music concerts, but most often as encores or as "light" concert numbers: Monti's Czardas, Sarasate's *Gypsy Melodies [Zigeunerweisen],* the

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[23] The orchestra, founded in 1985, was originally called the "100-strong Budapest Gypsy Orchestra".

Budapest Gypsy Symphonic Orchestra. September 20, 2008. Photo by Zuzana Jurková.

Thunder and Lightning polka *or* The *Blue Danube* waltz by Johann Strauss, Jr. *or the Radetsky March* by Johann Strauss, Sr., and Khachaturian's *Saber Dance* from the ballet *Gayaneh*. The second type of compositions are those written by contemporary composers specially for the orchestra (e.g., *Gypsy Fire* by Zoltán Horwath) which show the specific qualities of the orchestra, mainly their instrumental virtuosity balancing on the edge of performability combined with proverbial (perhaps well feigned) temperament.

Numerous members of the audience – those silent performers (of course not silent when standing for enthusiastic ovations in the Rudolfinum) – confirm the constant attraction of the tradition whose roots are in Hungarian and Slovak restaurants and coffee houses of the 19th century. Still today it is possible to find isolated groups with that original, chamber-like appearance in Prague. The context of the city of the 21st century, however, gives it a rather different character and meaning.

Today Live Gipsy Music at 8 p.m.
Restaurant U 7 andělů (Seven Angels), Jilská Street, Old Town, November 22, 2008

If you type "Live Gypsy music in Prague" into Google, they will not offer you on the top line the Web page of the Romani festival *Khamoro* or some popular Romani group, but "Prague's Best Restaurants."[24] Among these fourteen restaurants, undoubtedly aimed primarily at foreign clientele, twelve of them offer "live music." My personal research, however, revealed that "live Gypsy music" (in any shape) is not offered by any of them. On the Internet advertisement for "Prague's Best Restaurants" the offer of live Gypsy music is clearly part of their image.

"Live Gypsy Music," however, is surely possible to track down in Prague. It is announced on a board (in English) on the door of the *Seven Angels* restaurant, which is in the most historic center of Prague, only a few yards from Old Town Square. It is hard to imagine a place with a greater concentration of foreign tourists – and obviously the announcement is meant for them. The main room to the right of the entrance is evidently supposed to impress you in two ways: its antiquity (above the entrance the date 1392 is emphasized, patinated painting, the whole place with historic [or historicized] furnishings; and luxury (most of the little tables only for two – however, closely lined up so that the impression of *séparé* is hardly convincing; large, richly decorated mirrors reflect the flames of candles; in comparison to the little tables, strikingly large wine glasses...). To this correspond relatively high prices for average food and mainly for drinks.

Among the guests, we are the only Czechs. Couples in ordinary clothing prevail; a group of youths are dining at the larger table. In a little alcove of the main room, at the entrance to the cloakroom, there are three musicians in dark suits and white shirts: a cimbalom player at a large Hungarian pedal instrument; behind him a bass player; in front – nearest the guests – a violinist. He also reacts to the (sparse and lukewarm) reactions of the guests. During one of the breaks I learn in an interview with the musicians that they are brothers from a musical family from the Slovak-Hungarian border.

Their repertoire is very similar to the repertoire of the Budapest Gypsy Symphony Orchestra. The *Radetsky March,* the *Blue Danube* waltz, a melody

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[24]   www.pragueexperience.com/restaurants/highlights/restaurants_live_music.asp (12. 6. 2009).

from *Carmen*, and even among Gypsy bands of this type the popular Jewish *Hava nagiľa…* and, besides all this, jazz compositions and Suk's *Song of Love*.

The *soundscape* around Gypsy coffee-house cimbalom bands (which sometimes play with a clarinet or its metal cousin – the *tárogato* as another melodic instrument) has a rather different character from the former one. The music in it is not art that communicates emotion, but a craft – a craft serving to give the guests of the coffee houses or restaurants a good time. For this purpose is connected an auditorily undemanding repertoire. Listeners value Romani musicians for their perfect technique and then the mastery of their craft (even if an adequate dose of emotion, mediated by Roma as their romanticized incarnation, is also expected). The Romani community traditionally valued its coffee-house musicians for their ability to earn a relatively high financial reward.

In Prague at the beginning of the 21st century, this *soundscape* takes various shapes. Listeners to symphonic music are satisfied with a less demanding repertoire. The violin virtuoso and showman Pavel Šporcl spices up his performances (and discographies) with something unusual, that is, playing along with a real "Gypsy cimbalom band"[25]; their repertoire is easy to predict: Monti, Sarasate, Khachaturian, Strauss… And it also accommodates tourists looking in Prague for "genuine, old-fashioned atmosphere" with which perhaps in their imaginations the Austro-Hungarian coffee-house band can distantly correspond.

3. Roma (not only) for themselves: rompop [26]
Gipsy Nights: *Bengas*
Popocafépetl Club, October 26, 2009 at 8 p.m.

Popocafépetl on Újezd in the Lesser Quarter of Prague has several namesakes, but this is the only one to have regular music programs: on Mondays, Havana Nights; on Fridays and Saturdays, Friday/Saturday Dance Fever; and on Sundays, Gipsy Nights. On these nights two rompop bands – *Gitans* and (the better known) *Bengas* alternate.

The club occupies the whole basement of an old house on the main Lesser Quarter street, right next to an elegant Thai restaurant. But, despite its attractive location, its interior resembles many of the usual music clubs: unplastered stone walls, bare wooden tables with the club logo. The main room with a bar (where prices are surprisingly low) and only a hint of a stage at the shorter wall; in an alcove, the mixer. The next room is acoustically connected to the main room. On the other side of the staircase, where the music sounds much weaker, there are two quieter, today almost empty rooms, marked as a "wine cellar."

A half hour before the beginning the main room is completely full. Most of the audience are young people between 20 and 25 years old, often in hip hop sweatshirts with hoods, but also in shiny disco tops. In addition to Czech, you can hear English and French (the club is a frequent destination of foreign students who are in Prague on an Erasmus exchange program). Shortly before the announced beginning two groups of Roma arrive and clamor to be seated in front of the stage.

Bengas [27] (Devils) are playing this time with three guitars, one bass guitar, a keyboard and three different sets of percussion instruments. Although the group acknowledge various sources of inspiration, their musical language is relatively homogeneous: a dense fabric of guitar sound; above it solo masculine singing in Romani, the refrains alternating with parallel part singing. There are short instrumental introductions and interludes, in which there may be virtuoso playing. Lucid phrasing, no great dynamic or tempo changes. The musical style of the group is undoubtedly influenced by the *Gipsy Kings*, with whom *Bengas* played in 2004 during their Prague concert.

After 8 p.m. not only are all the places taken (including a few newly brought in tables and room at the bar), but people are also standing between the tables. During the music they sway to the rhythm. After each composition they applaud or whistle favorably. Today *Bengas* are clearly the most popular group playing *rompop*. This term[28] originated in the 70s and refers to a fusion of traditional music that Roma played and sang for themselves with elements of contemporary western popular music, specifically pop music. In the broad stream of *rompop* two main styles loom large. The first of them, reminiscent of the musical expression of ethno-emancipating attitudes, consciously linked to their own local tradition and combining its special characteristic musical elements with elements of international pop music (mainly in the field of

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25   Viz booklet CD Pavel Šporcl + *Romano Stilo*
26   I have already devoted a separate in-depth article to rompop – Jurková 2008.

27   Viz www.bengas.net
28   Katalin Kovalcsik (2003) uses synonymously *Roma pop*.

instrumental accompaniment, but also rhythm and its realization...). Pioneers of this style, sometimes labeled as *ethnic mainstream*[29] in Central Europe are the Hungarian *Kalyi Jag*.

Much more popular both among the majority public and, chiefly, among Roma is the style that consciously does not use (at least to such a striking degree) local music idiom, but often lets itself be inspired by other patterns, first and foremost, the enormously popular Spanish *Gipsy Kings*. In the Romani environment this style – both as recorded music and as music actively performed – has the classic function of *bašaviben*, played and sung for their own entertainment, accompanying social gatherings, often connected to dance. In the past two decades, however, *rompop* has also often been discovered in the non-Romani environment: at concerts of world music, in "classical" music clubs such as Popocafépetl, Roxy, etc., but also at high-level events.[30] The spectrum of bands that have turned to it is very broad. One thing that is notable, however, is that if we compare the social background of the groups with their musical language, we come to a remarkable correlation. On one hand there are groups that formed as amateur, generally on a family basis. They played first of all only for themselves and their closest surroundings, and from this local level gradually rose, perhaps even to the international scene. They play mainly their own compositions, and their own musical language – although the musicians acknowledge various influences – has features similar to those described above: a dominating distinctive melody, a "thick" and energetic accompaniment and perfectly "well crafted" mastered part singing, which is mainly made up of parallel melodic lines. This can be reminiscent of the sound realization of what Steward (2005) calls the timeless brotherhood of Roma. The first and most striking representative of this genre in our country is the musical style of Věra Bílá[31] and her accompanying group *Kale* (Blacks)[32] as well as of the East Bohemian *Točkolotoč* and *Terne Čhave* (Young Boys)[33], and the Prague *Bengas*.

A different type are the groups that arose, as it were, from the outside with dramaturgical or commercial intentions. Their members do not have any links

other than musical ones, and musical products (that is, not entertainment realized through music as with the preceding groups) are their *raison d'être*. This very different musical concept is – unsurprisingly – reflected in their musical language, which is much more artistic, with complex sequences of playing with timbre, etc. The different point of departure is also clear in the composition of the repertoire, which contains mostly old Romani songs. In this category are both Ida Kellarová and her projects and mainly the group *Triny* (Three)[34], behind whose rise stands the experienced producer Ivan Král.

The rompop *soundscape* confirms to the attentive listener the realization that the basic concept, or WHAT music represents for the musicians, is straightforwardly and clearly reflected in HOW the music finally sounds – without regard to a uniform label.

4. Romano hip hop
Get a Taste of Europe: performance of the group Gipsy.cz
Wenceslas Square, March 6, 2009

One of the events accompanying the Czech presidency of the European Union was the three-day "Festival of European Regions" Get a Taste of Europe, March 5–7, 2009. It took place at the so-called Golden Cross, that is, the place where the main communication arteries meet: Wenceslas Square and Příkopy. On a small stage on Příkopy you could see and hear folk music groups; a large stage on the lower part of Wenceslas Square was occupied by various genres of popular music.

While the preceding band, the Greek hip hoppers *SIFU Versus and DJ WAXWORK* did not attract the interest of many Praguers or tourists, several hundred people gathered in front of the stage for the group *Gipsy.cz*: not only homeless people (some of whom a bit drunk) and not only tourists: mainly Czechs, mostly young. A couple of dozen Roma.

Into the effective colorful lighting first come the black-clothed Surmaj brothers (a guitarist and an electric double-bass player), the violinist Vojta "Béla" Lavička, and finally – with the enthusiastic applause and whistling of the audience – the slight Radek Banga – "Gipsy" in a typical hip hop outfit: a jacket with a hood trimmed with fur, a cap and wide pants. During his arrival you could hear the refrain of his first song – *Romano hip hop*. It has a striking

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29   HEMETEK 1998. Kovalcsik (2003) labels it *ethnic music culture* (s. 92 n.)
30   In the year 1990, e.g., the rompop group *Točkolotoč* played at the benefit concert "SOS Racism," organized by President Havel and at which Paul Simon performed; in the summer of 2006 *Terne čhave* performed at a garden concert organized by the Senate of the Czech Republic.
31   http://romani.uni-graz.at/rombase/ > personalities > Bílá, Věra; official Web page: www.verabila.com.
32   In the year 2005, however, Věra Bílá and *Kale* separated and today they sing alone.
33   www.ternechave.net
34   www.triny.cz

Gipsy.cz, March 6, 2009. Photo by Zuzana Jurková.

and memorable melody with only a few words ("Romano hip hop in the house, šunen savore, Gipsy.cz in the house"); the musicians interpolate the words with rhythmic syllables (hop, hop, chit, chip) in off-beat, as is frequent in the traditional music of Vlach Roma and in the music of contemporary groups, e.g., Hungarian *Kalyi Jag*. The showy passages of the violin copy the melody; they are also sometimes heard in the interlude.

The refrain alternates with rapping, that is, quickly recited passages to the rhythm of musical accompaniment. "Come in the rhythm, whether you are a Rom or not. Dance savore! Piki piki piki piki piki pom! I want all to know that I am a Rom. That my band is Romani, dark, that it plays blackly. So come, chip hop, come with us, we don't care if you are a gadjo. But nobody is perfect, you f... idiot, it is all about romano hip hop." The second stanza is in Romani; he concludes again in Czech. Gipsy dominates not only in singing (in the refrains other musicians join in), but the whole stage: he moves easily, comments on songs and verbally and non-verbally communicates with the audience. Soon the first listeners begin to move to the rhythm, clap and join in the singing of the refrain...

