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“AND IS IT REALLY IN LUBAWKA?” YOUNG PEOPLE AND WANTED AND UNWANTED CULTURAL HERITAGE

ABSTRACT

In our research we are seeking for a Lower Silesian identity, we are especially interested in the Polish-German cultural heritage in social remembrance (or social oblivion). In the article our basic purpose is to provide the grounds for discussion about the presence of the sacred space in social memory (the old German Calvary as a part of contemporary Lubawka's cultural heritage), using group interviews with visual presentations to stimulate a journey back into the past, to familiarize with the place and its images. We aim at the reconstruction of “social frames of memory”, the moments when the small sacral architecture began to lose its religious mad social power, and we also want to show young residents' attitudes towards this process. The project also seems to have some social value because it may become an introduction to the debate on preserving the Calvary as an element of local identity.

Key words:

social memory, cultural landscape, cultural heritage, borderlands

1. Introduction

Rediscovering “one's culture”, seeking for identity, the need for clear detachment from “the global ecumene”, ongoing homogenization, and “ubiquitous pressure of

popular culture” discloses a vast array of, often paradoxical, phenomena. “Our culture”, identity, and “affiliation with a local community” are frequently treated as a remedy for constitutive problems of our contemporaries: losing one’s identity, loneliness, and alienation.

We are mostly interested in a phenomenon of human’s coexistence with the environment/space they live in (geographical and cultural scenery), and also its perception determined by an organized tourism, “production of otherness”, distinctness, uniqueness, creation of local tradition (named by Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger an “invented tradition”¹), we chose the Karkonosze and adjacent territories as an object of our research, because this gives an excellent opportunity to observe a wide range of the above-mentioned phenomena.

The present shape of Lower Silesian culture was formed by immigrant populations from various regions of Poland, returned from the Former Soviet Union, re-immigrants from Romania, Yugoslavia, and Western Europe². They introduced, a broadly understood, body of accumulated culture, and became its keen propagators. Due to the unique conditions of the cultural melting-pot, and unquestionable picturesqueness of the landscape favourable to artistic elations, Lower Silesia has become a multi-ethnic mosaic and a local homeland for a number of artistic personalities. Leaving behind the familiar world and society, immigrants entering the Karkonosze (after World War Two), found themselves, at least initially, separated, and unlike the autochthonous population, they did not have such an emotional attitude to cultural and geographical environment they found themselves in (liminal phase). Years had passed before they “felt at home”. In order to become inhabitants, they needed to establish what Hanna Buczyńska-Garewicz called “the whole system of ties between them and the place”³ (aggregation phase⁴). “Residence is a special harmony created between human beings and their surroundings. It is spiritual in nature, for it emerges in an act of understanding the place people found themselves in. A near, assimilated, home vicinity acquires its characteristics because it is suffused with determined qualities, and becomes a collection of formed and understandable meanings. Thus the relation of taking up residence is, in its essence,

¹ *The Invention of Tradition*, E. Hobsbawn, T. Ranger (eds.), Cambridge 1983.

² See: *Wysiedlenia, wypędzenia i ucieczki 1939–1959: Atlas ziem Polski: Polacy, Żydzi, Niemcy, Ukraińcy* [The Displacement, Expulsion and Flight 1939–1956: Polish Lands Atlas: Poles, Jews, Germans, Ukrainians], W. Sienkiewicz, G. Hryciuk (eds.), Warszawa 2008, pp. 82–103.

³ H. Buczyńska-Garewicz, *Miejsca, strony, okolice: przyczynek do fenomenologii przestrzeni* [Places, Parts, Surroundings: Contribution to the Phenomenology of Space], Kraków 2006, p. 130.

⁴ Three kinds of the rites of passage were first named by Arnold van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage*, Paris 1909.

a spiritual one"⁵. Since 1989, an artistic provenance of the region, dated back to the end of 18th century, has frequently been evoked.

The main goal of the first project "Sacred space in social memory" – carried out with the financial assistance from the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage (2007) – aimed at gathering a multi-aspect documentation and damage registration of the Calvary in Lubawka. For the purposes of this project the Calvary was treated as a work of art, historical monument, place of worship – sacred space – historical space. Such an approach provided for a wider presentation of the described phenomenon, which constitutes a part of Lubawka's cultural heritage (until 1945 Lubawka was named Liebau and belonged to Germany). We based on the results of field research and descriptions and photographic documentation of objects of sacral street architecture, its architectural features and aesthetic qualities. The electronic database of historical iconography which consists of scanned postcards (issued between the 1890s and 1920s) showing Święta Góra (the Holy Mountain) in its glory days and the author's photographic documentation of the place in July 2007 turned out to be a valuable complement to our next project. In this article we would like to present the group interview with the use of visual presentation and some conclusions from the diagnostic survey.

2. Common religious heritage?

Lubawka is a small, border town in the south-west part of the Lower Silesian province. Today it is a seat of the town-district council (about 13 thousand residents). One of the dominant feature of the Lubawka's panorama is Święta Góra (the Holy Mountain, formerly Steiner, Heiligerberg, Heiligen Berg). It belongs to a southern part of the Krucze Mountains (the Sudety), where between 1740–1905, with various intensity, objects of street sacral architecture were being erected. In the past, these wayside shrines were under loving care of the inhabitants of Liebau (Lubawka); nowadays, only the remains of the Calvary have survived. Due to relocations of the German population (between 1946–1947), and removal of nuns in the early fifties, it lost its protectors and original character.

