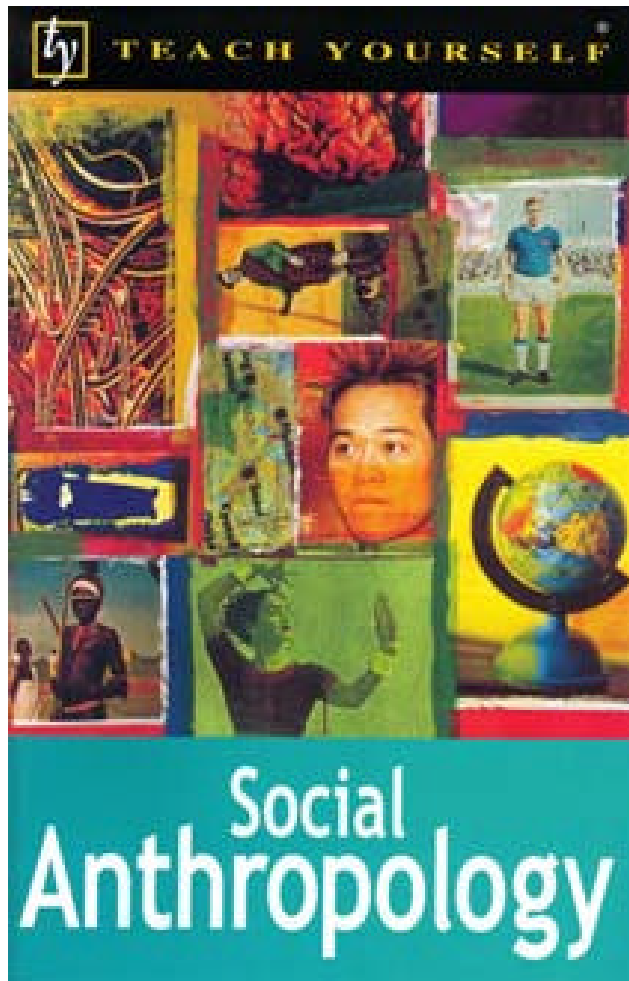


Discovering Social Anthropology in Galicia



(Supplementary materials to Chris Hann: Teach Yourself Social Anthropology, London, 2000).

Synopsis

Social anthropology began as the science of the exotic and 'savage', but anthropologists have extended the range of their discipline to include the most 'advanced' societies, and everything in between. The materials made available are linked to the author's simultaneously published book *Teach Yourself Social Anthropology* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 2000). They describe a seven week course in social anthropology at a summer school in the Polish city of Cracow. Postcommunist society is neither exotically strange nor reassuringly familiar to the participants, who learn to apply and deepen their knowledge in a variety of activities outside the classroom.

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Preface



Figure 1: Habsburg Galicia (the dotted line to the right of Przemysł is the contemporary border between Poland and Ukraine)

In 1997, when still a teacher of social anthropology at the University of Kent, Canterbury, I contracted to write a volume for Hodder and Stoughton's well-known *Teach Yourself* series. I did not anticipate much difficulty in finishing the job during my sabbatical year at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin in 1997-8. Unfortunately events conspired to make the process more protracted. My recruitment by the Max Planck Society led to my spending a second year in Berlin and eventually to taking up a research appointment in Halle. When I returned to the *Teach Yourself* project in 1999 I was dissatisfied with earlier drafts and unable to proceed according to the text-book schema.

Instead, prompted by a series of fieldtrips to Poland in 1997-8, I decided to cast the book as a series of lectures at a fictional anthropological summer school in Cracow. The choice was deliberate: I wanted to show that, a century after Bronislaw Malinowski had studied at Cracow's Jagiellonian University, the discipline he did so much to shape could and should be taken 'home'. The Polish teachers demonstrate in their lectures to the foreign students that the social anthropology of a contemporary post-socialist society can be just as fascinating as investigations into the customs of Trobriand Islanders and similarly 'exotic' peoples with whom the discipline has traditionally been associated.

I tried to capture the reader's attention by adding a narrative framework, focusing on two summer school participants. I also gave the lecturers themselves fictitious identities: Professor Edward

Tadeusz Dylag (ETD) is a slightly pompous and conservative figure, very attached to the British tradition of social anthropology in which he was trained, though also interested in questions of long-term social evolution. He is above all an intellectual and he emphasises objectivity and scholarly detachment. His wife Dr. Danuta Dylagowa (DD) is more committed to an activist political stance on issues of minority rights and social inequality, to which she brings energies and skills honed during her days in the anti-communist opposition in Poland before 1989. She is sympathetic to American cultural anthropological traditions, to postmodernism, to 'anthropology at home', to applied anthropology, and to introducing anthropology into the school curriculum, all of which her husband tends to disparage. They had a running dialogue with each other throughout the MS, sometimes within one and the same lecture. At the end of the day, as in most successful marriages, they managed to find common ground and muddle through. Throughout the course they encouraged their students to debate key ideas and to develop their newly acquired anthropological interests in local settings. The purpose of these illustrations was not to provide a comprehensive picture of one postcommunist society, but to convey a sense of the range of social anthropology and the sort of knowledge it generates.

Unfortunately (from my point of view) Hodder did not approve of this framework, which they judged to be out of kilter with their series. Perhaps it was indeed too contrived and rather twee. I have no illusions about a missed vocation as a creator of fictional characters. Anyway, I was given no choice but to accept the copy-editor's deletion not only of the narrative details but also of all the practical exercises, even though to my mind this left a much impoverished text. I was almost beyond consolation when Michael D. Fischer came up with the idea of making some of the deleted material available electronically at the site that he has created at the Centre for Social Anthropology and Computing of the University of Kent at Canterbury.

What follows are the substantially unaltered 'frills' that originally formed part of the volume published by Hodder in June 2000. They have been supplemented by further materials gathered during a visit to Poland in July-August 2000, and by a variety of illustrations. Although the characters and the narrative events are fictional, I have tried to describe the context accurately and authentically. The Lemko Festival reported in 25.1 actually took place a little earlier, the potatoes would normally be dug up somewhat later, and the Przemysl procession illustrations show Corpus Christi day, not the Assumption. Nevertheless, the degree of historical and ethnographic verisimilitude in this chapter is high.

It has not been possible to include all the expunged material, much of which was embedded in the lectures themselves and would be unintelligible outside that context. However, the basic narrative (distinguished through italics) and the practical assignments are reproduced in their entirety. This electronic text is divided into seven parts, corresponding to the seven weeks of the summer school. Each part is subdivided into files, which follow the chapter divisions of the book, except in the case of Part Six, which describes a week-long fieldtrip in the Galician countryside. This formed a single chapter of the original MS.

Using this medium alone will enable readers to follow the plot and obtain some insight into the terrain of Galicia, past and present. For more insight into the terrain of anthropology, however, these materials should be read in conjunction with the book.

[Chris Hann](#), Halle, August 2000

MAIN CHARACTERS

Dr. Danuta Dylagowa, Professor Edward Tadeusz Dylag: Social Anthropologists
Ania, Tom, Maria, Marek: Students
Wlodek, Jarek: Unemployed

LOCATION

Cracow, formerly the Royal capital of Poland, later incorporated into the Habsburg province of Galicia; for centuries home to a dynamic Jewish community, UNESCO cultural capital of Europe in 2000; home city of Pope John Paul II, and of Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski (1884-1942), a leading figure in modern anthropology



Figure 2: A billboard proclaims Cracow's status as one of nine 'cities of culture' in Europe in the year 2000.

Narrative: Scene 1

The two twenty year olds arrived in Warsaw within hours of each other on a sunny day in July. Ania, reasonably fresh after the short flight from London, was making her first visit to the country where all four of her grandparents had been born. Tom had already visited several times since the end of communist rule in 1989. He was tired after the night flight from Chicago, where his father was active in the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America; his mother was also Catholic, of mixed Irish-Italian descent. To both young people, Poland's principal airport seemed small and provincial. This feeling intensified as they made their way to the domestic section for the evening flight to the John Paul II Airport in Cracow. Ania bought a glossy fashion magazine resembling the one she read occasionally in England, but the articles were almost impenetrable to her and even the body language of the models in the illustrations looked somehow different. Tom noticed her in the waiting lounge, but there was no opportunity to start a conversation.

He broke the ice next morning, as soon as he recognised her in the queue for breakfast in the noisy canteen of the Jagiellonian University's dormitory for foreign students. By the time they had made their way by tram to the city centre for the opening ceremonies of the University's summer school, each felt confident they would become friends.

All students had to take a course on Polish history and culture, followed by a language class. The third element in the programme could be selected from a list of options. Ania explained that she had chosen social anthropology 'because I thought it would be something different.' Tom suggested that it was a natural choice for someone coming from an ethnic minority, from a family which had struggled to maintain Polish identity in Britain. Ania was not sure about this, or about how much her Polish descent meant to her. Debates about 'multiculturalism' had figured in her A-level sociology course some years before. She had continued with that subject at university in England and was on course to graduate in another year. She felt attracted to anthropology because of the attention it paid to 'non-Western societies: you know what I mean, the Third World, or whatever we're supposed to call it nowadays, long after the Second World, the old socialist bloc, has disappeared. We never learned much in school about this 'non-Western' world, except now and again in religious instruction.' Tom agreed. 'We learned a bit about poverty in the Third World in our geography classes. I was always keen to do more on the First Nations. You know, the native Americans, the Indians whose cultures were just about destroyed by the European immigrants.'

Tom was studying for a Bachelors Degree in biology in the States but that, he said, was no reason for sticking to his science preselection at the summer school. The school officials hesitated, but eventually they agreed to his request for a change. Ania and Tom went to their first social anthropology lecture that same afternoon.



Figure 3: Cracow: the market square

Chapter 1: What's in a Name? (DD)

Welcome to Cracow

Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, welcome to the social anthropology programme at this year's summer school. My name is Danuta Dylagowa and in this opening lecture I want to introduce you to some basic issues in modern social anthropology. I shall assume that you have no previous familiarity with the subject. Some of you perhaps are not comfortable with the very name anthropology. In dictionaries and some of the older textbooks you will be told that it means 'the study of man'. As a woman I disapprove of this definition. The great Cracow-born anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski is said to have joked that 'Anthropology is the study of man embracing women.' But even if we substitute 'humanity' or 'humankind' for 'man', the formula reveals very little. It is better if you try to suspend your natural inclination to have a concise definition of the subject at this point. We can try to formulate something more satisfactory at the end of the course. By then you will know much more about how this field of study has developed and what animates its contemporary practitioners.

The question of names is actually rather complicated. Here in Cracow we teach and research in *social* anthropology. Thanks to the impact of Malinowski, whose name you will hear regularly throughout the course, we have particularly close links to the tradition that bears this name in Britain. In America, however, one speaks normally of *cultural* anthropology. The two are not quite identical. American cultural anthropology has been traditionally taught as one of 'four fields', the other three being archaeology, physical (or biological) anthropology, and linguistics. In most other countries these are classified as separate disciplines. In Germany the equivalent tradition to social or cultural anthropology is known as *Völkerkunde* or *Ethnologie*. However, the Germans have a separate tradition of *Volkskunde* to describe research into the customs of their own people (*Volk*). Poland and many other European countries maintain a similar distinction. Here, the equivalent of *Volkskunde* is known as *Etnologia*. As a social anthropologist, I am in an Institute together with sociologists, and feel myself closer to them than to other colleagues in our University's Institute for *Etnologia*. Yet I have to concede that, particularly when we social anthropologists carry out research in our own country, there is sometimes little to distinguish us from *Etnologia* colleagues. We are all members of the same Faculty, and for good historical reasons this is called the Faculty of Philosophy! In other countries similar research projects might be organised by Departments of *Sociology*, or of *Cultural Studies*. In other words, the academic packaging of our field is muddled. Actually it always has been. This is a field that has always been open to influences from other subjects on almost all sides, and you cannot expect to find much international consistency. Sometimes the same name is used when there are big differences in substantive research agendas. Equally, different names may conceal a basic similarity of interests and approaches.

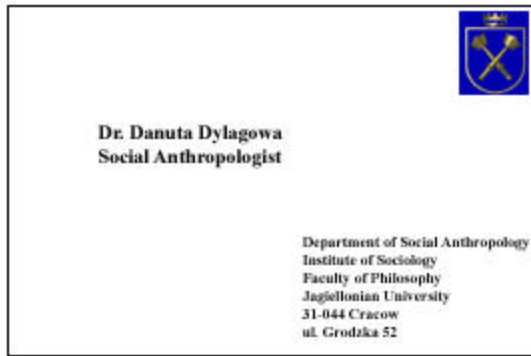


Figure 4: Dr. Dylagowa's visiting card

This summer school is concerned with social and cultural anthropology, which for most purposes can be treated as one and the same subject. In this first lecture I want to outline how this branch of anthropology is related to other branches and to the three standard groupings of academic disciplines: the natural sciences, the social sciences and the humanities. A more detailed account of anthropology's history will be given tomorrow by my colleague Prof. Dylag. You will learn that anthropologists place great emphasis on field studies or *ethnography*. The descriptive account they typically publish when their fieldwork is completed is often called an *ethnography*. We do not expect you to produce an ethnography this summer, but we shall suggest practical exercises for you to undertake after each of our lectures. After four weeks we shall all take part in a field trip across southern Poland as far as the state border. We would like you to use this trip as an opportunity to apply some of the knowledge you have learned on the course. Finally, when we return to Cracow Professor Dylag and I will assess the subject's prospects now that humanity has entered the Third Millennium....



Figure 5: Florianska Street, part of the Via Regia (Royal Road). McDonalds can be seen on the right, just in front of the ancient city gate.

Assignment

At the end of most lectures we shall suggest some form of Assignment, which you should carry out before the following lecture. The details should be written up in your *Anthropological Summer School Journal*. Please take one of these folders and look after it carefully. I would like you to open this journal with a short autobiography in which you should explain, in a paragraph or so, the cultural group or groups with which you yourself identify most strongly.

Secondly, you should start fieldwork in Cracow. Kindly walk around the city centre for at least one hour before you return to the dormitory. See how many details of life on the street or the market, inside shops or churches, strike you as different from the streets, markets, shops and churches that you know from your home countries. Make a list of these differences, but list also any similarities that seem to you surprising. For example, you may notice both similarities and differences if you choose to visit our branch of McDonalds. Pay attention not only to the details of material objects but also to people's behaviour and how they seem to interact with each other. If you fall into conversation with local people, or with other visitors to Cracow, that's fine; but please do not accost people on the street and do not try to conduct a formal interview with them; that is not the best way to begin an anthropological study.

Be prepared to spend at least an hour writing up your notes this evening: at the end of the course we shall collect your journals, and the Malinowski prize will be awarded to the student who gives your teachers, both natives of Cracow, the most satisfying new insights into their city and the wider Polish society to which it belongs.

Neither Tom nor Ania had ever kept a diary before and the thought of an hour's writing at the end of each day was unwelcome. They decided against McDonalds. Instead, Tom proposed a visit to his cousin Maria, who was renting a small apartment in a block on one of the large housing estates to the east of the city. This was certainly different from Cracow's picturesque centre, though Tom and Ania were familiar with similar looking blocks in Slough and Chicago.



Figure 6: Maria's district: the street is named after Pope John Paul II.

Maria was studying economics at the Jagiellonian University. She had just finished her first year. In the previous year she had found work as a tour guide in the summer vacation, but so far, she said, this summer had been difficult. The sector had become more professional and fewer students were being recruited. If things continued like this, she said, she would have to move back to her parents, away over in the east near the Ukrainian border. She didn't want to live in the parental home at the age of 19, but at least she would save money.

Maria asked Tom and Ania about the lecture they had heard. Tom said he liked the lady's style and asked Maria what she could tell him about a Polish anthropologist called Malinowski. 'Never heard of him', said Maria. Ania was still puzzled about how cultural anthropologists differed from social anthropologists. 'Forget it,' said Tom, 'she said that it was effectively the same tradition.'

Ania struggled to follow the conversation when the cousins switched to Polish and caught up on a year's personal news. They cooked some soup and just as it was ready Maria's boyfriend showed up, grimy in worker's overalls. Tom had to promise not to let her parents know that Wlodek was currently sharing her single room. They had been close since schooldays, she explained, while Wlodek showered. He had applied unsuccessfully to study Etnologia at the Jagiellonian University. Now he was working as a labourer in Cracow for the summer, hoping to raise enough money to enroll at one of the new private universities. Unfortunately the subject that really interested him, the mythology of the Slavic peoples, was not available at any of these new institutions.

It was late when Ania and Tom returned to the dormitory and pulled out their empty journals. Tom had no hesitation in describing his culture as Polish-American. Ania had more trouble. First she wrote Polish-English; then she crossed out Polish; then she crossed out English and substituted British. Eventually she erased this too.

Chapter 2: History of Anthropology

Let me introduce myself: I am Professor Dylag, or Professor Dr. sci. anth. Edward Tadeusz Dylag, if you want to use my full title, Member of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Honorary Member of countless more august bodies. It is my great honour to continue the course that my dear wife opened with you yesterday. I would have so liked to be here myself for the opening day, but we have so many committees at our University, and, being a very senior Professor, I am obliged to do much more than my fair share.

I take the view that you cannot hope to understand what anthropologists are doing today unless you have some idea of where they are coming from, of the intellectual traditions and practical and political circumstances which have shaped the discipline...

This brings us to the contribution of our Bronio - I am sorry, I should explain that Bronio is a diminutive of Bronislaw. This was how Malinowski was known to his very close friends, and this is how I speak of him with my good wife. Perhaps you too will find this easier than his full Polish name, which can be a bit of a mouthful.

Of course we have particular reasons in Cracow for taking pride in Bronislaw Malinowski, who was born here in 1884 and educated at this university, obtaining his doctorate with distinction in 1908.



Figure 7: Malinowski on the day he received his PhD in Cracow, 1908

He then went on to study in Germany and in England, before carrying out field studies in Australia and Melanesia. He is the man who made the Trobriand Islanders so famous in the anthropological literature, following the intensive studies that he carried out there during the First World War. His first and most famous book about these people was published in 1922. Its

opening chapter was a sort of manifesto for close-up, ethnographic work, with the aim of understanding "the native's vision of his world."