Most of the songs from the latest CDs (*Romano hip hop* and *Reprezent*) have a similar character: they combine rapping with distinctive, but not trivial, melodies in the refrain or accompaniment, their texts (generally less playful but more aggressive than in *Romano hip hop*) alternate languages: Czech preponderates; after it their "Romani" is represented (which Romani scholars call the specific language of Gipsy.cz) and then somewhat oddly pronounced English.

The fact that *Gipsy.cz* was chosen to be the Czech representatives is not especially surprising: in the previous year the Czech minister for human rights

named Gipsy ambassador of the European Union's European Year of Equal Opportunities and shortly after the Get a Taste of Europe festival Czech television made public the fact that it chose the group (in contrast with the usual approach whereby the national representative is voted by television viewers) to represent the Czech Republic in the international Eurovision Song Contest. It seems as if *Gipsy.cz* and mainly Radek Banga, were chosen from the outside to be the representatives of the Romani community. They are popular enough among the majority (although sometimes their song texts are criticized) and at the same time they can seem to be a suitable example for young Roma to follow.

Gipsy.cz, March 6, 2009. Photo by Zuzana Jurková.

There is no doubt that the picture of the "good Rom everyone praises"[35] comes primarily from the love for Gipsy's musical style. From this point of view, the non-standard approach of Czech television was quite legitimate: none of the regularly chosen representatives of the previous years had advanced even to the semifinals. On the contrary, the official esteem of the CD *Romano hip hop*[36], along with a great number of votes for Gipsy in the national European round in the past years, enabled Czech TV to presume that this original and popular group would be successful. The fact that they finally were not any more successful than their predecessors in no way lessened the popularity of their style, which, however, has only little in common with hip hop.

Gipsy (this pseudonym has been used since their musical beginnings by the *Kalo rikonos* group) began, however, as a genuine hip hopper, more

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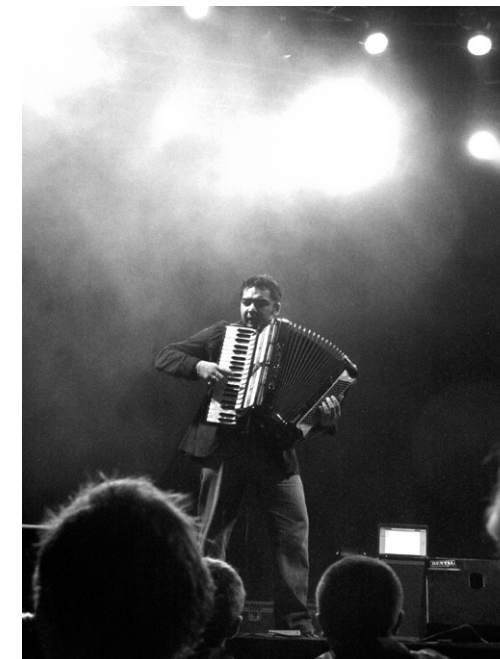
[35] Title of an article by Karel Veselý in *A2* 27/2008:13.

[36] The CD was awarded the Golden Disc for the sale of 10,000 copies.

precisely a rapper (see below) in the group *Syndrom Snopp.* He recorded three CDs[37] with them (*Syndrom Snopp* – 1997, *Syndrom separace* – 2001 and *Syndrom Snopp 3.0* – 2003). They have the same basic features as the original hip hop of Afro-American ghettos of the 70s. His point of view was strong social and racial frustration for the expression of which aggressive recitation is more suitable than song (called *rap* – radical anarchistic poetry) to the rhythm of usually recorded music. This musical background arises most often with mixed music on a turntable, which is, along with *breakdance* and *grafitti,* a moving and graphic element, considered the main components of hip hop. Somewhat later *beatbox*, recorded rhythmic oral sounds, appeared.

At the time of authentic hip hop, however, in Gipsy's music the tendency already appeared that it is possible to ascribe both to his extraordinary ambition (also expressed verbally – both in song texts,[38] and in interviews[39]) as well as to the long-past tendency of Romani musicians to manage easily with stylized and genre borders. In 1999 – that is, between two hip hop CDs – he recorded with the prestigious publishing firm BMG the CD *Ramonis,* characterized as a "soul pop hip hop disk with a gentle breath of jazz."[40]. In 2005[41] he then recorded in the style of R 'n' B the album *Rýmy a blues* (besides: with extraordinarily vulgar texts, which is typical of rap rather than of R 'n' B). After them follow the two popular CDs mentioned earlier: *Romano hip hop* and *Reprezent.*

It was actually these – with their gentle criticism and acceptable originality – that earned Gipsy such popularity.[42] At the same time, however, there was a void among authentic hip hoppers.

Still, that tempting question remains: Is the image of the social situation of the Czech Romani and the Afro-American ghetto reflected in similar musical expression? A positive response seems obvious in so far as some authors

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[37] For suggestions relating to Gipsy, mainly his time with Syndrom Snopp, I am grateful to my student Tomáš Dočkal – viz Dočkal 2007.

[38] For example, in the song *I can* "In Prague and almost in all Bohemia I proved to many ones that I can be same and even better than millions!" CD *Ya favourite CD Rom*. Besides, this album, sung entirely in English, has the obvious ambition of penetrating further than only Czech listeners.

[39] From them all, one recent example: "Do not categorize me anywhere; I did not lower myself... in short an entirely new species in evolution." *Lidové noviny* 6. 12. 2009.

[40] http://skola.romea.cz/cz/index.php?id=hudba/28 (7. 10. 2009)

[41] The date is not mentioned on the CD; I took it from Dočkal. It is also confirmed in an Internet review of the same year.

[42] It seems to me significant, besides, that on www.gipsy.cz (7. 13. 2009) none of their preceding CDs is even mentioned.

simply consider it as a given.[43] The reality, though, is different. In contrast with Slovakia, where the hip hop scene is dominated by the recognized Romani rapper Rytmus with the group *Kontrafakt,* in the Czech lands there is nobody similar. Nor in various types of contests or workshops has any outstanding Romani rapper talent [44] appeared – and those who do rap do it mainly in Czech.

At the same time one cannot disregard the large number of Romani children and young people (mainly boys) who have taken up breakdancing and beatbox. When I once asked a certain breakdancer from Rokycany how often he practiced, he answered: "We practice all the time – in school and afterwards, too." Field workers confirm the omnipresence of both hip hop elements and, actually, they are from the socially most difficult places. It seems, so to speak, that a certain part of the hip hop soundscape of the American ghettos has found resonance in a similar environment in our country and fulfills a similar task, while its rap element has successfully joined the broad stream of popular music.

Coda

As is clear at first glance and hearing, the term "Romani music" can be found in today's Prague in the most varied (and sound) forms and in the most varied environments. For the most part it is imbued with those mythical qualities which are attributed to it – and to the Roma in general – by romanticism: from emotionality to passion, individuality or love of freedom, and also the basic connection of Roma to music. At the same time, however, as is also confirmed by ethomusicological research in other urban environments (REYES 1982) this label does not correspond to a clear-cut genre definition. The configurations of various shapes of the above-mentioned qualities, and also of the expectations of the public, create various musical images – *soundscapes*.

But it is basic that all – musicians and audience – and also those who are in other ways connected to the rise and existence of these images, for instance the restaurateurs of "U 7 andělů" – are right with their concept. The phenomenon of Gypsy/Romani music is thus unravelably interwoven in our nets of relations and consequences to which Clifford Geertz (1973) compares culture.

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[43] Radostný more naively formulates it in an exemplary way (2008).

[44] Viz e.g., the Brno contest Street Sounds (www.street-sounds.cz) or the workshops mentioned above by Dočkal in Ústí nad Labem (Dočkal 2007:83 – 84).

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PERFORMING RACE(D) MUSIC IN CENTRAL EUROPE: CAN BLUEGRASS BE "ETHNICALLY CZECH"?

Lee Bidgood

Abstract: *The 1993 Česko-Slovenský split was the latest step in the formation of today's nearly mono-ethnic Czech nation-state, a culturally homogeneous milieu where ethnicity blurs with citizenship, and outsiders are not always welcomed. As a phenotypically "white" scholar engaged in participatory observation of Czech performance of bluegrass music, I feel the power of music to forge identity in this exclusive environment: my "Americanness" both endears me to and distances me from my Czech colleagues and the life of their communities.*

Bluegrass's foundations in U.S. minstrelsy, its connections with pro-Anglo rhetoric, and its troubling "whiteness" in sound and effect give me pause as I consider how bluegrass musical practices are reproduced in the Czech Republic. Bluegrassers perform repertory and style that is part of the Afro-American musical tension: enhanced by cultural hybridity, but also complicated by legacies of identity and power. How do Czechs process the American black / white tension when they recreate its sounds within very different demographic and socio-historical conditions?

The appearance of the Confederate battle or "rebel" flag and controversial repertory in Czech bluegrass is less important in this discussion than group dynamics and discourse that evoke many of the unmarked categories outlined in current American "whiteness" literature. The "minority" rhetoric voiced by Czechs as a small part of the European conglomerate, and as members of the local bluegrass subculture clash with their de facto majority status within the bounds of the Czech state and within the bluegrass community. By describing some of the groups and events I have observed this year in the Czech Republic, I will give a sense of the "Czechness" that is built into Czech performances of country and bluegrass, and discuss the implications of these intersections of music, identity, and performance.

Key words: *bluegrass, ethnicity.*

Bluegrass is a country music subgenre innovated in the Southern United States by Bill Monroe and other musicians in the mid-20th century. Through a variety of interesting twists, music-making informed by U.S. bluegrass has been going on in the Czech lands for over a half century, nearly as long as it has in the US. The prehistory of Czech bluegrass activity lies in the Central European affinity for representations of America, especially of wilderness, the "Wild West" as described by Karl May and Jack London, the woodcraft detailed by Baden-Powell and Thompson-Seton, and the rambling idylls of Thoreau. The so-called *tramping* movement of the early 1900s grew out of images of adventure drawn from these writers, the vaudeville-esque music theater of the *Osvobozené Divadlo* of Werich and Voskovec, and the visual spark of western films such as those starring Tom Mix. (Kotek 106-7)

The associated genre of "tramp songs" soon followed. Tramping's musicians, already equipped with a string band instrumentation (guitars, mandolins, etc.), eagerly incorporated US country and bluegrass when US Armed Forces Network broadcasts first brought these sounds to Central European airwaves after the second World War.

Today bluegrass and country music elements are widespread in the Czech Republic. The Bluegrassova Asosiace Ceské Republiky lists nearly 200 groups on their website, Prague's *Country Radio* broadcasts nearly everywhere, and most small towns host events called "*country baly*" which feature songs and dancing that would be familiar to bluegrass fans in the States.

Amidst this variety of interpretations of "America" and country music, there are a wide range of interpretations of bluegrass and many derivative labels, such as "trampgrass," "Czechgrass," "Second Grass," "Newgrass," etc. My dissertation research is focused on Czechs who are most intensely working at recreating a traditional bluegrass style. Bluegrass Cwrkot is a good example – they wear suits, string ties, and cowboy hats, and they stick to repertory taken from bluegrass old-timers Bill Monroe and Flatt and Scruggs.

Traditionalist bluegrass, more than any of the constellation of bluegrass-related expressions, is based on the "good old days," and on a few "good old boys" who created the "bluegrass" sound and concept in the 1950s as a way of celebrating a rural, and sometimes overtly "Anglo" music heritage in the face of rock and roll, Rhythm and Blues, and other more progressive and racially charged sounds.

A reverence for the first generation of bluegrass players, as well as the style and repertory they created, haunts bluegrass today–even in the Czech

Republic. One of Cwrkot's "hits" is a newly composed homage to Bill Monroe, a native of Rosine, Kentucky, and the self-acclaimed "Father of Bluegrass."

A large photo of Monroe hangs over the stage at the hospoda "U Starého Rebela" in Sloupnice, East Bohemia. The Old Rebel Pub is owned by BG Cwrkot bassist Pavel Brandejs, and is the "home base" of the band – they host bluegrass evenings once a month, and other events. I attended a concert there two weeks ago and was struck by the decor and ambience. It was a normal Czech pub in many ways, but along with weathered artifacts of rural life and bygone days, the walls were covered with photos of bluegrass and country stars: Hank Williams, Jimmy Martin, Flatt and Scruggs – the whole pantheon. Instead of a football match, before the concert started, a DVD called "Gospel Bluegrass Homecoming" poured Ricky Skagg's sweet and sacred harmonies over the bar into the smoky room.

