



*Muzeum Historyczne Miasta
Krakowa*

Intangible Heritage of the City

MUSEALISATION, PRESERVATION, EDUCATION

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Edited by
Magdalena Kwiecińska



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FOREWORD

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

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

The papers were divided into seven thematic blocks: musealisation, preservation of intangible cultural heritage, its identification and documentation, education, as well as the identity of the city, the urban audiosphere, promotion and

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

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

What is the intangible urban heritage?

What effect does it have on local identity?

How to record and include the intangible heritage to museum collections?

What is the dynamic between the tangible and the intangible heritage?

What role does the museum play in the preservation and safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage?

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

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

created by the city, which has a rhythm of its own, a rhythm that is different from that of the country.

While examining the intangible urban heritage, it must be compared and contrasted to the cultural practices that belong in urban space (their rural origins notwithstanding) or are strictly related to urban themes. These practices define the place and its *genius loci*. One is tempted to paraphrase Jerzy Szacki to point out that traditions exist as a dialectic of remembering and forgetting, selecting and discarding, affirming and negating. Last but not least, culture exists insofar as it changes. It reflects one’s identity in the here and now while being an important part of the generational heritage. A broad understanding of culture as heritage furnishes a narrative on human history that offers unlimited potential in the urban context. As it expresses collective identity, it also acts as a force in the process of building and reinforcing identification, local history, and memory.

CITY



IDENTITY OF THE CITY AND INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

*Andrei Moroz | Russian State University
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The Folklore Map of Moscow Project

The Folklore Map of Moscow project was carried out in an attempt to explore the urban space of Moscow and the surrounding suburban areas as “folklore area” where specific sites engender legends, worship, rituals, beliefs, anxieties, taboos, and other forms of traditional collective thinking. The project is not restricted to urban legends only, which means our study expands to non-narrative and even non-verbal forms¹. It is important that they are linked to specific sites. Anything can be such a site, including a public monument or tree, a street or district.

The project is being carried out by the Folklore Lab at the Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow by myself and my colleague Nikita Petrov². Students from different Moscow universities are involved in fieldwork to collect materials for the study.

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

¹ Brunvand Jan Harold, *Encyclopedia of Urban Legends*, New York 2002.

² Petrov Nikita, *Sovremennyy megapolis v ustnykh rasskazakh i neinstitutizovannykh ritualakh* («fol'klornaâ karta Moskvy») [in:] *Situaciâ postfol'klora: gorodskie teksty i praktiki*, eds. Mariâ V. Ahmetova, Nikita V. Petrov, Moskva 2015, p. 64-88.

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

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

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

1. Collecting source materials. It is simple and complex at the same time. On the one hand, a large number of various publications exist on the subject, including several historic collections of Moscow folk textual materials, the most important of which are a book by Evgenyi Baranov³, which collects the legends recorded by the author in the 1920s, seminal works by Vladimir Gilârovskij⁴ and Mihail Pylâev⁵, and works by Maria Artem'eva, Elena Korovina⁶ and others that describe "supernatural sites in Moscow", "mystical Moscow", "myths and legends of Moscow". Only few academic works have been devoted to particular sites in the folklore space of Moscow or their related texts and cultural practices⁷. On the

³ Baranov Evgenij, *Moskovskie legendy, zapisannye Evgeniem Baranovym*, Moskva 1993.

⁴ Gilârovskij Vladimir, *Moskva i moskviči*, Moskva 2014.

⁵ Pylâev Mihail, *Staraâ Moskva. Istoriâ byloj žizni pervoprestol'noj stolicy*, Moskva 2007.

⁶ Artem'eva Mariâ, *Temnaâ storona Moskv*, Moskva 2011; Korovina Elena, *Moskva mističeskââ*, Moskva 2012.