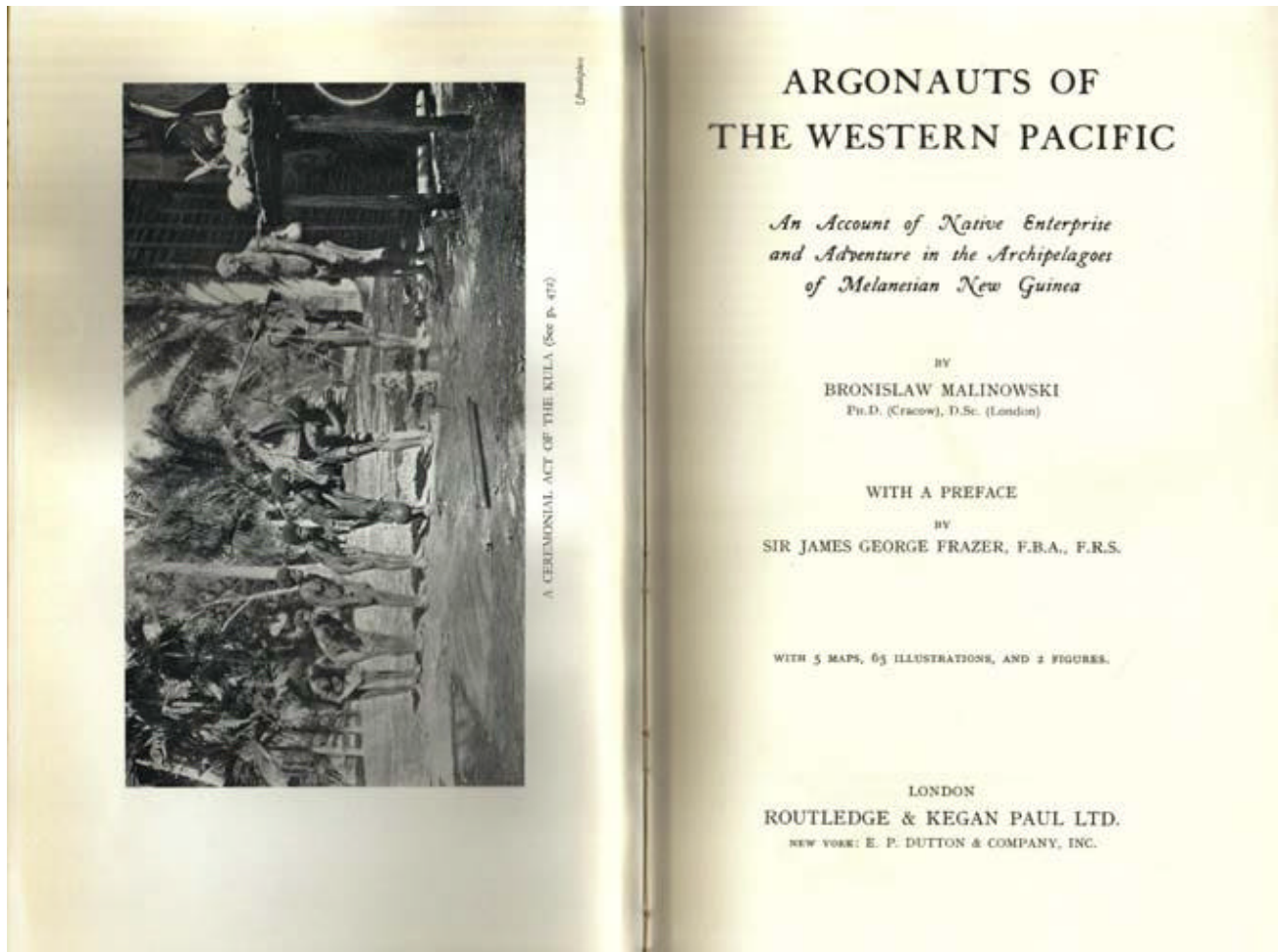


Figure 8: Frontispiece and title page of Malinowski's first Trobriand monograph.

Malinowski became known internationally during the inter-war decades as Professor of Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics. He never returned to this country, but I am sure you can understand why we are nonetheless proud of this pioneer at his home university. It seems no exaggeration to see him as a revolutionary. The anthropologists of the Victorian era had used the data sent to them by missionaries and explorers to support their general theories about the evolution of humanity. Malinowski dismissed this and argued for a shift of focus to the present. The task of the fieldworking anthropologist was to provide meticulous descriptions of how customs made sense to the natives in the contemporary context, and not to speculate on origins, evolution, or history. Malinowski defined this modern anthropology as 'the scientific study of cultures', ...

It is important to note the influence of social and political factors on the course of anthropological history, and also the very practical issues of research funding. In the interwar years it was relatively easy for Bronio to obtain grants from the Rockefeller Foundation to finance his students' projects on the impact of colonialism upon African societies. By the end of the century

it is perhaps easier to obtain grants for anthropological projects in Europe, for example projects investigating the impact of the expansion of the European Union. Of course, not all research is driven directly by such pragmatic issues as the availability of sponsors. I am simply saying that you cannot understand the history of anthropology without paying attention to the changing social and political circumstances in which anthropology is practised.

This means also looking carefully at the way in which anthropology is presented in different education systems. It remains conspicuously absent from the school curriculum in most countries. Many anthropologists regret this absence, and believe strongly that instruction in cultural diversity should become a prominent part of national education systems. Others feel that the subject does not lend itself to popularisation for immature audiences, and that its proper place is therefore in the university, where it has become successfully established over the last century. But what sort of training should universities give in this subject? Should social anthropology be studied on its own, or always in combination with some other branch of anthropology, or with another discipline? Should the course include a practical, fieldwork assignment, or should such projects be reserved for postgraduate studies? I must confess to you that on some of these questions, as on some of those more theoretical points that I discussed earlier, my good wife and I have agreed to differ! We shall, however, discuss all these points again with you before the end of the course.

Assignment



Figure 9: Collegium Maius

For today's assignment I should like you to visit three important locations of this ancient university city. First, walk around the beautiful Gothic building just down the street here known as the Collegium Maius. It is the oldest university building in Poland. As you walk around the courtyard please try to conjure up the experience that Malinowski had here, when he first encountered anthropology. He described this as follows in one of his later books:

I should like to lead you back some twenty years to an old Slavonic university town - I mean the town of Cracow, the ancient capital of Poland and the seat of the oldest university in Eastern Europe. I could then show you a student leaving the medieval college buildings, obviously in some distress of mind, hugging, however, 'The Golden Bough'. ... no sooner had I begun to read this great work than I became immersed in it and enslaved by it. I realised then that anthropology, as presented by Sir James Frazer, is a great science, worthy of as much devotion as any of her elder and more exact sister studies, and I became bound to the services of Frazerian anthropology.

There is irony in Malinowski's words here, since by the time he wrote them the anthropology that he himself was practising had diverged radically from the model of James Frazer, who worked primarily in his rooms in Trinity College, Cambridge. Malinowski's functionalism has in turn been displaced by later developments. Only his emphasis upon the fieldwork method has remained for the most part unchallenged, though most anthropologists nowadays also make use of other techniques, including historical, library-based work. There is no escaping books and libraries in the formulation of fieldwork projects, and every fieldworker needs also to have some awareness of anthropology's intellectual traditions. Therefore, for the second part of your assignment this afternoon, I want you to register at the University Library, visit the special anthropology section that we have prepared for this summer school, and make some preliminary notes on the life of Malinowski and on the geography and history of Galicia.

Third please continue to the National Museum, which currently has an exhibition on the tempestuous relationship between Malinowski and his closest friend, Witkacy. Their combined achievements are remarkable. I am sure you will enjoy their superb photography, both here in Galicia and in the Trobriand Islands. Perhaps, too, you will gain some insight into the influence of Malinowski's Polish origins on his later achievements as an anthropologist.

'What did you make of that?' asked Tom as they followed Prof. Dylag out of the lecture room. Ania spluttered. For a moment he thought she might be unwell. Later, recovering in McDonalds, she said it had been one of the most dreadful lectures she had ever heard. 'The way he patronised his wife and threw all those names and dates at us!' Tom agreed with this last point. 'I remember at school we discussed a quote from Henry Ford, who said that "history is bunk." It seems like Malinowski got the same idea about the same time. Anyway, perhaps it's best to get all that stuff out of the way at the beginning.'



Figure 10: The Malinowski - Witkacy exhibition at the National Museum

After registering at the library they spent an hour at the museum. Tom was overwhelmed by the paintings of Witkacy, a demonic exhibitionist if ever he had come across one. Ania agreed that he was obviously more talented, and she suggested that Malinowski's inability to match up to his friend in the creative arts was precisely what drove him to pursue new standards of excellence in anthropology. She was struck by the dandyish egotism of both these privileged young men, and by a phrase of Malinowski's as he embarked upon fieldwork among people previously undocumented: 'Feeling of ownership: it is I who will describe them or create them.' Both disliked the whiff of exoticism they detected in the photographs of the 'savages' of the colonial Pacific.



Figure 11: Wawel Castle

Towards evening they walked up into the grounds of the Royal castle to find picturesque views over the River Vistula. The ancient cathedral had the most exquisite chapels, complete with brilliant gold cupolae. Despite the crowds of tourists, the atmosphere inside the cathedral was solemn. Plaques and tombstones honoured Polish Kings and Cardinals, most of them unknown to Ania and Tom. Near the entrance they overheard a group of visitors whispering that this was to be the spot where Pope John Paul II would be buried. ‘The Holy Father will come here,’ they overheard an old man muttering to a child who might have been his grandson. ‘This is the city where he spent much of his life as Archbishop and Cardinal; he is a great son of Poland and so it is fitting that he be buried on this historic site.’



Figure 12: The Royal Cathedral

Chapter 3: Time and Space Coordinates (DD)

Assignment

Please go to the Church of St. Mary (Mariacki) on the corner of the main Market Square - you really can't miss it. Listen to the bugle that announces the hour: its call, known for centuries as the Hejnal Mariacki, is curiously truncated. Many people in Cracow today will explain this as a tradition which dates back to 1241, when a bugler was allegedly killed by an arrow from Tatar invaders as he sounded his alarm. That is also what you will find in most of the tourist guides. It is through customs such as this that the past is alive in the present, even in a complex modern society such as ours. Indeed this bugle call was adopted in 1927 by national radio, and a live rendition (not a tape) is transmitted every day at midday. The replacement of a communist government by a democratic one has not affected this sort of cultural continuity.

But the history of this custom is more complex than most citizens realise. In fact the use of a bugle call for timekeeping cannot be found in historical records until the end of the fourteenth century. The custom went into abeyance in the seventeenth century but was revived in 1810. However, the connection with the Tatar invasion of 1241 was not made until the inter-war years of the twentieth century. In 1928 an Irishman called J. P. Kelly published a children's book in the United States called 'The Trumpeter of Cracow', and it is this version which is now repeated in city guidebooks and engraved into the consciousness of residents. So, far from being evidence of the persistence of ancient custom, this is an apt illustration of globalisation and 'invented tradition'. But though there is probably no direct link between this bugle call and a historical event in 1241, this does not detract from its meaning for Polish people today. Please think of comparable examples of invented tradition from the histories of your own countries. What are the major landmarks in popular perceptions of past time? Can history and myth always be kept quite distinct?



Figure 13: The Mariacki Church and statue of Adam Mickiewicz (national poet - who never set foot in Cracow)



Figure 14: The Central Panel of the High Altar

Ania and Tom followed their assignment and visited St. Mary's Church. There were too many tourists here. Ania paused for some minutes in front of the splendid carved altar. Her thoughts, however, were with the disturbing faces of the AIDS sufferers and other beggars who beseeched visitors at the church entrance. Tom told her that most were not Poles at all, but Gypsies from Romania. Leaving the crowded church, they crossed a smaller market and continued beyond the inner ring road into a quieter zone of buildings that had once been elegant but now seemed grey and delapidated.

They turned into a broader street that displayed the hallmarks of recent gentrification. Ania exclaimed: 'isn't this the district where they filmed 'Schindler's List'? You know, Steven Spielberg's epic about the fate of Poland's Jews in the Holocaust.' 'Sure I know the movie,' said Tom, 'and you're right, this is Kazimierz, this is where the ghetto used to be. These days it's more like a theme park. There's a restaurant around the corner which claims to serve authentic Jewish dishes. We can get some lunch there. Mind you, all the staff seem to be Poles so I'm not sure how authentic the place really is. There aren't too many Jews left in Poland these days, though my grandfather once told me that they dominated the city's commercial life before the war.'

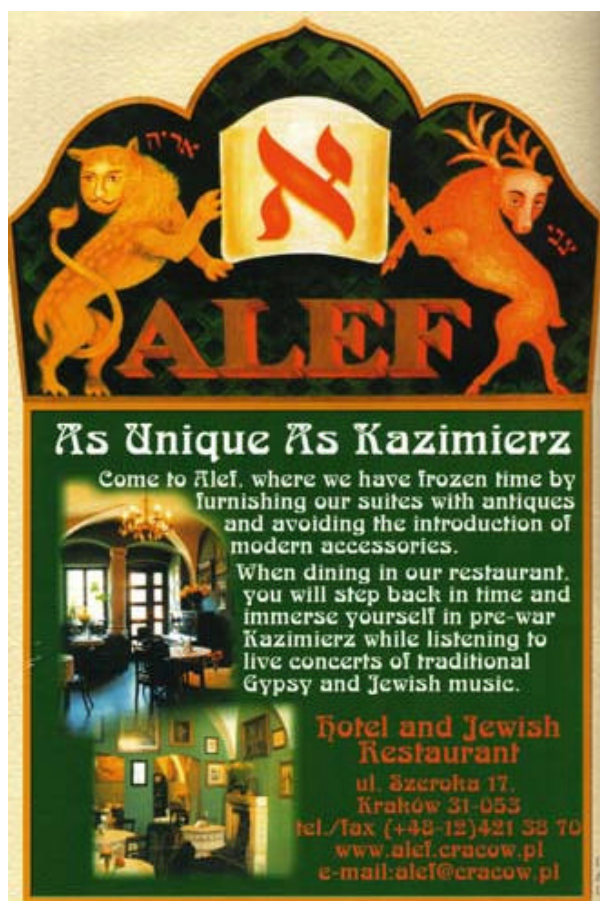


Figure 15: Authentic Jewish Restaurant?

Chapter 4: Doing social anthropology (DD and ETD)

I wonder how many of you have already noticed some slight differences of emphasis between the lectures you have heard in this first week from Prof. Dylag and myself. Our backgrounds and approaches are indeed somewhat different. Most anthropologists are strongly influenced for the rest of their careers by the academic traditions in which they are trained, and also by the location in which they carry out their fieldwork. The Professor was trained in Britain, and he did his fieldwork in a remote part of Central Asia. I was trained in the United States, but I did my fieldwork here in Poland, in my native country. Given these differences it should not be surprising that, while I emphasise the concept of culture, as is usual in the American tradition, the Professor prefers to stress society or social relations. He is a little sceptical concerning 'anthropology at home', but I think any human group can be a fit subject for anthropological study. I myself did fieldwork in a large bureaucratic organisation in Warsaw, where I examined different layers of culture and cultural interactions, including interaction with foreign clients . . .

It would be wrong to deny tensions between the traditional social anthropological perspective and the more 'culturalist' orientations popular today. We have come along together this morning, for this last lecture in our introductory week, in order to make some of the differences more explicit for you. We also wish, however, to show you areas of agreement, in other words to identify ground that all - or almost all - socio-cultural anthropologists have in common . . .

In the practicalities of fieldwork, we often come across a gender asymmetry. It is easy enough for a female researcher to gain virtually full access to the world of men. For example, most of my own fieldwork was carried out with male businessmen. However, it is often difficult for a male researcher to gain access to the world of women. I was able to do a lot of socialising with the female secretaries at my organisation in Warsaw, but the Professor would not have been able to accomplish this. His many learned articles about Central Asia contain almost no data about the lives of the women, for the simple reason that in those Muslim societies it is not possible for a man to study the female domain.



Figure 16: The Town Hall tower and the cloth hall

Assignment

This is the last lecture of our first week and on this occasion we shall not set you any new assignment. Instead, we are pleased to announce that the summer school is organising a minibus trip on Sunday into the Tatra Mountains. The landscape is wonderful, though it must be admitted that, compared to the years when Malinowski was a regular visitor at the turn of the century, it has become a little spoiled. Zakopane used to be a favourite haunt of Cracow intellectuals, most of them with a rather romantic, sometimes even bohemian, orientation. But we shall also inform you about the people we call Górale, Highlanders. Malinowski himself called them 'semi-savage Carpathian mountaineers' (*Sex, Culture and Myth*, 1962, p. 169). Even before he was born the Górale were objects of fascination for the earliest explorers of the 'Polish folk'. For centuries these people have preserved their specific local identity in the Tatra Mountains. They are a good case to bear in mind for our further discussions about 'culture' and 'ethnicity'.



Figure 17: A beggar on St. Mary Magdalene's Square

The weather changed overnight and it rained non-stop all day Saturday. Ania and Tom continued their explorations of the city centre and had an argument about the rights and wrongs of giving money to a beggar in return for taking a close-up photograph. Then they spent hours over lunch in a popular café on the main market square, where they enjoyed Tako Mexicano. They discussed the globalisation of cuisine and then, without quite knowing how it came about, they found themselves arguing about problems of 'representation' and 'models'.

Ania emphasised the difficulties: 'How can social scientists ever be sure that they have properly grasped what other human beings think and believe?' she asked. 'And if these others belong to a different culture, how can the anthropologist adequately translate that understanding? For example, how can different styles of displaying emotion be expressed in dry academic prose?'

Tom conceded the difficulties but thought that the use of photographs and film could alleviate them significantly. He was more interested in pursuing the distinction between 'external models' and 'local models'. 'Of course these are not the same,' he said. 'But what I'd like to know is whether anthropologists have managed to develop external models that can explain why local models have the particular forms they have. I find these problems of explanation more exciting than the problem of representing one model in the language of another.'



Figure 18 (i): A Galician patchwork of fields (ii): and haystacks

The following day was sunny again and the trip to Zakopane was a success, though Ania would have preferred to be next to Tom on the bus, rather than Professor Dylag. It was good to be out of the city and the countryside here was somehow different: funny-shaped haystacks were dotted across tiny fields where, although it was Sunday, family members of all ages were active. Whatever the evolutionary processes that had given rise to this patchwork, it looked entirely incompatible with modern farming as it existed in their home countries. They ate well in Zakopane, visited a folklore museum, walked for a few hours, and spent the evening appreciating the noise and colour of Górale folk-dancing. Dr. Dylagowa whispered that such dancing was also popular among students in Cracow. However, these performers were apparently ordinary local peasants, preserving their traditions. Ania was not sure if she believed this and suspected that some of the songs and dances were actually rather new, reflecting modern urban tastes and styles. But then she asked herself if it really mattered. Whether or not the songs and dances were still handed down within families, whether or not the costumes were still entirely hand made, it was still a great performance, and one that the dancers and musicians themselves clearly enjoyed.



Figure 19: Górale in costume

PART TWO: ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY

Chapter 5: Economies and Economising (ETD)

Assignment

Your main assignment for this week is to devise a research project to investigate here in Cracow some aspect(s) of economic life with which you already have some familiarity from your home society. Be precise in formulating hypotheses and specifying the methods by which you would test them, and be sensitive to ethical issues, as well as to the social and political contexts in which these activities are taking place. Ask yourselves how your approach would compare with that which an economist might apply to the same phenomena.

After nearly a week in Cracow, most of you will be familiar by now with the city centre and the assortment of cafés and restaurants that it has to offer. But perhaps it's high time that you began to explore the suburbs. Let me make a suggestion to help you to get started. Fortunately our trams are still very cheap, so there is no problem in getting out there. You may not see as many pubs or places to eat as you are used to in your home countries, but I can assure you that the selection is much better than it used to be under communism. In those days the menus were simple and pretty uniform across the city, though the products were not always available due to shortages. Today there are no shortages and most items are much cheaper outside this tourist-oriented central zone. So, please go out and make some economic comparisons, and be sure to pay attention also to the different social contexts. After your meal, ask yourselves how you would weigh up the financial against other criteria before deciding whether or not you will visit that particular establishment again.

Alternatively, you might focus on forms of exchange, such as street markets, or you might compare how people here in Cracow set about renting an apartment, or buying a second hand car, with the way these markets work in your own countries. A copy of the local newspaper is all you need to get going. The question you should address at the end is 'do my results confirm the idea of 'economic man'?' This is an idea which Malinowski seems to have shared with English utilitarians, the idea that all human behaviour can be understood in terms of choices that maximise utility. But is this anything more than a tautology?



Figure 20: Advertisement for Cracow's latest superstore

'What I can't understand,' said Tom as they sat around the kitchen table at Maria's later that evening, 'is why I've not yet seen a single shopping mall in this city.'

Wlodek explained that the whole city was surrounded by new shopping developments, the latest of which was a Tesco superstore, due to open on 1st August. These new stores had already resulted in a major shift of orientation for residents of the city. Many of them hardly ever visited the centre, which apart from university people and a few others was now given over to tourists.

'That's just what's been happening to many British high streets,' said Ania. 'It's all driven by economics.'

'But it's the politicians who have to give their approval,' said Maria.

'Remember, no economy is ever really 'disembedded',' said Tom.

'I'm not so sure,' said Maria. 'People here were thrilled when communist controls were removed and it was natural for them to embrace the other extreme. Nowadays the forces of the 'free market' seem beyond all social control. For example, that new Tesco store will be open 24 hours a day, including Sundays, despite the protests of the church. It seems that we must be even more capitalist than the west. One of our lecturers made a study of what he called 'the market of prostitution'. It's amazing how many Polish girls were tempted to take up this work in the 1990s, in cities like Amsterdam or Rome. Our lecturer said that sex was a market commodity like any other, and it was all regulated by supply and demand.'



