MAPPING MEANINGS IN THE POST-SOVIET LANDSCAPE OF BORNE SULINOWO

Landscape is a natural scene mediated by culture. It is both a represented and presented space, both a signifier and a signified, both a frame and what a frame contains, both a real place and its simulacrum, both a package and the commodity inside the package.[1]

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In this paper we focus on distinct categories such as space, place and cultural landscape. As a site of emblematic representation, the landscape reflects the power relations by 'anchoring' the competing narratives in the physical space and reproducing cultural norms and establishing the values of dominant groups. We analyse these issues with regard to Borne Sulinowo, a post-Soviet military base in Poland, and start with describing the complicated history of the area. Then we move towards meanings reflected in cultural landscape of the 'young' town (1993–2015), focusing particularly on urban layout, architecture, statues, toponymy. Our study reveals the hidden layers of information about the local community and the town.

Key words: cultural landscape, place, post-Soviet military base, transformation, urban space.

INTRODUCTION

According to the assumptions of phenomenological analysis of space conducted by Edward Casey, places become alive through bodies. The mutual relations between places and bodies are reflected in the ability of places to gather 'things' which ought to be understood not only as animate and inanimate entities but also as experiences, histories, or even languages and thoughts. Casey thought that the power belongs to the place itself, and that this is a power of gathering.[2]

The category of place remains closely related to the category of space, and both of them are connected with the concept of cultural landscape. According to Casey, space precedes place.[3] The emergence of place understood as something emerging out of a blank environment requires the transformation of physical terrain and the process of making of 'existential space'. Thanks to that, space becomes transformed into place, by which a story gets attached to an object.[4] "[..] in the gathering of a place reflects the layout of the local landscape, its continuous contour, even as the outlines and inlines of the things held in that place are respected. The result is not confusion of container with contained but a literal configuration in which the form of the place joins up with the shapes of the things in it. Being in a place is being in a configurative complex of things".[5]

The concept of cultural landscape is based on space defined from the point of view of man as a creator of values, whereas "the experience of landscape is too important and too interesting to be confined to particular time, place and class".[6] Separated, singled out, marked landscape stops to be one of many in the 'indifferent' space, and becomes an interpreted entity, a space of values which prevail in the built environment. As a site of emblematic representation, the landscape is 'filled' by elements which on the one hand co-create, support and represent the group's identity and on the other hand reflect the power relations by 'anchoring' the mutually competing narratives in the physical space. "All landscapes are symbolic [..] reproducing cultural norms and establishing the values

of dominant groups across all of a society".[7] The analysis of highly textured nature of landscape often reveals the hidden layers of information on the subject of local communities. The interpretation of these data may change depending on the political, economic and social forces which use them, on transformations performed within moral systems or systems of value. Cultural landscape is not, then, something constant, unchangeable, given once and for all. It is rather characterized by ambiguity, tension, transition, hybridity.

Developing the above issues in relation to Borne Sulinowo, we are analysing what 'things' this place gathers, as it is impossible to discover a pure place, only the changing qualifications of particular places. Due to that reason "places are qualified by their own contents, and qualified as well by the various ways of these contents which are articulated (denoted, described, discussed, narrated and so forth) in a given culture".[8] At the same time we focus on a wider discussion of only some from among those 'things', i.e. urban layout, architecture, statues, toponymy.

We are mapping out meanings in the landscape of a former Soviet military base. We attempt to demonstrate why Borne Sulinowo as a particular place is special and how in the cultural landscape the process of making a new place is revealed. The specificity of this area with its past, comprising changes in national status, total replacement of population and functions of the town, allows to capture what and how gets transformed in the layer of cultural landscape and meanings which it is ascribed with.

BORNE SULINOWO 'FROM THE PAST'

The above remarks are related to questions about what we remember, what we miss, what we tell about Borne both from the point of view of its inhabitants and its visitors. The reminiscences from Borne Sulinowo leave a mark in the form of the images of nature, of associations and emotions related to the town's former military character and its atmosphere of mysteriousness.

In the press materials from the early 1990s, when civilian settlement was beginning and new inhabitants started to 'dis-

cover' Borne and its vicinity, unofficial names of the town were springing up, often reflecting characteristic features of space or the elements which were registered in the memory and imagination of the visitors. As a result, such expressions as 'a former Soviet enclave', 'Borne – open town', 'a forest town', 'mysterious Borne' coexisted. Everybody admired the clean air, the silence, the value of the natural environment. Two years after the town was officially opened for the civilians, a newspaper published the reminiscences of its inhabitants: "It was a strange town, completely different from what it is now. Empty, alien and menacing! This dread and strangeness was enhanced by street names, written in the Cyrillic alphabet, foreign to us all. In front of one of the more imposing buildings there was a statue, a symbol of totalitarianism: a Russian papasha (automatic pistol) in a hand outstretched to shoot".[9] Publication of such recollections in the local press served to stress the importance of the early inhabitants' efforts in laying the foundations for the new town. It stressed the changes which took place in Borne over the period of those two years and the process of gradual taming of an 'alien' space. After 20 years more passed, the recollections regarding the initial period of the town's civilian functioning seem similar under many respects, although in the interviews they alternate with the accounts regarding the earlier periods (the visits of Polish youths in the garrison, the trade with the Soviet soldiers). What differs here is the evaluations of the first years of the Polish settlement which are intermingled with these memories. They stress, on the one hand, the achievements; those elements which it was possible to save and preserve, and on the other hand those that were irrevocably destroyed, neglected, wasted: "The Russkis (Russians) left the moors so beautiful, they just really won't ever be as beautiful as they used to be then"; "We have irrevocably lost something which we could have showed off here. Something which would rouse interest. And we have less and less of that here"[10] (Fig. 1). The current opinions of the town's inhabitants are marked with a sense of belonging to a place, a wider recognition of its potential, certainty of its 'Polishness'. On the other hand, the first

settlers are beginning to pass away and together with them, their accounts disappear. They are gradually being replaced by the written accounts, memorabilia and photographs.