Since no works on religious rite and practice on the Holy Mountain after 1945 have been published, eye-witnesses' accounts give an opportunity to learn about post-war history of the place. Such accounts make it possible to establish important facts, influential people, and crucial moments in the history of this land. In the

⁵ H. Buczyńska-Garewicz, *op.cit.*, pp. 10–11.

years 2007–2012 we conducted a series of narrative interviews with the representatives of the oldest generation of Lubawka's inhabitants. Although the present article focuses on the knowledge and opinions of the young, we found it useful and interesting to cite fragments of narration given by the seventy – and seventy-five-year-old women, who arrived at the Eastern Lands in 1946. Their recollections contain the image of the town in which they had lived over sixty years before, which is unknown to the young:

I used to go to a local school with Germans, about the half of the pupils were Germans. When we arrived here, we, Poles, were hardly a handful of inhabitants. Jews left during the 1955 pogrom, it took them one night to leave for Israel, and Germans would emigrate gradually. Some of them still live in Lubawka, they intermarried Poles and live here. Many people leave (...). Germans took good care of the place when we arrived here. They respected everything. When we arrived this Evangelical church was opened. Now it is transformed into a storehouse. I don't remember whether Germans went to up Holy Mountain to pray. Just Poles. They may have gone, but I was too young a child to pay attention to it (Interview 1)

The Holy Mountain was then a magical place, full of mystery, the place whose charm attracted children. It was vibrant with life on days of May and June services, and during celebrations of Via Dolorosa:

I was a little girl when I would go there and bring flowers. Religious services were celebrated there. Initially, there was a plain chapel, with bells, where May and June religious services were celebrated. Then Corpus Christi procession went up there, and we as little girls brought flowers. Saint Hedwig nuns who lived here helped to arrange everything. It was a wonderful place, so much flowers. The Olive Garden was something really beautiful. There was also a hermit cottage. (...) He watched it all there. It may have been in the chapel where Jesus Christ was buried in his grave. When we arrived here the hermit had already died. We used to play truant there because there was a very high viewing tower at the top of the mountain. I don't know when it disappeared, because I left for a while, and when I returned, the tower was no longer there. Religious services were not celebrated here for a long time, after the communist system was imposed. Anyway, in 1954, 1955, May days were celebrated. After church masses children went up there to decorate the place with flowers. However, entering the Last Supper chapel was forbidden. The interior was really expressive, full size figures, stained-glasses, floors, benches. Sandwort stairs led up.

(...) We used to go there on May days, singing, and afterwards we took some Saint Florian water (Interview 2)

The last religious services celebrated by Polish priests took place several dozen of years ago (when asked about it, the respondents usually mentioned the two priests in Virgin Mary’s Ascension parish in Lubawa: Bronisław Wojtara – a parish priest from June 1945 to June 1951, and Bronisław Pachołek – a parish priest from June 1953 to June 1977)⁶. The exclusion of a religious community, the loss of its natural protectors, and the unfavourable political situation under the system of the Polish People’s Republic – all these factors affected the material infrastructure of the Holy Mountain. No professional conservation works were undertaken in Calvary for years: the objects were neither renovated nor protected against devastation.

As early as in the 1960s, the complex began to be devastated, but rev. Pachołek locked it. All chapels were closed. Once, when I was up at the Holy Mountain, some tourists from Germany came, but they could not see anything, because everything was closed. And those who had been born and once lived here asked me why it was closed. So I told them to go and fetch the keys from the parish. And later on, when rev. Pachołek left, it [devastation] started (Interview 2)

Only part of chapels furnishings was saved, including a group of figures in the Chapel of Last Supper, the Chapel of Resurrection, the altar set in St Anna chapel, as well as the figure of Christ as the Man of Sorrow:

There were a great many beautiful paintings. In the first chapel, the interior looked like that in a church, there were oil paintings on the walls, old ones. They took them away. Up the mountain, that of Resurrection – this one was the most beautiful, and that of the Last Supper survived longest when I was up the mountain last time, Jesus in his grave was chopped into pieces; it was about eight years ago. And in that of Resurrection, there were full size figures knights and angels – everything was chopped (...). In the late 1980s or early 1990s, the paintings in the Via Dolorosa were unscrewed and taken supposedly for conservation (Interview 1)

According to the reports of witnesses and documents, it can be assumed that the process of the Holy Mountain’s degradation accelerated after 1983. Until then, apart from broken windows, damaged stained glasses and chipped figures, most of

⁶ From the narrative interviews with Lubawka’s old inhabitants.

the objects had survived in an overall good condition. Starting with the late 1980s, the destruction proceeded rapidly:

In the 1990s they devastated it the most, at the beginning. In the 1970s it was not that bad, but the 1980s and 1990s brought total devastation. It was horrible. When a friend of mine from Cracow came we walked up to the Holy Mountain. In the first chapel we found drug addicts. They pulled the doors down and laid on them. And what a lot of money the parish used to collect to redecorate Holy Mountain, and it all has gone somewhere. It is not known who has taken it. What a pity that those Stations of the Cross were destroyed since it was a real historical monument (Interview 1)

The complex still does not have permanent protection, and damaged roofs, not insulated openings left after broken door and window frames contribute to further damage due to rain and snowfalls, devastation, and robbery. Shortage of financial resources and unregulated property rights (the Roman-Catholic Parish of Virgin Mary's Assumption in Lubawka is said to be the owner of this historic complex, however, the Forest district office in Kamienna Góra is the owner of the land) are additional causes of the destruction. Finally, a lack of professional conservation resulted in far-reaching disintegration of the architectural substance.

