Wrocław – Cultural Semantics of the Contemporary Urban Embedding

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Abstract: The transformation of Europe – and, particularly, one of its narrow scopes – a socio-urban transformation has undergone an enormous shift, the illustration of which can be found in separate and collective alternating narratives. Those alternating narratives understood as experience based opinions embedded in individual observations contribute to a better understanding of a given urban setting. Wrocław, one may state, is a very individual city or, rather one should say, a city that is perfect for individuals. This work aims at exploring the concept of Wroclaw from various possible (but still selected) angles within the meaning of Europe. Not only linguistics and semantics will be the axes of reference in this particular case but also bordering sciences such as: anthropology or sociology. Moreover, people in contemporary Wroclaw learn to identify not only themselves but also the space. The light is shed on selected meanings being constructed by people from the inside, as well as, from the outside; therefore one should also adhere to its citizens and visitors because empty space loses its meaning to a large extent. Recent twenty years (1989-2009), most probably, will be described as a period of constant rapid changes. This particular period in wroclawians' mentality was (and still is) full of actions taking the "re" prefix to denote and stress far-reaching initiatives, initiatives that go far beyond the imagination of fossilized mind so common in the bygone political epoch.

Keywords: the grammar of culture, social identity, urban space.

Persuasi, dedicati, non costretti
a questa luce dischiusa dalla terra
- appartenere (...) non pronunciata, tesa
tra la testa e le vertebre, che dice
"basta, prego - cenere" infinitamente appartenere
(Gian Mario Villalta, DEDICA: 3. - 2004)

1. Introduction

It happens all the time that in order to hear the melody in its mastered tune one is advised to pull many strings in a sophisticated manner or put one's all heart to be credible, natural and therefore convincible. The same mechanism or approach should be applied to the full understanding of other complex notions. This work aims at exploring the concept of Wrocław from various possible (but still selected) angles within the meaning of Europe. The question of Europe is another broad issue which desires to be discussed in a separate work, however as for the sake of working knowledge of the very phenomenon, one has to agree that the meaning of Europe has been split into Old Europe and, the so called New Europe, Western and Eastern Europe as well as Central Europe. Having asked, for instance, professor Noam Avram Chomsky about his understanding of the New Europe I was given the following response:

The only answer I could give simply is if by "New Europe" you mean the concept defined by Donald Rumsfeld and picked up enthusiastically by Western intellectuals.

These historically justified (or unjustified) divisions have their impact on the contemporaries – both inhabitants of Wrocław – a truly European and truly Western city and its dear and welcome visitors thanks to whom the knowledge of the city and various understandings of this socio-urban phenomenon may spread freely across the world. As far as *Encyklopedia Wrocławia* is concerned, one is kindly advised to take a closer look at roots of the name which is at issue, (2000:912):

Wrocław (nazwa miejscowa), nazwa stolicy Dolnego Śląska, pochodząca od staropolskiego imienia Wrocisław i jego odpowiednika w języku czes. Vratislav. Wrocisław oznaczał dosłownie "powrót sławy" (...) Pierwsze zapisane nazwy to: Wratislay (1149), Vrotislav (1179), Vratislau (1189), Vratislav (1203). Wcześnie też występują zgermanizowane brzmienia w rodzaju Wrotizla (1000), Wrezlawe (1175) i Wrezlau (1203). Późniejsze przekazy źródłowe Bresslaw, Breslau wskazują, że polska nazwa miejscowa ulegała dalszej deformacji w języku niemieckim. (...) Jedynie w tekstach łac. używano nieprzerwanie nazwy Wratislavia, co potwierdza genezę inicjału "W" w herbie.

Wrocław (a local name), the name of the capital of Lower Silesia deriving from the old Polish name Wrocisław and its Czech equivalent is Vratislav. The literary meaning of Wrocisław was "return to fame" (...) First written names are the following: Wratislay (1149), Vrotislav (1179), Vratislau (1189), Vratislav (1203). Germanized variation of the very name also appeared quite early: Wrotizla (1000), Wrezlawe (1175) and Wrezlau (1203). Later data Bresslaw, Breslaw, Breslau point out that the Polish local name was undergoing further deformation in the German language. (...) Only Wratislavia appeared in Latin texts which prove the Genesis of letter "W" in the city's escutcheon. (translated into English by – M.R.O.)