⁷ Griva Marina, *Novyj kul't kamnej v Kolomenskom* [in:] *Religioznye praktiki v sovremennoj Rossii*,

other hand, the majority of these publications have been developed for entertainment or commercial reasons, and are often devoid of authentic materials and contain dubious information on the folk culture of Moscow. More often than not they are not based on real tradition. They are a mere figment of their authors' imagination. As a result, it is necessary to verify the data. However, since these stories (invented and published by their authors, concerning the mystical aspect of urban space) enjoy much popularity, attract vast readership, and are recirculated on the Internet, they become the facts of tradition without necessarily being ones at the beginning. The materials are collected on the internet and in the city. Surfing the internet provides an opportunity to discover new sites and reveal interesting phenomena, trends, or facts. Fieldwork (observation, interviews) provides an opportunity to verify how well circulated a particular piece of information is and register living traditions.

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

The types of sites and related examples are provided below.

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

eds. Aleksandr Agadžanân, Kati Russele, Moskva 2006, p. 371-383; Gromov Dmitrij, *Stihijnaâ obrâdnost' v gorodskom landšafte: ob'ekty i praktiki*, „Tradicionnaâ kul'tura" 2013, no. 4, p. 71-82; Gromov Dmitrij, Ippolitova Alexandra, *Karta čelovečeskikh želanij, ili Zapiski u sten moskovskogo monastyra*, „Tradicionnaâ kul'tura" 2001, no. 2, p. 76-87; Kabakova Galina, *Vysotnye zdaniâ v sfere mifologii*, „Živaâ starina" 1997, no. 3, p. 13-14; Moroz Andrei, *Počitanie mogily Ivana Âkovleviča Korejty v Moskve*, „Živaâ starina" 2014, no. 1, p. 9-12; Veselova Inna, *Zametki k fol'klornoj karte Moskv*, „Živaâ starina" 1997, no. 3, p. 10-12.

Site	Texts	Examples	Practices	Examples
		his body and slightly extended to the sides), often referred to as “Where are my suitcases?”	new elements to the monument’s composition, etc.).	the practice, which dates back to the 1950s, was initiated by the students of the nearby Moscow University to increase their chances of success at the exams.
TREE	Aetiological texts	Moscow’s Kuzminski Park is known to have a suicide elm, which is said to have witnessed many suicides by hanging	Tying ribbons; breaking off twigs and bark	In Moscow’s Kolomenskoe Park, people tie ribbons to make their wishes come true to a tree standing next to two cult stones
BUILDING	Unofficial names; aetiological and historical legends; legends concerning (quasi) historical figures the places are linked to; spooky tales	High-rise buildings from the Stalin era are said: 1. to conceal several storeys underground; 2. to conceal equipment necessary to freeze the ground (buildings of this size would otherwise collapse in the shifting grounds of Moscow); 3. to follow a mystical pentagram grid that is capable of resurrecting Stalin	Visiting	High-rise buildings from the Stalin era attract interest both from tourists and the residents of Moscow, it is often frequented by guided tours
ABANDONED BUILDING	Unofficial names; legends explaining why the site has	It is believed that the abandoned hospital in Khovrino	Visiting / refraining from visiting, commemorative	The hospital building in Khovrino is frequented by

Site	Texts	Examples	Practices	Examples
	been abandoned; legends concerning (quasi) historical figures the places are linked to; spooky legends; legends about spooky communities, e.g. Satanists, who frequent the place, their rituals, legends about someone dying in the building	(Moscow’s suburb): is frequented by Satanists; witnessed a boy’s death / suicide; is a mystical place resembling Resident Evil’s Umbrella; the residents of Khovrino say that every spring a lot of dead bodies are taken out from the building when the snow melts	practice; graffiti art	young people who come there to meet or have unofficial tours; the walls are painted with graffiti; they visit the building to commemorate Alexei Krayushkin, a young boy who died in the building, by leaving him cigarettes, vodka, flowers, candles
GRAVE	Legends about the dead, their life, and how they aided the living; legends about miracles; instructions; not only the graves of pious old men can be the objects of worship, but also other people’s, whom the majority of the residents may know very little about except for the fact that the grave has aiding properties	Worshipped from the 1820s, the venerable Ivan Korejša (died in 1861 and buried in Saint Elias’ Church in Moscow’s Čerkizovo) is said to aid the living in sickness and misfortune, have saved Saint Elias’ Orthodox Church during a German air raid as he prevented the bomb that fell nearby from exploding	Visiting; commemorative practices; leaving objects (offerings); taking away the earth, flowers, and twigs; prayer; writing notes / inscriptions on the tombstone; walking around the tombstone	Korejša’s grave is walked around, the twigs of the tree growing by the grave are broken off and taken home for their healing properties; wishes are written down on Lutheran shrines in the German Cemetery, addressed to God, the buried, or general in nature (“I beg for recovery...”)
STONE	Names; aetiological legends; tales about supernatural powers; instructions	Two stones – Male and Female – in Kolomenskoe Park were created after	Standing up / sitting down; walking around; leaving a coin or flowers	Two stones – Male and Female – in Kolomenskoe Park: men sit on