Another recurring item on the walls was connected to the name of the pub. The "Rebel flag," a relic of the Confederate States of America, is an emblem of white, Southern pride in the US today. Despite, or perhaps because of, the controversy, it still appears all over: T-shirts, bumper stickers, flying over caravans at bluegrass festivals, even. While the implications of this particular sign are a bit mixed in the Czech context, the problem of "whiteness" does pop up here.

As a recent article by Allen Farmelo points out, many narratives pose bluegrass as some sort of "traditional music of **white** people in the US." Farmelo describes a more complicated history, showing bluegrass to be a 20th century representation of cultural interaction over hundreds of years between black and white Americans. The exclusion of African-Americans from narratives about string band music in the United States, Farmelo contends, is part of the pattern of Anglo-American hegemony. David Whisnant (1985) and Gavin Campbell's (2005) work provides extensive case studies which illustrate specific ways that American string band music has been used by European-Americans to further their race-based ideologies. Despite their critical work, though, bluegrass in the US continues to be a solidly "white" scene.

So what about whiteness in Czech bluegrass? Does the ethnic homogeneity of "white" – "native Czech" – Czech bluegrassers have anything to do with the racial politics of the United States? Have Czechs adopted not only the musical materials, but some of the cultural practices of bluegrass and the American South? The nationalist, racist undercurrent in Czech society is a definite presence, but I don't think the BG Cwrkot and the rest of the scene are necessarily part of that stream.

BG Cwrkot were guests of honor at the weekend bluegrass workshop in Nové Svatoňovice in the fall of 2007. At the climactic Saturday night concert, bassist and bandleader Pavel "Brandy" Brandejs introduced the fiddle player, who smiled shyly in the shadow of his broad-brimmed and western-ish hat:

> *Nejmladším se mnou hrající člověkem je*
> *pan kterej je z Mladé Boleslavi*
> *hraje se mnou teprve rok*
> *kdo je tady na housle*
> *tak by ho rád vycitil s tím*
> *že se mnou hraje na housle rok,*
> *a na housle vúbec hraje rok a púl.*
>   *[smích]*
> **má to v krví**
> *z Mladé Boleslavi*
> *DAVID KOUCKÝ!*

> *The youngest person playing with me is*
> *a man from Mladá Boleslav*
> *he's playing with me now for a year*
> *those who are here studying fiddle*
> *will be interested to know that*
> *he's been playing fiddle with me a year,*
> *and has only been playing fiddle for a year and a half*
>   *[laughing]*
> ***he's got it in his blood***
> *from Mladá Boleslav*
> *DAVID KOUCKY!*

[Author's field recording, and translation]

What is it he's got in his blood? Why do I put these words in bold? If you saw David, you'd know why. The buzz around David (I still haven't been able to land an interview to get better information) is that he is a Rom, a Gipsy – part of a group that has endured a deeply marginalized position in Czech history for centuries.

Back to my original question: what is in his blood? After this introduction, David went on to fiddle a hot version of the bluegrass classic "Back Up and Push," displaying a rough virtuosity that garnered fierce applause from the audience. What sort of "blood" would contribute to this sort of playing? Is it Roma-ness? Otherness? Is it … Bluegrass?

I'm not sure how to take Brandy's comment, and am even more "not sure" how to take up this issue with David when I meet with him, as I hope to do. "So…you are a Romani musician involved in bluegrass. How does that work? Do you feel there is racism directed at you? Do you feel kinship to African-American people, musicians, musical practices?" etc. etc. Just thinking about it is disorienting, and reminds me what a different situation I work within here in the Czech Republic, how the race/ethnicity problems of the United States are somehow part of culture here, but are not the only dynamic at play.

One avenue for understanding his position, though, is to imagine how I share some part of his "otherness." I can't help remarking on the parallel between myself and David: We both are set apart in some way due to some sort of birthright that we claim through genetics. In the Czech Republic I am often – in fact, almost always – introduced on stage with phrases similar to those we just heard. I am often presented as "*Lee z Ameriky*," which is a rhymed reminder that I can be reified, essentialized as a figure of "Americanness" in the same way that David is enclosed by the discourse of ethnicity.

I realize the limits of this line of thinking, however. Unlike David, I can slip into a crowd and not be visibly different from the rest of the "white" folks around. I'm usually marked only by my voice – while sometimes I can pass linguistically, my stumbling Czech or my practiced English usually give me away.

My fiddle playing also gets comments. Two of the top fiddlers in the bluegrass scene here are Pepa Malina and Stano Paluch, both accomplished musicians with conservatory backgrounds and experience in a variety of musical settings. At a bluegrass workshop outside of Brno in 2005, we were sitting around playing bluegrass fiddle tunes and talking. The specifics have left me, but I still remember being surprised at how these great musicians both said that they feel as if they aren't very good fiddlers, that they don't play this music the way they would like – using ME as an example of someone who is able to play it well, emphasizing especially the rhythmic feel they noticed in my right hand, in my bowing.

Another very able (and conservatory-trained) fiddler, Jirka Králík, stopped me cold as I sat with him playing fiddle tunes this past October. I had just played the opening phrase of the tune "Red Haired Boy," a standard fiddle tune in bluegrass circles. He stopped me, excited: "WAIT! How'd you play that?" We worked over what I had played, and came up with the diagnosis – I was using a bluesy/modal/pentatonic/scale instead of a "normal" major tonal framework, slipping in a G instead of the F# usually found in the first phrase of the tune.

These musical elements are stereotypically "black" – a problematic observation, but one that, like Philip Tagg's analysis (1989) of this sort of characterization, leaves some room for discussion about "racial" identifications and musical style. Interestingly enough, the characteristics I remarked on above remind me of David Koucký's fiddling style, which, like mine, is rougher, less controlled than Pepa's and Jirka's polished finesse. We are both outsiders in a way, but both incorporated into the Czech bluegrass scene. I won't push the parallel too far, but will just say that for all its exclusivity and prickliness, bluegrass, even in its Czech forms, incorporates difference in ways that continue to surprise me.

Joti Rockwell's recent dissertation considers bluegrass as it is constructed by people who perform and consume the music. Rockwell proposes that bluegrass activity is a constellation of individuals in discourse around the central trope, spinning out variations, but maintaining a connection to the core – a typical illustration of flexible, developing tradition. Concluding a section where he describes how much bluegrassers argue about what, in fact, bluegrass itself IS, he says that "as long as the debate continues, people continue listening, and as long as people continue listening, performers continue producing the music under discussion. The debate, then, is an important reason why the genre is alive and can continue to be sustained." (Rockwell 2005, 101)

The concept of tropes is encouraging to me – seeing Czech performances of bluegrass as part of the negotiation of tropes rather than the successful or unsuccessful reproduction of a specific prescriptive genre regime allows for the sort of alternative narratives that Farmelo seeks in redressing Bluegrass historiography. A tropological understanding of bluegrass more readily accepts the sort of narratives about bluegrass that I come across here in Czech Republic – whether it be my stories as a scholar and player, or the ones that David Koucký or his bandmates in BG Cwrkot have to tell. More importantly, understanding bluegrass as a trope poses all of us as active agents in a discourse, as people who are engaged in negotiation of what bluegrass **is**, not subjects of an abstract idea of genre. That's music, not only to my ears, but also to my conscience.

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SAINT PETERSBURG – LENINGRAD – SAINT PETERSBURG
Mythization of the City

Róża Godula-Węcławowicz

Abstract: *A characteristic feature of the contemporary language of popular culture is an attempt to present Saint Petersburg in the categories of the superlative and greatness. A popular history of the city is based on a few selected events: 1. Founded in 1703 by Tsar Peter the Great who subsequently appointed himself emperor, the city gave rise to a new Russia which was being built in opposition to the old Rus; 2. In the years 1712–1918, it was the capital of the Russian Empire and the seat of the Tsars of All-Russia; 3. It vaunts rich revolutionary traditions and above all the outbreak of the Great Socialist October Revolution of 1917 which initiated the era of communism in a sizable part of Europe and of the world; 4. It survived heroically the German blockade lasting nearly 900 days from September 1941 to January 1944; the blockade cost over a million human lives, yet the city was not vanquished.*

The above four events create a framework and at the same time an important context within which the myth of St. Petersburg's-Leningrad's greatness develops and grows. This myth is composed of a few mutually interconnected concepts: 1. The idea of a new beginning and a doubly new one at that – as devised by Peter the Great and then the Soviet one which led to an avalanche of Socialist transformations all over the world; 2. The idea of a strong center which is expressed in the concept of the imperial capital, reinforced by the majesty of the authority of the tsars and the birthplace of the Great Revolution; 3. The idea of the might and power of the imperial All-Russia, the potential of the Great October and the indomitableness of Leningrad.

The contemporary ruler of Russia, Vladimir Putin, himself a citizen of St. Petersburg by birth, skillfully takes advantage of the myth of the great Peter: founder, builder, reformer and invincible ruler; this helps him build

his own political image. Vladimir Putin takes advantage of every possible opportunity to increase the significance of St. Petersburg and by doing so of his own person. Putin likes to emphasize his close ties with his native city. Paying great attention to his own publicity, he carefully chooses the occasions to visit the old capital. In the year 2003, Saint Petersburg celebrated the 300th anniversary of its foundation. In accordance with Putin's wish, the Jubilee was to be grand. On many occasions Putin declared publicly that it was an excellent opportunity to show Russia's might and its true source. In the manner of Peter the Great, Putin opened the imperial gates of Russia to the contemporary world. The myth of the greatness of the state and of its ruler continues to flourish on Petersburg soil and from time to time it reveals to the world its successive form.

Keywords: *Historic City, Mythization of the past, St. Petersburg*

Do you live in Paris? It's a nice city. It reminds me a little of Petersburg. But of course, it is smaller. It is with these words that the director of Petersburg's film studio "Len-film" addressed a correspondent of the Paris "L'Express," who had asked him for an interview on the occasion of the three hundredth anniversary of the city's foundation (Epstein, Szewielkina 2003: -). The language of the anecdote is concise, but extremely succinct; these few sentences describe very poignantly the picture of great Petersburg as it exists in the social memory. Undoubtedly, it is evoked by the sheer scale of the urban layout which merges harmoniously with the meanders of the river Neva; it is also evoked by the broad streets with far-reaching vistas, by spacious squares and parks, monumental architecture, by the facades of palaces and residences with a regular rhythm of hundreds of windows and columns stretching along the river banks. However what is important is not only the sheer spatial scale, but above all the ideological content the city is endowed with, which comes to light in various cultural publications and at its different levels.

A characteristic feature of the contemporary language of tourism is an attempt to present Saint Petersburg in the categories of the superlative. In popular book publications, guidebooks and travel brochures, as well as in the advertising materials of travel agencies and on their web sites, St. Petersburg looms as:

The biggest city in the world which is situated so far to the north; the biggest open-air museum. Its most famous symbols are the Hermitage – the biggest museum and collection of paintings in the world…, the team of the Mariinsky Theatre – which is among the best opera and ballet ensembles in the world .

In the information concerning the historical substance of the city, the factual and accurate description of style and ornamentation does not suffice; what prevails is the language of numbers which is to emphasize the grandeur and exuberance:

In the city center, we shall see 200 museums (or their branches), 8 emperor (tsarist) and a few dozen other palaces. In the suburbs…there are as many as 6 great palace-park complexes. They number 17 palaces and 23 park ensembles with several hundred fountains and other architectural monuments.

The local guides make frequent use of this style of narration:

The Issakievsky Cathedral (St. Isaac Cathedral) is decorated with 300 mosaics whose total surface area exceeds six and a half thousand square meters; its façade is decorated with 112 monolith granite columns. The biggest one weighs 114 tons. 140 kg of gold were used to decorate the cathedral dome, whereas 400 kg were used to decorate the interior of the cathedral. When visiting the Winter Palace, visitors have to go through 1100 chambers and climb 117 staircases – etc. (RGW 2008).

A fictionalized history of the city is based on a few selected events:

1) Founded in 1703 by Tsar Peter the Great who subsequently appointed himself emperor, the city gave rise to a new Russia which was being built in opposition to the old Rus.
2) In the years 1712–1918, it was the capital of the Russian Empire and the seat of the Tsars of All-Russia.
3) It vaunts rich revolutionary traditions and above all the outbreak of the Great Socialist October Revolution of 1917 which had initiated the era of communism in a sizable part of Europe and of the world.
4) It survived heroically the German blockade lasting nearly 900 days from September 1941 to January 1944; the blockade cost over a million human lives, yet the city was not vanquished.