Figure 21: Pavement commerce in the suburbs

Chapter 6: Work (ETD)

Assignment

In previous years at this summer school I have organised appropriate assignments for this topic of work. Two years ago, for example, I invited participants to stay over at the Institute's chalet in the Tatras. A dozen of us managed, in only one weekend, to paint all the interior rooms and also to erect a fence around the garden. There wasn't much time to enjoy the scenery, but everyone enjoyed themselves and we had a splendid party on the final evening. Then last year I took the entire group to my sister's allotment to help with the potato harvest, but this was less successful. Perhaps it was because my sister provided only soft drinks for the party afterwards. Unfortunately one student complained to our Rector and went so far as to use the analytic Marxist concept of 'exploitation'. It took me quite some time to explain to my colleagues that, far from wishing to exploit student labour, we were simply organising an experiment in economic anthropology. After all, I gave up a whole day myself to supervise the students' work.



Figure 22: Potato Harvest (photo courtesy of Frances Pine)

Given these precedents, I think we must confine this year's assignment to the realm of observation. Please walk down to the main railway station and make a list of all the types of work you can record in this area. Include activities such as begging, illicit retailing of cigarettes etc. Can you distinguish a 'formal' and 'informal' sector here? If so, can you spot any links between the two? Give examples of the ways in which even the most 'formal' jobs known to you, in factories or in offices, depend on informal practices. Why is it that, when a trade union calls upon its members to 'work to rule', in other words to confine their activities to the formal rules of their job, the results sometimes hardly differ from a fully-fledged strike?

Once again, Ania could hardly contain herself. 'It's outrageous', she said. 'If he tried to get me to spend a weekend picking his sister's potatoes, I'd soon tell him where to get off.'

When they went to call on Maria and Wlodek they found her busy cleaning the apartment, while he was relaxing over a newspaper. Maria herself suggested that the others go out for a drink together while she prepared the supper. Ania insisted on staying behind to help. Later they all went out to a club where the music was mostly Polish Hip Hop.

Chapter 7: Exchange (DD)

Assignment

Please make some notes today on those aspects of exchange that escape the attention of the economists, because it is impossible to collect any reliable statistics about them. I am referring to transactions that range from the legal and socially expected, such as tipping in restaurants, to explicitly illegal transactions that we term bribery and corruption. Of course there may be a broad grey area in between and even contemporary European cultures vary in the extent to which transgressions of the official bureaucratic code may nonetheless be socially acceptable. Try to talk with local people old enough to remember the importance of ‘informal’ exchanges in the socialist period, and ask them to compare these with the patterns that prevail today.



Figure 23: The local clothes market

Though they were hardly old enough to meet Dr. Dylagowa’s criterion, Maria and Wlodek had strong but diverging views on how people had coped with shortages in socialist days. They agreed that personal links had been vital in everyday life, e.g. to obtain supplies of meat from rural relatives, and also to get things done in the bureaucracy. It was common to acknowledge a favour by leaving a bottle of vodka, or indeed by opening it on the spot for immediate consumption, which had had disastrous effects on the productivity of the workforce in many factories and offices. Wlodek took the view that such exchanges had created strong bonds of reciprocity and genuine friendships, even between people whose social backgrounds and class position were quite different. In a system in which even petrol was a scarce good, lorry drivers with access to more than they needed might become the mates of university professors. The latter might offer some bureaucratic intervention or nomination for space at a socially owned holiday home in return. This was not seen as corruption, but as an exchange of favours in a context in which money income did not play a decisive role. Nowadays, in contrast, it was common knowledge that some officials took cash bribes, and this created a hierarchical relationship, devoid of any basis in friendship.

But Maria argued that all this was wishful thinking. In fact, she said, the socialist economy of shortages had not had such levelling effects. Rather, it had forced people to be instrumental about everything, including their personal friendships. There was therefore no need to be nostalgic. Corruption, she said, had been prevalent all the time, but at least it was easier to recognise it now. Prices were high, but everyone knew where they stood.

The conversation continued to focus on the economic changes that had taken place in Poland since the end of communism and Maria and Wlodek continued to disagree. She emphasised that not only had the overall standard of living risen but people had much more choice as to how they spent their money. Wlodek pointed out that incomes had fallen dramatically during the early years of postcommunism and people had come to feel fundamentally insecure. For example, his father had lost his job and, given his age, had little prospect of ever finding another. Social inequalities had greatly increased. Wlodek was unimpressed by the proliferation of new consumer opportunities. 'For one thing, all this modernisation is mostly limited to a few big cities. It's all very well for a few thousand people in Cracow to live as if they were Germans or even Californians, but for millions of people in our villages things have barely changed at all. In fact they've probably got worse. Anyway, I find there's something shameful, even humiliating, in all this talk about Poland becoming integrated into Europe. This integration is just turning the whole world into one big supermarket. Who really wants it?'

Maria needed to buy some household goods, which were more cheaply available at a nearby 'wholesale' centre. Ania could not understand that ordinary individual shoppers could make purchases at such centres. Maria snapped at her: 'I suppose you think we're not yet advanced enough to have wholesale merchants!' 'That's not what I meant at all,' said an embarrassed Ania. She tried to mend fences by offering to pay for some of the goods that Maria loaded into her trolley on the grounds that she was now a regular visitor to the household and should make a contribution Maria refused and seemed even more irritated. Later they went out to supper in a bar named Galicia. They washed it down with several bottles of Galician beer. This time Ania was allowed to pay the bill for everyone, to her immense relief.



Figure 24: Galicia bar

Chapter 8: Property (ETD)

Assignment

As you walk around the city of Cracow, identify examples of the new private businesses whose owners might be considered *nouveaux riches*. What are the characteristics of such people and how do they relate to the *things* they own? Do you think they form a clear group in terms of their class position or consumption style? Do you see any signs of public antipathy toward such people? In what ways does their position depend on frameworks of law and security, which ultimately depend on the power of state?



Figure 25: An example of the new city centre entrepreneurialism

Tom and Ania discussed this assignment with Maria that evening. Maria had taken an introductory Marketing course in the previous semester and was happy to tell her friends all she knew about sectors and niches in Cracow. The new rich were far less conspicuous than in Warsaw, the capital, but even so they were visible. No, people in Cracow had little difficulty in coming to terms with widening social inequalities, although some of her teachers seemed to feel a strong resentment. One or two felt that traditional respect for the intelligentsia was sadly fading. Even the preeminent reputation of the Jagiellonian University, which had somehow survived the decades of communism, might now be vulnerable. The problem was especially obvious in subjects like economics and law. Under communism, good people were sometimes denied jobs for political reasons. Now the criteria were economic rather than political, and some of the best

people were turning away from academic careers in order to make more money in the private sector. 'But isn't it just the same story in Britain and the States?' asked Maria.

Ania agreed that it probably was and changed the subject by asking about Maria's flat. It had been built in the usual manner in the 1970s as a cooperative, but following the collapse of communism the flats had become the private property of their occupiers. The owners of Maria's flat had completely redecorated it and every room had been given an American theme. The walls of Maria's room were covered with Disney cartoon characters and Tom was amused by the poster of downtown Chicago in the bathroom. Meanwhile, assisted by family, the owners had themselves moved to America. So they let the flat by means of a formal contract to Pan Y, who had in turn sub-let to Maria, without giving her any contract. Strictly speaking he was not entitled to do this, but who cared? The owners were only concerned to have their flat occupied and some rental income. Maria had in turn sub-let rights to Wlodek, whose presence was tolerated by Pan Y and unknown to the owners. 'Just imagine the complexity of ownership and use rights if you add all the flats and houses of this city together,' said Ania.

'Would London be any different?' countered Tom.

Maria pointed out that the old communist system, which was intended to allocate housing according to need, had in practice always been subverted by a criterion of 'ability to pay' and by blatant corruption. The privatisation policies had merely accentuated the power of the market principle over the principle of redistribution. Ania, whose parents owned a semi-detached house in Slough, wondered if somehow a positive sentiment of being an owner should also feature in the comparison.

'Don't people have a different feeling, now that they are owners, in the same way that former council-house owners in England have taken more pride in the presentation of their property and maintained it better when they became owners?'

Maria thought that this might apply more in smaller towns, but on large estates in large cities it was unrealistic to expect any significant change in people's attitudes. Many people felt more vulnerable now that they were owners and liable for the full economic costs of maintaining the fabric of the building, costs that might rise unpredictably and were outside their control.

Wlodek's only contribution to the conversation was to mention an association of which he had briefly been a member in his home town in the east. Its slogan was 'Poland for the Poles' and it had organised campaigns against the sale of Polish real estate to foreigners. Wlodek said he still sympathised with the aims of the association, for if the market were to be completely open then all the attractive parts of Poland would be snapped up by wealthy Germans. He had, however, resigned his membership when he discovered that most of the other members were extreme nationalists, who viewed all Poland's neighbours with contempt.

Tom proposed going out for a beer and they found an establishment that seemed to offer only Polish brands. Wlodek explained that, although the beer called Zywiec was brewed in a small Polish town in the hills to the south-west, the brewery was now owned by the Holland-based multinational Heineken, which had recently revamped the entire production process. 'I suppose we should just be grateful that the traditional name has been kept. It's funny that, in the case of

beer, that seems to make commercial sense for the new owners, whereas with many other products customers much prefer to have a foreign name.'

Ania had known the Zywiec trademark since childhood, since the beer was also popular in Polish restaurants in London. 'It's a good example of intellectual property,' she commented.



Figure 26: The Zywiec trademark

On their way back to the dormitory Tom remarked that, although external, statistical models of Poland's postcommunist economy presented a predominantly positive picture, the opinions of many Poles they talked to were much more negative. 'The local model portrays a society of losers, yet objectively speaking it's clear that most people have been winners.'

Ania replied: 'That's not so surprising, especially if more people now compare their living standards to those of the richest western countries. But I don't think it's possible to talk of a single 'local model', when even Maria and Wlodek see their economic worlds very differently.'

Chapter 9: Consumption (DD)

It was Friday and there was no assignment. Instead the students were asked to prepare for an excursion the following day. Ania suggested going out for a Chinese meal, but then, still in the city centre, she and Tom stumbled by accident on a place offering 'Lemko pork cutlets'. 'I think it's a region to the south, somewhere up in the hills', said Tom. The food was served promptly by a waitress who said, in answer to Ania's question, that she was Ukrainian. 'This city is more international than you'd think,' said Tom, 'even if it's strange to be in a metropolis and not see any blacks. These dumplings are great.'

Later they paid another visit to Maria and Wlodek, who were both exhausted after working all day. It turned out they knew the Lemko-Ukrainian restaurant. Maria even knew their recipe for 'Ruthenian dumplings' and promised to make some with Ania.

In complete contrast to their glorious trip to Zakopane the previous weekend, this time the whole class travelled by tram eastwards beyond Maria's flat until they reached a gloomy suburb called Nowa Huta. 'It means New Furnace,' said Prof. Dylag, 'and there is no better place in this country to show you the folly of rapid industrialisation of the Stalinist variety. It was the sort of utopian socialism that was really more like a religion than a political doctrine. They designed the place without a church, but Bishop Karol Wojtyla led the mass movement that soon forced the communists to give way, and allow the construction of a 'church for the workers'.'



Figure 27: Maria's parish church, near Nowa Huta

They were only a tramride away from the old city centre, but it could have been another world. In a desolate central space, as large as the old town market but totally lacking its cosmopolitan bustle, a local social worker was waiting to greet them and answer questions.

'I suppose you could say I am a sort of anthropologist,' said this lady, who seemed to be an old friend of the Professor's. 'At any rate, I've been doing fieldwork on these estates for most of my life. I suppose you youngsters from the west have the usual romantic images of family life over here. You know that we have less than half the space per person that you are accustomed to, but instead of seeing this as an indicator of poverty, you think that our crowded households have preserved the intimacy and the unconditional reciprocity that you in the west have lost. Well, let me tell you that these conditions also breed all the usual urban pathologies, including alcoholism, suicide, and escalating divorce rates, and not even the Catholic church has been able to counter these trends.'

Ania was nonplussed by this torrent, and in particular by the assumptions this social worker had made about the assumptions that she herself was likely to hold. She formulated a careful question about the role played by the Catholic church in social welfare. The social worker admitted, rather grudgingly, since she was clearly a rather secular person herself, that priests, nuns and many volunteer lay Catholics were all actively engaged. She disapproved of missionising interventions, but she conceded that the situation on these estates would be worse if the church were not so active.

'Imagine how you would conduct a fieldwork project in an urban setting like this,' said Dr. Dylagowa. This is not like the villages we saw last weekend where, after six months, you might expect to know every individual in the community, at least superficially, and even to be able to plot the great bulk of their interactions with their kin and neighbours. Perhaps twenty years ago, when everyone worked in the Lenin works, you might have been able to do the same for one of these blocks. But now these people work all over the city, that is, those that have jobs. Like any big city in the west, the estates and the societies to which they belong have become more anonymous. I'll bet lots of people here don't even know their immediate neighbours.'

Ania felt embarrassed as the social worker then escorted them around one tiny flat. Eyes fixed mostly on the floor, she missed all the items of decoration in the kitchen and bedrooms, to which Dr. Dylagowa drew the group's attention afterwards. 'Of course, some people just leave their flats in exactly the condition they find them,' said their teacher, 'but there were always plenty of people on this estate determined to show that they were not simply socialist proletarians, that there was more to their social identity than this. Marx and Engels were prominently represented out in the public space, but don't imagine that their faces were anywhere to be found inside people's flats. In the survey of wall decoration that I carried out here for one of my undergraduate projects, it was a close run thing between the Blessed Virgin of Jasna Gora at Czestochowa and Kazimierz Deyna, the late captain of the Polish national football team!'



Figure 28: Nowa Huta: Stalinist architecture, with postcommunist street names.

PART THREE: POLITICAL AND LEGAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Chapter 10: Power and Legitimation (ETD)

Assignment

Your main assignment for this week is to apply the framework that I have outlined today in another context, which you are free to choose. It could be your home country, or it could be the city where you live or attend college. With only minor modifications, you could apply the framework to a business enterprise, or you could apply it to a club or an association, any institution where leaders can be distinguished from followers, where power is unequally distributed. Why do some strategies succeed and others fail?

There are innumerable ways one could formulate such a project here in Cracow. Some of you might be interested in contacting the organised political parties. You could pay them a call and read their literature to help you to understand their views on a range of current issues. They are all very busy at the moment, in preparation for the Presidential election to be held later this year. One of the candidates, unless he withdraws on health grounds, is Lech Walesa. The charismatic electrician who helped to found the *Solidarity* movement twenty years ago went on to be elected our first postcommunist President in 1990. But he was defeated in the elections of 1995 by an ex-communist. This incumbent seems at present to be on course to repeat his success in 2000, aided by the fact that the opposition to him is by no means united behind the candidacy of Walesa. Here is the former *Solidarity* leader's main campaign poster for this year, a simple text which reads 'Black is Black, White is White', and underneath the candidate's illegible signature. Perhaps it is not hard to explain why such a polarised view of political life does not have the same appeal to voters that it had in communist days.



Figure 29: Lech Walesa's straight-talking campaign poster

Among alternative projects this week, some of you might like to start by taking a walk around our national museum, which will tell you a dood deal about the enduring strength of certain national symbols in this country. Or you could go along to some of the public debates of our city council and see our local politicians in action. But I prefer today to do something altogether more mundane with you, you might even consider it banal. I'd like to invite you to a meeting on our estate, where all those interested have been invited to meet the city's Chief Environment Officer to discuss the location of a new waste disposal site. I'll explain more of the background in the tram on the way. It's been dragging on for years. The city needs a new dump, but of course no one wants it in their area. Now, for the third time in a row, a committee of experts has said that it should be built two kilometres from our block. We would receive no compensation, but we are convinced that this will reduce our quality of life, not to mention the market value of our properties. Since quite a lot of my University colleagues live on this estate, I think I can promise you a sophisticated level of debate. Pay close attention to the speeches made and try to specify which rhetorical style is most effective.

The public meeting lasted nearly three hours. For more than two hours officials stepped forward to deliver prepared speeches in rather ritualistic ways. Some did it much more effectively than others, but the whole performance was frustrating for Ania and Tom. However, their boredom vanished during the time set aside at the end for questions and free discussion. First their Professor chimed in with evidence concerning how such disputes would be resolved in the highland districts of New Guinea, but this contribution did not seem to receive the response he had hoped for. The most effective contributor was not one of the university professors at all, but an old man who declared that the last time he had heard of plans to dispose of waste so close to crowded settlements was during the Second World War, when the Nazis could not have cared less about the damage their schemes might do to the health of local people. 'Have we really sunk so low as to go back to the standards of Hitler?' asked this speaker. The crisp, rational responses of the officials indicated that, for them, this comparison was totally inappropriate. Nonetheless they could not dispel its effects on the audience. Several more speakers referred in increasingly emotional language to the evils committed by the Nazis. Sensing the mood of the meeting, the Chief Environmental Officer eventually promised to bring a revised proposal forward for discussion later in the year.

'You see,' said the Professor, 'a fine example of local democracy in action!'

Chapter 11: Societies and States (DD)

Assignment

Today we shall visit a Non-Governmental Organisation here in Cracow. It is one branch of a highly respected organisation based in New Jersey, which has channelled many millions of dollars in aid to Poland and other Eastern European countries since the end of communism. It describes itself as 'an independent, non-profit organisation with no wish to interfere in political agendas'. Its spheres of operation are primarily economic; more specifically, they have credit schemes to assist individual entrepreneurs, who they see as a group that experienced unfair treatment throughout the years of communism; they do not like to support proposals from a cooperative. They also finance cultural activities, especially programmes to enable Polish youth to spend short periods in the United States. I have agreed with the Director, an old classmate of mine, that you can ask her any questions you like; please write up notes of the discussion later in your journals.

The first thing to strike Tom and Ania when they visited the NGO was the succinct 'mission statement' emblazoned on the wall behind the Director's desk:

Mission Statement:

'To provide independent, objective, expert assistance to local initiatives for the enhancement of civil society, free enterprise and prosperity, on the basis of globally shared human values'

Ania was surprised that the Director, although Polish, was determined to speak English. Ania found this irritating: a week earlier she would have been grateful, but now she wanted to demonstrate her improved fluency in Polish.

The second surprise was how very good her English was, though she could not identify the accent. 'I spent three years in South Africa when they still had apartheid and we still had communism,' she said. 'I was lucky, I suppose, to be sent there by one of our Foreign Trade organisations. I had other postings too, but that was the best. I've been able to go back from time to time, and I've had a lot of consultancies recently. It's interesting to compare how the NGOs operate in Africa with the developments here in Poland.'

'What differences are there?' asked Tom, genuinely interested.

'It's basically the same game,' replied the Director. 'The most important activity is to keep the money coming in. So you have to be able to write upbeat reports for the sponsors, most of whom are based in North America. That requires a lot of skill. It's exhausting, too. I'm going to retire next year, though in theory I could go on for another twenty years. They are closing the Cracow

office, because basically the job here is done. Some of the staff are transferring to a new office in Uzbekistan, but I prefer to take an early pension.'

Dr. Dylagowa looked very surprised. 'Can you afford to retire so young?'

The Director smiled. 'Well, that was the compensation for all these African consultancies.. I used to earn at least a hundred times more than government ministers! We always had state officials asking if they could work for us, on secondment or even permanently. In some countries it seemed that the NGOs wielded more state-like power than the state itself.'

When they had left, the Professor insisted on drawing everyone's attention to another type of NGO worker. 'I have known plenty who were simply devoted to their cause, utterly selfless. They were certainly not motivated by high salaries, and in fact they did not earn much at all. Most of them were motivated by their religious beliefs.'