It could be asked, however, how it happened that the territories, which after 1945 theoretically found themselves within the borders of Poland, were practically inaccessible for the Poles. In order to answer this question it is necessary to present a short historical note on the settlement and its surroundings. Borne Sulinowo is a unique place from many perspectives, it unifies Polish, Soviet and German elements and reflects the influences of both the civilian present and the military past (Fig. 2). The Polish town (located in the north-western part of the country) was ceremonially opened for the civilian inhabitants on 5 June 1993 (it was officially taken over by the Polish authorities in October 1992). Together with the final withdrawal of the soldiers of the Northern Group of the Russian Army (previously Soviet)[11], the history of Borne Sulinowo in a sense began 'anew'. 'In a sense', because the settlement had already existed in the 16th century as a small German village named Linde. In the 1930s, after Hitler came to power, the local inhabitants were relocated, Linde with the surrounding villages was wiped off the maps, and the whole vast area covering over eighteen thousand hectares was transformed into one of the most modern military training grounds of the Third Reich. Officially, the base was opened in 1938. During World War II a POW camp was also created there – Oflag II D. In 1945, the garrison, left without resistance by the German forces, was taken over by the Red Army. Soviet soldiers (by the end of that period – Russian soldiers) stayed there for over forty years. It was an extraterritorial area which meant that despite officially being included into the Polish territory as a result of World War II, it was practically excluded from under the control and jurisdiction of the Polish authorities. During the Soviet period (similarly as under the German rule) the town did not exist on the maps. Polish tourist guidebooks did not reveal the existence of access roads and the local train line, they informed that the area near Pile lake is inaccessible, unattractive, surrounded by

forests.[12] At least until the 1980s this was one of the most closely guarded Soviet military training grounds in Poland. In effect, when in the early 1990s Russian forces finally withdrew from 'the country on the Vistula', the knowledge on the garrison's technical, ecological and architectonical condition was fragmentary at best. From among many possible solutions, the Polish authorities decided to transform Borne Sulinowo into a civilian town. People from all over Poland started to settle there, "believing that it was their >>place on Earth<<".[13] In many aspects, the early 1990s in this town resembled the process of settlement of Poles on 'Recovered Territories'[14] in the 1940s. A new, artificially created and devoid of centuries of natural growth community was slowly coming into existence. Almost immediately its members encountered an 'alien' cultural landscape. They gradually began to reinterpret and transform it, marking their own place because "[..] no one lives in the world in general".[15]

We are treating the cultural landscape of Borne Sulinowo as a source of knowledge on the subject of the local community. As we have already indicated, for the purposes of the analysis we distinguish its four characteristic aspects.

SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT AS AN IDEOLOGICAL PROJECT

Spatial arrangement of towns brings into mind the diversity of squares, streets and green spaces which are mutually situated in a geometrical pattern or which are intertwined to create labyrinths with no visible beginning or end, forming a kind of matrix filled with meanings. Town plans reshape 'wild' nature into a space which is organized, marked and has a specific structure. Thus, urban layouts are not a matter of chance. They come into existence in accordance with a predetermined plan and, as a rule, they are later reshaped along that plan. Spatial arrangements are *de facto* multilayer 'cultural texts' which reflect the aims, values and ambitions of multiple generations. They represent the given relations of power, ideology, identity, the power of human

imagination and intellect. Thus, they bear an enormous symbolic potential. They create a skeleton of a kind within which an urban landscape is constructed and the space is 'tamed'.

Urban arrangement is recognized through immediate experience, through being in a given place and, indirectly, through the written texts, if maps can be treated as such, and especially through town plans, the visible images of 'the world'. In both cases the type of cognition and the quality of the gained knowledge differ, although every one of them provides detailed information on the subject of the place and its former and present inhabitants.