It is important to note that, generally, Latin lexemes did not start with "W" but with "V", however Wroclaw had such a strong position as a city at that time that this fact was even emphasized in the very name breaking the Latin conservative linguistic rule. The very proper name – *Wrocław* – has got its equivalents in other languages, such as: *Boroszló* [Hungarian], *Breslavia* [Italian], *Vroclavas* [Lithuanian], *Vratislav* or *Vroclav* [Slovak], Уроцлаў (*Vrotslai*) [Belarusian], Вро́тоλаβ (*Vrotslav*) [Greek], and Вроцлав (*Vrotslav*) [Russian/Serbian/Ukrainian].

The contemporary incorporation of the name Wratislavia has its reflection in the name of musical events dated back to 1966 and called "Wratislavia Cantans" or "Wratislavia" *Fundacja dla kultury muzycznej Wrocławia* – (the Foundation for Musical Culture of Wrocław) which originated in spring 1998 or finally, "Wratislavia" is the name of the bookshop at Jozefa Pilsudskiego street (former Dzierżyńskiego street – the change of the street name was due to change of the Polish political system in 1989). The aforementioned adjective "Western" is not only due to one of the hotels in Wrocław that has this adjective as one of the two elements in the whole name. The "westerness" of Wrocław enjoys many other indications that can be found through the whole area of the city.

Not only linguistics and semantics will be the axes of reference in this particular case but also bordering sciences such as: anthropology or sociology. Semantics is, simply, meaning, which, again, can be discussed from different perspectives. Semantics, being the study of meaning, is based on a given significance with relation to history and psychology to a large degree.

Urban space and urban time – that is spatiality and temporal aspect usually play the crucial role while investigating the character of different phenomena. Having agreed upon that the meaning/meanings of the city within a larger geopolitical organism, one should also adhere to its citizens and visitors because empty space loses its meaning to a large extent. It is the peopled soil that has the potential for shaping meaning and culture, which seeks reflection upon the passing of time and numerous redefinitions in a dynamic contextual embedding.

In the light of the above, this work has to involve many points of view from people of different backgrounds, comprise suitable examples and observations as well as logically justified conclusions.

2. Culture and identity

Contemporary Wroclaw is a thriving, modern, open and a culturally sensitive city. This sensitivity is strictly connected with its openness towards various group and individual initiatives. Especially, these are the individuals that take advantage of awaited freedom of speech and action that were long prohibited because of Soviet and communist "grammar of breathing, speaking and travelling." Simmel (2002:11) rightly notices that:

The deepest problems of modern life flow from the attempt of the individual to maintain the independence and individuality of his existence against the sovereign powers of society, against the weight of historical heritage and the external culture and technique of life. (...) The psychological foundation, upon which the metropolitan individuality is erected, is the intensification of emotional life due to the swift and continuous shift of external and internal stimuli. Man is creature whose existence is dependent on differences, i.e. his mind is stimulated by the difference between present impressions and those which have proceeded.

Wrocław, one may state, is a very individual city or, rather one should say, a city that is perfect for individuals – it has almost all one needs for unrestricted (with respect to law and common social standards) living. John Lennon and Paul McCartney, as everybody knows, claim that *all you need is love* and it is also very much true about Wrocław. People are here – in Wrocław – not only because they can find work or be closer to institutions and culture but they simply had no previous knowledge about the city itself and after taking a decision to come they do not regret it. Vickie Monday from Tennessee, USA – one of the students of International Summer Institute on European Transformation 2005 entitled: "Experiencing the New Europe" wrote in the poll: *I had never heard of Wrocław before* (...) *I love Wrocław! The cathedral, the old buildings, the trams, (but strangely not buses) and the cobble-stone streets are lovely. The people (or about 98% of them) are very friendly and kind.*" Everyone who reads it may understand that the statement based on experience is reliable and convincible to a large extent.