Chapter 12: Conflict and Violence (DD)

Assignment

Today is the summer school sports day so there is no regular assignment. However I do think you could take seriously the suggestion that modern sports are in some sense a substitution for traditional forms of inter-group rivalry and aggression. You can take examples from the sports culture of your home country, and pay particular attention to nationally specific details that may give more general insight into the culture. For example, those of you from England might consider the suggestion that fox hunting is an equivalent of the Spanish bullfight. Is the aesthetic appreciation of violence in a culture in any way related to the propensity of its members to practise violence against each other? Think of examples from your own countries of ways in which culture can work to prevent escalation of violence.

The afternoon was hot and the students were slow to get started. First there was a disagreement between the Europeans and the North Americans over whether to play soccer or baseball. When this had been settled there was a second row over how to organise the teams, and in particular, whether girls could play in the same team as boys. Eventually the Professor intervened and selected two teams on an alphabetical basis. They ran around furiously for an hour. Ania tried hard to explain soccer's 'offside' rule to Tom. The evident failure of globalisation in this case was a puzzle. A few players seemed to take the game a bit too seriously and one, an American called Marek, even had to be sent off. There was clearly something universal in the passions that these team sports could generate, at least among the boys.

Everyone enjoyed their Zywiec beer afterwards.



Figure 30: An exciting moment in the soccer game

Chapter 13: Law and Order (ETD)

Assignment

As in most countries, the public has access to courtrooms in Poland. Interest and attendance are seldom high, except for crimes of some notoriety. However, there is a late sitting this afternoon of what the British would call a Magistrate's Court, and we can go along together. The offences alleged are all minor and I do not wish you to focus on the details. Rather, pay attention to the details of the courtroom, to the formal elements of decoration, to the judge's dress, speech and general demeanour. It is not at all like Perry Mason, or other courtroom dramas you may have seen at home on television, but still, many small details contribute to giving 'the law' a uniquely authoritative aura. Make a list of these details in your journal this evening.

Neither Tom nor Ania found the courtroom experience very exciting. The cases were indeed minor, almost trivial. The only memorable moment came when a Roman Catholic priest stepped forward to testify to the good character of an old man who stood accused of insulting his equally elderly neighbour over their common garden fence. The priest, dressed in a plain black cassock, seemed to radiate authority in a way that the judge himself did not. Perhaps in an earlier age he would have mediated this dispute himself, in the privacy of his presbytery, and the machinery of the state need not have been invoked.

Ania and Tom met Maria and Wlodek in a small pizzeria. Maria recognised a group of student visitors who had looked into her office earlier in the day. She greeted them in English. They were from the Czech Republic and Croatia, Maria explained later. Provided one spoke slowly and clearly, Poles could understand these languages reasonably well. But somehow nobody did this any longer. Everyone preferred to communicate in English. She had even heard Slovenians speaking English to Serbs, though not so long ago they had shared a state, Yugoslavia, with Serbo-Croat as its dominant language. Now, as a consequence of the state's collapse, Serbian and Croat were developing as separate languages.

They were joined by Marek, he who had been sent off for his misdemeanours at the sports day. His main degree course was in law and he was enthusiastic about approaching it as a cultural process, especially in the context of the Balkans. 'It's obvious,' he said, 'that 'rule of law' as we know it doesn't stand a chance anywhere in that region. The ancient tribal hatreds are just too deep.'

'That's not quite the way our teachers put it,' said Tom.

Chapter 14: Symbols and Ideologies (DD)

...The mysteries of memory and myth were very important in the persistence of an idea of Poland during the long period between 1793 and 1918 when there was no Polish state. Paradoxically this was precisely the period in which Polish nationalism developed, especially in the marvellous poetry of Mickiewicz. I am happy to say that our Polish national history is relatively free of forgeries, unlike some of our neighbours, where evidence to support the claims of nationalists was literally fabricated. Yet modern Poland is also a 'forged nation', in the sense that it is little more than a hundred years since most speakers of the language called Polish have acquired a clear national self-consciousness as Poles. As part of that consciousness they have come to accept a particular understanding of the past and internalised key dates, such as 966, the date when King Mieczko I embraced Catholic Christianity.

Malinowski himself was very much a cultural nationalist, though he tried to separate this from political nationalism. One of the problems that faced the communists when they seized power was the difficulty they had in rooting their movement in the history of Poland. Their symbols and their jargon were necessarily international and oriented towards the future. They were officially allied to the Soviet Union and official historical accounts of the Second World War years tried to put the blame for every atrocity onto the Nazis. On the other hand their opponents, both religious and secular, could mine the Polish past for powerful symbols and meanings to sustain them in their resistance. Popular memories of Soviet violence between 1939 and 1945 could not be repressed.

Assignment

In place of the usual assignment, the summer school is organising another excursion for this weekend. Our destination is Oswiecim, a small town little more than an hour's drive from here, on the extreme western edge of historical Galicia. It will be better known to many of you by its German name, Auschwitz.

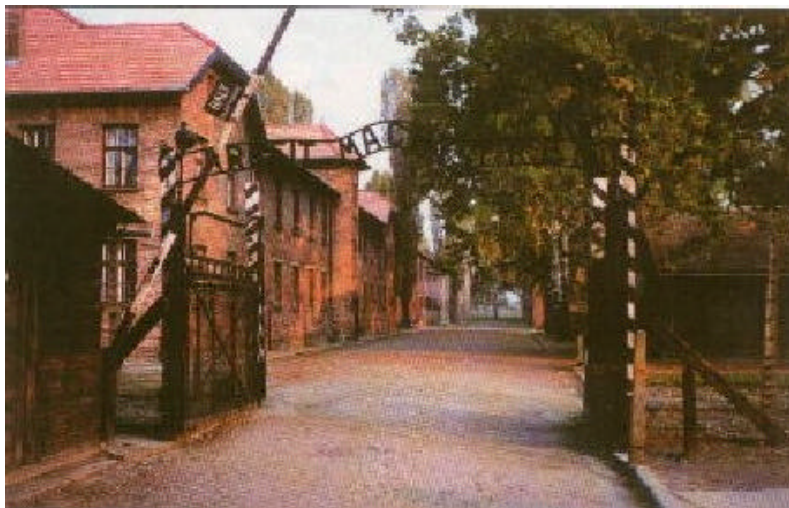


Figure 31: Auschwitz: the camp entrance

This was a very different experience from their previous trips. Prof. Dylag and Dr. Dylagowa were almost silent throughout their tour of the camps, leaving the history to be sketched by a professional guide. The enormity of the crimes committed here by Germans was really brought home to Ania by the displays of victims' hair, the pile of old shoes, and suitcases bearing Jewish names and address tags from all over Central Europe. How could Europeans do such things to other Europeans? How could Malinowski have taken it for granted that Europeans had a higher civilisation than that of Pacific headhunters?

The guide juxtaposed her account of the horrors with stories of goodness and hope. A Polish Roman Catholic priest called Maximilien Kolbe had sacrificed his own life in order to save that of another Pole. His reward was to be canonised by a Polish Pope half a century later, and to have his cell turned into a sort of shrine, a focal point of the camp tour. Ania was not sure if he had anything to do with the prominence of Christian crosses around the site. The guide was careful to state that Jews, Poles and Gypsies had all died here, but Ania wondered why Christian symbolism had to be the most prominent.

Tom was moved almost to tears when they proceeded to visit the more open spaces of the nearby camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Here you could walk under the arch through which trains had delivered the victims of Nazi genocide. The warmth of midsummer could not dispel the stench of death from this place.

Later they continued their conversation with Marek, the law student who had insisted on blaming violence in the Balkans on 'ancient tribal hatreds'. One of his grandparents had been transported for forced labour in Germany during the war. The German government had only recently agreed to pay some compensation, almost sixty years on. Marek was vehement in his denunciations of the Nazis. It was when he extended them to the Germans as a people, 'as a culture', that Tom began to feel uncomfortable. He knew from his own grandparents that many Poles had also held negative stereotypes about Jews, that they had participated in boycotts of Jewish shops in the 1930s. So wasn't it a bit too simple to attribute all the blame for Auschwitz to 'German culture'? Today's Germans could not be held responsible for the actions of the Nazis. Besides, argued Tom, the German community in Chicago was almost as large as the Polish and the Jewish, but they all got along well enough. The tragedy of Auschwitz must have more specific causes in the history of Central Europe. Perhaps it was the rapid spread of capitalism and then economic depression which led both Germans and Poles to exaggerated fears of Jews, people with whom they had lived peacefully for centuries.

Marek countered by insisting that the Jews had always wanted to maintain their distinctiveness and encouraged marriage within their group. 'That was the ultimate problem,' he insisted, 'it was a clash between cultures.'

PART FOUR: RELIGION AND RITUAL

Chapter 15: Magic, Science and Religion (DD)

After leaving you at Auschwitz on Saturday evening, Professor Dylag and I drove to visit our relatives in the countryside. On Sunday morning we went along with them to mass in the village church. In fact my relatives do not attend mass every Sunday, and nor do the Professor and I here in Cracow. But it is somehow compulsory whenever we visit the village. I think people might comment if we did not attend, and this could reflect badly on my relatives. Anyway, yesterday people did not rush away home after mass, as they usually do. Instead, all of those who had gone by car, the majority, waited patiently in the modern car park for the priest to come along and sprinkle holy water over their vehicle. In Catholic Poland the sprinkling of holy water is a basic form of blessing. Yesterday was the feast day of St. Christopher, the patron saint of travellers. To sprinkle water onto a modern means of transportation is a very simple extension of a very traditional form of ritual and we were quite happy to have our own car blessed in this way. But what is really involved in such a ritual? Do the participants really *believe* that it has some efficacy?



Figure 32: St. Christopher sticker and prayer card

Assignment

I propose that today you make a visit to the Cathedral Museum. You may wish to pay special attention to the exhibition documenting the visits of Pope John Paul II, and in particular the very first visit that he made in 1979. Look at the size of the crowd that attended the open air mass he celebrated at the Blonie Park, not far from your dormitory. Remember that Poland in those days was nominally governed by a communist party, which preached an ideology of Marxism-Leninism. That first visit home by the newly elected Pope was the clearest demonstration that Roman Catholicism, not communism, was the truly dominant ideology of this country at that time. Most people agree that this visit was an important catalyst for the *Solidarity* movement, which emerged just one year later in Gdansk.

But for your broader assignment this week you should concentrate not on 'political Catholicism' in this overt sense, but on all the less visible ways in which Roman Catholicism permeates the

culture of this country. Try to talk to Polish friends about this, ask schoolchildren about the sources of their religious knowledge, and ask ex-communists if they ever came under pressure to declare themselves atheists, and what sort of tensions this created.



Figure 33: Papal postcard and souvenir stickers

Back in Maria's kitchen, it was not difficult to direct the conversation towards religion. Maria described herself as 'an average sort of Catholic.' This meant that she had made her first communion and had been confirmed, like all of her classmates in Przemysl. She attended mass every Sunday and on holy days of obligation. She did not normally say prayers at other times, though she had gone through a very devout phase a few years earlier, as an adolescent. Her grandmother had died suddenly, and the whole family had found comfort in being able to pay for masses for her soul. Tom said that, for him, that was a custom that belonged in the Middle Ages. 'I have nothing against religion per se, and if some belief in an afterlife leads people to behave a bit more decently in their present, worldly life, then that's great. But how can an institution solicit money to save souls after a person has died? That sounds to me like a recipe for exploiting lots of poor and vulnerable people.'

'I don't think it does any harm,' said Maria. 'People spend their money on plenty of worse things.'

Wlodek said with obvious distaste that some Roman Catholic priests had become capitalist businessmen in the post-socialist period, e.g. by marketing their own brands of alcoholic drink. Ania asked him how often he went to church. To her astonishment he answered that he tried to look in most days to one particular small church which served the city's Greek Catholic parish. His family belonged to this minority. As a youngster in Przemysl he had grown up with the hymns and rituals of this rite. 'It's all the same religion really,' he said, 'only the rite is different.' Now, living away from home for the first time, it was somehow important to him to kneel for a few minutes each day in front of an icon of the Holy Virgin. He joked:

'I try to get Maria to come along, at least on Sundays, but she thinks the Greek Catholic services drag on a bit too long.'

'You know very well it's not that,' retorted Maria. 'I think the Greek Catholic services are very beautiful, much more sensuous than ours. But everything is in Ukrainian, and I really can't follow very much of it.'

Ania was confused. She had assumed that all Poles were Roman Catholics, but apparently Wlodek was a Greek Catholic, and the language used in their church was not Polish but Ukrainian. Before she could ask a question about this she found herself on the receiving end of a question from Maria:

'And how often do you go to church? We all know that Tom is a lost cause, but I guess the religious element is still important in keeping the community together in London.'

Ania recalled the tedious Sunday school classes she had endured for so many years and admitted that 'organised religion' had no appeal to her whatsoever. She thought it better to keep quiet about the New Age group that she had been introduced to by a boy-friend during her first year at university. She wasn't sure she could explain what that was all about in Polish, and anyway, she was sure that the other three would disapprove.



Figure 34: Devotional images of Greek Catholics (i) and (ii) and of Roman Catholics (iii)

Chapter 16: Modes of Thought (ETD)

I'm sorry I'm a few minutes late for this morning's lecture. I had to sign a statement at the police station, and then take my car to a garage for minor repairs. I was on my way home last night at the usual time, in broad daylight, when another vehicle crashed into me at the lights. The driver was drunk, of course. He tried to persuade me not to call the authorities, but some neighbour or passing witness must have seen the smash and the police were on the scene within minutes. It was quite routine, as far as they were concerned. The other driver will lose his licence for a while. I lose a lot of time, but at least his insurance company will cover my financial costs.

Now please try to understand this incident from a different world view, say, that of the Trobrianders, who regularly experienced accidents when fishing from their canoes. A Trobriander might be very suspicious about the St. Christopher blessing that my car received a bare 24 hours before this accident. It would be natural to suppose that the village priest was not a good one and had carried out the ritual incorrectly. You might find it natural to argue that this was an accident, a coincidence, but the Trobriander might insist on identifying a cause for the fact that, of all the other cars on the road in Cracow last night, this drunken idiot had to crash into mine. If we accept that the parish priest in my sister's village is in fact a very skilled magician, then suspicion might come to fall on others in our immediate environment, perhaps one of my political opponents on a university committee.

It is of course anachronistic to transplant the world view of an illiterate people living in a remote part of Melanesia into modern Cracow three quarters of a century later, but this example, unfortunate as it is, can help us to recognise the difficulties that anthropologists have in comparing how different peoples explain misfortune ...

Assignment

Please make a list of all the terms you know for primitive religious specialists. You might start with shamans, and include magicians, sorcerers, medicine men etc. What do they have in common? Can you think of equivalents in your own societies today? Here is a list of addresses and telephone numbers of all the registered religious communities in Cracow at the moment. Try to make contact with one of these organisations. Enquire into their origins, their beliefs, and also their organisational structure and the composition of their membership.

Ania did not like this assignment, partly because of her lack of confidence in speaking Polish on the telephone. She made up her mind to call in person at the address given for the Mormons, which was conveniently central. Even before she got there, however, she ran into a Hare Krishna group, taking a picnic lunch on a park bench. They were extremely friendly, answered all her questions and gave her a pile of leaflets to read about their movement.

Back at Maria's flat later, Tom reported on the much more difficult time he had had with the Pentecostalist group that he had visited. Wlodek was dismissive. 'I don't understand why anyone pays any attention to these tiny groups. None of them have any place in the religious traditions of this country. Take the Krishnas, for example. They appealed to lots of people under communism just because they were flamboyantly different in those drab times. And the communists allowed them, because they were happy to encourage any religious group that was not Roman Catholic.'

But the young people who started the Krishnas in Poland are now married and settled down, and I bet most of them are back in the Catholic mainstream. I can't imagine why anyone would join them today.'

'I know some people who have been members from the beginning and I respect their commitment,' countered Marek. 'And whatever you think about the beliefs or the style of worship of any particular group, all religious minorities have a right to get their message across. The European Union, which Poland is trying hard to join, has a binding legal commitment to freedom of religion.'

'The supermarket model again!' Wlodek was heard to mutter.

Marek went on to explain that, from a legal point of view, it was impossible to distinguish Scientologists, or even Satanists, from ordinary Roman Catholics or other Christians. He disapproved of the fact that the Polish government gave 14 churches special recognition as 'historic churches', and that it had signed a special Concordat with the Vatican which gave that church exceptional privileges compared to all other denominations.

Ania found it hard to reconcile Marek's religious tolerance and pluralism with his constant talk of irreducible conflicts between cultures. Tom said that this combination was quite familiar to him in the United States.

Chapter 17: Modes of Action (DD)

Assignment

Today I shall show you two short films about initiation. The first deals with a Catholic sacrament. It shows you how children aged only seven, boys and girls together, are taught not only the necessary doctrines but also the appropriate gestures and body movements to make their first holy communion. The second shows you a slightly older girl in an Amazonian society at the beginning of an initiation ritual. Please pay careful attention to all aspects of the process and make comparative notes in your journals.



Figure 35: A Panara girl, Central Brazil, being prepared for log racing on the occasion of her first menstruation (photo courtesy of Elizabeth Ewart)

Unfortunately the technology was faulty and the films could not be transmitted with sound. Ania felt that, even with the benefit of a detailed commentary, she would not have been able to make an effective comparison of the two, as Dr. Dylagowa wanted. For that she would have needed to interview the participants in the Amazonian case, to explore the girls' feelings as they received instruction from the elder women of the tribe, and to talk to them again in detail at the completion of the rituals. In the Polish case the lack of sound did not bother her at all, for she had been through very much the same rituals herself twelve years before. One of the nuns filmed teaching the catechism to the Polish village children looked uncannily like one of her own teachers in Slough.

Tom was utterly captivated by the Amazonian scenes. He could not help feeling that this was what real anthropology was all about. It was all very well to introduce Christian rituals for comparative purposes, but he himself would never be able to muster any enthusiasm for fieldwork 'at home'.

'When I started school the priest was not allowed to come to the primary school to give religious instruction,' said Maria later. 'We used to have to go the church twice a week after school, and sometimes on Saturdays as well. But since the end of communism the priests can teach inside the schools again, without restriction. One of the benefits of being back inside Europe.' Ania reflected that some countries of western Europe preferred to exclude religious education entirely from the state's curriculum.

Tom explained some of the debates that had been taking place on this topic in the United States. 'President Clinton has taken a strong personal interest. He says religion is important for the teaching of moral standards, so schools should not become 'religion-free zones'. But that's a big problem in practice, because we have a lot more religious diversity in America than you have here in Poland.'

Ania wondered if 'America' and 'Europe' were themselves 'multivocal symbols', understood in quite different ways, some of them definitely mythical, by different groups in Polish society. And it was suddenly clear to her that the equivalent of magic in modern capitalist societies was advertising, and that in some sense these societies were profoundly magical places.

Chapter 18: World Religions (ETD)

Assignment

Unfortunately, at this time of the year we have no conspicuous public ceremonials for you to observe in Cracow. Of course there is nonetheless an abundance of ritual for you to observe in everyday life in this city, from the simple politeness formulae used in everyday greeting to the more spectacular performances that take place on most days in the city's larger churches. You might wish to linger in the Mariacki Church on the market square and see if you can make any generalisations about the people who enter the wooden cubicles to confess their sins to a priest. What is the attraction of this particular Catholic sacrament, and why do you think that Protestant traditions have largely dispensed with it?

Alternatively, you might wish to join me at the rituals of an academic conference. Coincidentally, the *European Association of Social Anthropologists* is meeting in Cracow this week. The plenary session this afternoon will bring together a group of young anthropologists, not old farts like me. I'll be very interested to hear your reactions.

Tom and Ania accompanied their teachers to this conference, but they were desperately disappointed. One presenter complained about the academic discipline's 'obsession with representation' but Tom just kept wishing that they would all use less jargon and communicate their research results in more simple, concrete ways. Only a detailed study by a young Polish anthropologist of how Poles related to their national symbol, the Black Madonna, was both digestible and illuminating. Listening to the discussion and observing some of the participants afterwards as they chatted to the Professor, Tom and Ania had the impression of being among a rather exotic tribe. How could such a strange company of eccentrics be trusted to write reliable accounts of other exotic tribes?