From this point of view Borne Sulinowo is a unique town (Fig. 3). It is pointless to seek it on the maps of Poland and Europe from the 1930s until the 1990s. The town, or more precisely the garrison existed in the physical space but from the point of view of cartography (and in the consciousness of the majority of ordinary citizens) the place was nonexistent. There was a space which was 'exclusively' filled by forests and lakes. On the maps published before Hitler came to power the little village of Linde had been marked but its urban shape did not resemble the arrangement of the contemporary town. The village was organized along one street – Lipowa (Linden Tree Street) which survived until the present day. Its localization, near Pile lake, surrounded by the forests, in a sense reminds of the civilian inhabitants of the old German settlement and their life, focused on arable farming and fishery. After the emergence of the Third Reich, civilian inhabitants were relocated and a garrison town with a military training ground was designed down to the smallest detail (including its localization in this place, to the exclusion of all others), which satisfied Hitler's goals and ambitions. The training functions of the garrison and extension of the fortifications in the vicinity, i.e. the Pomeranian Wall reflected the assumptions of the imperial politics. To look at its plan, the town appears to form an irregular hexagon arranged around three main streets which intersect to create the shape of a triangle, with two exit roads at the edges of the town and with a railway line. No central

Fig. 1. Unrestored buildings. 2015. Photo by *Dominika Czarnecka*

square or market square was designed. Instead, short and narrow streets were built to suit the needs and circumstances of military life. Following the example of the old strongholds, the town was separated from other settlements both due to natural barriers and through surrounding it by a wall with entrance gates, barriers and watchtowers. After the area was taken over by the Red Army, only the symbols and signs were changed but the layout of the town remained (the Soviets extended only the proving ground). This time, too, the arrangement suited the interests of the Soviet command, based on the assumptions of the imperial politics of the Kremlin. When the town's authority was taken over by the Polish administration, the character of the settlement changed from military to civilian. In effect, after several dozen years the town emerged once more on the maps of Poland and Europe, the wall surrounding the settlement was almost entirely demolished,

access roads were opened and signposts were placed. A symbolic opening of Borne took place, including it into the local supra-local networks of communication, tourism, economy, etc. Despite initial plans to construct a market square and locate certain institutions in the town centre[16], finally it was decided to preserve the original urban arrangement as an element distinguishing Borne from among other towns. The town authorities recognized it as a 'value' worth preserving. Certainly, the decision was also dictated by the economic considerations. As a result of the total replacement of population within this space, there is still an ongoing attempt to fully adapt the military urban arrangement which was found there to the needs and values of a civilian community.

ARCHITECTURE AS A REFLECTION OF LOCAL 'LIVED RELATIONSHIPS'

Walking around Borne, we have a sense of presence of the past. The preserved buildings impress with their historicity and solidity. When we look at the crumbling ruins of unusual structures or when we read a sign informing that in this place another building used to stand, we discover a need to regain or reconstruct these structures. Town landscape reflects the past. First of all, architecture forms the subject of studies performed from the material perspective. On the other hand, the built environment may serve to reconstruct the social space and social reality of a given period. Buildings gain new status when the contemporary inhabitants assign to them a new meaning. Buildings and material objects can be treated literally but it is also possible to notice the structures of thoughts, notions or everyday practices which they stand for. A significant element of architecture is the potential iconic visibility of real estate.

Construction of settlements or structures most often is a consequence of the initiative of local authorities or inhabitants. This was also the case of the village of Linde. In the old rural settlements the architecture was demonstrating the level of adaptation to nature. Military garrisons reflect the goals and

Fig. 2. Multi-layered landscape reflected in the architecture of a shop.
2015. Photo by *Dagnosław Demski*

ambitions of the ruling groups, although they may equally well form an expression of fears and real threats which are faced by a given community. Construction of the German garrison of Gross Born had supra-local dimension. Due to the functions fulfilled by the garrison, it provided temporary living place for the soldiers and their families, bound together by few mutual interests related to the military status. This was reflected in the function and form of architectural structures.

Currently, the settlement is based on the former garrison structure, taken over from the Germans and developed by the Soviets. However, the relationships and interests binding its civil inhabitants have changed. The architecture reveals the former military character of Borne. In connection with other elements, it creates architectural space of memory. The knowledge about people who created it and who 'lived' in it is 'written into' this place.
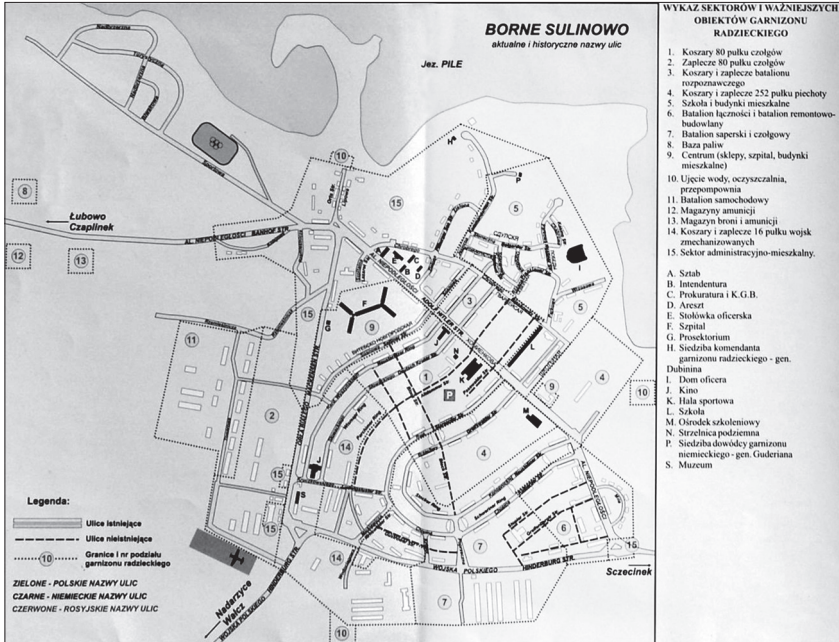
BORNE SULINOWO
aktualne i historyczne nazwy ulic