Even though Wrocław was not always a fortunate destination, times do change and historical layers, being laid one after another, contribute to the full understanding of the city organism. The concept of time, the so called synchro-diachronic approach plays one of the main roles with respect to the preserved memory of the place and of the people. Human memory may be blurred or activated but, undoubtedly, this is one of the points of reference thanks to which an individual can trace the right path. The concept of time allows one to enter the specific reality, the concept of time increases or decreases experience and provides individual the empirical mode of action and gives temporal frame for a given embedding. Turetzky, (1998:171) is of the opinion that:

(...) the constitution of immanent time requires a retentional grasp of being-together of elapsed phases and its limit at the point of primal impression. As new phases arise and push back retained phases, this being-together continuously becomes retentionally modified. As new moments arise, retentional being together continuously coincides with itself in an non-voluntary synthesis, identifying already retained being-together as a part of a newly retained being-together, thus constituting a unified flow.

Our memory is shaped and constructed or deconstructed by time and context. Everything that was our experience (excluding mental disorders) retains, metaphorically saying, somewhere in the avenues of our thoughts. Furthermore, one has to be aware of the fact that experience might be either an individual act or a group act. Therefore, even though, one participates in the collective experience, one has his or her own impressions, subjective estimations and individualized observations. The image of any city or any object or any individual has got the common lowest denominator which comprises time, setting/context and experience but the same time one has to respect differentiated perception out of which a not always coherent image emerges. Lynch, (2002:30) notices that:

There seems to be a public image of any given city which is the overlap of many individual images, each held by some significant number of citizens. Such group images are necessary if an individual is to operate successfully within his environment and to cooperate with his fellows. Each individual picture is unique, with some content that is rarely or never communicated, yet it approximates the public image, which, in different environments, is more or less compelling, more or less embracing.

What is the public image of Wrocław described by individuals from the outside, then? Ryan Swor from Tennessee – participant of the aforementioned Summer Institute states that: Wrocław is clearly a vibrant city that is full of contrasts. The contrasts are quite noticeable in the architecture, the culture and the transport system. It appears that Wrocław is a place where "East" meets "West." Alan Luboniecki – also from Tennessee is of the more concise opinion in which he only marks the adjectival attractiveness of the city, namely: It is a wonderful place to visit and (I believe) a nice place to live. It is very open and friendly to travellers (underlined by the author). Amy Campbell from the same city in the U.S. gave the following answer: I really wonder why there aren't more tourists who come here. I was surprised to find such a beautiful city that is as welcoming as it is. I have felt that it is a generally safe city with much to see and experience. I have been amazed at its rich and extensive history, and have really enjoyed getting to know it. No matter how much descriptive the answers were, the individual approach clearly emerges from them. One has to be aware of the very crucial fact that the independence of Poland and the real freedom of action lasts only twenty years in Poland after 1989 political transformation. It means that wroclawians have to and still learn how to co-exist with each other and visitors in a relatively young new reality. They – Wrocław citizens have to learn cultural grammar (the term used by many scholars, among which there is Duranti); Duranti (1997:27) rightly admits that:

If culture is learned, then much of it can be thought of in terms of knowledge of the world. This does not only mean that members of a culture must know certain facts or be able to recognize objects, places and people. It also means that they must share certain patterns of thought, ways of understanding the world, making inferences and predictions.

Therefore, the aforementioned citizens have to realize that culture that flourished, was diminished and began to flourish again is to be shared with others and is to be preserved for future generations and, moreover, culture is the phenomenon that everybody – being aware of it or not – creates. Geertz, (1995:243) writes: *Culture is public because meaning is*. Culture belongs to public space and is shaped by individuals who share public domains of life. Culture is another layer of point to which people refer. Castells, (1997:6) highlights the importance of identity and verbalizes this significance the following way: *Identity is people's source of meaning and experience*. Contemporary experience does not equal the previous one, but due to culture enframed in time and embraced by individual perspective deriving from experience people gain the continuum which is essential for the full understanding of themselves and their roles within space and time. Wrocław was once cut off from the history by the new power that came into play after the World War II – the new power did not want to preserve the knowledge and therefore the continuum of the German contribution to the city's prewar development. People were resettled and newcomers were deprived of their former identity and point of reference. Now it is only twenty years (1989-2009) that people can and have means and possibility to discover or, rather one should say, rediscover the identity or, at least, may be in search of it. Ricoeur, (1995:23) does not exaggerate writing that:

Przez przestrzeń doświadczenia [Erfahrungsraum] rozumieć należy całokształt dziedzictwa przeszłości: jej nakładające się na siebie ślady stanowią swego rodzaju grunt, na którym wspierają się pragnienia, obawy, przewidywania, projekty (...) Przestrzeń doświadczenia występuje zawsze w biegunowej opozycji do horyzontu oczekiwań [Erwartungshorizont].