Dr. Dylagowa sympathised when they confided these reactions to her later. It was natural, she said, for the younger scholars to seek to impress their audience with lots of fancy jargon. She had gone through a similar phase herself.

In the club which Wlodek and Maria took them to that evening they met a group of young Catholic intellectuals, including several who were studying to be monks or priests. Despite certain forebodings, Ania, Tom and Marek had a great time. One Jesuit novice was bragging about the quantities of beer he was capable of consuming. Late in the evening, he began to ask them questions about social anthropology.

'You say that anthropology can provide a deeper understanding of the world, or at least of the way that human beings behave in it. I suppose you mean culture. So, the fact that Poland has more monks and nuns than all the rest of eastern Europe put together would be evidence of the greater rootedness of Catholicism in Polish national culture.'

'That's right,' said Marek. 'A nice example.'

'Wait a minute,' said Tom. 'when I started this course I thought that anthropologists studied cultures in just the way that biologists studied species, but I'm not so sure now. I don't believe in

something called Polish national culture. Maybe the numbers of religious specialists in Poland today have more to do with the specific circumstances of the recent past here, not ancient history. And culture is continuously reshaped by political and economic circumstances.'

Marek protested. 'One minute you claim that the anthropologists can identify deeper causes than the sort of factors that political scientists and economists invoke. The next minute you say that this deeper cause is itself 'continuously reshaped' by these other factors. That's circular.'

The young Jesuit was also bemused. 'There is only one deeper cause,' he announced loudly and definitively as he raised his glass of Zywiec, 'and we call him God. Na Zdrowie!'

Chapter 19: Civil and Uncivil Religion (ETD)

Assignment

There is no assignment today. Instead, over this weekend we shall make a two-day trip to the most important of Poland's many pilgrimage centres. Czestochowa is a couple of hours away from here by bus, to the northwest. The Monastery contains an image of the Virgin Mary that is believed to be miraculous, ever since it contributed to the defeat of the Swedish troops in 1655. Marian cults flourished in the generations following this victory and the first coronation of the 'Queen of Poland' took place at Czestochowa in 1717. So you can see, here too religion and national identity have been mixed up together for a long time already. Most Polish children visit this shrine at least once during their school years, and some are brought back again and again. Try to put yourself in their position when you walk around tomorrow, and we are sure you will find plenty of observations to put into your journals.

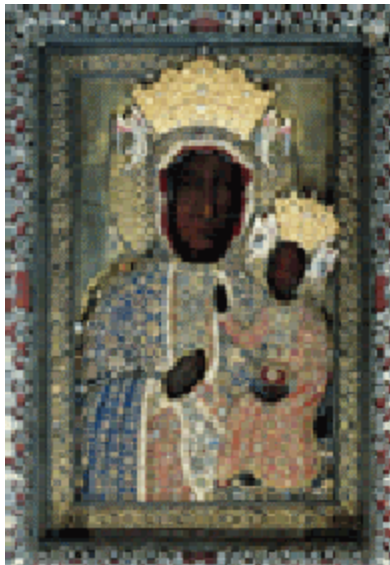


Figure 36: The big Black Madonna, Queen of Poland

Ania found the monastery much too crowded. It reminded her of a family visit to Canterbury Cathedral in the days before the Anglican Church imposed entrance charges, and she recalled that Canterbury too had once been a major pilgrimage centre. The throng was almost as great as she had experienced the year before when visiting the Sistine Chapel at the Vatican. The brilliant colours of Michaelangelo's ceiling epitomised a style that she had known in humbler copies since childhood. For her these were the trademark colours of Roman Catholicism, she could not imagine it in any other guise. Sure enough, lots of the statues and postcards on sale at Czestochowa matched the images she had seen in Rome. But there were also lots that did not: darker images of faces that seemed artistically crude, yet possessed of an intensity that was lacking in the gaudy Italian styles. Above all there was the miraculous icon itself, the same image that she had seen on the wall of a worker's flat in Nowa Huta a fortnight before. It looked more like a Russian icon than a western work of art.

Meanwhile Tom was following his third party of schoolchildren on the same guided tour, in an effort to 'enter into the mind of the young', as the Professor and Dr. Dylagowa had recommended. Unfortunately none of the groups he walked around with seemed to show any great interest in the objects they saw or the messages they received from their teachers and guides. Perhaps, thought Tom, they were indeed receiving signals that would be indelibly inscribed into their brains for the rest of their lives. But how was he to intercept those signals? He observed some of the children later in an ice cream bar, and the atmosphere could not have been more profane.

The next day was quite different. High mass was celebrated by the local Archbishop, who made repeated reference in his sermon to the visits made to this shrine by Pope John Paul II. The rowdy children from the previous evening were sitting motionless in the pews. They moved their hands in synchrony to their foreheads at the prayer which introduced the Gospel reading. Ania looked studiously at the Polish text for the prayers said at the most mysterious part of the mass. She knew the English version off by heart, but had never before reflected on the meaning of these words. For the first time it dawned on her that an alien visitor from another planet might find this standard Christian Eucharist ritual a rather remarkable one. 'This is my body this is my blood.....' How would she explain these words to an alien? How were they understood by those children? The proportion of the congregation stepping forward to participate in this communion was about the same as she recalled from her parish church in London. She was surprised to see the Professor step forward and receive the host from the Archbishop, in his hand, in the modern way, still rather uncommon in Poland, while Dr. Dylagowa looked at her watch with a hint of irritation.

Ania wondered if their teachers would try to stimulate further discussion about the advantages and disadvantages for the anthropologist of religion in having a faith herself. But they did not. The Professor talked at some length about the history of the monastery and the role of the Church in the nineteenth century struggles to keep Polish identity alive. Dr. Dylagowa talked about how important the Church had been for her own student generation and then in the years of Solidarity, when she was a young Lecturer. She also explained how the position of the dominant Church had changed since the end of communism. 'Some people say that, now Poland is a democracy and a part of Europe again, so our Catholic Church will have to come to terms with a less dominant role in the society: it might become, for example, more like the Catholic Church in France. But in some respects we are more like the Anglican Church in England: we are still very much a national Church!'

When they returned to their minibus Tom saw the schoolchildren once again; they were back to their former rowdy selves.



Figure 37: The monastery of Czestochowa and its famous icon (inset)

PART FIVE: KINSHIP AND ETHNICITY

Chapter 20: Introduction to Kinship (DD)

Assignment

Please familiarise yourself with standard anthropological kinship symbols, as shown on the diagram below of my personal kindred. You will see that I have eight cousins, two *stryj*, uncles on the paternal side, and one *wuj*, i.e. mother's brother, and only one surviving grandparent. Now put yourself in the position of 'Ego' and draw your own 'family tree'. Then try to carry out the same exercise with at least two fellow students in the dormitory. Some of you may find the task is more difficult than you imagine, and it helps to have very large sheets of paper.

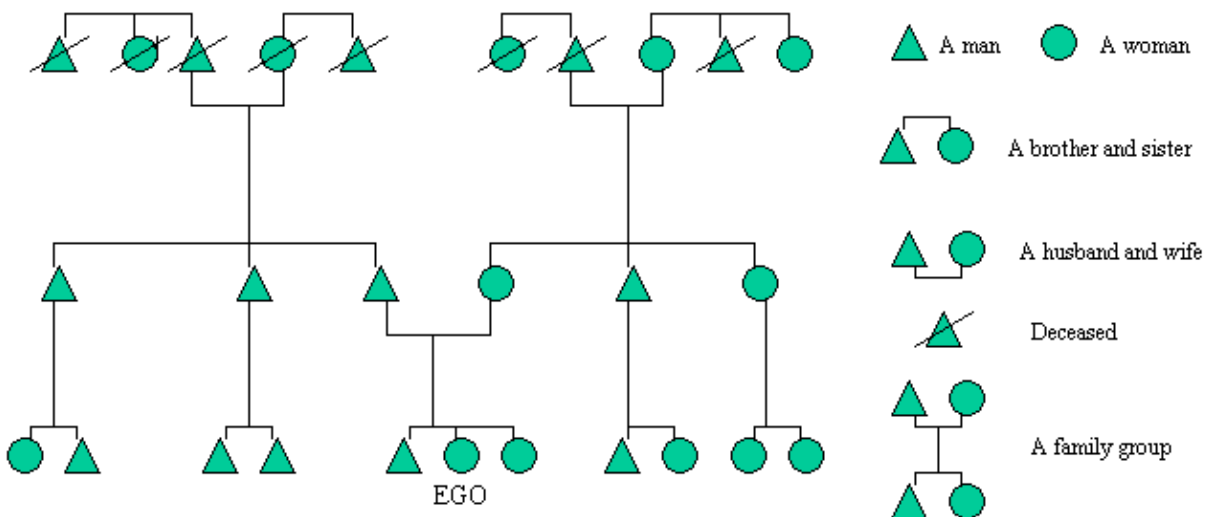


Figure 38: Dr. Dylagowa's kindred

Continue the exercise by putting a mark by each individual in your kindred whom you have actually seen within the last twelve months. Do you see any patterns? What conclusions might you draw about the importance of kinship in modern cultures?

Ania and Tom performed this exercise conscientiously and she saw for the first time the very patrilineal way in which he was related to Maria: her father's father's father was a younger brother of his father's father's father.

In the tram on the way back to the dormitory they could not help noticing two young East Asians, who looked as if they might have been brothers. Tom wondered how their genealogies might compare with those of the European and North American summer school participants, but he remembered his teachers' opening remarks about accosting strangers. They talked instead to each other about the importance of family ties in their respective diaspora communities in

London and Chicago. Tom explained some of the conflicts he himself had noticed in Bridgeport, where families of first and second generation immigrants found it very hard to get along with those who left Poland only in the late communist period.

'They are just two different communities,' said Tom, 'and even close kin ties cannot always close the gap. I have a cousin in another district of Chicago to whom I am biologically closer than I am to Maria. But according to my parents, his side of the family is only interested in money. They have no pride in the history of Poland and none of them go to church, so we hardly ever meet up.'

Chapter 21: Descent and Procreation (ETD and DD)

Assignment

Today we'd like to take you to meet a good friend of ours, a professor in our medical faculty. He is one of our very few specialists in fertility treatment, but you can use the opportunity to ask him any questions you like concerning human reproduction in this society at the present time. For example, you might consider questions concerning abortion and surrogate mothers.

The doctor, who seemed surprisingly young, took the students on a short tour of his wards and then invited questions. Ania asked about abortion trends. 'The first thing to say is that this is a very Catholic country. We had high birth rates throughout the socialist period, especially in rural areas. Abortion was rare for villagers, but for the urban population it was routinely available - almost like an additional means of contraception, you might say. When communism collapsed abortion policy became a political football. Most of our political parties heed the policy of the Church and oppose it, although there is evidence that the majority of women would like to see it available as it was up to now, in other words a matter for individual consciences. You can privatise everything in this country, but not religion. So, we perform very few abortions here - basically, only in cases of grave threat to the life of the mother.'

Tom asked about surrogates. 'We had a case recently in which the surrogate, who had been paid a substantial sum for agreeing to carry a child for a woman who could not do so herself, though the fertilised egg was hers, decided after the baby was born that she wished to keep the child. I'm afraid the case is still before the courts. We are aware of many complications that have arisen elsewhere from new reproductive technologies. Human beings and their body parts cannot be treated like ordinary market commodities. The biggest difference in this country is the power of the Church to influence public opinion. Indeed, many doctors and nurses are themselves practising Catholics who feel an obligation to follow the teaching of their Church, however difficult they find it in certain cases.'

Ania and Tom raised the subject later on that evening in Maria's flat. 'It's quite easy in practice,' said Maria. There was a girl on my course at the university who became pregnant in her first term. Her doctor referred her to a friend of his in Slovakia, or perhaps it was in Germany. Anyway, provided you've got the money, there's no problem.'

Wlodek pointed out that Poland's population, after decades of mostly rapid increase, had recently begin to decline. He thought this was because many more people were studying at university than had been able to under communism. They were therefore delaying marriage and having offspring. In other words, the demography of Poland was becoming much more like that of the developed countries of Europe and less like that of poor countries in the south. He thought that this convergence with western Europe showed that social factors were the prime determinants of population trends, since in cultural terms Poland was still quite far removed from western norms, as evidenced in the role of the church in promoting the postcommunist abortion legislation.

Chapter 22: Sex and Marriage (ETD)

Assignment

Today I should like you to call at the large stationers just around the corner from here. Although it's altogether the wrong time of the year for Valentines, I think you can find in this shop a variety of cards for this occasion, as well as a good selection of more general greetings for those with romantic urges to express. Have a look at these cards and talk to some of the Polish students in your dormitory this evening about their meanings.

Tom and Ania went as usual to Maria's for supper. 'Wlodek has never in his life sent me a Valentine card,' she laughed.

'You can buy them even in little towns like Przemysl nowadays,' he said. 'I'm sorry, but it's one of those little examples of westernisation that really irritate me. There are so many wonderful ideas to do with courtship in the folk poetry of the Slavic peoples, but all of the old customs have almost disappeared. And to fill the gap we have to borrow this new 'tradition' from the United States!'

'At least you Central Europeans still believe in giving flowers as a sign of affection,' said Ania. 'I don't know anyone in England who would bring his girlfriend roses as often as you bring one home for Maria!'

The conversation moved on to other aspects of contemporary family life. Maria explained that she paid weekly visits to her Aunt Malgorzata, who was not really an aunt but a very distant cousin of her grandmother. Malgorzata was slightly handicapped and, though this had not been an impediment to marriage, her husband had died many years before and she had no children. She lived alone and her health was deteriorating. Ania expressed surprise: 'There must be other members of the family much closer to her than you are. They ought to take her in. I thought all Polish families still acknowledged this responsibility, unlike modern Britain, where such people will be bundled off into institutions.'

'It's more complicated than that,' said Maria. 'We have such institutions too, but we just cannot afford to provide the level of services that you take for granted in the west. We are in a painful intermediate position in which the family is doing less than it did in the past, but the state is not yet able to fill the gap.'

'Wait a minute,' said Tom. 'It doesn't follow that the richer countries necessarily have weaker families. A high proportion of the population in the USA has no basic health care insurance and they remain fully dependent on their families when they get old and sick.'

On the way home they again noticed the young Chinese boys, sitting silently in front of them in the tram. Again Tom thought about starting a conversation but again he held back.

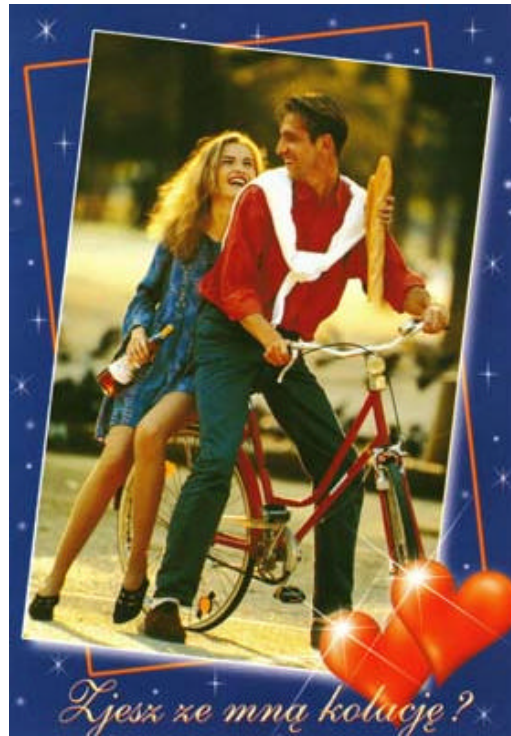


Figure 39: Polish Valentines; text (i) reads 'to my Valentine'; text (ii) reads 'do you want to eat supper with me?'

Chapter 23: Families and Households (DD)

Assignment

Today we are all invited to a small reception that is being given for our summer school by the Cracow Business Club. They do this every year and I can assure you it is always a most pleasant occasion. They will make a few short speeches about their activities and give you brochures to take away with you, with lists of people to contact for further information. It is just conceivable that some of you may have contacts in your home countries that might be useful to some of the businessmen here, and you may even make some connections that would interest you personally. Most of the businesses represented in the club are not only family controlled – that is still common enough in western countries – but the family provides much of the labour force as well. See if you can explore this dimension of our post-communist economy when the cocktails are being served.

Ania had not dressed for a cocktail reception and she was not sure how to address the elegant lady to whose table she and Tom were directed at the reception. Tom, imitating some equally well dressed men, attempted to kiss her hand, but the elegant lady laughed and said there was no need for young foreigners to copy her pretentious relatives. She was linked to almost half of those present either by blood or by marriage, she informed them.

‘Of course it’s good for business if you can keep things in the family. First, that means you can trust them. Second, you can work them harder. I don’t think my husband’s firm would be where it is today without the dedication shown by his distant cousins, who joined us from the provinces on day one and worked around the clock for almost nothing during our start-up period. They quit in the end of course, and never showed any gratitude for all that we taught them. But we still have family in all the key supervisory positions.’

‘What line of business are you in?’ asked Ania.

‘Historically we were in ironmongery, but it’s completely different today. Now we run the biggest network of fitness centers and solariums in South Poland.’

Tom asked about family history. ‘We belong to the szlachta nobility,’ said the elegant lady, with evident pride. ‘We can trace our family tree back to the Middle Ages. We were especially famous in the Habsburg period, when my great great grandfather was deputy Governor of Galicia. One of his cousins was called Malinowski and he became a famous professor in London - perhaps you’ve heard of him? Of course the communists tried to level out everything. It was easy for them to confiscate our material property, and then to mismanage and squander it. But they could never take our spiritual property, our culture. The values of our ancestors were passed on within the family. Quite a few of us managed to achieve important positions even under communism, because they needed our knowledge and skills. Then at last, when that system finally collapsed, we could step forward openly once more, to play our proper role in the economy and in the life of the nation.’

Chapter 24: Contingent and Primordial Identities (ETD)

Assignment

We shall be making an early start tomorrow morning, so there is no assignment today. Be sure you bring your journals along with you for the fieldtrip.

Returning to the dormitory they once again found themselves sharing the tram with the two Chinese-looking boys. This time Tom could not restrain his curiosity and he addressed them boldly in English. 'Hi, my name's Tom, I'm from Chicago. D'you mind if I ask what you guys are up to in Cracow?'

They looked at each cautiously. Silence. Eventually Tom repeated his question in Polish. The elder looking of the two brothers replied in perfect Polish: 'My father has a business here, I came two years ago to help him.'

'Is it a restaurant?' asked Tom.

'No. At first it was a market pitch. Now we are renting two shops.'

Silence.

'Are you brothers?' asked Ania, as friendly as she could.

'We are from the same big family in Vietnam,' replied the other brother. He was markedly less fluent in Polish but more talkative. 'First his father come, he see possibilities to expand his businesses. So he ask my father in Germany for some help, and my father, he send me. Everyone who work in our shops is family. We also have family in Vancouver. A relative from Berlin visit us this week. She become his wife' – he nodded towards his 'brother' – 'and then he start his own new shop.'

'They sure do have a big family,' said Tom later. 'These people succeed by sticking together. I guess it was just the same when my great-grandparents went to Chicago.'

'You mean they stick together to survive,' said Ania. 'The reason we always see the two of them together is because it would be too risky for one of them to take a late night tram alone.'

Tom pointed out that to understand the lives of these two young men it would not suffice to learn their language and spend time with them in Cracow. It would also be necessary to visit Berlin, Vancouver, and perhaps half a dozen other places scattered around the globe.

PART SIX: FIELDTRIP

Chapter 25-1: Into Galicia



Figure 40: The Minibus's route through Galicia, 2000

Festival

Dr. Dylagowa herself, not the usual university driver, was behind the wheel of the minibus when the students emerged from their dormitory early on 7th August. She was looking at her watch anxiously. Prof. Dylag was poring over maps. He checked that everyone had brought their journals.

Ania was unfamiliar with the eastern exit in the direction of Tarnów. One moment she was staring up at large housing estates. In the next they were in the countryside. They followed the main road to Tarnów which, with streets full of Saturday shoppers, seemed a lively place. Dr. Dylagowa pointed out that, before the war, it had been one of the largest centres of Jewish population in the region.