Jez. PILE

WYKAZ SEKTORÓW I WAŻNIEJSZYCH
OBIEKTÓW GARNIZONU
RADZIECKIEGO

1. Koszary 80 pułku czołgów
2. Zaplecze 80 pułku czołgów
3. Koszary i zaplecze batalionu rozpoznawczego
4. Koszary i zaplecze 252 pułku piechoty
5. Szkoła i budynki mieszkalne
6. Batalion łączności i batalion remontowo-budowlany
7. Batalion saperski i czołgowy
8. Baza paliw
9. Centrum (sklepy, szpital, budynki mieszkalne)
10. Ujęcie wody, oczyszczalnia, przepompownia
11. Batalion samochodowy
12. Magazyny amunicji
13. Magazyn broni i amunicji
14. Koszary i zaplecze 16 pułku wojsk zmechanizowanych
15. Sektor administracyjno-mieszkalny.

A. Sztab
B. Intendentura
C. Prokuratura i K.G.B.
D. Areszt
E. Stołówka oficerska
F. Szpital
G. Prosektorium
H. Siedziba komendanta garnizonu radzieckiego - gen. Dubinina
I. Dom oficera
J. Kino
K. Hala sportowa
L. Szkoła
M. Ośrodek szkoleniowy
N. Strzelnica podziemna
P. Siedziba dowódcy garnizonu niemieckiego - gen. Guderiana
S. Muzeum

Łubowo Czaplinek

Szczecinek

Legenda:

—— Ulice istniejące
--- Ulice nieistniejące
......(10) Granice i nr podziału garnizonu radzieckiego

ZIELONE - POLSKIE NAZWY ULIC
CZARNE - NIEMIECKIE NAZWY ULIC
CZERWONE - ROSYJSKIE NAZWY ULIC

Fig. 3. City map of Borne Sulinowo. In: *Borne Sulinowo. Historia i teraźniejszość. Mapa.* 2006

At present, the original garrison structure of Borne and its old buildings form one of the tourist attractions.[17] Some military elements are gradually being replaced by civilian structures, although the focus on the development of tourism results in the town's military history (including the material traces of the past) being not only remembered but also emphasized. Numerous old buildings were adapted and renovated for new purposes. When describing the architecture of Borne, local tourist guides explain that all the buildings with sloping roofs were constructed by the Germans, while these with flat roofs were built by the Soviets. Unfortunately, part of the buildings fell into ruin, others completely disappeared from the landscape. The Officers' Club is already in a state of such destruction that it faces demolition, although in the early 1990s it still dazzled with splendour.

Can post-military buildings be classified as a special type of structures (like churches and castles), which receive special treatment due to functional and iconographic needs?[18] It is doubtful. Currently, the old military iconosphere is to a significant extent employed for tourism needs. The landscape of Borne increasingly gains the character of a holiday resort. The arrival of civilian inhabitants contributed in a large measure to depoliticizing the space, while architecture, as one of the type of 'things' gathered by this place, became entangled in different configurations of functions and meanings.

THE ICONS OF WHAT KIND OF IDENTITY ARE STATUES?

Cultural landscape plays "[..] a crucial role in legitimating particular political and social orders and in contributing to narratives of group identity".[19] In the majority of centres one of the elements which co-create it are statues commemorating chosen people and historical events. They intentionally ideologize the surrounding space, forming part of a larger project. What is more, they focus the audience's attention on the chosen places. Public statues as highly symbolic signifiers reflect power relations and reproduce the narrative of the dominating memory community on the subject of the past. Thus, it is not surprising that, similarly as symbols, monuments have an ability not only to unite but also to divide people. As a rule, statues help create the image of community, but they also determine the way in which members of the community explain themselves to the others. As carriers of certain values and ideas, these objects form a reflection of a given vision of the past, or more precisely, the politics of memory which is directed at the future. Preserving the memory, reconstructing it and, finally, reproducing it, no matter whether it is related to former heroism or martyrdom, forms a concrete potential also in relations with other groups or nations. If so, then it should not be surprising that every change of the political system, and, all the more so, taking over of the space by a new group, most often

results in taking down the monuments erected by the predecessors and creating one's 'own'. Because groups which hold power treat statues as 'tools' for the realization of their goals, including creation of support for certain ideas, monuments most often become focal points around which resistance and opposition can be channeled.

However, Borne Sulinowo as a 'young' town, with a unique settlement structure, does not seem to correspond to the above presented pattern in every respect. It appears necessary to ask what memory is perpetuated by the new inhabitants of Borne Sulinowo via its statues. These inhabitants came from various regions and their memory and experiences had been shaped in different places. The past of the settlement was not their past. Moreover, on the basis of the conducted interviews it appears that the sense of local identity is still in the phase of 'construction'.