Through [Erfahrungsraum] *the space of experience* one should understand the ensemble of the heritage of the past: its overlapping traces determine a kind of ground on the surface of which desires, anxieties, anticipations, projects are mounted (...) *The space of experience* always stands in diametrical opposition to *the horizon of expectations* [Erwartungshorizont]. (translated into English by – M.R.O.)

Moreover, people in contemporary Wrocław learn to identify not only themselves but also the space. Individuals may deal with open, semi-open or totally closed spaces. These are people who create the rules and principles of mutual co-existence; the same time space is determined by the needs and expectations, by fears and trauma, founded on agreements or disagreements, on public understanding or misunderstanding. Mitchell, (2002:56) claims that: *Once public and private spaces are distinguished from each other they can begin to play complementary roles in urban life; a well organized city needs both.* People – wroclawians have to be aware of the borders of the public and the private. A a quite recent example is building of the new housing estates – very much different form, the so called, huge 'sleeping dormitories' of the city, such as *Kozanów* or *Nowy Dwór*. New housing estates are as if modern castles with guards, video cameras, fences and

widely limited access to other neighbourhoods. Such private defensive spaces (for the rich) create a new social stratum – not only in Wrocław. There are similar examples in other biggest (or only bigger cities) throughout Poland.

New fashion of living is accompanied by the new behavioural grammar. People, especially in large cities, have got specific style of walking – white collars are in constant rush, whereas blue collar workers walk steadily, youngsters find chaos as the best advisor when walking, homeless and elderly people walk or rather stumble because of various reasons. De Certeau, (2002:388) notices that:

The walking of passers-by offers a series of turns (tours) and detours that can be compared to "turns of phrase" or "stylistic figures." There is rhetoric of walking. The art of "turning" phrases finds an equivalent in an art of composing a path (tourner un parcours). Like ordinary language, this art implies and combines styles and uses. (...) Style and use both have to do with a "way of operating" (of speaking, walking, etc.), but style involves a peculiar processing of the symbolic, while use refers to elements of code.

Another issue is the image of the city wrapped up with the global markers of development and/or inculturation. Featherstone, (2003:342) puts it interestingly:

(...) the globalization process should be regarded as opening up the sense that now the world is a single place with increased contact becoming unavoidable, we necessarily have greater dialogue between various nation-states, blocks and civilizations: a dialogical space in which we can expect a good deal of disagreement, clashing of perspectives and conflict, not just working together and consensus. (...) The difficulty of handling increasing levels of cultural complexity, and the doubts and anxieties these often engender, are reasons why "localism", or the desire to remain in a bounded locality or return to some notion of 'home' becomes an important theme.

Luckily enough, Wrocław is, as it was mentioned earlier, an open, western city. Proving it is also worth mentioning bilateral coperation between Wrocław and other partner cities: Wiesbaden, Drezno (Germany), Charlotte (The United States of America), Guadalajara (Mexico), Ramat Gan (Israel), Breda (The Netherlands), Departament La Vienne (France), Lwów (Ukraine), Kowno (Latvia), Hradec Kralove (The Czech Republic) and Grodno (Belarus).

It was also stated that contrast is one of the key notions that are of much help in comprehending the new Wrocław reality. The following pictures below seem to be interesting due to the fact that two fast food restaurants decided to manifest their being by two completely divergent methods; namely one of them used quite vivid and catchy New York neon, whereas the other one – KFC – (which is situated in the interior of the main hall of the main railway station in Wrocław) amazes with several copies of maps of medieval or 18th century Wrocław inside.