The above four events create a framework and at the same time an important context within which the myth of St. Petersburg's-Leningrad's greatness develops and grows. This myth is composed of a few mutually interconnected concepts:

1) The idea of a new beginning and a doubly new one at that – as devised by Peter the Great and then the Soviet one which led led to an avalanche of Socialist transformations all over the world.

2) The idea of a strong center which is expressed in the concept of the imperial capital, reinforced by the majesty of the authority of the tsars and the birthplace of the Great Revolution.

3) The idea of the might and power of the imperial All-Russia, the potential of the Great October and the indomitableness of Leningrad.

The past and its ideological senses may be detected in the changing names of the city. Saint Petersburg, the name given to the city by its founder, literally harked back to the Holy Prince of the Apostles and to ancient, imperial and apostolic Rome. Side by side, there also functioned the abridged versions of the city's name: Petersburg, Petergrod and Petropol – all of which referred directly to the Tsar Peter the Great. The documents from the time of the city's foundation clearly show that the analogy to Rome and the linking of the apostle with the tsar was a conscious device in Peter's ideology of the state (Łotman, Uspienski 1993: 162-163; Uspienski 1993: 180-184). Petergrod officially appeared in the year 1914 as the German-sounding name of Russia's capital was a sore point in the face of the war with Germany. The city ceased being the capital after the communists seized power. The new government had transferred its seat to Moscow. Soon, in the year 1924, Leningrad was born in honor of the victorious Revolution and its Leader who just died. The city recovered its original name in the spring of 1991. A few months before the disintegration of the Soviet Union, in a referendum, the inhabitants of Leningrad decided to return to the sources. Although for over half a century Petersburg was Leningrad, the inhabitants continued to use the name "Pitier" with its specific familiar-sounding semantics (Żyłko 2000:14). Besides the above appellation which is still very much alive, there currently operate the name Petersburg and more rarely Petergrod, but all of them refer to the person of the tsar – the founder, and not to the Holy patron of the city (RGW 2008).

The iconosphere of contemporary Petersburg creates a specific whole, in which its two main faces, the tsarist and the Soviet one, overlap and permeate each other. The historical names of many streets, squares, parks, palaces, residences and buildings, which had been renamed during the communist times in accordance with the then ruling ideology, been restored at the beginning of the nineties of the last century. But the underground continues to stop at the Majakowski, Proletariat, Pioneer or the Bolshevik Prospect stations. Concerts take place in the October Concert Hall at the corner of the 4th Soviet St. and the Greek Prospect. The "Aurora" battleship is permanently and "eternally" moored at the Newa embankment. There have remained the Dzierżyński monument, Kirow Square with its monumental statue and a few monuments of Lenin. One of them proudly rises above the square named after him, right next to the Finland Rail Station. This place is particularly closely associated with Vladimir Lenin. In 1917, after his return from exile, it was here on this square before the rail station that he delivered his triumphant speech to the cheering crowds.

The second monument stands before the former elitist school known by the name of Smolny Institute for Noble Maidens (*nota bene*: the name has recently returned to everyday usage!). In the year 1917, the school was overrun by the proletariat deputies to the Delegates' Council. It was in the assembly hall of this school that Lenin declared that the power is handed over to the people.

In the Decembrist Square (originally known as Piotrovski Square and, in the 19th century, the Senate Square), one finds a monument of Peter the Great, popularly known in the Polish translation as the Bronze Horseman Monument. It was founded in 1782 by Empress Catherine II to mark the one hundredth anniversary of the ascendance to the throne of her illustrious predecessor. The monument got its nickname of the Bronze Horseman in the 19th century from the poem of Alexander Pushkin; the poem tells of a powerful and omnipotent tsar who mounts his fiery stallion. Like a Demiurge, by creating Petersburg, Peter the Great had tamed Russia and had spurred it to the jump, like the bronze horse in the monument.

The Bronze Horseman has become inscribed in the local folklore with a legend – in all likelihood of 19th century origin, in accordance with which, as long as the Horseman is standing, the city will continue to exist (Toporov 2000: 179). The city tale says that during the German blockade of Leningrad, it was precisely for this reason that the monument was not evacuated and was protected against bombardment with a wooden-earthen shelter. The city

withstood a 900-day-long siege as the Bronze Horseman remained in its place (RGW 2008).

In the year 1992, the "Hymn of the Great City" was solemnly and officially introduced. The words were written by Oleg Czuprow to the music from the ballet "The Bronze Horseman," composed by Reinhold M. Gliere. The hymn is in fact a solemn ode singing the praises of St. Petersburg which is referred to in it (in free translation) as: a city of might and power, immortal as Russia; a city whose soul is protected by the Bronze Horseman. Like a golden echo, St. Petersburg reverberates with the sacred music and lights up the path to destiny forever." (translation RGW).

Let us note one more characteristic thing, namely that both in the legend and in the above-quoted ode, the character of the Emperor had supplanted St. Peter the Apostle in the role of the city's patron. The "Hymn of the Great City" is sung on public holidays and on anniversaries associated with the city: on February 10, on Memory Day commemorating Peter the Great, on May 27, that is on St. Petersburg Day, and on Navy Day which is celebrated on the first Sunday following July 22. For the last few years, its melody has welcomed and bidden farewell to travelers embarking on a journey from the Finland Railway Station which is associated with Lenin; yet the "Hymn" discreetly does not mention him (RGW 2008).

The contemporary ruler of Russia, Vladimir Putin, himself a citizen of St. Petersburg by birth, skillfully takes advantage of the myth of the great Peter: founder, builder, reformer and invincible ruler; this helps him build his own political image. Rumor has it that earlier on at the time when he still held the post of deputy mayor of St. Petersburg, Peter the Great always accompanied him everywhere; he transferred his portrait to successive offices and always hung it in a place of honor. Apparently he then took it to the Kremlin (RGW 2008).

Vladimir Putin takes advantage of every possible opportunity to increase the significance of St. Petersburg and by doing so of his own person. It was precisely here, and not in the capital city of Moscow that in March 2000 the newly elected president of Russia had conducted his very first interview with a Western politician, the British Prime Minister Tony Blair. In accordance with the semantics of the "first time" Putin's gesture was received as a harbinger of a new style in Russia's foreign policy. The decisive role was played here by the place where the meeting between the two world leaders had taken place – namely, St. Petersburg, which in accordance with the intention of Peter the Great, was to symbolize a break with the former history of Russia and

starting it, as it were, anew (Łotman, Uspiensky 1993: 158-159, 169-170). During his two terms of office as president, and also during his current term of office as prime minister, Putin had received there heads of the most important world states many a time. Thanks to this, the city became a sort of Russian Camp David, at least in the opinion of Paul Smith, the American consul in St. Petersburg (Graczyk 2002: -). According to another commentator, there is a widespread conviction among some Western European diplomats that by paying a visit to the historical capital of Russia, one pleases the Russian leader (Łomanowski 2003).

Putin likes to emphasize his close ties with his native city. Paying great attention to his own publicity, he carefully chooses the occasions when to visit to the old capital. On Saturday December 27, 2008, the Polish RMF FM Radio informed its listeners that Russia's prime minister had traveled to his roots with the mayor of St. Petersburg and that he had paid a visit to the Christmas fair and taken part in the painting of pictures for the traditional Petersburg charity auction. Earlier on, in October last year, some Internet news sites (WWW.) reported that Vladimir Vladimirowicz Putin had celebrated his 56 birthday in Petersburg together with the Russian cinematography which was then celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of its birth. What is significant is that he did not visit the Len-film studio which was more appropriate in the context of the jubilee celebrations of Russian cinema, as it has existed from the very beginning of the Soviet Union, whereas he took part in the conference organized on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Russian World Studio – a young but lively film and TV studio. In an occasional speech, Putin emphasized the role of Petersburg in the development of native cinematography and he recalled the thought of Lenin: "It was right here, in St. Petersburg, 100 years ago when people watched the first Russian feature film ever. The attitude towards cinema has undergone several changes. Firstly it was perceived as a wonder, then it became a propaganda instrument of enormous power – there is even a famous saying of Lenin that cinematography is the most important of all the arts." These words of Lenin acquired an additional significance in the context of the subsequent part of the celebrations associated with the prime minister's birthday. A ceremonial premiere of the film "Let Us Learn Judo with V. V. Putin" took place in the former tsarist Constantinovsky Palace in Strelna near Petersburg. In the film, the premier talks about his passion for this martial art and shows some of its secrets, performing a few holds and throws onto the mat. He is building an image of a tough man.

In the year 2003, Saint Petersburg celebrated the 300th anniversary of its foundation. In accordance with Putin's wish, the Jubilee was to be grand. On many occasions Putin declared publicly that it was an excellent opportunity to show Russia's might and its true source. The city, whose former splendor had been restored for a few years, played a fundamental role here. The suburban residences of Peter the Great, as well as of his successors, had also been restored. The renovation of St. Petersburg had become a national priority. Immense sums of money, amounting to billions of roubles flowed out of the state budget. Already the very appearance of the city and its surroundings was to have dazzled the invited guests. The celebrations lasted all year round whereas the most spectacular ones took place at the turn of May and June. They were marked by two important dates: May 27 – the location of the city, and May 30 – Peter the Great's birthday. The celebrations were attended by the leaders of forty-five countries from all over the world as well as by delegations of a few dozen international organizations – all of whom were accommodated in the interiors of the former tsarist palaces in and around St. Petersburg. The celebrations began with a spectacular display of fireworks and each subsequent event overshadowed the previous one; among them there were: a laser show of scenes from the history of the city, a light and music spectacle, in which there danced the fountains of the Great Cascade in Peterhof, a concert of the New York Metropolitan Opera orchestra. The organizers also did not forget to manifest Russia's military might in a street army parade. Putin, at that time president of the Russian Federation, had held a few official dinners in the representative tsarist palaces for the luminaries of world politics, art and culture as well as business. He had carefully directed the several-day-long spectacle, so as to demonstrate the pro-Western face of Russia, but, at the same time, a Russia which was deeply rooted in the native tradition of an autocratic state. In the manner of Peter the Great, Putin had opened the imperial gates of Russia to the contemporary world.

The jubilee celebrations had come to an end and with them the spectacle of Russian glory and of its Byzantine splendor, but the myth of the greatness of the state and of its ruler continues to flourish on Petersburg soil and from time to time it reveals to the world its successive form. In July 2006, president Putin played host to the leaders of the Great Eight (G-8), the group of the most developed world states. For the first time since the creation of this organization, the Russian Federation presided over the G-8 sessions and was the organizer of its annual meeting. It is significant that Andrew Illarionov's

dramatic appeal, published in the Washington Post of April 18, 2006, had remained without a reply. This former aide and advisor of Putin for economic affairs stated that by accepting Russia's invitation, the leaders of the Western states legitimize its anti-democratic and imperial policy. The Petersburg convention went according to plan. The noisy demonstrations of the anti-globalists, which have constituted a part of the political ritual for many years, did not disturb its course. The host had seen to it that his guests and practically the whole city would be effectively separated from the rest of the world (Bulletin 2006; Gradziuk 2006).

In accordance with the custom established over the years, the participants of the sessions debated on the big issues of world politics. The sessions and the banquets in the palaces and parks were accompanied by wonderful weather, as rumor has it – thanks to spraying from airplanes chemicals that effectively scattered the clouds. The myth of Russia's greatness, as well as of the might of its president and of St. Petersburg itself had strengthened and is going strong.

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Peter Salner: PREMENY ŽIDOVSKEJ BRATISLAVY [Changes in Jewish Bratislava]

Bratislava: Albert Marenčin PT, 2008, 175 s., ISBN 978-80-89218-83-7.

The new book by the Bratislava ethnologist and chairman of Bratislava's Jewish Religious Community Peter Salner, the author of several very successful books about the capital of Slovakia, was published in a Bratislava-Pressburg edition in a beautiful graphic layout of the well-known Bratislava publishing house. Not only the title, but also the cover, on which there is a photograph of the former neological synagogue which was razed in 1969 for the construction of a new bridge across the Danube, speaks of the author's purpose of connecting his two large research topics: postwar Bratislava and the world of the Jewish minority, both on the official level (community, associations), and on the individual level (family and individuals) into one whole. Salner decided to cover the relatively long period of 1945 to 1968 and, in the conclusion of the book, even extended into the years of normalization, the analysis of which he wants to continue in his next volume.