After Tarnów they turned south, and the roads and settlements became gradually smaller. The scenery was less spectacular than Zakopane, but these hills were also beautiful in their own way. When they pulled up in a village to ask for directions, the grunts of a wizened old man were evidently as incomprehensible to their teachers as they were to the students in the bus. Eventually they rounded a bend to find a large field full of vehicles, including large foreign looking coaches as well as cars and minibuses resembling their own. At the end of the parking area the Professor translated a slogan in Cyrillic letters emblazoned between two tall poles forming a rudimentary gateway to a further field: Welcome to the Watra Festival! Welcome to Lemko Country!

The next hour was full of exciting discoveries as the students explored a variety of stalls, bought books and souvenirs, admired folk costumes, and ate a good lunch, which they washed down with lots of Zywiec beer that was not quite as cool as it should have been. It quickly dawned on them all that most of the people around them were not speaking Polish.

'But they're not speaking Ukrainian either!' chortled the Professor. 'This is a Lemko Festival, and these people are officially recognised as a minority in their own right. Their language shows a mixture of influences, including elements from the Balkans as well as both eastern and western Slavic elements. It's all a bit complicated, because some of these Lemkos, under the pressure of Ukrainian nationalism that dates back to the nineteenth century, have come to see themselves as Ukrainian. Quite a lot of them were transported from their homes in these mountains in 1945 to live in the Soviet Ukraine. Since the 1980s lots of their descendants come back every year to participate in this Festival. They meet up with other Lemkos who were deported in 1947 to remote parts of Poland. The problem was what we nowadays call a 'terrorist' problem, and the only way to solve it was to denude the region of its population, to stop the separatists from extracting support from the innocent civilians. It was a tragedy for the Lemkos, of course, since most of them had no wish at all to become involved in the Ukrainian national cause. Most of the permanent inhabitants of these hills nowadays are recent Polish immigrants, though a few of the Lemkos have also made their way back. But the interesting thing about this Festival is that, even for thousands of Lemkos who no longer live in the Carpathian homeland, ties to this landscape, and to these details of costume, song and dance, have remained very strong.'

'If you phrase it like that,' said Dr. Dylagowa, 'isn't that the same thing as saying that the Lemkos have always had a different culture from their neighbours, different from Poles and Ukrainians, as well as from Slovaks and Hungarians to the South? What's wrong with using the word 'culture' to describe this uniqueness?'

'Fair enough,' assented the Professor. 'It is important, however, to be clear that this unique group has not always been here, that it crystallised over a long period in the later Middle Ages as a result of complicated migratory processes. And we must recognise that, despite having many distinctive elements in their 'folk culture', in the basic ways they make a living and in their religious beliefs they are hardly any different from their neighbours - especially from their neighbours to the east, the people we nowadays call Ukrainians.'



Figure 41: The Festival stage and Lemko folk dancing

Tom and Ania thought about this further in the course of the afternoon, as they lay on a grassy slope and enjoyed the performances of a succession of folklore groups on the small wooden stage. From some picnickers sitting nearby they learned that the flag fluttering proudly to the left of the stage was the Ukrainian national flag: why should this enjoy such prominence if the Lemkos did not consider themselves to be Ukrainians? Eventually they fell into conversation in English with some people of their own age, who told them that it was possible to be both Lemko and Ukrainian at the same time. ‘Lemko is my ethnic or regional group,’ one of them put it, ‘but Ukrainian is my nationality.’

When they related this later to their teachers, Dr. Dylagowa nodded and said ‘yes, it’s like the Górale around Zakopane, who manage to be proud of their regional identity, without this calling into question their basic national identity as Poles.’ But the Professor was reluctant to accept this analogy. ‘No,’ he insisted, ‘the Lemko case is more complicated. I had a student who did his dissertation on them a few years ago. He found that some of them are quite convinced that the Lemkos are a separate nation from Ukrainians. They are closely related to other small groups, sometimes known as Ruthenians, scattered across Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and the western fringes of Ukraine. All these groups see themselves as different from the Ukrainian mainstream.’

This part of the conversation was overheard by a burly man who turned out to be a car mechanic from Toronto, who had come over for the summer to visit relatives and participate in this Festival. He tapped the Professor firmly on his chest: ‘do you mean to tell me that my family, who’ve lived in a valley not far east of here for centuries, are not proper Ukrainians? What you’re telling these youngsters is just old Polish propaganda, lies that were invented to weaken the Ukrainian independence movement.’

The Professor decided that it was not worth pursuing the argument with this opponent. The subject was rapidly changed, some vodka was produced, and no one succeeded in writing up any field notes that evening.

The Professor returned to the theme first thing next morning, when the students emerged bleary-eyed from their tents. ‘You must understand, it is a complex situation. There are people who come from the same village as this man and who insist that they are Lemkos and not Ukrainians. They

too have a spokesman in Toronto, namely a University Professor who has helped to explain the distinctive history of the Ruthenians or, as he calls them, the Carpatho-Rusyns, and to make dictionaries and grammar books, to help them appreciate the riches of their own language. Of course, I don't deny that this language, that their culture as a whole, is very close to that of the Ukrainians. But as long as many thousands of Lemkos prefer to see themselves as forming part of a relatively small Ruthenian nation, rather than as part of a vast Ukrainian one, don't they have the right to do so? Even if it's hardly realistic for them to found their own state in this mountainous region, surely they deserve at least to be recognised as a distinct minority, and to have their language taught in local schools?'

'But this name Lemko is an artificial one, invented by a Polish ethnographer in the nineteenth century. This so-called Ruthenian orientation is a direct product of what these peasants have been told by generations of 'experts', ethnographers among them. I can see why most Ukrainians consider all these efforts to build up Lemko and Ruthenian identities as a product of malevolent Polish interference. These mountain dwellers were obviously too different from other West Slavs to be converted into Poles, so instead the Polish authorities who controlled the territory helped to construct this idea of a separate East Slav nation. It just shows you how people can be brainwashed in the age of nationalism. Why do they have to have a national identity at all?'

This was Dr. Dylagowa, but these were very much Ania's thoughts too, as the Festival programme resumed for its second and final day. Tom also found it remarkable that, in the middle of the twentieth century, many people in this region had still been uncertain as to which nationality to call their own. And some of them were still unsure even at the end of the century. The students were introduced to a retired schoolteacher who had devised primary school teaching materials in Lemko, which she was using with a small group of local children. They also met a University lecturer from Cracow who showed them several volumes of her poetry, also written in Lemko. Her dark eyes showed real anger as she explained that this Festival, which had been launched exclusively by Lemkos in the mid-1980s, at a time when such initiatives demanded real political courage, were now being taken over by those who favoured the Ukrainian orientation. Even the Greek Catholic priest who had celebrated open air mass that morning had, said the poetess, used only literary Ukrainian throughout the mass. He had asked God to bless the Ukrainian fatherland but not uttered a single word about the Lemkos. The real Lemko Festival, according to this lecturer, was now organized by a separate group several hundred miles away, in one of the areas to which Lemkos were deported in 1947. It was regrettable that authentic Lemko culture could only be preserved outside the homeland, in a region that used to belong to Germany, while the homeland Festival was increasingly Ukrainianised.

It was a hot day and, after another large lunch and plenty more Zywiec, most of the students began to find the sights, sounds and smells all a bit overwhelming. Ania and Tom had dozed off to sleep when the Professor summoned the group back to the minibus. 'Come along, we've all been invited to a party in the next valley!'



Figure 42: The area inhabited primarily by Carpatho-Rusyns in late Habsburg times (from P. R. Magocsi (ed.), *The Persistence of Regional Cultures; Rusyns and Ukrainians in their Carpathian homeland and abroad*. (East European Monographs CCCLXV, New York, 1993).

ЧАСТИНА ТРЕТЯ

Лемкы в Польщы

Олена Дуць-Файфер

Лемківська проблематика як предмет наукових досліджень часто была підоймувана през науковців-спеціалістів в ріжних ділах широко понятой гуманістыкы. Свідочством того є значуча бібліографія прац науковых і публіцистичных посвяченых Лемкам і Лемковині, опрацувана, як наразі, лем в спосіб фрагментаричний, далекій од повного перегляду вшиткых позицій бібліографічных в тым ділі.¹ Незалежні од дотеперішніх осягнінь тзв. "лемкознавства" лемківська проблематика є як найбарже актуальна в теперішнім часі. Підоймут ей студенти як темы семінарійных і магістерскых прац², є одна темом дохторскых розправ³, публікуют праці посвячены Лемковині узнаны науковы авторытеты в ріжних частях світа і в ріжних языках.⁴ Студентскы науковы кола часто за предмет своїх заінтересувань оберают лемківську культуру.⁵ Організуваны сут спеціальны науковы сесні і сымпозіні посвячены в цілости, або в великій части лемківськым справам.⁶ Выдає ся великы монографії, котрых цільом є представління історії і культуры Лемків в цілости їх розвиваня і осягнінь.⁷ Актуальніст і велика популярніст лемківской проблемы свідчыт о тым, же Лемкы і Лемковина сут явиском жывым, проблематычным, далеком од запертя го в музеях, скасенах і раз на все усталеных рамках і типографіях. Штораз то новы проявы жытя і розвитку Лемковины, стераня ся і борба ріжних поглядів політычных і релігійных, берз насилены головні в остатніх роках в звязку з лібералізаційом і загальныма змінами в громадско-політычным жыттю

Figure 43: Text Fragment in the Lemko-Rusyn language

(Lemkos in Poland, by Olena Duc'-Fajfer; for the full text in both Lemko-Rusyn and English translation see P. R. Magocsi (ed.), The Persistence of Regional Cultures: Rusyns and Ukrainians in their Carpathian homeland and abroad. (East European Monographs CCCLXV, New York, 199

Chapter 25-2: Skansen

The valley in question turned out to be more than an hour's drive to the east. The party was a wedding reception. It was immediately clear to the Professor that they had arrived far too late to be able to find any sober informants, who might have been able to answer questions about marital customs, financial transfers and the like. 'It's often like that in fieldwork,' he said to the group. 'Just try to soak up the atmosphere, and perhaps we'll be able to carry out some interviews tomorrow morning.' The students had already soaked up as much as they could for the day and it was all they could manage to find a field for their tents and crawl into their sleeping bags.

The next morning was even hotter. Dr. Dylagowa led the party to a lakeside swim before breakfast. They walked around the village, which contained barely thirty houses. 'They're mostly Poles,' said the Professor, 'but a few Lemkos have moved back here, including the remarkable man who welcomed us last night. He turned his old family house into an open-air museum or skansen back in the socialist days, mostly at his own expense, obstructed by the authorities. If you walk around these buildings you can get a feel for what peasant life was like in these hills in the era before the First World War, when Galicia was governed from Vienna, as part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He also has a fine collection of military relics from the war years. These hills saw vicious fighting between the armies of Austria and Russia, in the years before both Empires abruptly collapsed. Malinowski was still an Austrian subject at the time, but he had the sense to be away doing his fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands.'

The students walked around the museum, where the debris from the previous evening's wedding had not been tidied away. They were overwhelmed by the hospitality of its curator. He explained that he had always tried to hold the middle ground in Lemko identity debates. Of course the Lemkos were distinctive, and his skansen was officially registered as the Museum of Lemko Culture.



Figure 44: The Lemko Museum at Zydranowa



Figure 45: Fedor Gocz at the entrance to the skansen he founded

At the same time, he continued, it was pointless to deny the close kinship with other east Slavs, not only with Ukrainians but also with Russians and White Russians. 'We are all descended from Kiev Rus', that much is clear, despite all the efforts of Polish ethnographers to trace us back to Wallahian shepherds who came here from the Balkans. I can't agree with anyone who tries to tell me that my people are a different nation from Ukrainians. The best of the Polish ethnographers died not so long ago, Roman Reinfuss. I once told him, 'Professor Reinfuss,' I said, 'you cannot go on writing about us without listening to what we have to say!' We know now that his fieldwork in the inter-war period was basically motivated by politics: he was a Polish government agent.'

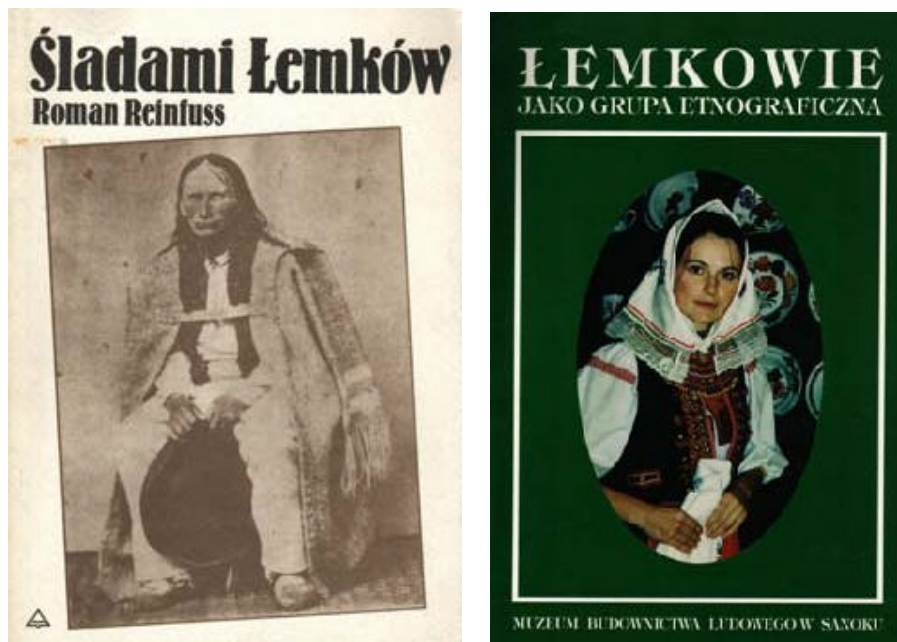


Figure 46: Two of the many books of Roman Reinfuss, leading academic ‘inventer’ of the Lemkos

Tom asked how the museum was funded. ‘It isn’t,’ answered the curator. ‘In some ways it was easier for me to get support under communism than it is today. For a few years I did have backing from the regional capital, which allowed us to pay the wages of a custodian and to acquire these fine new buildings. Have you seen the Jewish cottage just down the lane? This Gypsy forge is the most recent addition to our collection. But then the money was cut off, just like that. So we have responded by curtailing visitors’ access, though of course we don’t want to do this. But I’m seventy years old and I can’t be on duty here myself for 24 hours a day. We applied for a grant from an international organisation with an office in Cracow, which we heard wanted to support local initiatives in the field of culture. Exactly what we do here, we thought. But they never even responded to my letter! I think they were too busy at the time publishing propaganda to support the war in Kosovo, which was another scandalous crime against the Slavic peoples.’



Figure 47: Lemko sculpture: the East Slav Millennium church can be seen between the two figures in the picture on the right.

In answer to a question about religious life in the village, the curator's face clouded over and he spoke of sad divisions. 'Listen, I was baptized a Greek Catholic because that was our family tradition. But many visits to relatives in America and a lot of private study showed me that the Orthodox Church was the best embodiment of the Christianity of the Eastern Slavs. The Greek Catholic Church was only established in 1596 due to political pressures from the West. Later it became more or less a national church for Ukrainians. But I think it's much more important to take the longer view, and emphasise the unity of all Eastern Christians. That's why I decided to sponsor that church building you can see just down the road there, which was built to celebrate the East Slav Millennium in 1988. It cost more than 5000 dollars! The other non-Polish families here were happy to come to the services and I really thought we were breaking new ground. But then, with the collapse of communism, the Greek Catholics started an aggressive campaign against us Orthodox. They even sent a young priest to live in this village. Well, with the nearest Orthodox priest living more than twenty kilometres away, it's not surprising that my neighbours soon went over to the Greek Catholics. It's crazy. We're all the same Church really, we sing the same hymns to the same God.'

The Professor announced that the students could disperse and carry out further observations in smaller groups. 'But be careful you don't cross the Slovak border. It's only six kilometres south of here.' Tom and Ania followed a dirt road eastwards, where they met a middle-aged man who was trying to guide his horse-drawn cart out of a small copse and back onto the track. For reasons unclear to the students the man was cursing his horse at the top of his voice. Ania was appalled by his use of the whip, but did not dare to say anything. Eventually the cart was extracted and they could see that it contained a large quantity of logs. 'This is my forest,' the

man told them proudly. 'In my grandfather's time it used to be many times larger than this, but then the communists took it all and we were packed off to the west. I've been trying for the last ten years to get this wood registered in my name, but they won't allow it. I tell you, nothing has really changed here since the communist days. So I just carry on doing what I used to do then, I help myself to all the logs I need for the winter, and I don't pay any charges or taxes. Mind, I wouldn't dare cut down anything substantial - not without sharing a drink with the forester first!'



Figure 48: Horses are still one of the main forms of transportation and draught power in the Lemko region.

Chapter 25-3: Harvest



Figure 49: State farm buildings in decline

Towards lunch they moved on eastwards. They noticed from the minibus that large areas of land were not being cultivated at all. 'That's a consequence of the Lemko deportations,' said the Professor'. Not all of their villages could be repopulated - some have disappeared forever. To fill the gaps the comunists tried to establish some state farms. They invested in large buildings and urban-style accommodation for the workers. But these farms were not very successful anywhere in Poland, and here in this upland environment they never stood a chance of being competitive. So they were dissolved soon after the end of communism. In one case near here, I heard that an Italian entrepreneur has leased the land and equipment, with the intention of producing veal for the market in Italy. But in most cases the farms are just disintegrating. The people who worked on them get by partly by working on their private allotments and partly from state benefits. It's all very sad.'

They entered an expansive valley containing a mixture of old and new houses, thinly scattered alongside the road. The Professor said that this had been one of the largest villages in the region before the devastation of the 1940s, with several thousand inhabitants. Now it was home to no more than a few hundred, mostly Poles, the majority of whom were very poor. The village still lacked a piped water network, though some of the more enterprising families had improvised private solutions. The students pitched their tents by a stream in the centre of the valley. The water here looked clean enough, but when they walked upstream they came across a group of women doing their washing in it. Scruffy small children were playing amidst the chickens. Dr. Dylagowa asked after the men. 'Up in the potato fields,' came the reply. 'We start the harvest tomorrow, and we could do with some extra hands!' 'We'll be happy to help you,' said the Professor.

That afternoon and evening were spent quietly. They visited the village headman, whose wife served tea and some sort of cheesecake. Dr. Dylagowa asked him to explain the position of 'headman' and he looked embarrassed. He had not wanted the job, he said. It wasn't so much the

work, because there wasn't a lot to do, just forms to fill in from time to time; but every so often there was something unpleasant between neighbours, and people looked to him to be the peacemaker. 'Couldn't other people do that? Does it have to be the headman?' asked Tom. 'It could be someone else,' agreed the headman, 'but in village life today, no one likes to get involved in other people's business, and so they leave it to me. Of course I don't have any power to enforce my suggestions, but they mostly go along with them all the same. I have to go to the big council meetings in the commune centre, and I report back to the village if there's anything important happening. That's about it really.'



Figure 50: The village headman (left)

With seventeen hectares of land, this was one of the largest farms in the village. The headman had recently divided his fields between his sons, and a new house for the eldest one had been completed a short distance away. This year, however, they were still producing and consuming together and the headman himself took charge of all machinery maintenance, using the skills that he had acquired as a migrant worker in his youth. He and his sons were critical of the state's agricultural policies. It was hardly worth producing milk any longer, they said, they were thinking seriously about selling their five remaining cows, though they would never sell the land itself. 'We thought we were the victims back in the communist days, and so we were. They wouldn't let anyone own more than ten hectares in those days. Now you can own as much as you like, but when they tried to privatise the state farms around here they couldn't even give the land away. Who wants to own land when there's no prospect of making a living from it? When I go to the market in Sanok, that's fifty kilometres from here, and see the shops full of foreign food, it makes me wonder what we've got a government for. They're out to destroy the independent Polish peasant. And then you'll see, British and German firms will move in, and if we're lucky, then our grandchildren will get a job with them. We survived communism, but our days are numbered under capitalism. Everyone in this village is against joining Europe if it means that foreigners can move in and buy our land for peanuts.'