One of the map of Wroclaw in the interior of KFC fast food restaurant in the main hall of the main railway station in Wrocław, built by Germans in a Scottish gothic style (up) and New York fast food restaurant (left) at one of the main streets in Wrocław. (the building of *Narodowy Bank Polski* – Polish National Bank in the background)

[photos $\leftarrow \uparrow$ taken by – M.R.O.]

The notion of globalization and, at least, partial inculturation is therefore clearly seen in Wrocław. The emphasis of orderly digested culture with regard to its objects is highlighted by Chruszczewski's (2002: 62-3):

(...) To participate in any culture in a competent way, one not only needs to be aware of a particular cultural grammar but also master it. (...) Culture is (...) the way a community can form its social objects, which would suggest its being on a relatively high level of development/evolution.

Chruszczewski, as well as other scholar (Duranti), sees culture in the context of *cultural grammar*. This *cultural grammar* must, however, be mastered by its conscious participants.

In order to follow the stream of the contemporary times, one has to follow the changes. The changes are of an immediate character and are connected with the computerized branches of industry. Culture has to and undergoes rapid changes and it also has, at least, an indirect influence on our identity. People who are nowadays 'switched off' (in Poland and in general) are depriving themselves of understanding the changes. Culture of the bygone past does not interest them at all. Culture they have chance to witness is hardly comprehensible for them. The group of people, the aforementioned reflections are addressed to, are middle-aged people of poor education and youngsters who are the second generation (usually the children of these middle-aged, regardless of age, are quasi-football fans, the unemployed with almost no perspectives). Culture in such groups is misinterpreted or does not exist at all. They are throwing their frequently unjustified complaints all over the social and political scene. These young people hate their educated (still self-educating) peers and place the educated and the police as the enemy number one in everyday social situations. To make the situation even worse, they live mostly in small and large cities and mark (through special type of clothes and language) separate ghettos in the 21st century.

Odelski (2004:33) notices that:

The identity is scattered in this instance because culture is almost a non-existing sphere there. There is no proper transfer of culture in the Polish contemporary ghettos – ghettos of the rejected. The examples might be even strikingly familiar: trójkąt bermudzki (Bermuda triangle) in Wrocław, Bałuty and Widzew sleeping dormitories in Łódź, Nowa Huta in Kraków, Przymorze and Żabianka in Gdańsk and many, many more. These people are not susceptible to intergenerational transfer of culture.

First of all, they are not fully aware what culture is and secondly a very dwarfish sense of identity came into being out of such an undernourished sense of culture. No wonder then that the Polish culture is something exotic for some Poles. These people suffer from socio-economic illness with its further implications on reception of culture. Their identity should be inspired and created by properly 'served' and 'received' culture but their identity is in suspension and reactions triggered by negative emotions. The rest of the culturally aware part of the Polish society reads and tries to participate in cultural events with the various strengths that depend on the current inclination.

Still, another important issue is that Wrocław, having broken historical continuum in terms of resettling its citizens after the World War II, has to build its own local tradition or adhere to pre-war roots, which are customs and tradition. Still quite recently, the recurring theme of history and local tradition appears in *Stowo Polskie – Gazeta Wrocławska* – a local newspaper, created from two separate ones. One shall quote after Hobsbawm ([1983]1994:1):

The term 'invented tradition' is used in a broad, but not imprecise sense. It includes both 'traditions' actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period – a matter of a few years perhaps – and establishing themselves with great rapidity. (...) 'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.

As far as further example of inculturation and new born custom or tradition is concerned, one has to admit that it was early 90' when St. Valentine's Day was celebrated in Wrocław for the very first time.

3. Conclusions

Summing up, Wrocław was the place to be formed after the World War II with regard to people's mentality. Kenney, (1997:137) rightly reminds that: *The people who came to work in Wroclaw's factories knew little more than the name of their destination*. It is similar now for the majority of its visitors. They are coming with the exotic pronunciation of the name of the city on their lips and with little knowledge of the reality of post-communist Poland.

Now wroclawians enjoy living in the period when local and national adjectives play their significant role referring to the place, creating the same time real natural bonds with place. Contemporary situation in Wroclaw is, fortunately, quite the opposite to the one described by Kenney, (1997:141):

For Poland in 1945, the rediscovery of nation was an essential theme. Wroclaw, destroyed as it had been, was not so much rebuilt (a term that might imply knowledge of its past and reclamation of the past) as it was discovered and claimed. Newspapers of the time continually trumpeted Wroclaw "firsts" – first tram line, first newspaper, first cinema – without the adjective "Polish," as if such things had not existed in German Breslau scant months earlier.