Up to now, only ruins of the following chapels have survived: St Ann's chapel (founded on a square plan of 7.60 x 7.60m), Last Supper chapel (founded on a square plan of 9.0 x 9.0 m), Thorn Crowning chapel (founded on a rectangular plan of 3.85 x 3.55 m), Our Lady of Sorrows chapel (founded on a rectangular plan of 7.45 x 6.37 m), Holy Sepulcher chapel (founded on a rectangular plan of 4.20 x 5.50 m), Resurrection chapel (founded on an octagonal plan of 5.60 x 2.00 x 3.70 m)⁷. Apart from the above, remain also: the crucifix on a stone pedestal (Station of the Cross XII), and some other small objects of sacral architecture, such as the fountain with the figure of St Florian which opens the sacred area (all elements of the sculpture wear damage marks), the group of Gethsemane (torsos), and the statue of Virgin Mary with the Infant (with damaged details, knocked off a pedestal) which closes the sacred area. None of the Stations of the Cross has survived as a whole either.

⁷ On the basis of the inventory cards of Holy Mountain worked out by E. Kica. The documentation is found in the archive of the Provincial Office for Monuments Conservation, Branch in Jelenia Góra; as well as on A. Michno, W. Wilk, A. Makaś, *The Conception of Development of Holy Mountain Calvary Chapels*. The manuscript commissioned by and at the disposal of an association the Local Action Group "Flax Flower" in Lubawka.

However, the place itself has not been forgotten and left by everybody. Since 2006, for several successive years, a group of about fifteen faithful would set off from Lubawka to pray together up the Holy Mountain. However, this Via Dolorosa took place without participation and consent of the local parish priest, who claimed he was not authorized to establish any new place of worship, the more, he argued that small sacral architecture is not under the Church administration. Additionally, according to him, these celebrations are illegitimate because not a single participant has the right to lead church services. In the local paper, the parish priest's comments were confronted with the opinion of reverend Artur from one of parishes in Wrocław, according to which Via Dolorosa can be led by anybody, even a lay person⁸.

The present study of the Calvary as an object of religious worship, reveals its past richness in terms of material and formal meanings. Our research is an attempt to reconstruct the "social frames of memory"⁹. In this context, it is also important to capture the moment when the small sacral architecture (as a *sacrum*) began to lose its power in the community. According to Russell Jacoby "the general loss of memory is not to be explained solely psychologically; it is not simply childhood amnesia. Rather it is social amnesia – memory driven out of mind by the social and economic dynamic of this society"¹⁰. Also Stanisław Ossowski pays special attention to the fact that culture heritage includes also such elements which are not valued, and also negative elements, which are transferred from one generation to another, irrespective of educational efforts or in spite of such efforts¹¹.

In terms of division, introduced by a theorist S. Ossowski, between awareness and unawareness of one's origin, and between wanted and unwanted cultural heritage, it would become an important to find out whether the Holy Mountain is still a desirable component of local cultural space. A number of questions emerged in connection with our research:

- Is it justified, in case of Lubawka community, to speak about relevance of traditional cultural patterns with reference to sacred spaces?
- Does the taboo of social convention still exist and protect sacrum and the notion of a sacred place?

⁸ J. Janicka, *Droga Krzyżowa bez księdza* [The Passion Without the Priest], "Regionalny Tygodnik Informacyjny" May 8, 2008, No. 19(386), p. 7.

⁹ M. Halbwachs, *Społeczne ramy pamięci* [The Social Frameworks of Memory], Warszawa 1969.

¹⁰ R. Jacoby, *Social Amnesia: A Critique of Conformist Psychology from Adler to Laing*, Boston 1975, p. 4.

¹¹ S. Ossowski, *Więź społeczna i dziedzictwo krwi* [Social Bond and Blood Heritage], Warszawa 1966, p. 98.

- Would young residents of Lubawka like the past religious functions of Święta Góra (Holy Mountain) to return? Would they want the past architectural glory of the place to be recovered?
- Do they feel responsibility for the place which is simply given to them as a “forgotten cultural heritage” by the older generation?
- Is the Holy Mountain in Lubawka an example of a socially significant gap in collective memory?

During the group interviews and the survey we asked about: “the map” of symbolic space – special places (their hierarchy); sacred places in perception of residents of Lubawka; knowledge of the topography of the Holy Mountain, “the founding myth”, knowledge of the founders’ names, knowledge of miracles which are said to have happened; inducing reflection on the glory days of the Calvary in the group interviews [here we will apply the visual presentation method by showing old post-cards]; the Holy Mountain as an object of religious worship, appearance and presence of religious practice in the past (attitude of the Catholic Church towards the phenomenon of this place); the cause of downfall (a crucial moment and causes of this process; how inhabitants evaluate the process of degradation the Holy Mountain, and who, in their opinion, is responsible for its current condition. How do they perceive the degradation and was it possible to reveal personal data of perpetrators (was any investigation conducted by the police and prosecutors?). Attempts to revive the area (conservation and preservative works) [for this purpose we will make use of photographic documentation of the current condition]; the meaning of the desacralized place in the cultural identity of inhabitants of Lubawka; prospects for the Holy Mountain: is restoration of its religious function possible and needed? (and connected with it: tourist development, unification of local community, and strengthening of local regional identification). The kind of assistance and resources the residents would expect to obtain during the reconstruction.

We hope that the gathered information shall provide the data for the local community, cultural associations, and regional education – especially useful in the region of “multi-ethnic” Silesia – where we can speak of “co-existence in the same area (or in close neighbourhood without clear demarcation, or in case of aspiration to occupy the same area) of two or more social groups with distinctive features: appearance, language, religion, system of values, etc., which contributes to mutual perception of otherness and its different effects”¹². It should be emphasized that

¹² M. Golka, *Oblicza wielokulturowości* [Faces of Multiculturalism] [in:] *U progu wielokulturowości. Nowe oblicza społeczeństwa polskiego* [At the Threshold of Multiculturalism. New Face of the Polish Society], M. Kempny, A. Kapciak, S. Łodziński (eds.), Warszawa 1997, s. 55.

the Calvary was created by German settlers, former residents of Liebau. Thus, the Holy Mountian can be viewed as a peculiar monument of German religious culture, “(...) monuments are manifestation of »long-lasting space« (materialized history), intentionally organized to last and for long-lasting reception. Their main function is that connected with identity, for they are the sing of peculiar appropriation of space and historical time”¹³. It is characteristic, that it is the German side who tries to revive Liebau (especially in the virtual reality of the Internet) as a nostalgic memory of the lost “local homeland” and the form of ties with past generations.