Research of the situation of the Jews in the Czech lands in the years l945 to 1968, unfortunately not reflected in the book (with the exception of an article by the distinguished Czech journalist Peter Brod [1999] summarizing the results of existing research), already showed that such a time segment in itself contains several periods. In the years of the renewal of the community (1945–1947)

there was again formed, in the environment of the Czech lands, a minority institutional platform, renewed religious life, institutionalized memory of the Shoah, emphasized Jewish resistance (the myth of the Jews as sheep going to the slaughter was strictly denied). The Jews – and with respect to postwar anti-Semitism, the difficulties with restitutions, the problems of acquiring documents about so-called national reliability – considered their strategies of the future, including emigration to Israel or to Western Europe or America. New waves of emigration were provoked by the February Revolution in 1948 and the tragic year of 1968. Those who did not leave chose a strategy of inconspicuousness, assimilation, or remained members of the Jewish religious community, whose tactic became the reconciling of Jewish tradition and radically socialist ideology. The year 1950 brought a breakthrough when there was a marked deterioration of the relation of Czechoslovakia, a Soviet satellite, to Israel. However after February 1948 the Zionist movement had already come to an end. In the Stalinist period of the communist regime (1948–1955) the position of the Jewish minority basically deteriorated. The introduction to Salner's book, written by Jaro Franěk, also mainly revolves around that problem, especially then around the Slánský trial, generally communist anti-Semitism and the stereotype of the Jew-communist, alive up to the present, and also the inability of today's Slovak society to come to terms with postwar anti-Semitism. Sovietization of the Czechoslovak society afflicted the world of Czech Jews through the reduction of their communities, an

insufficiency of spiritual leaders and control over reduced religious and social life by the communist party. The community wrestled with the problem of obtaining kosher groceries. On the other hand a certain renaissance of Jewish culture continued. On the official level maneuvering between Judaism and communist ideology, including transformation of Jewish war victims into an image of socialist heroes, continued. Conservative de-Stalinization in the years 1956 to 1960, accompanied by the destruction of many Jewish monuments, was accompanied by the activization of Jews from the Czech lands who were abroad. And actually that, or a relaxation of the social atmosphere on the international level, quite possibly foreshadowed the 60s, mainly the period 1963 to 1966/7, when the Jewish phenomenon returned to the consciousness of Czech society.

Promising rudiments of a certain democracy, contacts between Czech and Viennese Jewish representatives, and activization of Jewish youth ended with the suspension of diplomatic relations with Israel (1967), which in Jewish thought filled the function of refuge of brothers and sisters and the cradle of Judaism, and with the defeat of the so-called Prague Spring (1968). Celebration of a millennium of Czech Jews (1966) was postponed twice and deprived of its international context. Thanks to Salner, it is possible today to compare Czech development with Slovak development; however, the author – probably with reference to the character of his material – in some cases did not consistently explain the causes of historic changes of Jewish Bratislava.

Salner, who emphasized the fact that he dealt with his "personal" topic (by way of the book he held a dialogue with his deceased parents) in his readable text used the oral-historic interview with witnesses, e-mail (!) correspondence with postwar Jewish emigrants, fragments of archival material of the Jewish religious community in Bratislava, professional (mainly Slovak, but also German, and also with great reserve Czech, but not Polish, American, etc.) literature, published memoirs, and his own memory, but not sources of a major nature. He methodically enriched our current knowledge of the division of Jews into invisible (they did not express themselves in public, but only within the framework of the community) and visible (they appeared in public, strove for assimilation and for complete equality with non-Jews). Important, although not original, it also turned out that he attempted his analysis of the changes of the Jewish community (3,500 Bratislava Jews survived the Shoah) to combine with the results of the Holocaust and the character of the totalitarian regime.

The structure of the book is interesting. In the first chapter Salner deals with the character of Bratislava and subjectively experienced problems of the Jews after 1945 (the change in relationship to their own ideological orientation, hatred of the majority of German and Hungarian Jews, ethnic cleansing of Bratislava, problems of ethnically mixed marriages, chronically known difficulties with hunting for apartments [but not with restitution], coping with the fate of their relatives) and partly also reaction to expressions of postwar anti-Semitism (applications for name changes, emigra-

tion, strengthening of visions of assimilation). In Slovakia there was also a revival of the community thanks to the activization of Jewish youth at the end of the 1950s and 1960s. The second chapter, sort of the core of the book, then describes the activities of the rapid activization of the neological and orthodox Bratislava Jewish religious community, that is, centers of invisible Jews. Despite material lacks, in the years 1948–1952, it was possible to see a development tendency similar to the one in the Czech lands (loyalty to the regime in exchange for the possibility of activities of Jewish institutions, maneuvering between Judaism and communist ideology, a stubborn attempt to maintain one's own religious and social life). A Bratislava feature, however, became discord between orthodox and neological Jews (an independent sub-chapter is dedicated to the conflicts in the community). On the contrary, the fate of religious buildings was similar; Salner also points out in the process the threat to the orthodox cemetery in the 1960s. The third chapter analyzes – again mainly with personal memories – the profile of members of emigration waves to Israel, where mostly secularized Jews went. Also in Slovakia, just as in the Czech lands, the experience of Zionist camps and associations mainly for Jewish youth compensated for real life. Similar also were motives for emigration (anti-Semitism, orphanhood), or non-emigration (worry about relatives, professional career) to Israel. Part of this chapter, however, is the development of official relations to the Jewish state and the anti-Zionist character of the political trials in the 50s. The Zionist move-

ment disintegrated and the emigration of almost 4,000 people after 1968 (whose experiences of August 1968 are brought closer by means of a few impressive documents of personal character) was no longer directed exclusively to Israel.

Peter Salner's new charming and readable book brings another extraordinarily important view of the Bratislava Jewish community after the Second World War. He enriches our current knowledge not only with new original material, but also methodically. He presents a view built mainly on the basis of minority sources of personal and institutional character. In it is the power of work, but also its certain weakness. It is – despite the indisputable obsoleteness of the current Salner picture of postwar Jewish Bratislava – an augmented by and not always quite consistent connection of Bratislava events to the state and international socio-political situation.

As for the unique period photographs, sensitively accompanying the text, I would welcome reference to the source of the document or a more complete description although the book is, of course, destined for the wider public.

Blanka Soukupová

VOICES OF THE WEAK: MUSIC AND MINORITIES
Zuzana Jurková & Lee Bidgood (eds.)

In the context of Czech social sciences and humanities, a unique book about music and minorities has recently been published in cooperation with the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague.

If one coincidentally appears at an ethnomusicological conference somewhere around the world, he would be surprised at the ubiquitous presence of the word "minority." Why are ethnomusicologists so obsessed with minorities? One could suggest that it is because they often feel like a minority themselves. In the field of musicology, they are the ones studying "weird" music and using such "weird" methods as participant observation. On the other hand, in the field of anthropology, they are also often the "weird" ones dealing with such an elusive phenomenon as music and suspected of being hidden "old musicologists" or "folklorists."

The Nestor of world ethnomusicology, Bruno Nettl (interestingly enough: born in Prague, 1930, as a member of the Jewish minority in Czechoslovakia), said: "Many ethnomusicologists, after all, have seen themselves for many decades as students of the music of the downtrodden of the world. At the same time, they have often seen themselves as a kind of minority among music scholars and musicians of Europe and North America. Looking back to my days, ca. 1950, as a student, however, I find it ironic that in several important ways, we also saw ourselves as the defenders of majorities, perhaps labeled best as 'neglected majorities.'[...] It was the music historians, we thought, who were the ones interested in the exceptional – in understanding the greatest of [Western] composers." (Nettl 2009:12)

Nevertheless, one has to bear in mind that, as Nettl adds, "there's no doubt that the concept of minority [or majority], and the identification of minorities is to some extent a construction of the observer." (Nettl 2009:13).

Recently, the little Czech ethnomusicological minority celebrated a great success: not only that it hosted an international conference on music and minorities in May 2008, which was attended by more than 60 scholars from 23 countries (see *http://musicandminorities.googlepages.com/musicandminoritiesgroupmeeting2008*), but it also found enough support to publish a collective monograph accompanied by a CD.

The book consists of the most interesting conference articles related to the following themes: (i) reconsideration of the term "minority"; (ii) music of Romani subethnic groups (iii) music of other minority groups such as ethnic, regionally specific, religious or social; (iv) cultural policy; (v) representation.

Yet, the publishing itself was not the only goal. The book attempts to bring ethnomusicological research paradigms closer to each other. Only 22 articles which were successfully chosen by an international advisory board have been published. (However, in order to keep maximum scholarly openness, all of the papers that were submitted are published on the conference Web pages.)

The book opens with Zuzana Jurková's concise and pregnant introduction about the state of Czech ethnomusicology. Her text is followed by Bruno Nettl's "meditation" (as he calls it), summarizing his experience of research of American Indian cultures, minority music makers

in Iran and his living in musical minorities in prewar Czechoslovakia. From the methodological point of view, one of the highlights of the book is undoubtedly the article "*Cultural Policies and Minority Musics in Kosovo and Sri Lanka. What Can We learn from a Comparative Study?*" by Svanibor Pettan and Lasanthi Manaranjanie Kalinga Dona. Let me also mention Johannes Brusila's "*Between Minor and Major. Discursive and Neomaterialist Reflections on Lasse Mårtenson and 'Finland–Swedish' Popular Music*", which is one of the most theoretically interesting papers published here.

Concerning the topic of Romani music, we can learn about communities in Bulgaria, Turkey, Poland, and Ukraine and the Machwaya Roma in America. Two articles also deconstruct stereotypical Gypsy images in post-romantic academic music and the popular music of Goran Bregović. Similar to that, the phenomenon of Yugomania and Yugo-nostalgia is entertained. Other music cultures and topics we can encounter in the publication are: hardcore rap culture, the Armenian minority in Ukraine, contemporary musical peasant traditions in Slovenia, the musical heritage of the Czech Brethren in Poland, Bulgarian cultural politics concerning the Turkish minority, Bessarabian Bulgarian musicians, the Sorbian minority in Germany, minority cultural policy in the media in the area of Vojvodina, policy of the music archives, and finally, music of prisoners.

If we take into account that, in the Czech environment, interest has been concentrated much more on the construction and consolidation of its own cultural identity than on the knowledge

of different cultural groups, least of all, minorities (Elschek 1991, cit. Jurková 2009:8), then we could say that this seemingly marginal book is a big achievement. The person who put both the conference and the book together, Zuzana Jurková, is a founding member of the Study Group Music and Minorities of the International Council of Traditional Music and the founder of the Ethnomusicological Program at the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University. She says: "If we consider the situation of ethnomusicology in Czech culture as an indicator of the state of this culture then Czechs would appear to be emancipated from their egocentric complex as they begin to pursue knowledge of those "others," including those who at first glance are the minorities and the weak." (Jurková 2009:9).

Veronika Seidlová
Daniela Stavělová:
ČERVENÁ RŮŽIČKO, PROČ SE NEROZVÍJÍŠ. Doudlebská masopustní koleda: tanec, identita, status a integrace. [Red Rose, Why Don't you Thrive. A carnival carol from Doudleby: dance, identity, status and integration.]
Prague, The Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic + Association for Children's Creativity in Dance, 2008, 85 pages + DVD

Even a fleeting glance at the comprehensive edition of "Folk dances of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia," which is published

by the National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice, must make a striking impression on interested parties. The ten volumes from the 1990s subdivided according to regions always contain video material from various localities of the region and text parts with descriptions of dances, musical transcriptions, choreographies, etc. Further – more recent – seven volumes deal with male dances, primarily various forms of the verbuňk (originally, dance of recruits). (This is, of course, not surprising: in 2005 this Moravian dance earned a UNESCO status as intangible heritage). The text parts have, in contrast to the preceding series, even more detailed comments, including the history of dance, occasions for dance, etc.

The reviewed volume might thus seem to be only another in the series of audio-visual materials depicting music-and-dance traditions from our land, even some sort of poor relation. It deals with one genre from three neighboring South Bohemian localities. It is not like that. It is about another type of publication, more or less new in our country. While the Strážnice edition records existing (and sometimes almost no longer existing) dance tradition – and their goal is to describe HOW the phenomenon looks, Daniela Stavělová asks mainly WHY it seems the way it seems. (In the text, however, she also declares a documentary objective of her six-year field work in Doudleby.) While in the earlier volumes the focus is undoubtedly on the visual part, here – from the logic of the approach – it is necessary to start with the text, or – in the ideal case – to combine the reading of it with the watching of the film on DVD. Such a multimedia format is, besides, the quite usual world stand-

ard of ethnomusicological and ethnochoreological scientific publications.

In the text (which here is in Czech and English versions) the author presents the carol as a universal, historically petrified template filled with elements of a concrete culture. These create a functioning structure – and it is to up to the author to interpret the whole and its individual elements. Stavělová uses not only of the material, which she herself collected in the field, but of various forms of description or recordings beginning at the end of the 19th century. She then analyses all the components, evaluated synchronically and diachronically, as elements of structure of the whole ritual. She explains it as a way of ventilation of community conflict and strengthening collective identity, and, at the same time, as "area of communication in which every individual person can highlight his position and role within the community."