People being resettled gave room to those who are nowadays citizens of Wrocław and who gave birth to contemporary wroclawians. Recent twenty years (1989-2009) passed and, most probably, will be described by historians as a period of constant rapid changes – changes for better. This particular period in wroclawians' mentality was (and still is) full of actions taking the "re" prefix to denote and stress far-reaching initiatives, initiatives that go far beyond the imagination of fossilized mind so common in the bygone political epoch. Thum (2005:234) delineates the current *status quo* by writing that:

Apparently, the majority of Wroclaw citizens still wish somehow to preserve the myth of the old Polish town that returned to its Motherland in 1945 and simply add the history of the German city and put a strong emphasis on Wroclaw's Europeanness. The population exchange of 1945 is included in the new historical picture, but by persistently placing it in a wider framework of the numerous changes the city underwent in the course if its history, it appears a less dramatic and significant part of the city's narrative. By and large, it is this historical patchwork that has thus far emerged from the search for a new understanding of the local history.

Wrocław is nowadays known by the watch phrase issued on the leaflets of the municipal information office: Wrocław - the meeting place. The identification with the city might also be constructed through one of the most positive feelings if not the most important one, namely love - $I \vee WrocLove^{I}$. It is also done for foreign visitors due to the simplicity of the pronunciation.



But in order to gain such a condition in which anyone would be able to venture to suggest that Wrocław is a real place people want to meet in, want to share the public space with no prejudices, the whole process of "re-doing things" had to be applied. It was Wittgenstein (2004:64) who became famous by his wise observation: *Granice mego języka oznaczają granice mego świata*. – My world is limited by my language (translated into English by – M.R.O.). Therefore wroclawians had to and still have to experience **renaming** of politically incorrect streets and **reinstitutionalization**, **redecorating** and partially **rebuilding** their city after the millennium flood that took place in 1997, **rediscovering** their identity and cultural markers all around the city and the same time **recognizing** all the former contributors to the image of the city, **renegotiating** of numerous meanings that shape complete meaning of the city, **reconstructing** local history, **refurbishing** of material facades of architectural assets and spiritual foundations, **refuelling** themselves with incentives, energy, inspiration, multilayer **reformation**; other words, they had to incorporate the new semantics into the old one. It required and still requires many undertakings which scientifically are encapsulated by the concept proposed by Coulson, (2001:34, 35):

Frame shifting (...) reflects the operation of a semantic reanalysis process that recognises existing information into a new frame. (...) Moreover, frames serve as interpretative resources for socially defined activities, giving meaning to things that would otherwise be meaningless.

It is very much true that desiring the privilege of proper apprehending of things, one has to reanalyze all that was sedimented from the previous experience and tries to engraft the new fresh perception of things not to lose and escape meanings. Wroclawians and other inhabitants of contemporary *polis* have to constantly be aware of the fact that identity is the unifying factor for all of them, no matter the geographical location. Mohanty (2003: 392) rightly notices that:

The most basic questions about identity call for a more general reexamination of the relation between personal experience and public meanings – subjective choices and evaluations, on the one hand, and objective social location, on the other.

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¹ By courtesy of the author - Ms. Dorota Mituni-Syslo, and Biuro Promocji Miasta Wroclawia

Schiffman (1998:57) seems to complement the above with explaining the interrelation between language and culture:

(...) we must make a further distinction, between texts in a particular language, and the ideas and beliefs contained in those texts, or expressed by them.

It is also noteworthy to have a closer look at forthcoming future that might acculturate Wroclaw to some degree. An event that is within the reach of the city and its inhabitants (EURO 2012), is already guaranteed. Future will show to what extent European character of the city will mingle with views, knowledge and expectations of visitors and organisers.

In the light of the above, semantics of Wrocław enriches semantics of Europe to a large extent, encourages individual and group initiatives, ensures people that it is *Genius Loci* with great potential for all who would like to 'taste' the city or 'digest' it profoundly.

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