3. Empirical study

The survey was conducted in September 2012 and in April of 2013, in Siberian Deportee Soldiers Secondary School in Lubawka. Students of I–III grade, that is young people between 13 and 16 years old were interviewed. The study sample consists of 173 people, with proportional representation of girls (94) and boys (79). In one of the surveyed classes (IIIb) gender disproportion occurred: girls outnumbered boys 13 to 3. The majority of respondents (130 people are residents of Lubawka: 76 girls and 54 boys), what is more, 120 of the respondents have been living in Lubawka since their birth or early childhood, the rest of them, except one boy who lives in Kamienna Góra, come from the nearby villages: Jarkowice, Miszkowice, Niedamirów, Opawa, Bukówka, Stara Białka, Błażkowa, Paprotki, Szczepanów, Chełmsko Śląskie. Out of 130 respondents living in Lubawka, as many as 18% are not able to determine for how many generations their families are bound up with the town under study, and 12% declared that the connection has lasted for two generations, 37,7% for three, and 31,5% of the population under study belong to the fourth generation of Lubawka’s residents.

In the study, a diagnostic survey method with the application of questionnaire and 9 group interviews with the use of projection techniques were applied. The computer scans of German historic postcards (19th and 20th century), as well as the author’s photographic documentation of the place as in July 2007 were presented. The eight mentioned computer scans of historical iconography and a dozen or so of the author’s photographs taken in the year 2007 show the panoramic view of the Holy Mountain, and spatial arrangement of the following buildings: St Ann chap-

¹³ S. Łodziński, *Bitwy o pomniki i pamięć* [Battles for Monuments and Memory], “Opcje” 1997, No. 1, p. 91.

el, the Chapel of The Last Supper, the chapel of Virgin Mary the Mournful, the chapel Christ the Crowned, the chapel of the Holy Sepulcher, and the Resurrection chapel. During the slide show, the façades, the side elevations and the interiors of individual chapels were shown. Then an attempt was made to focus respondents' attention on the most characteristic architectural details and murals. Apart from the chapels, the historical iconography and the photographic documentation show also smaller items of sacral architecture: the figural complexes in the chapels of the Last Supper, Gethsemane, Resurrection, as well as Stations of the Cross, the Cross with the effigy of the Crucified and the statue of Virgin Mary with the Infant.

The diagnostic survey and the group interviews made it possible to survey a relatively numerous group of respondents in a short time. Visual presentation seemed to be the best method to acquire interesting data, because it allows for shorter and fewer questions to be asked. Thus, although not being time-consuming, it provokes the wide spectrum of reactions and associations. The photographs become, both for the respondents and researcher, the points of reference¹⁴, "a releasing factor which organizes the narration by anchoring it in the material suffused with rich associations"¹⁵. And photographs projection makes an interview more engaging and consequently more natural. Additionally, it enables to use pictorial language which does not need words. Furthermore, looking at commenting on the recorded images belongs to the repertoire of "well known and liked activities, unlike filling in a questionnaire or an interview that resembles interrogation"¹⁶. Photographs enable to collect rich, frank and varied data, because, it is "(...) difficult to be dishonest when commenting a photograph"¹⁷. Photographs perform a function of the third person, a mediator who brings a researcher and a respondent together. They help to eliminate the sense of confrontation between the two parties, where one asks questions and the other one answers them¹⁸. This way, Krzysztof Olechnicki observes, the anthropologist may refrain from plying a respondent with questions, pictures become the object of observation, and a respondent becomes a co-worker, an assistant who helps explain the content encoded in the photographs. During an interview with the use of the photographs

¹⁴ D. Harper, *Meaning of Work: a Study in Photo Elicitation*, "Current Sociology" 1986, No. 3, p. 25.

¹⁵ P. Sztompka, *Socjologia wizualna. Fotografia jako metoda badawcza* [Visual Sociology. The Photograph as a Research Method], Warszawa 2005, p. 73.

¹⁶ K. Koseła, *Interpretacja fotografii – krok ku socjologii wizualnej* [Interpretation Of the Photograph – A Step Toward Visual Sociology], "Kultura i Społeczeństwo" 1990, No. 1, p. 67.

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ J. Collier Jr., M. Collier, *Interviewing with Photographs* [in:] Idem, *Visual Anthropology: Photography as Research Method*, Albuquerque 1986, pp. 105–106.

"(...) even making notes or recording a session does not deepen the reserve or overawe a respondent, which is quite common during a strictly verbal interview"¹⁹.

All of the interviews were based on the same script. The form, the number and the chronological order of asked questions were predetermined by the specificity of a given group (every time all questions included in the script were asked). After two or three groups had been interviewed, the moderator gained an insight about which places were not recognized by the students. When respondents were becoming nervous, the slide was replaced by the one that had not cause difficulties in the previous groups. As a result, the atmosphere became more relaxed and after a while it was possible to go back to the "difficult" picture. On average, the interview lasted 25 minutes, and the size ranged from 13 to 25 students. The lowest number of elicited answers was 4–5, whereas the highest one was obtained during lively discussions, and was between 10 and 15.