While watching the 35-minute film it hardly occurs to the viewer how difficult it is – with the help of documentary sequences, short testimonies of the participants and an accompanying commentary – to create, from many-hours-long material obtained during all-day following roundabout ways in three communities, a well-arranged and understandable whole. This was definitely successful. On the accompanying DVD, there are, apart from the film, unused shots which are thematically organized into the appropriate chapters, and an independent photo gallery.

It is undoubtedly a cause for rejoicing: ethnochoreology (the name of which was often used for many dance-folkloristic events) has in this work a fine representative.

Zuzana Jurková

THE CONFERENCE "URBAN MEMORY.
The City and Its Inhabitants in the 20th century".
6th–7th November 2008, Brno, Czech Republic.

The team of researchers from the Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic based in Brno together with their colleagues from the Moravian Museum, Archives of the City of Brno and the Institute of History of the Faculty of Arts at the Masaryk University in Brno organized a conference *"Urban Memory: The City and Its Inhabitants in the 20th century."* The event took place on the 6th–7th of November 2008 in the heart of Moravia, Brno, in the wonderful Dietrichstein Palace, one of the seats of the Moravian Museum.

The aim of the conference was to bring together scholars from different disciplines who study the phenomenon of urban memory and issues related to it such as identity forming, collective memory, urban spaces; and urban images and symbols. More than eighty participants, mainly ethnologists, social anthropologists, historians, sociologists and other social scientists from Czech Republic and Slovakia contributed to the success of the conference with their presentations or remarks and comments.

Twenty six papers and intense discussions in just two days made everyone "awake" and active. All session chairs were very strict in keeping the time available for each speaker. This approach is not very much appreciated by the presenters themselves, but it is crucial if the space for the discussion is to be protected.

The organizers divided the program thematically in several sessions. The first two sessions were devoted to *"The transformations of the city in the 20th century."* **Katarina Popelková** and **Juraj Zajonc** of the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava presented two case studies from the Slovak city of Nitra in the inter-war period. In addition to the empirically-based research material, they challenged the methodology of exploring identity and memory of the city in the historic period that can only be seen and studied as a reconstruction. **Elena Kurincová** of the Slovak National Museum in Bratislava presented a fascinating life story of a "Bratislavan" born at the beginning of the 20th century and his multiple naturalization processes in one city and several political and state regimes. **Ivana Kotrbatá** of the Department of Ethnology of the Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague took us to the post-1948 and post-1989 city of Tachov and its dramatic re-emigration history. **Daniel Luther** of the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava introduced the development of diversification and transformation of urban spaces in Bratislava in relation to urban memory of its inhabitants. **Pavel Skopal** and **Petr Szczepanik** of the Department of Film Studies and Audiovisual Culture of the Masaryk University in Brno presented an innovative project on the film and cinema culture in Brno before 1945.

The third session was focused on *"Looking for identity and urban memory"*. **Daniel Drápala** of the Institute of European Ethnology of the Faculty of Arts at

the Masaryk University in Brno; **Alexandra Bitusikova** of the Research Institute of Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica, Slovakia; **Petra Košlíková** of the Department of Historic and Anthropological Sciences of the Faculty of Arts at the West Bohemian University in Plzeň; and **Ladislav Lenovský** of the Faculty of Arts at the Constantin Philosopher University in Nitra introduced different perspectives of the memory and identity forming in Czech and Slovak cities of Rožnov, Banská Bystrica, Plzeň and Piešťany.

"*Collective memory and the city*" was the theme of the fourth and last session of the first working day. **Monika Vrzgulová** of the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava started the session with a new and interesting topic on the memory of the generation of the "sweet sixties" in the city of Trenčín. **Peter Salner** of the same institute analyzed and challenged the concept of social engineering using the example of (not only) the Jewish community. **Katarína Koštialová** of the Research Institute of Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica devoted her contribution to the impact of the socio-professional group of railway workers in Zvolen on city identity and memory forming. **Helena Bočková** of the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Faculty of Arts at the Masaryk University in Brno analyzed the role and place of folk traditions in the Czech national identity building in Brno.

The busy first day culminated with a pleasant and friendly networking social dinner, filled with relaxed atmosphere and nice Moravian food and wine, and accompanied by lovely music presented by the music band Bezobratři.

The second working day continued with two sessions on "*Urban spaces and memory.*" **Michaela Ferencová** of the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava presented a paper on memorials as a means of legitimization of regimes on the example of the city of Nové Zámky. **Jolana Darulová** of the Research Institute of Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica talked about identity and memory reconstruction in two former mining cities of Central Slovakia – Banská Bystrica and Banská Štiavnica. **Jarmila Čermáková** of the Archives of the City of Brno presented celebrations of the 28th of October in Brno in the course of history, and **Martin Pelc** of the Institute of History at the Salesian University in Opava showed and analyzed the images of the city of Opava and its parks. **Martin Juřica** of the Archives of the City of Ostrava presented the changes of one street in Ostrava. **Slavomíra Ferenčuhová** of the Faculty of Social Sciences of Masaryk University in Brno brought a sociological perspective on the place of memory in urban planning in Brno in the context of the European development. **Jana Vitvarová** of Department of Historic and Anthropological Sciences of the Faculty of Arts at West Bohemian University in Plzeň devoted her paper to the topic of "danger" in urban memory in Plzeň.

Ondřej Daniel of the Multicultural Centre in Prague opened the last session with his introduction of the web portal European city. **Andrea Zobačová** of the Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic based in Brno continued with the contribution dedicated to the memory of the

researcher **Karel Fojtík** and his studies of working class dwellings in Brno. **Stanislav Brouček** of the Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague brought us to the world of the Czech diaspora living in an urban environment abroad. **Jakub Machek** of the Institute of Economic and Social History of the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague introduced the historic memory reflected in the Prague newspaper from the turn of the 20th century.

The conference opened an interdisciplinary dialogue and revealed a number of theoretical perspectives on the study of urban memory. All presenters have been encouraged to publish their contributions in several publications. We can only hope that we will have an opportunity to read the majority of them soon.

Alexandra Bitušíková

SEMINAR OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AND COMMUNIST SOCIETY (Attempt at Analysis of the years 1948–1968) [Seminář židovská komunita a komunistická spoločnosť (pokus o analýzu rokov 1948–1968)].

Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and the Holocaust Documentation Center, 20th–21st April 2009, Bratislava, Slovakia.

The first day of the spring Bratislava seminar took place in the framework of the solution to the problem **Reflections of totalitarian systems – relation of the Jewish community and state power after 1945** (head of project, **Peter Salner,** assistant head, **Blanka Soukupová**), which is one of the main goals of the Ethnological Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. In his introduction, **Peter Salner** summarized the consequences of the Shoah for the Jewish community in Czechoslovakia (lessening of their number, unfortunate changes of its demographic structure generally, change of its value orientations, necessity and for the first time in history also the possibility [!] of choosing further strategies of the future). One of those strategies (emigration to Palestine [Israel]) was addressed by the Bratislava ethnologist **Ivica Bumová** of the Institute of Jewish Studies of Comenius University in Bratislava. Until October 1949, 20,000 Jews left the state. The second, very timely with regard to the strengthening influence of Catholic historiography on Slovakia, was a paper presented by **Jaroslav Franěk,** chairman of the Central Union of Jewish Religious Communities in the Slovak Republic. Franěk dealt mainly with the well-known Slánský trial (1952), which he compared to a medieval Inquisition trial. He further pointed out that Slovak society was willing to rehabilitate fully only the non-Jewish victim of the largest Czechoslovak trial – Slovak Dr. Vladimír Clementis, at that time Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the current Slovak society, there allegedly exists the stereotype that communist means Jew. He compared the history of so-called

state communism with the beginnings of Christian society. Prague anthropologist Blanka Soukupová analyzed the intellectual world of the Jews in the Czech lands in the 1960s at the time of relaxation of restrictions as well as a time of hope within the intentions of reformed communism. The renewal of the minority, as the Jewish representatives wanted to realize it, was also a renewal within the boundaries of the Communist Party. The Jews enriched social discussion with the topics of multi-ethnicity and multiculturalism of the Czech lands before the Second World War. At the conclusion of the first day of the seminar, moderated by the Bratislava ethnologist **Monika Vrzgulová, Peter Salner** presented his paper. **Salner**, concentrating on the period 1945-1953, underscored the postwar ideological differentnesses of the Jewish minority, clarified the causes of its tendency toward communist ideology and post-Holocaust relation of the minority to Palestine (Israel).

While the first day was devoted to analyses of the relation of the Jewish community to communist society, the second day was dedicated to the subjective experience of the Shoah after the Shoah. The organizer of this panel was **Monika Vrzgulová,** the head of the project Construction of life of the Jewish minority of Slovakia after 1945 in biographic narratives. In the introductory paper, the well-known Bratislava philosopher **Egon Gál** reflected on the theories devoted to possible recurrence of the Shoah. The Prague anthropologist **Hedvika Novotná** introduced the audience to the theoretical frame of her doctoral thesis dealing with memory of the Shoah.

The central point of her paper was Halbwach's and Assmann's interpretation of memory. The Prague psychologist and psychotherapist **Monika Hapalová** analyzed a few individual Jewish memories from a psychological point of view. At the conclusion, **Monika Vrzgulová** spoke about the influence of a collection of testimonies on the researcher in the course of his scientific path (using her own example) and about the character of the remembrances of the respondents of different historic periods.

The space of the Jewish religious community in Kozí Street and the ritual dining room contributed to the scientifically demanding, though friendly, atmosphere of the seminar. The second evening the celebration of the *Day of remembrance of the Holocaust and heroism* (Yom Hashoah Vehagvurah) also took place there. Its focal point was the solemn lighting of the candles and the projection of the documentary film of Israel television *Children from a photograph* about the fate of Slovak children who survived Auschwitz. Those children were photographed for propaganda purposes by the Soviet liberators at the most famous Nazi concentration camp.

Blanka Soukupová

CARE AND MIGRATION

International Conference, Goethe University and Cornelia Goethe Centrum in Frankfurt. 23rd–24th April 2009, Frankfurt, Germany.

Key words: ***care, migration, globalization, female migrants, citizenship***

Working woman are traveling the globe as never before. Each year millions leave their homes and their families in Third World countries for jobs in homes and nurseries and as babysitters of the First World.

Kofman (1999) estimates 1 million legal migrant workers in homes of the EU countries. The rising demand can be seen especially in those countries where the labor market of public childcare and care for the elderly or handicapped does not suffice (for example, Germany, Italy, Great Britain etc). This demand correlates with the ageing of the European population, changes in the family structures and with the development of new social and cultural lifestyles. Women, for instance, leave their home for work because they perceive this as the only way to sustain their family.

The international conference *Care and Migration* at the Goethe University in Frankfurt brought together experts from different disciplines in the field of care and migration. The conference was inspired by the renowned American author **Arlie Hochschild**, who gave the keynote lecture *Global Traffic, Female Services and Emotional Life: the case of Nannies and Surrogates*. Sociologists, anthropologists and social theorists examined the impact of the reproductive crisis on receiving countries while also shedding light on its impact on sending countries. Relevant issues included: new conditions of domestic and care work, the impact of the financial crisis on social reproduction, the debate on paid care and citizenship, as well as transnational care relations. Organizers focused on the following questions: "*Who takes care of the young and the old, disabled people and people who need care on a daily basis? Who shops, cooks and cleans? Who cares?*"

Despite certain difficulties, the participants of the conference defined domestic work as work that involves processes necessary for sustentation and reproduction of human life, i.e., among others childcare, so-called reproduction service and domestic chores. The theoretician of globalization *Sassen (2001)* asserts that paid domestic work is not regarded by migrants as the worst type of jobs, particularly when we take into account that female migrants do mainly "dead-end jobs"; they rather consider it as a regular job. It is not perceived as real work though and the research shows that when it becomes paid work it is not as well respected as before (*Sotelo, 1994*). Domestic workers are considered to be the most endangered group of migrants regarding the threat of violence. A crucial problem in the position of migrant aides is their inequality which was critically reflected upon at the conference many times.

The lecture given by the above-mentioned **Arlie Hochschild**, the author of famous sociology bestsellers *The Time Bind, The Second Shift and Global Woman,* was an important and keenly awaited contribution to the conference. Apart from other reasons, Hochschild also became famous for introducing the term *global care chain* which captures the hierarchical outsourcing of care that involves several tiers of women: migrant domestics or female relatives in the global South at the bottom, international migrant domestic and care workers in the middle of the "chain," and their

female employers in the North at the upper end.