In the early 1990s Poland was afflicted by 'a wave of iconoclasm'. In effect, new landscape was often called 'the land of empty pedestals'. Against this background, Borne Sulinowo formed a special case. It is because earlier on the settlement was inhabited by the Soviet/Russian soldiers, making it impossible for the Poles to undertake actions of this kind. After the armed forces were withdrawn, new inhabitants had practically nothing to demolish, as the Russians removed 'their' monuments (with one exception), leaving only their bases. Over the 22 years of the town's civilian existence the Poles erected only a couple of monuments. However, all of the monuments which were located in the town space, were placed in the vicinity of the central street, Niepodległości (Independence) Street.[20] The 'rock commemorating the ceremonial opening of the town' has powerful legitimizing potential, co-creating the foundations of the community's creation myth. Two other objects: 'the monument to victims of totalitarianism' (Fig. 4) and 'the rock commemorating the foresters imprisoned and murdered during World War II' have strong symbolic potential, alluding to the past suffering, and thus, to what evokes remorse in the relationships with others. The last monument in the centre of Borne is the tank-statue of the Polish Army. What is interesting,

Fig. 4. The monument to victims of Nazi and Soviet totalitarianism. 2015.
Photo by *Dagnosław Demski*

it was placed on the pedestal where during the Soviet stay a So-
viet tank was located. In this case, the statue refers to the mili-
tary past of the settlement but it also functions as a meaningful
symbol of the Poles' 'return' to this area. Also, an interesting turn
of events accompanied the fate of the sole Russian statue left in
the centre of the town. The statue in the form of an outstretched
hand holding a papasha crowned the tomb of a Red Army soldier,
Ivan Poddubny. Perhaps its gravestone character caused the Poles
not to destroy it but to remove it to the nearby cemetery, located
outside the town, where it can be seen until the present day. Ad-
mittedly, the monument was renovated and it forms a testimony
to the complicated past of Borne, but its removal from the town
centre to the cemetery signified, in practice, a certain demotion
of its status and neutralization of its symbolic character.

It is not precisely known how many statues were located in
the area of the former military base when the German soldiers

were stationed there. Neither is it known what these statues looked like. One thing is certain: they were all destroyed after the Red Army entered. The old photographs from the 1930s present huge statues of Wehrmacht soldiers which topped the garrison's entrance gates. The Soviets knocked these statues down (in the 1990s the Poles completed the destruction by pulling down the entrance gates and the majority of the wall surrounding the town) but years later a few fragments of the German statues were accidentally found and moved to the Museum Chamber opened in 2009. It is possible that the Russians were afraid that the scenario of their own authorship might be repeated, which is why they decided to remove statues from their pedestals and to take them away.

Monuments, as physical objects, underline the significance and elevate the status of the chosen fragments of space, at the same time giving them a new meaning. Naturally, this process is bidirectional, because space also influences the manner in which messages transmitted by a monument are read. Thanks to monuments space is not only ideologized but also hierarchized anew. Removal of the old and erection of the new statues in different localities causes the space to become 'organized' according to different rules; other places become singled out as meaningful.

Monuments confirm in space the symbolic rule of a community and point out to the narratives about the past which the community produces. Yet, what kind of past do the Polish inhabitants of Borne present, as a community which itself still goes through the phase of creation? It seems that the inhabitants still do not possess their 'own' past which they could commemorate in the form of monuments. This initiative, in its basic meaning, has not materialized so far and at present it is realized on the level of events and practices instead (Fig. 5). An insignificant number of already erected commemorations reflect, rather, an attempt to search for roots in the history of Poland so as to find elements with which all inhabitants could identify regardless of the region they come from. Chosen elements of this national history are in-

corporated into the history of the settlement and its vicinity. It could be stated that 'young' Borne on the one hand 'seeks' and on the other hand still 'awaits' the events and figures which, 'rooted' in the new place and new community, will be worthy elevating onto the pedestals.

(RE-)NAMING PLACES

In contrast to creation of urban arrangement or architecture, giving names to places and streets has purely symbolic character. Such actions comprise one of the main 'tools' for appropriation of public space. The process of name giving does not entail destruction of what was found, but attribution of new meanings, related to professed ideas, values, or at least conventions of 'our' world. As a result, a question arises as to the factors which determined the process of changing names in the early 1990s in a 'young' civilian town.

In spaces transformed into places, animated by the thoughts and feelings of persons who attend to them, places express only what their animators enable them to say.[21] When the process of settlement of a place lasts for generations, the symbolism visible in, for example, place names reflects the continuity and stability of social and cultural relations.

In the case of a place which was in its totality left by its previous users and incorporated after 1945 into a new country, the process through which space becomes alive does not draw on the resources of a long collective experience. The decisions to change and assign new names have political character, related to the symbolic take-over of the rule on a given area by national authorities, giving it a more arbitrary nature. A question arises as to what this process looked like on a local level in Borne Sulinowo in the early 1990s, when thanks to political changes in Poland the ideology of socialism disappeared and highly centralized government was replaced on many levels by self-governmental institutions, representing local communities and drawing on a wider repertoire of political or ideological possibilities.

The current toponymy was assigned in the early 1990s. The earlier street names in the Russian language corresponded to the place names of a typical town in the USSR. They were mostly unconnected to the characteristic features of the environment, geographical orientation or functions related to a given part of the town space. Presently, the toponymy corresponds to the names which are common in other Polish towns. Independence Street (previously Chomienkowa, in German period Adolf Hitler Strasse) is the main artery, where the majority of offices are located. Such names as 'Niepodległości' (Independence), 'Orła Białego' (White Eagle), 'Wojska Polskiego' (Polish Army) refer to the ideas of liberation and independence, frequently evoked after the fall of Communism in Poland.[22] Other names are related to the figures notable for the Polish nation's culture. Smaller side streets most often draw their names from spatial context and scenery characteristics.