The students discussed these views later around a campfire. Ania voiced her surprise that opinions in the countryside seemed more gloomy those she had heard in the city. 'Wait a

moment,' said the Professor. 'There are plenty of older people in the cities who share this headman's negative feelings about capitalism. The difference is that here in the countryside the gloom seems to dominate among the young people as well.' Marek expressed the view that farmers had no cause for complaint. 'These people only really have to work for about four months a year. All the rest of the time they're free to do what they please. That's why alcoholism is much a problem here. The price of vodka has risen sharply, but consumption has not fallen at all.'

'These social problems are painful, but inevitable,' said Dr. Dylagowa. 'Because the Polish communists were too weak to complete collectivisation, our countryside changed much more slowly than the peasant societies in other parts of Eastern Europe. People here carried on having lots of children, and farming on little more than a subsistence basis. So now we have a very high proportion of the population living in rural areas, and of course that cannot be efficient. It has to change when we enter the European Union.'

'But what's going to happen to these children?' asked Tom.

'Their best hope is the tourism industry.' said the Professor. 'Either that, or putting on a border guard's uniform to protect the boundaries of 'Fortress Europe' against all those Russians and Ukrainians who would like to infiltrate it.'



Figure 51: Work in the potato field (photo courtesy of Frances Pine)

The next day was potato harvest day. The students spent a full twelve hours in the fields, working in turn on the plots of several families of close kin. Lunch was a watery soup brought out to them in a bucket by one of the younger wives. Ania was again distressed at what she considered to be abuse of the horses, but the farmer laughed at her reproach. She had other reasons, too, for feeling angry. This farmer did not himself share in the most gruelling work, bending down to extract the potatoes from the grooves cut by the horse. He was, however, on his feet for most of the day guiding the horse, and transporting the potatoes back to the farm. Not so the Professor, who disappeared after an hour and was not seen again until they met back at the camp in the evening. 'I had a very exciting interview with a new priest in the next village,' he told his wife, but she ignored him as she cleaned the dirt and splinters from under her nails. Their hosts had

been too busy all day to prepare a meal. Now they ate a simple egg dish and washed it down with tea and vodka. Dr. Dylagowa declined the offer of two ducks as a gift. ‘How could we possibly take food away from a family as poor as that?’ she asked later. ‘Anyway, how would we cook them here?’



Figure 52: The village shop (of socialist construction, privatized in 2000)

Chapter 25-4: Fieldwork puzzles



Figure 53: Villagers at work

'Open-air anthropology, as opposed to hearsay note-taking, is hard work, but it is also great fun.'
B. Malinowski, 'Myth in primitive psychology' in *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays*, Glencoe 1948.

Everyone except the Professor was stiff and sore the following day. He split the students up into smaller groups to conduct a household census of the village, while he drove off with his wife to the market town to buy fresh provisions. It took Tom and Ania only half the morning to visit the four farms allocated to them and collect basic questionnaire data concerning the individuals who lived there, their sources of income, and their consumption habits. The conversations were not very exciting. Tom expressed surprise when people described their food intake. 'For most of the year these villagers have no fresh fruit or vegetables,' he summed up afterwards. 'Where we live, seasonality scarcely has any impact any longer on the food we consume, because everything is available throughout the year.'

The students were not invited into people's houses as it was obvious that they had no time for lengthy conversations. The potatoes were done, but there were still other vegetables to be picked, some hay to be brought back to the barn, and grains to be threshed using the ancient machine that went from house to house during these weeks. Ania was discomforted by the dirt, the smells, and the flies that followed her everywhere.

Only in one house were they invited inside, to meet a Lemko lady who was too old to work, indeed too weak even to leave her bed. She was clearly dying. Another lady explained that she had taken the old woman into her home out of sympathy and human kindness, although they were not related. After her husband's death, the old woman had moved to live with his niece, in return for making over her own land and farm to the niece's family. But that family was plagued by social problems, said the lady. 'It's bad enough when a man drinks, but it's really the end if his wife joins in.' The old woman had been desperately unhappy there, so the neighbour had intervened to provide her with a clean and peaceful refuge as she prepared to die. Ania was

deeply impressed by this story, and by the gratitude she saw in the eyes of the old woman, who was attentive but speechless throughout their visit.



Figure 54: The path leading up to the village church

Afterwards they went on to visit the church, which was obviously Greek Catholic or Orthodox in origin, though a large sign proclaimed that it now served a Roman Catholic parish. The two traditions were side by side inside the building: stern eastern representations of Christus Pantocrator were modified by the smiling countenance of Pope John Paul II, the Madonna was present in both dark mysterious Czestochowa style and in bright Italianate variants. The dualism extended to the cemetery: around the church the graves were neglected, the eastern crosses badly rusted. A little further away they found the cemetery of the new, post 1947 community, with well tended graves and shiny new headstones.

They left the village via a track leading northwards which led them after a couple of hours to a larger village and a restaurant that provided them with their first square meal in two days. They tried asking the waitress for information about the history of the community, but she could not tell them much. 'They say that this building used to belong to a rich Jew, but he and all his family were shot by Hitler's people in 1942. We only have Poles here these days.' They followed a different route back to the village and the only human being they met all afternoon was a forester, who pulled up in his jeep and was fascinated to hear about their summer school course in anthropology. He was more keen to ask questions than he was to answer them, but eventually Tom managed to ask about the ownership issue. The forester replied: 'Don't you believe it when the peasants here tell you that the forests belong to them. Virtually every last tree you can see around here was planted by the socialist state, and I don't see why anybody should come along and claim them privately. In any case, it's impossible to connect present boundaries to the land that people claim they held in the past, since hardly any of it was properly registered. Forests should be for everybody, not a private windfall for a lucky few.'

The forester said he would show them something interesting and drove them a few miles along a rutted track to a point where two streams joined. They got out and found the remnants of a cemetery in a copse, but otherwise no traces of a human settlement. 'This was one of many villages evacuated in 1947 and never again reoccupied. I remember my father telling me how he came here on a tractor and helped to tear the old buildings down, the church included. They didn't need to look far for firewood in those days.'



Figure 55 (i): Greek Catholic church and belfry at Turzansk and (ii) the new Greek catholic church at Komancza

Tom and Ania continued on foot, pausing only to admire some fine wooden churches, that had somehow survived these mid-twentieth century traumas. But a village nearby had since been subject to another trauma: this valley was now dominated by a large sawmill and grey concrete blocks for the workers, which looked as dismal as anything they had seen in the industrial suburbs of Cracow. 'Talk about showing sensitivity to a picturesque environment!' said Ania. From here they hitched a lift back to their campsite. Their driver had worked at the sawmill back in communist days: the job was highly sought after, a bit monotonous but far better than just helping out on the parental farm. 'I think the jobs are still popular, but they've been privatised, of course, and they've had to make a lot of workers redundant recently. I was lucky enough to be able to move on to a job in the city - it's not easy to do that nowadays. But I like to come back whenever I can in the summer, to help a bit on the farm and to enjoy a bit of hunting.'



Figure 56: Leaving work at the sawmill, Rzepedz

In the evening around the campfire the students compared their experiences. Some had tried to make calculations about the relative profitability of different crops. Tom was puzzled by the realisation that the villagers did not in fact produce the commodities which, according to the figures they themselves provided, should have been their rational choices. Ania was more struck by the fact that, if the interview data were to be believed, not a single inhabitant of this village had ever travelled in an aeroplane, while more than half had never travelled outside Poland at all, despite the close proximity of several state borders.

Several students had not managed to collect all the rudimentary data required by the Professor's questionnaire. Others said that they doubted the truth of what they had written down, or did not find their conversations very revealing. 'Don't worry,' Prof. Dylag reassured them. 'This is a very typical experience in fieldwork. Sometimes whole weeks and months go by, and you don't feel you are learning anything new. But all the time you are observing and you are earning their trust. That is why it is important to work with them and to eat the same food that they eat. I think that your one day in the potato field has given you a better understanding of what it feels like to be a peasant here than any amount of reading in the library.' And it was true that the students who had revisited the families for whom they had worked on the previous day reported the most positive receptions and illuminating conversations.



Figure 57: A Polish-Ukrainian couple and their children

Marek had interviewed several families at the upper end of the village, where most of the returned Lemkos were to be found. 'I'm convinced that not all of them were innocent victims of deportation in 1947,' he said. 'Some of them really did support the Ukrainian terrorists. At least they get on well enough today. I came across one case where a staunch Ukrainian had given his daughter in marriage to the son of one of a Polish immigrant. But the best story I heard all day concerned an old Lemko woman whose husband died last year. She had no children, so she moved in with her niece. But then some other Lemko neighbours interfered and effectively stole this bed-ridden old woman, just so that they could get their hands on her tiny pension! She's still living with this other family now, even though they're not even kin!'

Tom and Ania promptly gave their own account, based on what they had seen as well as heard, and another group of students was able to supply a third variant. Clearly this case had attracted a lot of attention and comment in the village this year. Dr. Dylagowa was gleeful. 'What a fine example of the perils and limits of ethnographic representation!' she exclaimed. 'One old lady is apparently dying, and we have at least three different interpretations of the circumstances.' The Professor agreed, but argued that, if only they were able to spend more time in the village, they might be able to determine which of the different opinions was nearest to 'the truth'. This reference to 'truth' sparked some lively discussion between them, which ended only when the last embers of their fire ceased to flicker. Tom went for a last brief walk alone and noted that several households seemed to be settled down in front of their televisions, perhaps watching the same late night films as their urban counterparts.

Ania was still feeling uncomfortable and she was not sorry to move on the next day. Not only was she dirty from head to toe, but she felt there was nothing more she wanted to know about this village, with its scattered dwellings and battered population. She found the formalities of farewell, over tea, crowded into the headman's kitchen, all rather tedious. Dr. Dylagowa was

looking impatiently at her watch. The Professor noticed this. When they finally drove off he commented: 'We can't, of course, say that this is a typical Polish village. Every village is different. This is not a good time for sustained conversation, because the people have too much work to do. But I may try to come back in the winter and do a proper interview with that headman: he belongs to one of the few families that managed to avoid the deportations. That's why I wanted to make a good farewell.'

Ania couldn't help feeling that the Professor was only concerned with the headman's potential usefulness for some further research project, and was repelled by this realisation. Fieldworkers were basically only interested in extracting the data they needed for their projects. They, the visitors, could offer nothing in return. These peasants would be able to make no more use of a scholarly article or a book than the visitors would have been able to make of the ducks they had been offered after the potato harvest. Whether or not it could approximate to 'truth', anthropology suddenly seemed to Ania a morally dubious, exploitative activity.

Chapter 25-5: Synagogue



Figure 58: Synagogue

Dr. Dylagowa drove them through some more spectacular scenery until eventually they passed into a region of gentler hills. They proceeded without stopping past a village of Pentecostalists and a commune of Polish Krishnas. The Professor said that at one point he had considered making a study of the latter, but he had given up the idea on discovering that the commune in question already had as many scientific investigators as it had members.

They made small breaks in two small towns, the first of which contained a large and beautiful synagogue. It was used now as a museum and occasional exhibition centre. The students heard a short lecture about its past, and about the community it had served, but the speaker was a Pole, not a Jew. For centuries, Jews had been the hub of commercial life in this region, as in so many parts of Central Europe. They had mixed with Greek Catholics and with Roman Catholics. They had interacted peacefully, but very few had intermarried. Prognosis occurred from time to time but the climate deteriorated sharply in the twentieth century, when Greek Catholics began for the first time to call themselves Ukrainians, and a strong Polish national consciousness developed among the Roman Catholics. It was too easy to put all the blame for the genocide of the Jews onto Germany. Local Catholics had participated in anti-Semitic campaigns before the Second World War, and many had colluded in the tragedies of the Holocaust. There was no escape, even for those few Jews who had married Christians, or for those who had become secularised, usually after moving to a metropolis such as Warsaw or Cracow, and who felt themselves assimilated into Polish society. In fact, those who followed the path of assimilation were often the first targets of anti-Semitism in those tragic decades. At the same time there were some heroic exceptions: a few local people had taken great risks by sheltering Jewish families during the war. Ania remembered her recent visit to the camp at Auschwitz. They visited a Jewish cemetery, with thousands of well-preserved headstones.



Figure 59: Sanok: (i) the Orthodox cathedral; (ii) the castle

At another small town they paused at the railway station where the Jews of the area had been herded onto waggons for their fateful journey. They also visited an Orthodox cathedral, where they were received most hospitably by a bishop. In a castle high above a river they found a splendid collection of icons, most of them rescued from eastern churches that people had abandoned in 1947. Many of these buildings had been destroyed. A few had been preserved in the town's skansen which, like the family skansen they had visited earlier in the week at Zydranowa, was experiencing financial problems. One had to admire the enthusiasm and dedication of the staff, who made a short presentation for the benefit of the summer school. Ania nonetheless found this visit a drag, compared to Zydranowa. It reminded her of a school trip to Wales in her youth and hours trudging around a similar sort of skansen somewhere near Cardiff. It was hard to connect these representations of peasant life with the actual conditions they had just experienced a short distance away. She was glad when the Professor announced it was time to move on.



Figure 60: (i), (ii) The Skansen at Sanok

On the way they made a short detour to a village that bore the sign - Dylagowa. 'It's not connected with our families,' said Dr. Dylagowa. 'When I enquired, I found out that even this

small village had a hundred Jews in the late nineteenth century. Of course there are none left today.’ Ania could not rid herself of the thought that, wherever you turned in this central zone of Galicia, the Jews confronted you through their very absence. The Greek Catholics were still visible on the landscape, even though many of their distinctive churches were falling apart. But the Jews had simply gone missing, there was no one left to speak for them, and barely any material traces either.

The last item on the programme in that day was to call, shortly before arriving in Przemysl, on a Roman Catholic priest who was actively engaged in restoring Jewish cemeteries in villages throughout the region. Most had not been tended at all for half a century, and the stone had all but disintegrated. Tom was impressed by the priest’s efforts on behalf of what he termed ‘ecumenism’. He took a photograph of a recently constructed memorial, which the Rabbi of Cracow was shortly due to visit.



Figure 61: Plaque at a recently restored Jewish village cemetery

Ten minutes later they were unpacking their rucksacks in a nondescript youth hostel that was to be their base for the rest of the week. Przemysl was only 12km from the border with Ukraine. ‘Of course we do not pretend that this is a typical fieldwork experience. Malinowski spent more than a year living among a few hundred Trobrianders, but you are going to spend a mere three days in the middle of a town of 70,000 inhabitants. Nonetheless, we think this is a good place to apply your anthropological knowledge, to see how the different fields of social life that we have explored can be brought together in one place.’

Chapter 25-6: Bazar



Figure 62: General views of Przemysl, (i) east to west, (ii) west to east

They awoke early the next morning, feeling much better thanks to the youth hostel's hot water and clean sheets. Their first destination was the bazar. 'It's much less lively than it used to be in the first years after the collapse of communism,' said Dr. Dylagowa. 'In those days we had traders flooding in from almost every corner of the old Soviet Union and the trading was utterly chaotic. As you can see it's much more regulated now, and this sports stadium is given over to individual commerce during the summer months. These are basically poor people with very little to sell. The more successful dealers don't sit out here in the heat and dirt. They find Polish partners, who sell their goods in small shops or distribute it through their own informal networks. As you can imagine, it's a slightly tricky area to do research in, and you often hear the word mafia. But there doesn't seem to be any serious crime associated with this bazar. It is viewed positively by almost everyone in the city, because it has been an economic lifeline. Remember, here too lots of people lost their jobs when capitalism was introduced, and this outlet was very important for their survival strategies.'



Figure 63: The Bazar in Przemysl, (i) covered zone, (ii) outdoor zone

Accompanied by a locally based historian, with whom the professor was evidently on very good terms, Tom interviewed several traders, including a lady who hastily covered her face when he tried to take her picture. He wanted to know what had driven them to come to Przemysl and what sort of financial gains they expected. Some gave very specific answers, others found it difficult to specify any figures at all. Some emphasized that their motivation was solely material, since any money they could earn on this bazar would be of enormous help to them back home. But Tom was surprised when about half of his interviewees, of all ages, stressed other motivations: they were combining their market activity with some tourism in the region, or their main purpose was to visit some relatives and the time spent on the bazar was secondary. Some young women said that it was 'fun', and much more interesting than their usual summer visits to the Black Sea coast.



Figure 64: A trader reluctant to face the camera

The machine tools and spare parts for ex-communist cars were of little interest to the students. Tom was keen to buy himself a leather jacket, so he wandered off alone to explore that part of the bazar. Here he bumped into the familiar faces of Maria and Wlodek, who had just arrived to spend a long weekend in their home town. Wlodek introduced Jarek, his cousin from a village just across the Ukrainian border. Jarek's father had excellent trading connections all the way to Istanbul, Odessa and Central Asia. He had put his teenaged son in charge of the Polish retailing end of his operations, taking advantage of the free accommodation that Jarek received from Wlodek's parents. Jarek promised to make Tom the best jacket offer imaginable. Tom tried on several, Ania appeared to give her approval, and a deal was quickly clinched. 'Come to our house on Sunday,' said Wlodek. 'No, my parents will insist that you come to our place,' said Maria. 'They have to hear all the news from Chicago.' 'First we'll have to see what our Professor is planning for us,' said Tom. 'Couldn't we all meet together somewhere?' The faces of Maria and Wlodek told him that this was not an option.

After the bazar they called on the city council's Development Officer, who delivered a short speech that he had evidently given many times already. Overall the town had adapted well to post-communist challenges. The official was particularly enthusiastic about the grants that had been received from a variety of sources to promote cross-border contacts, not only with Ukraine

but also with cities in Slovakia, Hungary and Romania, all of which were closer to Przemysl than the Polish capital. He admitted, however, in answer to a question from the Professor, that the economic activity resulting from these grants and associated NGO activities was small in comparison to that which had developed spontaneously and informally after the relaxation of border controls, and which they had just been able to see at the bazar. And, yes, unemployment was a serious problem in the city, and it might even worsen if entry into the European Union brought with it a stricter policy of border controls.

Chapter 25-7: History

When the Professor announced the plans for that afternoon there was general disappointment: a presentation by local historians in the municipal library, followed by a visit to the County archives did not sound very exciting. As it turned out, however, they were wrong about this.

The presentation focused on the history of Przemyśl: ‘From the Middle Ages, this was an area where three groups intermingled: first Western Slavs, who were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, second Eastern Slavs, overwhelmingly Orthodox, then later Greek Catholic, and third Jews. At the beginning of the twentieth century these three groups were of roughly equal strength in the city. Inter-marriage between the first two was common. In such mixed marriages it was common to observe both religious calendars. Children followed the religion of the same-sex parent. Many people were fully bilingual, and many cultural phenomena were a genuine synthesis of eastern and western traditions: for instance, some of the carols sung at Christmas could not be allocated unambiguously to one side or the other.

This peaceful coexistence of different traditions began to come under pressure from rival nationalist movements in the closing decades of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As early as 1875 some Jews in Przemyśl established an Association for Settlement in the Land of Israel, a forerunner of Zionism. In the violence that marked that Empire’s collapse, in the aftermath of the First World War, Przemyśl became part of the new independent Poland. Nationalist tensions continued to rise, as Ukrainians in Poland experienced strong discrimination. In the harsh economic climate of the 1930s, both groups turned against the Jews, e.g. by boycotting their shops. Polish nationalists erected a monument to some schoolboys who had lost their lives in the fighting of 1919.



Figure 65: Synagogues of Przemyśl: (i) currently the city library, (ii) overshadowed by a new gas station, (iii) site of the most celebrated central synagogue, destroyed by the Germans in 1941 and never rebuilt.

In September 1939 the River San became the border between the occupying powers. The Germans took the western part of the city and the Red Army the older, eastern part. Given the deterioration of Polish-Ukrainian relations, it was not difficult for the occupiers to enlist local Ukrainians as administrators and policemen.'