During the interviews the atmosphere was rather unstrained, but the discussion remained focused on the defined objective. The respondents tried to provide interesting information, they reacted spontaneously to the presented material, but seldom expressed some deeper emotions. They were open, asked the moderator some questions, and honestly admitted their lack of knowledge. Part of a given group was active most of the time. Most of the respondents were involved, but no more than half of them expressed their involvement verbally. The comments were addressed to the moderator. Smaller groups would probably enable the better control of the interview, but then, according to the researchers, unconstrained comments would have been replaced by "questioning". The involvement may have weaken, because respondents would have felt too responsible for their words. Occasionally the involvement of the group ceased and moments of silence regained.

Interesting interactions between individuals and opinions, as well as negotiation of meanings were observed (usually among 10–15 students) Frequently, when influenced by the opinions of other participants, the respondents would change their visions. References to previous comments were made, and concepts based on the findings of the previous speakers were formulated. Sometimes, mistakes were pointed out, including linguistic ones, and some statements were criticised, which would end up with the refusal of one's right to express their opinion (for instance: "How can you know if you're not from Lubawka; how can you know if you don't go to church?"). What is more, there were even mutual accusations connected with

¹⁹ K. Olechnicki, *Antropologia obrazu: fotografia jako metoda, przedmiot i medium nauk społecznych* [Anthropology of the Image. The Photograph as a Method, Object and Medium of Social Sciences], Warszawa, 2003, pp. 174–175.

the devastation of the small sacral architecture or one's connections with satanism. However, negotiations of answers took place when collective guessing of names of the presented temples and their location was the task. Quite frequently, also respondents of the older generation, would confuse the chapel of Virgin Mary the Mournful with the Polish-Catholic church dedicated to the Assumption of God's Mother, for these both neo-Gothic buildings share white elevations:

Question: What is this place? [a long shot: projection of Virgin Mary the Mournful's chapel]

- Chapels.
- This is a church.
- This is the church under the ski jump, perhaps?
- This white one, under the ski jump?
- The chapel up the slope. At the bottom of the ski jump.
- Where do you have a chapel there? You've got something wrong.
- On the other side. Up Holy Mountain, at the back.
- That would be only one of these.
- The middle one. (Interview 5)

In the following interview, the chapel of Virgin Mary the Mournful is confused again. This time, not with the church dedicated to the Assumption of God's Mother, but with the neo-Gothic Evangelical church:

- This is in Podlesie [a district of Lubawka – AN].
- Right.
- Wrong.
- On that mountain over there.
- On St Anna Mountain.
- On Holy Mountain.
- In town.
- No, on St Rich Mountain.
- There used to be something like this near the police station.
- This isn't the one near the police station, is it?
- It's near the ski jump.
- But that one has a different tower.
- This is the church in Podlesie, in direction of Chełmsk Śląski.
- Over there, round the corner, on the right side, in direction of Chełmsko... and it's not a Roman Catholic, it's Old Catholic.
- He's from Myszkowice, so why do you even ask him? (Interview 6)

Question: Does anybody know what place it is? (projection of Abendmahl-Kapelle the chapel of the Last Supper)

- This is a chapel.
- Isn't it the previous one?
- This is the chapel on the Holy Mountain. But, no...
- How old was this? Or perhaps the stairs were destroyed?
- There are not the stairs like these there. For sure.
- But how do we know?
- Look at this second pit, this is near the ski jump.
- Yep! It think so.
- But there are loads of chapels there.
- There's something here too. On St Ann.
- And is it in Lubawka? Perhaps it's a tricky one?
(laughter)
- This is the chapel up the Holy Mountain. I can bet on it.
- But we don't know... We are not experts.

Question: Are you guessing or do you know?

- We are guessing. (Interview 8)

Most probably, in the mid-1970s, the figural complex of the Last Supper and the altar from the chapel of St Ann were moved to the church of St Ann. The figure of Christ as the Man of Sorrows is located now in front of the main entrance to the church of Virgin Mary's Assumption, whereas the figural complex of the Last Supper is located in the church of the Fourteen Holy Helpers. The question "What has happened to the figures?" was readily answered by the students, with almost investigative enthusiasm, though inaccurately and incorrectly:

Question: Has anybody seen these figures in Lubawka, perhaps?

- They're not in the church.
- They will be in the church near the police station.
- But this Evangelical church is empty.
- But they were there.
- There is something like this in the church Virgin Mary's Assumption, but a different painting is inside. (Interview 4)

Where were they previously?

- In the chapels.

- Inside the chapels.
- There were figures in these chapels, by the priest's has taken them away.
- The priest's taken them away.
- There are some in front of the church now.
- The priest's taken them to the church.

To which one?

- To this main one, what was its name? Hmm, well. By the road to the cemetery.
- Dedicated to Virgin Mary's Assumption.
- There these figures stand. All of them.
- They aren't in there.
- There are different ones. (Interview 7)

The students have real problems with locating particular objects and buildings. Not only do they not know how many chapels there are, but they also “move” particular items. The figural complex of the Last Supper, build in a scale of 1:1 (the chapel shrine laid out as a square 9.0 x 9.0 m) was “moved” to the chapel where Christ as the Man of Sorrows is located (the chapel laid out as a rectangular: 3.85 x 3.55 m). Here, it need to be mentioned that the façades of the shrines also differ significantly, the former one tri-axial, the latter is uni-axial (2, 9). The latter is place where respondents locate the grave of Lord Jesus (2), even though the place is only a preliminary Station of the Cross.

Even more interpretative difficulties were caused by the computers scans of white-and-black postcards which respondents were seen by the respondents for the first time. The temples of the Holy Sepulcher, the Resurrection (the only non-plastered, red brick chapel on Holy Mountain), and that of St Ann were often confused with the graveyard (interviews 4, 6, 9) and even with the church dedicated to St Ann – 6, 9). Here, the problem illustrated above in case of the Holy Sepulcher and of Christ the Crowned chapels, becomes even more visible. It seems that the last mistake was also made in the effort to decode the German inscriptions in the postcards. The students tried to use them to locate and pinpoint and particular objects of the sacral architecture.