At the Frankfurt conference, Hochschild compares Filipinas who leave their families to care for the children and elderly of the 1st world with Indian surrogate mothers who bear children in India for clients in the 1st world. As Hochschild argued: "*Both are pursuing private rescue strategies in the absence of public answers to their needs at the cost of facing great emotional challenges.*" She spoke about "*drawing lines around their intimate lives in global times,*" which she calls the globalization of the life cycle. She pointed out the importance of asking about the exact nature of this kind of emotional work that occurs in babysitters and surrogates.

However, I absolutely do not agree with her claim that the inequality between an Indian surrogate mother and her client can be leveled out when both parties consider the carrying of the baby to term and the giving birth to the baby for money as some kind of an exchange or a gift.

Ursula Apitzsch of Goethe University in Frankfurt examined in her paper *Care, Migration, and the Gender Order* transnational spaces as topographies of typical biographical trajectories of migrant women. These trajectories are constituted and they are being continuously reconstructed by the phenomenon of transnational border-crossing activities in order to supply the rich countries with care work from poor countries of the global periphery.

I believe that it's essential for the research of transnational families to understand the role of migrants in globalization: globalization makes migrants live parallel lives which, in turn, accelerates the globalization itself. Transnational families can thus perfectly exemplify the politics of segregation. The receiving society profits from migrants' minimized needs and from the high volume of migrants' manpower. *(Parrenas, 2001)*. The receiving countries support migrants on low wages who work in transnational types of families because they don't have to be responsible for migrants' reproduction.

Helma Lutz & **Ewa Palenga-Möllenbeck** of Goethe University in Frankfurt then demonstrated the issue of transnational families on their research findings (from biographical and depth interviews). They presented their *The "care chain" concept under scrutiny* which focused on the management of the care gap by Polish migrant women working in Germany and Ukrainian care migrants working in Poland. The researchers asked the following questions: "How is care arranged for children and elderly family members who stay behind? What does transnational mothering mean for the children (partners, elderly parents, etc.) left behind in practical and in emotional terms?"

Lutz and Pallenga-Mollönbeck made an attempt to classify new types of family and care that develop when grandparents and even more distant relatives take on reproduction activities of Polish women who have left their country. They pointed out the important role of new technologies (namely mobile phones and the Internet) in communication between the members of transnational families. These technologies are crucial in "updating" of family relations. They also interestingly analyzed the public and media discourse that form the public opinion on "bad mothers": migrants who leave their children ("social orphanism" according to the media) in order to work abroad.

The conference, however, didn't stay only on the theoretical ground of research presentations and analyses. Many contributions promoted the activistic stream of feministicly orientated sociology. **Ute Gerhard** of the University of Bremen (the author of "Gender and Citizenship in Western Europe") analyzed feminist studies of today by conceptualizing the provision of care as a central hinge of gender justice and she extended the framing of social rights to include family and domestic rights and obligations. She tried to link both discourses on care and citizenship in order to give reasons for a model of women and men as citizen earners and carers. Gerhard inveighed against gender inequalities that, according to her, develop because men do not sufficiently participate in childcare and domestic work. She argues that the neoliberalistic concept of work-and-home management forces "Western" women to procure a childminder. It's the women from the "East" who have to leave their own children due to the bad economical situation to look after somebody else's children (Hochschild coins the term "alternative loving" here).

The participants in the conference agreed on a more resolute solution of the given situation, though on a rather vague level, I dare say: by activism, by pushing "Western" countries towards increase in financial aid to the developing and so-called "pink" countries (whose GDP is for the major part based on remittances of female domestic workers), e.g. the Philippines, by improving the legal status of female migrants, particularly in the EU countries, by supporting the development of NPOs that liaise with domestic workers, etc. As many authors of the presentations work as consultants in European institutions and cooperate actively with international organizations and NPOs its more likely that they will find more specific solution to this problem.

Conference Contributions by **Ursula Apitzsch, Margrit Brückner, Birgit Geissler, Ute Gerhard, Lena Inowlocki, Karin Jurczyk, Juliane Karakayali, Maria Kontos, Helma Lutz, Ewa Palenga-Möllenbeck, Maria Rerrich, Helen Schwenken, Marianne Schmidbaur, Kyoko Shinozaki, Helen Schwenken, Gabriele Wenner, Brigitte Young.**

Petra Ezzeddine Lukšíková

Report from the 11TH CONFERENCE OF THE "BIOGRAF" JOURNAL

19th–21st June, 2009, Hoješín u Seče, Czech Republic, http://www.biograf.org/konference/

The 11th conference of the "Biograf" journal brought several surprises. The first one was the conference itself because in the past year the working session of the authors and friends of the Biograf did not take place and the continuation of the long and popular tradition could have been endangered. Fortunately (in my opinion at least) these fears were

baseless and the 11th working session of the Biograf journal took place in the last third of June.

The second surprise was the place since the conference was relocated from Borek u Suchomast to a similarly friendly environment of the village of Hoješín u Seče where the cloister of the School Sisters of St. Francis hosted professional discussions and conference festivities.

The third novelty was of a personal character: the post of general organizer as well as of the editor of the journal Biograf has been assumed by Barbora Spalová.

The conference did not have one general topic; the participant researchers were connected by a similar interest in qualitative methods and their critical re-thinking, which was more or less verbalized in conference papers and discussions.

The conference started on Friday evening with the discussion of the article "*Konstrukce normality, rizika a vědění o těle v těhotenství: příklad prenatálních screeningů*" (*The construction of normality, risks and knowledge of the body in pregnancy: the example of prenatal screenings*) by Jaroslava Hasmanová Marhánková, published in the last volume of the Biograf 2008/47. The discussion was directed by **Ida Kaiserová** and **Eva Stehlíková**, who worked out discussion rules to prevent the discussion from degenerating into personal narratives of prenatal care experience. The main aim of the discussion was to investigate "which sociological concepts the topic can be connected with and how the topic can be developed regarding facts as well as the research itself." (Rules for the moderated discussion). Many of both

present and absent readers read the text as an activist one, giving a voice to the less powerful side of women who are sent for medical examinations of controversial importance. Nevertheless, the article lacks the view of doctors and therefore a great part of the debate concentrated on the question of whether an article written in this way is defendable as a social science text.

The Saturday conference marathon was opened by **Alice Červinková** and her paper "*Vědci v pohybu: Geopolitiky akademické mobility*" (*Scientists on the move: Geopolitics of academic mobility*). Her research in Romania showed that academic mobility is a part of both systematically created Euro-American science politics and a consequence of the transnationalization of the work market. The biographies of academics evidence that academics understand this type of work-mobility as work as well as a migration experience. Part of this experience is not only solving the problems of leaving for abroad but also thinking about coming back home.

The following panel of two papers touched from different angles the topic of continuity and discontinuity: **Štěpán Ripka** in his paper "*Limity kontinuity: Může se stát divoch křesťanem?*" (*Limits of continuity: Can a savage become a Christian?*) thought about the willingness of anthropology to research and take discontinuity seriously, in this case the discontinuity of faith (and culture as well) at the moment of religious conversion of the Calderash Roma in Mexico. He showed that anthropologists tend to interpret some of the external symptoms before and after conversion as a sign of un-con-

fessed continuity, as a proof of "underlying structures" of culture or society – an anthropologist then states that there is no real conversion and change in an individual but only a re-labelling of the original practices. On the contrary, **Anna Pokorná** spoke about keeping the continuity: in her paper "*Domov pod pokličkou: K antropologii jídla*" (*Home under the potlid: On the anthropology of food*), she concentrated on the mechanisms of keeping and transmission of "national" identity during migration. She described how the Czechs who came to Israel (then Palestine) after the war have been keeping the consciousness of group identity and continuity with home by means of food and how they have been transmitting the relationship to the Czech Republic and to Czechness (actually somewhat abstract nowadays) to their offspring – in a situation of evident external discontinuity.

The topic of re/presentation and public space connected the following pair of papers. Using the results of the discourse analysis of online discussions in the discussion forum of the daily paper "Sme," **Jana Lindbloom** in her paper "*Stratégie prezentovania väčšinového a menšinového názoru v online diskusiách o dotáciách do poľnohospodárstva*" (*The strategy of majority and minority opinions' presentation in online discussions of subsidies in agriculture*) showed different argument strategies of critics and defendants of agricultural subsidies' politics. The core of her argument lies in understanding the online discussion as a local social situation where not only power and persuasiveness of the presented opinions are important but also their position in the situationally and locally given opinion.

The discourse strategy of those expressing a major opinion moreover supported by the media differs diametrically from the strategy of minority opinion speakers. **Kateřina Pulkrábková** was also concerned with representation strategies – in her paper "*Romské ženy v českém veřejném prostoru*" (*Romany women within Czech public space*), she first of all called attention to the varied representational strategies of Romani women activists. These strategies differ when aimed at majority women activism, at the majority, or, on the contrary, at the Romani minority. Romani women activists are always in the situation of negotiating their positions while the negotiation is influenced by both the manifold discrimination they feel and their personal biographies.

In her paper "*Posudky: Z kádrové práce komunistického Česka*" (*Personal files: From the background check practice of communist Czech lands*) **Marie Černá** used materials from the ongoing research of the Ústav pro soudobé dějiny (Institute of Contemporary History, Czech Academy of Sciences). On the example of one academic who "did not cope with religious delusions," she showed exactly how the background check practice representing an ever-present part of the communist regime proceeded. Although the great majority of personal files were written by people inclined to be friendly to this academic, the power with its tools – the personnel files – was not "tamed" and infiltrated the society at all the levels. So as the religiosity of one academic was profiled in the personnel files, nobility as an identity category was profiled in interviews with six Czech noblemen in the paper by **Josefina Borecká** "*Kolektivní*

paměť české šlechty" (*Collective memory of the Czech nobility*). Borecká tried to show the specific use of general identity signs as descent, family, wealth, homeland and moral credit in noblemen's biographies. The participants then proposed that the author should complete the text analysis with an analysis of how else nobility expressed itself.

The last Saturday panel was devoted to explicitly qualitative research and its possibilities and limits. In his theoretical paper called *"Výzkumný rozhovor: Monolog vs. dialog"* (*Research interview: Monologue vs. dialogue*), **Pavel Nepustil** accented the specificity of the research interview situation that is first of all a relationship, a space where meaning is or can be created. Starting from Harlene Anderson's family psychotherapy and her concepts of dialogue conversation and "collaborative practices," Pavel Nepustil discussed possibilities of the research interview as a "sharable inquiry" when researcher and participant set up meanings to an equal extent and this way they both participate in the research process. **Lenka Slepičková** and **Michaela Barto-šová** concentrated on a different aspect of the research interview: they asked themselves in their paper *"Proč s námi mluví? Motivace k účasti na kvalitativním výzkumu a její vliv na průběh rozhovoru"* (*Why do they talk to us? Motivation for participation in qualitative research and its influence in the course of the interview*) of why people are willing to participate in research, especially in research aimed at intimate, personal topics, and what is the influence of their motivation on the course of an interview. The researchers summarized their experience from three

pieces of research – research on childless women over 30 years of age, primiparas over 30 years of age, and sterile men and women. According to their findings, the most common motivation for participating in research is an effort to help the researcher – woman-student – with her work. Other identified motivations were sharing personal experience with an uncommitted person, getting new information on the topic, use of the interview for self-reflection. The important point is that just as the relationship changes during the interview so can the motivations for its continuation change as well as the participants' notions of what the interview brings them and what it can (or could) bring. Personal characteristics of the male or female researcher (gender, age, student status, childlessness etc.) are important in the course of the interview as well as expectations, motivations and results of it. The question of what the researcher and what her/his informant expect from the research interview, if and how much the power disbalance given by the research situation itself can be disturbed, or who in the course of the interview is really the "more powerful" one – whether the researcher or the informant – became the topic of discussion and fluently transformed into evening, unmoderated entertainment.