Site	Texts	Examples	Practices	Examples
		Saint George's slaying of the dragon; those who approach the stones have their cameras or tablets damaged, their mobile phones go dead, compasses fail, etc.		the former to remain in good health; women on the latter to improve their fertility
SPRING	Names; aetiological legends; tales about the miraculous properties of the water; tales about the unique chemical composition of the water; instructions	The Spring of Saint Macarius Želtovodski in the district of Lianozovo; it is said that a widow asked the saint for wealth, Saint Macarius created a healing spring; Saint Macarius appeared to a woman who wanted to commit a suicide because of her drinking husband, the couple would live in harmony ever since	Taking the water away home for consecration or cooking; washing; drinking; tossing a coin	People take the water from the Spring of Saint Macarius away home for its healing properties
DISTRICT	Unofficial names; texts describing its reputation; local topography (the system of sites on the map); texts (quasi) historical in nature	Several districts in Moscow are considered to be dangerous or rough; it is said they have witnessed a large number of assaults, murders, and robberies. These stories are usually passed on	Visiting / refraining from visiting	A lot of people, mainly young individuals, visit some districts or quarters at night / never visit them to meet / not to meet their residents to experience / avoid the feeling of fear

Site	Texts	Examples	Practices	Examples
		by the residents of the adjacent areas; the following textual formula is very common: [name of district] <i>strana čudes, tuda zašél i tam isčez</i> [land of miracles, you enter there and vanish into thin air]		
NEW SITES, specially developed by the city authorities to improve the area, creating new practices	Missing		Practices depending on the site's location, type, and purpose	The "Heart" installation in Ermitage Park: enamoured or betrothed couples should go through the installation

3. Inventorying. The work on the "Moscow folklore textual fabric" requires that a possibly comprehensive list of sites was provided, together with their distribution on the map and information on what practices or traditions they have engendered. Hence we are creating an inventory of the sites, together with a map on which they are represented and brief descriptions of fables and practices they have engendered.

4. Research conducted in the project is focused on several aspects:

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



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

- sources and ways to circulate information; factors that engender new fables and practices; evolution from tradition to publication and from authored text to tradition;
- the impact of the city authorities and their urban development policies on the creation, functioning, and disappearance of informal narratives and practices.

General Conclusions

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

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

- the tendency to attribute the creation of the sites to particular historical figures is usually restricted to the Old Moscow area (currently, the largest number of tales are linked to the buildings from the Stalin era);
- the city centre is the most frequented area in Moscow, daily routes of the residents usually dissect the centre, which is why centrally located sites are commonly known and mentioned much more often than other places;
- city authorities are also much more active when it comes to building new monuments in the city centre; that being said, some of the sites have been developed specifically to serve informal rituals or they become such regardless of the intentions of their creators and the city authorities.

At the same time, the areas newly incorporated into Moscow (former suburbia, towns, or villages) weave into “Moscow textual fabric” the stories and



Inscriptions of the shrine walls in the German Cemetery, photo: Andrei Moroz 2012.

practices initially engendered by non-Moscow sites; these local texts become part of the metropolitan textual fabric.

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

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

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

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

Text translated from Polish language

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