Furthermore, the interviews revealed certain shortages in the students' religious knowledge. The majority of them do not use the epithet “Christ as the Man of Sorrows”. This particular representation of Christ was called: “Christ as the Man of Thought”, “Christ as the Man Lost in Thought”, “Christ as the Man of Knowledge” (Interview 1). “Christ as the Man of Sorrows” was also named “Jesus, the who has a headache” or “The one with such a head. Lost in thought”. Only one boy (Inter-

view 9) named properly the scanned iconographic object. Interesting enough, inside the preliminary chapel of the Stations of the Cross (the one with the figure of Christ as the Man of Sorrows) the “Grave of Lord Jesus” (9) or even that of John of Nepomcen (4) were located. A significant number of pupils do not recognize the term “Evangelists”, and when it happens to appear this contributes to “the change of the name” the Resurrection chapel into the chapel of Evangelists (2). The Gethsemane is confused with Eden, is sometimes called “that garden near the chapels” where, according to them, “some sleeping, resting people” were presented (9). The easiest to interpret was the figural complex of the Last Supper. However, in one of the interviews some confusion was caused by an attempt to decode a German inscription (“Inneres d. Abendmahlkapelle”): “It is some supper, because there is “Abend” written in it – But they were sitting there in a different order.” The figure of Saint Florian was also recognized easily, but its location on the basis of the historical iconography proved difficult:

Question: Does anybody recognize this place? (projection of Anna-Kapelle und Florianquelle [the chapel of St Anna and the Spring of St Florian])

- This is the chapel by the ski jump.
- Near that Florian... something... (an attempt to read from a slide).
- Really? Don't say this.
- It is Florian. There is nice water over there. Always so cold.
- It is Saint Florian. How come he's near the ski jump?

(laughter)

- He was erected near the ski jump.
- He's not there.
- He is, but he head is missing (Interview 1).

The secondary school students know that the residents of Lubawka go to fetch water from the spring:

- They go and fetch holy water.
- Healing water.
- For its crystal-clear.
- Spring.
- Mountain.
- Healthy.
- To wash you face and to drink.
- For washing.
- For free. (Interview 6)

Most students do not know neither the history of the Holy Mountain nor legends and stories connected with it (Interviews 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9). A few students were an exception; they mentioned narrations once heard from their grandmother, mum, father, uncles, or a kindergarten teacher. The stories refer to miraculous healings after application of “the water from Florian” (Interview 2), and erection of chapels as a gift for healing the wife (Interview 2), or are connected with the person of the hermit (2, 5), ghosts who punish for destruction (2), worshippers of Satan (7), taking a shelter from the floods by inhabitants of the town (6).

None of the interviewees could neither say when the sacral complex of Holy Mountain was built nor did they know the names of its founders. In the three interviews, individual respondents informed that the chapels were built by Germans (Interview 5), by Cistercians (9), or as a hiding place for Jews during World War Two (6). Generally (Interview 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8) through inspired guess, they defined the time when the Via Dolorosa celebrations took place there, though very vaguely: from the 19th century until the 1980s. Three persons (Interview 4) argued that some inhabitants of Lubawka are still continuing them. The respondents in Interview 2 and 7 remembered that Via Dolorosa was celebrated here (though without a priest) as recently as perhaps two years earlier. Nowadays, the young seldom visit the chapels, and if they do go there, their purpose is far from religious: “to pick mushrooms or blackberries”, “for walks”, “we jog there. I train there because hardly anybody strolls there”. “to take photographs. Girls like photos at the background of the ruins. They want to show their appearance in a beautiful scenery”, “to play truant”. The same students represent various ideas and suppositions about those who may have destroyed the Cavalry to such an extent:

- Hooligans.
- Locals have destroyed it.
- Cannibals.
- Devil worshippers.
- The young.
- Scallies.
- They were destroyed during world war two.
- No... Or perhaps it happened like this.
- During the Second World War, and somebody said that they had been untouched until the 1980s.
- But who is right?
- The destruction is horrible.
- But why?

- Destroyed by Germans.
- No. Is it Germans that have sprayed graffiti inside?
- It is destroyed by the young.
- Look, Arthur, can you see?
- Yep, he is.
- Can you see the interior? (Interview 3)
- Also followers of a different religion had their share in the destruction. Such gatherings, one can call them Evangelists, because they may have been jealous about our faith in Christ. (Interview 2)
- After the war. Germans destroyed it.
- They could not take it away, so they destroyed it! (Interview 4)

In the perspective of theoretical inquiry, a particularly essential question was that about the importance of the Holy Mountain for the local community and about the attitudes of young people toward the studied space. According to the survey chapels on the Holy Mountain were mentioned only 4 times as answer to the question “What makes your town unique?”, and 24 times as answer to the question “Which places in Lubawka can be attractive for tourists?”

Categories:	What makes your town unique? (question only for residents of Lubawka)	Which places in Lubawka can be attractive for tourists?
Nothing special	51/130	44/173
Natural features	23/130	57/173
Landscape	20/130	4/173
Sporting infrastructure	14/130	66/173
Boredom	10/130	-----
Historical secular architecture	5/130	47/173
Buildings of historical important	8/130	4/173
Churches	5/130	21/173
Chapels of the Holy Mountain	4/130	28/173

Source: authors’ research.

Also the group interviews revealed some serious dilemmas:

Question: Is this place important?

- No.
- No, no longer.