Radek Tichý opened Sunday morning with his paper *"Restrukturalizace pražské arcidiecéze: Střípek fungování katolické církve na začátku 21. století"* (*Restructuring of the Prague archdiocese: A fragment of Catholic church functioning in the beginning of the 21st century*) Radek Tichý summarized his research, which started with the beginning of restructuring of

the parochial system, declared by the bishops and their co-workers also to be a renewal of the church. The researcher himself expected strong discussions at the level of church hierarchies, priests and laymen, members of particular parishes. Restructuring went through to a significant measure without active participation of churchgoers in the processes of decision-making and a similarly marginal role was also played by priests of particular parishes. The topic of the paper was to describe the mechanisms of decision-making inside the Catholic Church conceptualized as an organization with the characteristics of a bureaucratic system with limited possibilities of its members to practically influence the decision-making process – though the decision-making process was not only declared open but also communicated as a part of a renewal process of the whole organism of the church. The other paper was also concerned with research into organization and the possibilities and results of its restructuring. In his paper *"Internacionalizace ekonomické kultury v jednom českém pivovaru"* (*Internationalization of economic culture in a Czech brewery*) **Kamil Mareš** presented a case study of economic and corporate cultural changes of a middle-sized Czech brewery taken over by an owner who lived abroad. To what extent does such a brewery and its beer become a "global" product and to what extent does it keep "local" characteristics? Do the changes in communication of workers, management of the company, and in some production processes represent a step in losing its local specific characteristics and in internationalizing the product – or a global

spread of one particular original Czech beer? These questions were not only the topic of the paper, but also the topic of the following unsurprisingly passionate discussion in the Czech context.

The next bloc was devoted to the topic of gender, which was more or less explicitly present in many other papers. By means of biographic interviews, **Ivan Vodochodský** researched the process of the creation of pictures of manhood by men who started their families at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s in socialist Czechoslovakia. He concentrated on the aspects of self-presentation of men, who construct a self-picture in a prism of current time and in the specific context of a research interview with a man who is one generation younger. The paper strongly accented the fact that a meaningful and coherent picture of manhood is created situationally and also under the influence of particular patterns which the sociologist Gabriela Spector-Mersel conceptualized as "screenplays of hegemonic manhood." Conditionality and changes of actors' images of gender roles were also captured in the title of the next paper – *"Mužství mezi 'tehdy' a 'dnes': Dělání genderu ve vyprávěních o životě za socialismu"* (*Manhood between "then" and "now": Making of gender within the narratives of life under socialism*). Another presentation *"Kdo je v pohybu, ta nestárne – aktivní stárnutí jako genderovaný diskurz"* (*Moving, she does not grow old – active ageing as gender discourse*) by **Jaroslava Marhánková** thought over the discourse of "active ageing" and its gender aspects. On the basis of research into leisure-time centers for seniors, the author discussed the fact that

however this discourse is presented today universally, in real situations it is adjusted to women who are almost the only visitors to senior centres. Participation in activities of leisure-time senior centers is not only bound to the activities offered, but also to gender-conditioned images of growing old originating in gender senior biographies. The research shows that the discourse of an active old age comes from a particular image of growing old and of womanhood/manhood and that first of all it specifically disciplines women's bodies.

The conclusion of the conference belonged to **Zdeněk Konopásek** and his reflection over a sentence said by his five-year old son: "This is the first time I am doing it for the second time." The Konopáseks call attention to the fact that uniqueness and regularity do not exclude each other but, on the contrary, they always go hand in hand. Everything happens from certain points of view both uniquely and regularly. According to Konopásek, this quality of reality is often ignored by sociologists who differentiate the research-field into the unique and thus suitable for qualitative research and the regular suitable for quantitative research and statistics. Konopásek invited balance of this discord by sensitivity to both sides. The participants asked the author to concretize this extraordinarily theoretical paper. The discussion leader, Ida Kaiserová, then likened what was said to a work of literature which has similarly only several possible genres but its uniqueness resides in an individual working-out of those genres.

I must conclude this report with saying that the working session of Biograf

kept its name. Particular papers were thought over, discussed and criticized by the participants. Mostly the discussion was serious, sometimes not so serious. The atmosphere of the conference was not academically sterile – serious speeches mixed with cries of the participants' children, for whom a parallel program was prepared; the speeches were also coloured by the arrival of a Franciscan nun who came to ask for what time to prepare lunch.

Of course not all papers were of equal quality and with regard to the scope of the topic not all presentations were interesting for every participant. Nevertheless, in my opinion. varied stimuli, both scientific and non-scientific, and the friendly and open atmosphere of the conference created an environment rich in ideas to which it is a pleasure to return.

Markéta Vaňková

Conference Report: SUMMER IN THE CITY. DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF CULTURE [Lato v mieście. Różne oblicza kultury]
25th–26th June 2009, Krakow, Poland.

Another of the series of conferences devoted to urban ethnology/ anthropology took place in Polish Krakow in June. It was organized by the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Department of Ethnology; the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences; the Polish Academy of Sciences, Committee on Ethnologi-

cal Sciences, the Committee for Urban Anthropology and the Polish Society of Urban Ethnology. This time, a seemingly light topic was chosen by the organizers: Summer in the City.

Professor **Bronislawa Kopczyńska-Jaworska** opened the conference by summarizing the reasons for the beginnings of the interest in ethnology/anthropology in the city and the development of this branch of studies. The use of ethnographic methods for urban studies was indicated to be a special anthropological characteristic. At the end of her opening speech she highlighted the difference between anthropological urban studies and anthropology in the city. This contrast penetrated the whole conference to some degree. The presented papers varied significantly in themes, theoretical background and methodology – I will try to summarize them in several clusters constructed according to emphasized aspects of the given topic.

Blanka Soukupová presented the city in a holistic perspective using historical ethnology. In her paper *Prague and Praguers in Modern Times (from the 1890 s to the mid- 20th Century). A Contribution to the Anthropology of the City [Praha a Pražané v létě v moderní době (od 90. let 19. do poloviny 20. století). Příspěvek k antropologii města]*, she described a dynamic change in living in Prague in the summer (swimming pools, markets...) as well as in places where Praguers can spend the summer outside the city – all with respect to socio-political changes of the first half of the 20th century. Similarly, **Franciszek Ziejka**, a historian of literature, followed in his paper *Summer in Past Krakow (Turn of the*

20th Century) [Lato w dawnym Krakowie (przełom XIX i XX wieku)] a picture of the summer in Krakow mainly as a place for rest connected with different traditional religious and secular festivities. **Renata Hołda** also dealt with contemporary Krakow in her paper called *Summer, or the Time of Getting Away from Routine [Lato, czyli czas zawieszonej codzienności].* She analyzed the use of the summer in the city by both tourists and inhabitants and adopted the view that the summer (holiday) in the city tends to carnivalization and the summer is in all aspects a period when routine revolts against normality.

The aspect of getting away from routine through festivities formed a significant line reappearing in many papers. On the basis of three case studies, **Ryszard Kantor** observed the *World of Streets and Quarters. Forming of a New Folk Habit [Święta ulil i dzielnic. Kształtowanie się nowego zwyczaju ludycznego]* in Krakow. He concentrated on life in public spaces using the metaphor of "street carnival." On the other hand, **Grzegorz Odoj** in his paper *Off-Festival in Mysłowice. Creating of a New Post-industrial City [Off-Festiwal w Mysłowicach. Kreowanie wizerunku nowego miasta post-przemysłowego]* and **Magdalena Szalbot** in her paper *Festival Horizons of Holiday City Těšín [Festiwalowe horyzonty wakacyjnego Cieszyna]* (Róża Godula-Węcławowicz read the paper) dealt with the change of the town caused by a summer festival. It was shown that a music or film festival always changes the face of a city, even for its inhabitants. In the summer of Krakow itself, the city where the conference took place, there is a multitude of cultural activities, as was shown in the

paper *Art Forms in the Offer in Krakow in the Summer in the last five years [Formy artystycznego uwiedzenia w ofercie letniej miasta Krakowa w ostatnim pięcioleciu]* by **Stanisław Dziedzic**, director of the Department of Culture and National Heritage, Municipality of Krakow.

Other speakers chose parts of the city for their analyses. **Jolanta Kowalska** in her paper *Wild fields of Past Żoliborz [Dzikie pola starego Żoliborza]* followed dynamic changes of this Warsaw quarter from the 17th to the 20th century. On the example of the *Summer Salons of Warsaw [Letnie salony Warszawy. Ciągłość i zmiana]*, **Andrzej Stawarz** described the *s*tability and change of the genius loci of the city at the turn of the 20th century. While both the above-mentioned authors worked with methods of historical ethnology, **Andrzej P. Wejland** connected phenomenological tradition with reflexive autobiography in his paper *Anthropologist in the Park. My Epiphany of Routine [Latem w parku. Epifanie codzienności]*. Interconnection of perspectives of anthropologist and flâneur enabled him to see the manifestation of transcendence, to uncover the so-far unlearned as well as to understand oneself or the nature of epiphany. The subject of an anthropologist is crucial in the divulgence of the nature of a given place – Lodž Park – and its interpretation in Alfred Schutz' phenomenology of routine.

The commonplace involves not just the world of things (though, they are of course the easiest to grasp and describe), but also the world of smells, flavors and noises. **Aleksandra Krupa** in her paper *Good Smells and Bad Smells. Olfactory Picture of a City [Aromaty i smrody. Olfak-toryczny pejzaż miasta]* chose the perspective of osmo-sociology. On the base of smell perception of Lodž, she created five categories: 1. human smells, 2. bad smells of different provenance (e.g. subway, sewer), 3. market smells, 4. gastronomic smells by **Seweryn Wisłocki** who in his paper *Wawel and Skałka. Sacral Space and an Attempt to Desacralize It [Wawel i Skałka. Przestrzeń sacrum i próba jej desakralizacji]* dealt with the current commercialization of the riverbank under the Wawel in Krakow. **Piotr Jordan Śliwiński** devoted himself to a particular phenomenon of the city summer – *Beaching in the City (Especially in the Case of Krakow) [Plażowanie w mieście (szczególnie na przykładzie Krakowa]*. Focusing on the theme through Augé's concept of "surmodernité" ("supermodernity" or "hypermodernity"), he described beaching as a way of having a rest through symbolic zooming out from civilization in different city spaces.

Grażyna Ewa Karpińska used the theme of the conference as a metaphor and devoted her paper *Ghetto in the Summer. The Hell of Occupation Heterotopy [Getto latem. Piekło okupacyjnej heterotopii]* to a description of the Lodž Ghetto between 1941 and 1942, i.e., before deportations (that is why she used the metaphor of summer). Using Foucault's heterotopia as a space of illusion that exposes every real space, she described the routine of the Lodž Ghetto with its institutions and organization structure symbolizing the "normal" city; using the concept of heterochrony the ghetto provisional arrangement is perceived as eternity.

Because of the ongoing floods, **Magdalena Parikova** did not participate at the conference with her paper *Summer in the City. Time and Space for Relax or Culture Change [Leto v meste. Čas a priestor pre relax alebo kulturnu zmenu]*.

The conference was divided into five blocs which were concluded by interesting discussions. Methods and theories were debated – e.g. defining and delimiting the "present," possibilities and potency of reflexive anthropology, differentiating between the image of the city and its identity, etc. Many papers evoked spontaneous responses usually concentrating on comparisons of given aspects of other Polish towns. In the end, **Róża Godula-Węcławowicz**, chief conference organizer, summarized the course of both days as follows: "The conference did not answer the question of what anthropology of a city is or how anthropology of a city should be done. It presented various ways of anthropological seeing of the city." After all, a variety of perspectives is typical for anthropology and represents one of the aspects that make anthropology interesting.

Hedvika Novotná

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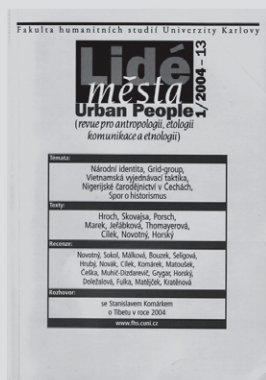
2006/2 - 19 Jan Sokol, Zdeněk R. Nešpor, Mirjam Moravcová, materiály
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2005/2 - 16 Václav Cílek, Mirjam Moravcová, Marie Dohnalová, filosofie, materiály
2004/1 - 13 Miroslav Hroch, Marek Skovajsa Josef Porsch, Jakub Marek, materiály

2003 - 12 Horský, Tinková, Altová, Nešpor
2003 - 11 Penčev, Charvát, Bittnerová
2003 - 10 Kořalka, Štovíček, Štěpánová
2003 - 9   Parafianowicz, Penčev, Grygar
2001 - 6   Jubileum Mirjam Moravcové
2001 - 5   Skovajsa, Bystřický, Nešpor
2000 - 4   Janko, Soukupová, Rataj
2000 - 3   Menšiny ve městě
1999 - 2   Horský, Beňušková, Moravcová
1999 - 1   Kučera, Rychlíková, Soukupová
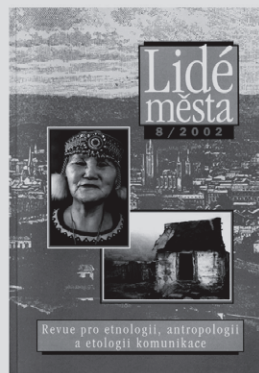
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