All communities produce their own spaces. If in the small, deep-rooted settlements worldwide places are meaningful because they mark the contexts of one's past experience, then in a place which was newly taken over the names do not refer directly to its inhabitants or their experience; rather, they reflect the general conventions of assigning names in the given country. A sense of belonging has not yet been anchored in the past of the previous generations.

The choice and assignation of names in the public space is related to political activities and, therefore, often ideological activities as well. In the case of Borne Sulinowo the toponymy does not refer to commemorating the local past, but rather it illustrates all-Poland trends. It does not mean that their majority do not contain ideological weight, but due to the 'short duration' of the town and its community, in Borne the choice of new names was made on a top-down, comprehensive and 'safe' basis. The chosen names were commonly accepted by the Poles after 1989 and thus they arose no ideological arguments.

VALUES AND MEANINGS EMBODIED
IN THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE OF BORNE

The example of Borne Sulinowo with its complicated history confirms that *"people will always need place* because having and identifying with place are integral to what and who we are as human beings".[23] Space after transformation into place serves the realization of new goals. Places "[..] provide the scene for action and thought, feeling and expression".[24] On the example of Borne, in whose not so distant past there were many political, administrative, economic and social changes, the mechanisms which operate while space is transformed into place, place is given meanings and these meanings are mapped onto the cultural landscape, become all the more clearly visible.

Taming space and transforming it into place is related to constituting a spacetime.[25] This process is facilitated by a variety of activities within which meetings and exchange between entities takes place. Ultimately, every place has the eventful potency of place[26] which is expressed through, e.g. monuments, architecture, urban arrangement, toponymy. All these aspects are related to the concept of dwelling: "[..] more precisely dwelling is said to consist in the multiple >>lived relationships<<".[27] 'Lived relationships' may be recognized through the material traces imprinted in a given space. When the given layers of traces are superimposed on one another, there appears a possibility to observe the ongoing changes in the material and iconic layer of a place, and as a result, to see the change of meaning embodied in the material layer. Henri Lefebvre noticed that place is produced via 'lived relationships'.[28] Those 'lived relationships' are also the basic source of transferring space into place. Thus this process must have proceeded differently in a small agricultural-fishing village of Linde, where the small number of inhabitants knew one another, jointly making decisions and using buildings or country roads leading towards the lake for individual and collective purposes, and it was different in the times when the German or Soviet garrison functioned. Military and training goals and temporary, 'shallow'

relationships connecting the soldiers who came and left every several years led to a transformation of the cultural landscape. This was reflected not only in the material layer (transformation of natural habitat, new layout, development of the centre), but also in the specific localization of the base (both German and Soviet) and its users in the context of local and supra-local structures and relationships.

Writing about towns, Ulf Hannerz mentioned their two types: the first one elevates the old culture to a new level and systematizes it, giving it a reflexive dimension; the second creates original ways of thinking which rule over the previous cultures and civilizations or remain in conflict with them.[29] Borne Sulinowo ought to be included into the second category of towns.

If we consider the fact that "for any sense of place, the pivotal question is not where it comes from, or even how it gets formed, but what, so to speak, it is made with [our own emphasis][30], then Borne Sulinowo and its history divided into four periods appears as a particularly interesting example.

An area in the understanding of geographical-physical space always remains the same. What changes, however, are the people, the use they make of available resources, the realized goals, values and methods of operations which they bring in and practice. As a result, people steer the process of transforming space into place differently and, what follows, they change the cultural landscape. "[..] a given place takes on the qualities of its occupants, reflecting these qualities in its own constitution and description and expressing them in its occurrence as an event: places not only are, they happen".[31] New inhabitants bring out from space its potential which is focused through place. However, because the next groups rely on the 'foundations' of nature which co-creates space and on artifacts left by their predecessors, tension, transition and hybridity become visible in the cultural landscape. Finally, the specificity of place depends both on elements which fill up space and on widely understood potential of its inhabitants. In the process of constructing their own place, of 'bringing it out of' space, every group contributes to creating different configurations

Fig. 5. May Day march as a 'new tradition' in the form of a happening.
2015. Photo by *Dagnosław Demski*

of 'things', incessantly gathered by place. Against this background, Borne Sulinowo forms a unique example because it 'happens' for the fourth time. The whole process can be observed in statu nascendi. Each of the four aspects of the cultural landscape of Borne which we analysed demonstrates the inhabitants' continuous lack of roots in the place, or, at best, 'shallowness' of these roots. One of the examples of this is the lack of a church understood as architectonic work in an urban space. Because during the garrison period there was no church in Borne, in the early 1990s this function was taken over by the former cinema building, adapted for new purposes. In Borne the problem is by no means that the place did not emerge out of space. This stage has already been completed. However, it appears that at present place has a seemingly 'framework' character. 'Filling it in' by things and their configuring are still going on, because this process requires time and for the 'young' Borne not enough of this time has as yet passed.