- No, not very much.
- Once.
- These are still monuments.
- It stands somehow, you know.
- Whoever is still going up there.
- Me. I was there. I used to sit there. I visited all of the chapels. (Interview 6)
- Yes, it's important.
- Now? I doubt it.
- It seems to me that it isn't.
- How do you know, if you do not live here.
- It seems to me that it is a sacred mountain. I mean, to some extent. (Interview 8)

Similar attitudes appeared when the sacredness of this place was considered. In the diagnostic survey²⁰, churches in Lubawka were regarded as sacred places 160 times, chapels of Holy Mountain and the places connected with them – 77 times (additionally 3 answers referred to roadside shrines), and the graveyard – 16 times. Other options refer to non-theistic sacrum: shops (8), horse farm (2), and one time: the railway station, school, one's own room, the chair at a computer desk, and garbage dump were chosen²¹. In the group interviews, the answer was quite obvious for some respondents: "The name speaks for itself: the Holy Mountain"; "In these chapels there were sacred things. Holy water was sprinkled on them"; "Once people prayed in these chapels" (Interview 2); "It will be sacred forever" (Interview 3). However, with such destruction of the place and disappearance of the ritual, can we still speak of the experience of sacrum? In response to such a suggestion some doubts about sacredness of this place emerged: "This place is not sacred, otherwise someone would take care of it"; "You can't pray there, because it was desecrated by devil worshippers. They performed their rituals there" (Interview 8); "The priest said that it is no longer sacred" (Interview 9); "People do jogging there – Nobody goes there any longer, why should it be sacred?" (Interview 5). On the other hand: "It is still sacred, there are chapels there" (Interview 9); "Once people went to pray there" (Interview 5).

²⁰ Out of 173 respondents, 139 people declared being believers, out of whom 19% defined themselves "deeply religious", 59% as "religious", 13% as "indecisive but attached to Catholic faith", 5% "rather nonreligious", 4% "atheist". In the group of "rather nonreligious" most respondents chose the option of non-theistic sacrum, and those who declared being atheists indicated mainly theistic sacrum.

²¹ The respondents could list several places. Out of 173 people, some mentioned more than one sacred place, 15 did not indicate any, and 2 said that there are not sacred places at all.

Question: Is it a sacred place?

- Yes, it's sacred.
- After all, they are chapels.
- It used to be.
- Now, it's perhaps sacred as well.
- Sacred.
- Yes.
- No.
- Yep, sacred but haunted. (Interview 3)

It was possible to distinguish some reasons for which, according to the students, the small sacral architecture of the Holy Mountain is worth renovating. On the other hand, this was not an unanimous opinion expressed in the interviews. Some respondents claimed that Calvary does not deserve protection, because "such a place is not necessary"; "ghosts are conjured up there"; "sects"; "the cat is crossed" (Interview 6):

- Utilitarian purposes: "more tourists, more business, more profits"; "if more tourists came, there would be another Biedronka opened, and a highway built"; "just make money on it"; "because it would be nicer in here"; "everybody could learn about the past of the place"; "to add something to lubawka, something attractive" (1, 2, 3–7).
- Issue of group property: "for tourists and for us. for our children"; "for inhabitants!"; "to have a historical monument for other generations. For them to remember that there used to be something like this here"; "for Lubawka to be associated with this later on"; "to return to the past"; "because it is a part of our town, our culture"; "many historical events are connected with this mountains"; "Almost anybody who lives here was there. Everybody saw it" (1, 3, 4–8).
- Religious purpose: "to keep the place to celebrate Via Dolorosa ritual, and so on"; "just to take advantage of"; "this ritual would be more interesting than that celebrated in the church, then we would participate in it" (2, 3, 4).

The restoration of the former magnificence of the Calvary depends on obtaining some external support, and the subsidy from the European Union is, according to them, indispensable and the only form of support which would assure a successful investment (Interviews 1–9). At the same time, they emphasize the bulk of restoration and conservation works that should be done, and impute to the mayor (of the communal district) indifference and interest in more urgent and profitable

investments (1, 5, 9), as well as the parish priest who is to initiate money collection for this purpose (3, 6, 7, 8). “Nobody will give money to rebuild the chapels. They will say it is not profitable” (Interview 5). When the topic of pastoral work with parishioners and the parish property was discussed (since the students claim that the chapels belong to the church) only sporadic opinions were expressed that the priest himself would not be able to collect such a lot of financial resources only from the hypothetical alms of churchgoers. Thus, the parish priest is thought to be the person who is not able to undertake such investment only with the resources provided by the parishioners. Such declarations provoked some other respondents to argue that the Church (as an institution perhaps) is simply not interested in the Holy Mountain (1, 9). An their own grassroots initiatives are marginal. If they appear, they are treated more in humorous terms or as ventures with no chances of succeeding. Not even once the idea of their own share in the investment emerged – for example, in the form of labour force, private donations, or contributions from the local associations. Neither did the students mention the provincial local authorities or the central government bodies.

When showed scans of old postcards and photographs of small sacral architecture, the respondents also commented on its present condition. The students indicated the poor technical condition of the buildings, and mentioned the missing architectural details, as well as the need of extensive renovation and of the entire Calvary complex. They mentioned both the damage to the figure of St Florian (missing head, hand and leg), the Angel (missing head and wings), as well as of the group of figures in the Gethsemane. It was the slide show that inspired reflection about the former magnificence of the Calvary, as small artifacts of the sacral architecture had been destroyed long before the students of Lubawka secondary school had been born. Neither did the students know the presented visual materials (iconography), so the comparison with the actual condition of the Calvary evoked authentic astonishment, as well as emotional reception and expression of their thoughts. In particular, such behavior occurred while the slide of the interior of St Ann’ chapel was show:

- Oh God, how it looked like...
- Nice.
- Really? (Interview 1)
- And is it really in Lubawka. Are you sure?
- Well, then Lubawka was once much spruced than now.
- Everything is destroyed, good heavens! (Interview 5)

They responded emotionally also to the previously indicated problem of the location of the artefacts in the space, which intensifies their doubts referring the actual person represented by a given sculpture, as in the case of the chapel of St Ann and the spring of St Florian:

- Perhaps this Florian is overgrown with bushes. Perhaps now forest has grown there. It depends when the photograph was taken.
- It is not him...
- It is him.
- How damaged, good heavens! (Interview 2)
- Oh, God! Everything is so overgrown with bushes.
- Does it look like this up there?
- I don't know, I haven't been here for ages.
- Oh, God! Now it looks even worse.
- Yep.
- Yep.
- Shocking. (Interview 3)

There is also genuine astonishment expressed at the fact that the figure of St Florian was once untouched. That it has not been damaged for ever. The group's declarations end up with a rather pessimistic diagnosis:

- But his head is missing.
- Good heavens!
- He used to hold something.
- A bucket.
- It will still be worse. (Interview 7)

Sporadically, there spontaneous, but essential, recollections could be heard: “We used to play hare and hounds there” (Interview 4); “I used to take walks there, with my granny. Now, there is nothing to see there. Nothing” (Interview 7). The students admit their lack of competence, they do not conceal bitterness at their ignorance which, according to them should be blamed on the third party. In this area, they notice a lack of authorities responsible for knowledge transmission (“Will you tell us something about it, sir, because we know nothing. Nobody has taught us about it. It's a shame to admit it. The priest hasn't mentioned this place either”). A spontaneous initiative of hike in their leisure time emerged, accompanied with the charges against inhabitants of Lubawka expressed by students in nearby villages who claimed that one should know the place they live in. On several times, we heard emotional responses in an imperative mood: “Have it reconstructed totally!”;

“It could be reconstructed if people took up working!”; “But soon such young people would come, and again...”; “Make them rebuild it!”

4. Challenges

According to the study report within the national project „Stop Heritage Crime – Legal and illegal trading of culture foods – Research-Educational platform of experience exchange in the field of culture heritage crime prevention”, subsidized by the EEA Culture Exchange Fund, 89% of Poles think that culture heritage plays an important social function. Over half of them believe that historical monuments have a positive influence on the socio-economic development of particular regions. Most of the respondents (86%) claim that monuments represent commercial potential. In their declarations, tourism and service sector development were emphasized. Although Poles are well aware that conservation of culture heritage requires considerable financial outlays, they argue that these are long-term investments and monuments conservation is worth investing public money (82% of the respondents)²².

However, our study of young people in Lubawka shows that declarations and details of the problem are two different issues (especially in the interviews). In the group interviews, young people have shown very little knowledge about the Calvary or wider, religious knowledge about the Passion. On the other hand, we noticed an authentic huge surprise when they saw both the historical and the current state. This small architecture seems to be an unnoticed part of their local identity. For them, it is astonishing that in Lubawka, the place commonly regarded as sacred, was not only abandoned but also totally destroyed. Young residents agreed that even though the Calvary the Holy Mountain is no longer the place of religious worship, it is an element of the history of Lubawka. Today it could become the element of cultural identity of the residents of Lubawka and a tourist attraction once more (which would highlight the „small Lubawka homeland” on the broader social arena) but, due to a lack of financial resources, it is still impossible to do so. For some reason, the youth does not have their own initiative. The restoration of the Calvary depends on obtaining some external support, the others are responsible for this – someone else: the local authorities, the Church, the EU, etc. They also

²² <http://www.obserwatoriumkultury.pl/artykuly/117257-dziedzictwo-kulturowe-w-oczach-polakow--raport-z-badan-spoecznych.html> [Access date: 26.05.13].

point to the lack of school education in this field. Unfortunately, this topic is absent both in the official transmission and family narratives.

The change in consciousness of the inhabitants of the town is the precondition. As we can see, the youth does not regard this as a significant element of the cultural heritage. In group interviews they shown rather ambivalent attitude to the issue of recognition of this place as sacred and very important at present; in the diagnostic survey only 4 pupils have chosen the Calvary when we asked them about some unique places in Lubawka.

The place has been forgotten and deserted by the society and the Church over the last thirty years, since then inhabitants have not come up with any grassroots initiatives to restore the Holy Mountain. It may have resulted from the creation of other, more attractive places of worship, lack of intergenerational transmission among the residents of Lubawka, growing secularization, and the ongoing "social oblivion of unwanted social heritage" started in the communist period.

The collective initiative for the sake of its revival could create the opportunity to strengthen the common identity. The current condition of this small sacral architecture, provided some protective measures are soon taken, still gives hope for its survival. The inhabitants of Lubawka could become protectors of the Holy Mountain once more. The question is, whether they want it. After all, as Ossowski wrote: cultural heritage depends, to a wide extent, on the will of those who were entrusted with it²³.

Originally, the project aimed at broadening knowledge about the local (although not exclusively) community and providing some revaluations. Our solution can be treated as one of possible, but also universal, cases and methodological options, which can be applied while studying other local communities affected with the trauma of displacement (the "uprooted" and "putting down roots" once more) and encounter different cultural groups which lay claim to the same space. There will be problems of co-existence between people and places, of building a spiritual relation called inhabitancy, of active experiencing and decoding the content, and being in the space and the space present in the inhabitants. An finally, creating responsibility for the place which is simply given to us as a foreign heritage.

²³ Compare: S. Ossowski, op.cit., Chapter II: *O zagadnieniach dziedzictwa społecznego* [On the Issues of Social Heritage].

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