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2   Edward S. Casey (1996). How to get from space to place in a fairly short stretch of time. Phenomenological prolegomena. In: Steven Feld, Keith H. Basso (eds). *Senses of Place.* Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, pp. 53–90, here p. 24.

3   See also: Edward Relph (1976). *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion; Yi Fu Tuan (1987). *Przestrzeń i miejsce: perspektywa doświadczania (Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience).* Warszawa: PIW.

4   Casey. How to get from space to place, p. 14.

5   Ibid., p. 25.

6   Karl Benediktsson, Katrín Anna Lund (eds.) (2010). *Conversations with Landscape.* Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate, p. 5.

7   Yvonne Whelan (2005). Mapping Meanings in the Cultural Landscape. In: Gregory Ashworth, Brian Graham (eds). *Senses of Place: Senses of Time (Heritage, culture and identity).* Aldershot-Burlington: Ashgate, pp. 61–71, here p. 61.

8   Casey. How to get from space to place, p. 28.

9   *Moreny. Gazeta Krainy Jezior i Lasów*, 1995, No. 10.

10 All interview fragments quoted in the text come from the interviews we conducted with the inhabitants of Borne Sulinowo in February and May 2015. We conducted 15 in-depth interviews and a number of conversations.

11 Officially, the process of withdrawal of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation began with the exit of tactical ballistic missile brigade from Borne Sulinowo on 8 April 1991. The last Russian soldiers left Poland on 18 September 1993.

12 *Moreny. Gazeta Krainy Jezior i Lasów*, 1994, No. 2.

13 Ibid., 1993, No. 3.

14 'Recovered Territories': a term used to denote north-western parts of Poland which were included as part of the Polish territories following the Potsdam Conference in 1945.

15 Clifford Geertz (1996). Afterword. In: Steven Feld, Keith H. Basso (eds). *Senses of Place.* Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, pp. 259–262, here p. 262.

16 In January 1994, the local newspaper published a visualization of the future centre. The conception was to be created on the basis of the existing buildings but it was also directed at the development of professional tourist base and services. Its realization was seen as connected with the effort to construct the town's identity (*Moreny. Gazeta Krainy Jezior i Lasów*, 1994, No. 1.)

[17] On the initiative of the town authorities, signs were placed in front of historical buildings or places from which such buildings had 'disappeared' (21 altogether). They form a part of a 'tourist walk' leading through the town. The signs present in several languages a short history of the chosen buildings and their old photographs. Thanks to them, visitors have a chance to notice how the original buildings have changed or, possibly, what they looked like when they still existed and what their spatial arrangement was.

[18] And it is precisely with regard to such a type of buildings that John Ruskin wrote about memory as the sixth among 'the seven lamps of architecture'. He meant, however, only these situations when architecture was created for the present and future generations, becoming a carrier of certain values, both those human and those related to the identity of architecture itself (Ruskin, quoted by John D. Rosenberg (ed.) (1963). *The Genius of John Ruskin. Selections from his writings.* London: George Allen&Unwin, p. 131). In Borne, architecture in this meaning was not created.

[19] Whelan. Mapping Meanings in the Cultural Landscape, p. 63.

[20] Several monuments were also erected outside the town, in the forests where the cemeteries had been located.

[21] Keith H. Basso (1996). Wisdom sits in places: Notes on a Western Apache landscape. In: Steven Feld, Keith H. Basso (eds). *Senses of Place.* Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, pp. 13–52, here p. 56.

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[24] Casey. How to get from space to place, p. 38.

[25] Ibid., p. 41.

[26] Ibid., p. 44.

[27] Basso. Wisdom sits in places, p. 54.

[28] Henri Lefebvre (1991). *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, p. 34.

[29] Ulf Hannerz (2006). *Odkrywanie miasta. Antropologia obszarów miejskich (Exploring the city. Inquiries toward an urban anthropology)*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, p. 105.

[30] Basso. Wisdom sits in places, p. 84.

[31] Casey. How to get from space to place, p. 27.

MEKLĒJOT JĒGU BORNAS SULINOVAS POSTPADOMJU PILSĒTVIDĒ

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Autori aplūko tādas atšķirīgas kategorijas kā telpa, vieta un kultūrainava un pēta, kā telpa pārtop vietā ar savu kultūrainavu. Katrai apdzīvotai vietai šī ainava ir citāda, jo to veido sabiedrībā valdošās grupas ar savu ietekmi un izpratni par kultūrvērtībām. Varām mainoties, iepriekšējo paaudžu mantojums dažkārt mēdz nonākt konfliktā ne tikai ar jaunatnācēju materiālo, bet arī ar garīgo pasauli, ar viņu radītajām lietām un izjūtām. Tādējādi apdzīvotās vietas ar saviem vizuālajiem simboliem atspoguļo varas attiecības ar vidi. Raksturīgs piemērs ir Borna Sulinova, kādreizējā padomju militārā bāze Polijā ar visai sarežģītu vēsturi. Autori analizē "jaunās" pilsētas (1993–2015) kultūrainavā izvietotos agrāko varu simbolus, gan vācu, gan poļu, gan padomju, sevišķu uzmanību pievēršot pilsētas plānojumam, arhitektūrai, pieminekļiem un toponīmiem. Pētījums atklāj līdz šim nezināmus informācijas slāņus, kas saistīti ar pilsētu un tās iedzīvotājiem.

Atslēgas vārdi: kultūrainava, vieta, postpadomju militārā bāze, pārveidošana, pilsētvide.

Kopsavilkums

Autori pievērš uzmanību tādām atšķirīgām kategorijām kā telpa, vieta un kultūrainava. Vietas kategorija ir cieši saistīta ar telpas kategoriju, un tām abām ir sakars ar priekšstatu par kultūrainavu. Kultūrainava tās tapšanas procesā tiek piepildīta ar elementiem, kuri palīdz

radīt, atbalsta un simbolizē konkrētu sabiedrības grupu identitāti, kā arī atspoguļo varas attiecības starp šīm grupām. Kultūrainavas struktūranalīze atklāj slēptos informācijas slāņus, kas attiecas uz vietējo kopienu locekļiem. Turklāt vietām piemīt spēja uzkrāt "lietas", kas nav jāsaprot tikai kā celtnes, pieminekļi vai citi objekti, bet arī kā vēsture, pieredze, dzīvesstāsti, arī valoda un domas.

Šīs problēmas analīzē autori izmanto Bornas Sulinovas, Polijas jaunākās pilsētas, piemēru un datus, kas iegūti laikposmā no 1993. gada līdz 2015. gadam. Viņi pēta iepriekšējo paaudžu atstātās pēdas šīs bijušās padomju militārās bāzes kultūrainavā un atklāj, kāpēc Borna Sulinova kā apdzīvota vieta ir īpaša. Līdz Otrajam pasaules karam tas bija neliels zvejnieku ciems Linde, kurā dzīvoja gan poļi, gan vācieši. Pēc Hitlera nākšanas pie varas tajā tika ierīkota vācu militārā bāze, bet, karam beidzoties, tur apmetās Sarkanās armijas vienības. Tādējādi šī pierobežas pilsētiņa ir pārdzīvojusi gan teritoriālās piederības, gan iedzīvotāju sastāva un pilsētas funkciju maiņu, kad tā 1992. gadā tika demilitarizēta.

Pēc šā īsā vēstures apskata autori pievēršas kultūrainavas analīzei četros aspektos: pilsētas plānojuma, arhitektūras, pieminekļu un toponīmu aspektā. Visi šie aspekti ir cieši saistīti ar priekšstatu par dzīvesvietu: "[…] tiek apgalvots, ka dzīvesvietas jēdzienu visprecīzāk izsaka daudzveidīgās "izdzīvotās attiecības"," raksta pētniece Keita Baso. Šīs "izdzīvotās attiecības" iespējams pazīt pēc materiālajām liecībām, kas saglabājušās kādā vietā. Kad šo materiālo liecību slāņi pārklājas, rodas iespēja novērot ilgstošas pārmaiņas šīs vietas materiālajā un garīgajā kultūrvidē un tādējādi konstatēt, kā mainījusies tajā ietvertā jēga. Šīs "izdzīvotās attiecības" arī ir galvenais cēlonis kādas telpas pārtapšanai vietā.

Areāls ģeogrāfiski fiziskās telpas izpratnē vienmēr paliek nemainīgs. Toties mainās šā areāla iedzīvotāji, veids, kā viņi izmanto pieejamos resursus, mērķi, vērtības un darba metodes, kuras viņi atnes sev līdzi, ierodoties jaunā telpā. Līdz ar to telpas pārveidošanas process tiek vadīts atšķirīgi un kultūrainava katrā vietā iegūst atšķirīgas iezīmes.

Vietas specifika ir atkarīga gan no elementiem, ar kuriem tiek piepildīta telpa, gan no iedzīvotāju potenciāla plašā vārda izpratnē. Šajā vietas veidošanas procesā, tās "izvešanā" no telpas katra sabiedrības grupa dod savu ieguldījumu, radot dažādas "lietu" konfigurācijas

un to uzkrājumus kādā vietā. Uz šā fona Borna Sulinova ir unikāls piemērs, jo tā "rodas" jau ceturto reizi. Visu šo procesu ir iespējams novērot *in statu nascendi.** Ikviens no Bornas Sulinovas kultūrainavas četriem aspektiem, kurus autori analizē, atklāj iedzīvotāju pastāvīgo sakņu trūkumu ar šo vietu vai arī, labākajā gadījumā, sakņu seklumu. Bornas Sulinovas gadījumā problēma nekādā ziņā nav tā, ka šī vieta nav radusies no telpas. Šis posms tai jau ir noiets. Tomēr šķiet, ka pašlaik šī vieta ir tāds kā karkass, kas vēl tikai gaida, kad tiks aizpildīts ar lietām, saturu un jēgu. Šis process prasa laiku, un "jaunajai" Bornai Sulinovai tā vēl nav pieticis.

Šī analīze balstās ne tikai uz autoru izpētes darbu (dziļi personiskām intervijām, aptaujas dalībnieku novērošanu), bet arī vietējo iedzīvotāju un organizāciju, t.i., Bornas Sulinovas Novadpētniecības muzeja, Poļu-padomju armijas entuziastu biedrības un Kara vēstures entuziastu kluba, izveidoto vai savākto vizuālo materiālu, tostarp arī fotogrāfiju, kolekciju.

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* *In statu nascendi* (latīņu val.) – tapšanas stāvoklī.