Tom whispered to Ania: 'It's like segmentary systems in Africa. You remember, 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend'.'

'The monument to the schoolboys was torn down on German orders. After they attacked the Soviet Union the whole city passed under German control. The Jews were deported to the camps. There is almost no trace of them left, though the building you are in right now used to be the largest of their numerous places of worship.'

Eventually the Red Army returned to conquer, but that was not the end of the violence for us. In the mountains which you have visited this week, small groups of Ukrainian nationalists continued their struggle. The new Polish authorities decided that the only way to deal with this 'terrorist' problem was to eliminate all remaining Eastern Slavs from this region. They were relocated to the lands which Poland obtained in the north and west, which had formerly belonged to Germany. At about the same time the Greek Catholic Church was dissolved; its property was handed over to other churches or used by the state, and its last bishops died in Soviet camps.

So, in less than a decade the city lost two of its three ethnic communities: only Roman Catholic Poles were left. Actually, not quite all of the Ukrainians were deported: those who were married to Poles, or who managed to persuade a Roman Catholic priest to register them as his parishioners, were able to avoid this fate. Very cautiously, following the political thaw of 1956 some of these people dared to declare their minority status. A Ukrainian Club was formed, under the close supervision of the communist authorities, of course, and a Greek Catholic parish took shape under the umbrella of the Roman Catholic church, which gave the minority use of a central church, the so-called Garrison church. The later years of communism witnessed a steady trickle of Ukrainians back to their home region. Przemyśl was a natural place to seek accommodation and work for those whose homes elsewhere had either been destroyed or reallocated to Poles. However, so long as communism lasted all this was extremely discreet. The Ukrainian minority was almost invisible in the life of the city.

This changed with the end of communism. The Greek Catholics sought and obtained recognition. The Pope appointed a new Greek Catholic bishop to the see of Przemyśl. This bishop applied for the restitution of the so-called Carmelite church, which had been the Greek Catholic cathedral until their suppression in 1946. This opened up a series of conflicts that lasted for most of the 1990s. Polish nationalists argued that the Carmelite church had, at its foundation in the seventeenth century, been a Roman Catholic establishment, and that there were no good grounds for handing it over to the Ukrainians. The conflict came to a head in 1991 when Pope John Paul II himself visited this city. Direct action by the Polish nationalists prevented him from fulfilling his plan to transfer the Carmelite church to the minority community. Instead he made a gift to them of the Garrison church, which they had been using on an unofficial basis ever since 1956. The Greek Catholics have accepted this offer, even though the whole affair was a bitter disappointment for the minority. They have carried out significant alterations to the building to make it more suitable for their rite, much to the anger of the Polish nationalists, who see this as a

part of Polish culture that has now been lost to the minority. They have taken their revenge, so to speak, by tearing down the tower of the Carmelite church, which was added by the Greek Catholics when they were using this building in the nineteenth century, and replacing it with a slender spire which they consider to be more in keeping with their western, Polish traditions.



Figure 66(i): The Carmelite church before 1996



Figure 66(ii): The same church with new 'western' spire



Figure 67: The Garrison church, now converted to serve as the Greek Catholic cathedral

Perhaps this discussion of a conflict over ecclesiastical property is enough for you to understand how religion and nationalism have come together in unpleasant combinations in post-communist Przemysl. The objective history of centuries of peaceful multicultural coexistence counts for nothing when people on all sides recall only a recent history of suffering and trauma. This subjective history is the one that shapes the present. The fact that we have thousands of Ukrainians flooding into the city's bazar every week has not made it any easier for local Poles to accept the presence of a Greek Catholic, Ukrainian minority within the city. There is a tendency to identify all Ukrainians with the dirt and sometimes dubious dealing techniques found on the marketplaces, and little appreciation that Ukraine can lay claim to a distinguished cultural tradition. Just how hard it is to belong to the Ukrainian minority here was demonstrated a few years ago when the Warsaw authorities decided that Przemysl was the ideal location for an Ukrainian Cultural Festival. This plan was rejected by the local council, which in practice has been under the control of nationalists. Eventually the Festival went ahead in conditions of high security and it was lucky that no one was injured when the Ukrainian Club was subject to an arson attack.'

In answer to a question from Tom, the speaker said that he himself was an ethnic Pole, but one who was viewed with suspicion by many Poles in the city simply because he sought good relations with leaders of the Ukrainian minority. He was the head of a small research institute which specialised in the complex inter-ethnic relations of the region, but for years he had been denied funds and support in the city. His own institute had been attacked. Tom, who wondered why he had never come across this institute on previous visits to his relatives, asked if there was intermarriage between majority and minority in the new conditions. 'There is some, of course,' came the reply. 'But there is also a very strong preference within the minority to marry one from their own group. It is especially interesting to see how they view the religious divisions. The Greek Catholics say that they would much prefer their children to marry someone from an Orthodox family than to marry a Roman Catholic. They know that, in some theological sense, they are closer to Roman Catholics. But what counts for them is not the theology but the practice, and of course the Orthodox rituals are almost identical to those of the Greek Catholics, and they speak the same Ukrainian language. And they are aghast at the idea of introducing the Polish language into Greek Catholic services, since they see this Church as central to the continued maintenance of their Ukrainian identity.'

Chapter 25-8: City tour

The historian then led the party on a tour of the historic centre. They called first at the recently established Ukrainian school, where they were given a traditional welcome and offered bread and salt. Ania, who up to that point had been very doubtful about the long-term survival prospects of this minority group, began to have second thoughts as she saw the commitment of these teachers. 'Why did the Polish side agree to a separate school for the minority?' she asked. 'It doesn't seem to fit with the nationalist policies that we've been told about.' 'That's right,' said the headmaster, 'and the local officials don't approve of us at all. But our authorisation came from Warsaw, at a time when the authorities there were anxious to show the world that they were taking positive steps to promote the cultural and educational conditions of minorities. We were lucky - under a different government it might never have been authorised.' Ania looked carefully at some introductory history volumes. She could not understand much, but it was clear that these texts were extremely Ukraino-centric.



Figure 68: The former Greek Catholic seminary, with a long disused Jewish cemetery in the foreground

They continued past all the contentious churches and looked into the former Greek Catholic seminary, one of the first buildings they were able to regain in the early 1990s. It had taken them much longer to get back the county museum, once the Greek Catholic bishop's palace, but recently even this had been finally handed over. The students then passed through the market and crossed the bridge which had once marked the border between the troops of Hitler and Stalin. Tom photographed the recently rebuilt monument to the schoolboy Polish heroes of 1919. 'This,' said Dr. Dylogowa, 'is a good example of how the past can be made to live in the present.'



Figure 69: Monument to the martyrs of 1919

The Professor drew their attention to a distinctive building which, he said, had served as the state archives in the communist period. It had now been handed back to the Greek Catholics and, sparkingly restored, was being used once again by the Basilian monastic order.



Figure 70: (i) The Basilian monastery (formerly the State Archives) (ii) The Interior after Renovation

At last, surrounded by drab high-rise housing, they reached the elegant new building which now housed the state archives. Dr. Dylagowa embraced the curator, who was an old friend from her undergraduate days. The students were given a quick tour of the exhibition room, which featured Greek Catholic bishops of the nineteenth century. ‘Notice that in those days many of the bishops of this Church were ethnically Polish,’ said the Professor. ‘It was only later on that the Greek Catholics began to take the Ukrainian side in the inter-ethnic struggles, and even then not all of them.’

‘Now,’ said Dr. Dylagowa, ‘we’d like to show you some of the parish registers stored here, to give you an idea of the sources that historical anthropologists use.’ The curator produced a pile of dark bound volumes, pointing to curiosities as she flicked through the dusty pages. The Professor asked for volumes from the villages where they had been staying and showed the students how to set about constructing genealogies for their host at the Lemko wedding and for the friendly headman. Ania was beginning to feel very tired, but Tom followed the deft diagrams of the Professor with close attention. He asked for the books of X, a village not far away, where his great grandfather had been born in 1894. ‘No problem,’ said the curator. ‘But I know that lots of families from X intermarried with people from Y, the other village in the valley. Would you like those books too? It could be quite interesting, because although X has always been Roman Catholic, nearly everyone in Y is Greek Catholic.’ By the time the curator had located the volumes, Tom realised that everyone else in the party was ready to go. He asked if he might

return the next morning. The curator said that, although it was a Saturday, she would be on duty anyway in the exhibition room, so he was welcome to show up at any time.



Figure 71: The new county archives

They spent the evening at the Ukrainian club. The highlight was a performance by a bandera group from the minority school. The bandera, the club leaders informed the party, was one of the distinctive national instruments of Ukraine. Ania asked if it had been played traditionally in the Przemysl region, and was told that, actually, it had not. But it was only natural that minority children here would now wish to adopt this symbol of Ukrainian culture, just as they were taught the gems of national Ukrainian literature and music, and to speak standard literary Ukrainian rather than dialects such as Lemko.

It was already quite late by the time Tom and Ania made their way up the poorly lit hill, across the old Jewish burial ground, to old house where Maria's parents and surviving grandmother lived. Tom had always felt comfortable here. When they related how they had spent the day, the wrinkled grandmother smiled and said: 'It won't be long before you know more about this city than I do!' Maria asked if she could accompany Tom to the archives the following day.



Figure 72: The Town Hall and main market square

Chapter 25-9: Ukraine

The next morning the whole group apart from Tom gathered at the minibus. 'It's only ten minutes from here to the border,' said the Professor. 'I've not mentioned this up to now because I didn't want to raise any false hopes, but now I've made some enquiries and I'm pleased to say that the border queue is not very long at the moment, and those of you who need visas should be able to obtain them without too much trouble. I think it should be worthwhile: state borders are very interesting places for anthropologists, not just because of the symbolism on display, but also for all the varieties of human interaction that unfold there. You'll see what I mean. Don't ask me what we'll do on the other side: we'll decide that when we get there! I hope you've all brought your journals along.'



Figure 73: The border trading post

Ten minutes later they were in a queue of cars and buses only a few hundred yards from the hive of buildings that marked the border crossing. The students walked up to arrange the formalities, but it all turned out to be more complicated than the Professor had been led to expect. A visa for even the shortest of stays cost a large number of dollars, and this was emphatically not negotiable. The Professor was about to admit defeat when Ania spotted Jarek in the melée surrounding the counter marked 'customs payments'. He understood their problem at once and approached the passport official, who was obviously a pal of some sort. The passports were quickly collected and returned, complete with the necessary stamps. The Professor smiled quietly and asked Jarek how much he should pay. 'Don't worry about it. I said you would be my guests for the day. The only thing that matters is that you've got to cross back into Poland before midnight, while this man is still on duty.'



Figure 74: No man's land at the border

Another two steaming hours were spent in the queue before they finally entered Ukraine - time enough to confirm the Professor's observation about a wide range of emotions and address styles between travellers and officials. They stopped for lunch at the first small town they reached. Physically it was hardly any different from many of the small towns they had seen in Poland, but the Cyrillic letters and relative absence of advertising combined to make the commercial centre seem somehow very different. Since neither the Professor nor his wife could speak Ukrainian (though they claimed to be able to understand it well enough, especially if it was spoken slowly) they were pleased to invite Jarek to join them and order their meals. This was easy enough: red beetroot soup followed by cheese dumplings were the only dishes available.

They sped on behind Jarek's old Lada and didn't stop until, about an hour and a half later, they pulled up in the centre of Lviv. 'Welcome to the capital of the Western Ukraine,' said the Professor. 'This was once the capital of Galicia and the most important city in this part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In those days it was a predominantly Polish city. The peasants in the surrounding countryside were mainly Ukrainian, but the intellectuals were almost all Poles. My own grandfather was a university lecturer here in the inter-war decades. I remember as a child he used to tell me about the magic of these streets, and how, when he himself was a child, he had studied the poems of Adam Mickiewicz in school, and then the whole class was taken by their teacher to admire a larger than life statue of Poland's great national poet. Look, it's still there, although some Ukrainian nationalists from time to time suggest removing it, the way that all the statues of Lenin and Stalin have been taken away and destroyed. I think the authorities realised that, while they might conceivably have removed this statue, they could not possibly remove all the other traces of Polish history from this city. Poles may be only a tiny proportion of its population today, perhaps no larger than the proportion of Ukrainians in Przemyśl. But all these recent immigrants, who include many Russians, must still realise that this wonderful urban landscape was the work of Poles.'



Figure 75: The Roman Catholic cathedral

'I know about this,' said Ania, 'my grandfather also came from here.' *'Most of the Polish population was deported in 1945 to the western parts of Poland'* said the Professor. *'Remarkably enough, many of the best Polish university staff were relocated in the city of Wrocław, which used to be the Prussian city of Breslau, and they managed to recreate some of their most successful departments at the new Polish university they established there.'*

'And did they leave statues of past German heroes undisturbed?' asked Ania. *The Professor was not sure and the comparison seemed to displease him. Ania whispered to another student: 'Remember what they did to that church recently in Przemyśl. That city also has a multicultural history, yet the Polish nationalists are determined to efface it. Thank heavens the people here seem to be a bit more generous.'* *Dr. Dylagowa overheard this and said that, in her view, the criticism of Poles was not fair. 'There are plenty of extreme nationalists here in Western Ukraine, many of them very anti-Polish. Fortunately, in a big city like L'viv it is possible for more tolerant voices to prevail. You should compare this place with Cracow or Warsaw, where the Polish authorities do their best to respect multiethnic histories, and not just with a smaller city like Przemyśl.'*



Figure 76: L'viv's culture of flowers

There was not much time to explore. Ania noticed some peasant women selling flowers, and she thought that both looked indistinguishable from their equivalents in Cracow. She would have liked to linger longer at the Greek Catholic cathedral church of Saint George, the opulent baroque style of which seemed so radically different from all the usual architectural forms of eastern Christianity. 'Of course, it is an example of how the Greek Catholics were subject to pressures from the west, what some anthropologists call acculturation,' said Dr. Dylagowa. 'Many members of this church have tried to fight these tendencies, to assert the purity of their authentic eastern forms of worship. This is the policy encouraged by the bishops and by the Pope himself, who does not want to be accused of weakening the eastern tradition. Others argue that it makes no sense to seek this original authenticity: they say that the Greek Catholics have evolved their own religious synthesis of east and west, and they should be able to continue this process of gradual change and accommodation, including the appropriation of whatever elements of western ecclesiastical culture that happen to attract them.' Before leaving this building they were treated to a choral concert, presumably the cathedral choir practising for the following day's services. The unaccompanied voices had an ethereal quality, utterly unlike the singing that Ania knew from the Polish churches she had attended in London.



Figure 77: St. George's Cathedral (Greek Catholic)

After an expensive formal tea in the Grand Hotel, the party set off back towards the border. At about the half way point they left the main road and followed Jarek across sparsely populated districts of forest and meadow to his home village. His parents were obviously relieved to see him and if they were surprised to have such a large party of unexpected visitors, they betrayed no sign of it. There was just enough daylight left for them to walk up the main street of this village. Jarek's father pointed to some disintegrating farm buildings. 'That was the collective farm they built after the Red Army took over, on the foundations of the old manor house. It's still the basis of our farming in this village. The old communist officials are still running the cooperative in much the same way they used to. I could never stomach it, myself. I worked for years as a mechanic in the Crimea and I've got contacts all around the Black Sea. I'm determined to start a business and leave something more substantial for my sons to inherit than a share in a moribund farm. Right now I've got a good network going for leather goods. Next year I want to expand into furs. I'd like to open a shop in Przemyśl. It would have to be in my cousin's name, for legal reasons, but of course we trust each other completely; and in this way I can get a foothold in the European market.' Ania found these aspirations quietly impressive.



Figure 78: Scene in Jarek's village.

He also showed them the Greek Catholic church. Ania noticed that a few graves were elaborately adorned with flags and national insignia. 'They were freedom fighters who lost their lives at the end of the last war. For fifty years we could not honour them, but these days it is possible and our priest makes sure that the village children tend these graves regularly.' The cemetery contained two separate enclosures with numerous statues and commemorative plaques, whereas all the other graves were marked only by headstones or simple crosses. 'That's where the landlords were buried. They were Polish, though all the people who worked for them were Ukrainian. My father told me how they sabotaged his harvest in 1930, and how some students even set fire to the manor. That's how it was here until the communists took over. It's no wonder people are afraid to take the plunge and become independent farmers now; the people here have never had any tradition of independence.' Ania wondered how he himself had come to acquire a different world view. Yet Jarek's father made it clear that he identified strongly with his community. He had donated some of the profits from his trading operations to pay for a new iconostasis in the church. 'Come and visit us again in two week's time for our patronal feast! The service takes about three hours, but then we recover by eating and drinking non-stop for at least six! And the singing is as beautiful as anything you can hear in the cathedral in Lviv.'

Jarek's mother had prepared a modest feast and vodka was produced, not in regular bottles but in several five litre containers. The Professor reminded Jarek that they had to be back at the border before midnight. 'My parents will be deeply hurt if you do not accept our hospitality,' smiled Jarek. 'You have plenty of time. First, I want to ask one favour of all of you. Please come to our store in the barn and try on some of our jackets. Each individual is allowed to wear one and carry a second across the border. Just leave them for me to collect at the youth hostel when I return to Przemyśl next week. That will be a major saving for us, and it won't cost you anything at all.'

Chapter 25-10: Border

It was five minutes to midnight when Dr. Dylagowa pulled up at the border crossing. Even she, the driver, had not been exempted entirely from the hospitality rituals. She had taken several wrong turns and was not feeling well. The Professor and most of the students were asleep in the minibus. Trying hard to overcome her nerves, she strode into the main building. The daytime crowds had dwindled. Rubbish was scattered everywhere and the smells were unpleasant. She looked for the official who had authorised their entry to Ukraine that morning, but he was nowhere to be seen.

A different man addressed her brusquely. She did not understand what he said but at once handed over the passports of the group. He flicked slowly through the pages of each single one until he found the fresh Ukrainian stamp. Then he disappeared, without a word. Dr. Dylagowa began to feel afraid. She tried to return to the vehicle to consult the Professor, but an armed guard prevented her from leaving the building. This was another model of power, one to which, even though she had grown up in a communist system, she had not been personally exposed before. Then the passport official reappeared, accompanied by another man in uniform, presumably his superior. They shouted across to the customs officials, and two or three came sauntering across. Dr. Dylagowa then led this party to the minibus where, with some difficulty, she woke her husband and their students. The customs officers seized all of the leather coats at once and proceeded to examine every other item of luggage in the minibus. Dissatisfied with what they found, they began to search underneath the vehicle and to strike it with hard wooden sticks. When the Professor protested he was very quickly silenced. Then the whole group was marched off to a small room in a building at the rear of the complex, where armed soldiers protected the sole entrance.

'They're going to dismantle the whole bus,' sighed the Professor

'But why?' asked his wife. 'We haven't done anything. If only Jarek had come back with us, I'm sure he would have known what to do. I wondered if I should have tried to offer a bribe, but I was too scared it might just make matters worse.'

'Just don't worry,' said the Professor. 'Now you'll really have something to write in your journals. Perhaps I'll draft an article myself for 'Transnational Anthropology' - after all, what location could be more transnational than this one?' But shortly after he said this, all their journals were collected and taken away by yet another official. By now the effects of the vodka were beginning to wear off. There was no room to sleep and everyone was exhausted and cold. The Professor tried to keep spirits up. He related lots of anecdotes from his own and other people's field research, including a few stories that showed Malinowski in a very dubious light. When Ania asked about the source of these scurrilous tales, the Professor said that they came partly from Malinowski's own diary, which had been published in 1967, though he had certainly never intended that it should be.

The Professor suggested that they while away the night with a debate about the concept of culture. His wife argued that, by invoking cultural differences, anthropologists had been able to counter those who wished to explain human diversity on racial grounds. It was crucial, she said, to preserve diversity in the face of globalisation. The Professor agreed that this was valuable but

suggested that nowadays the term 'culture' was itself being used as 'race' had been in the past - except when it was being used in quite vacuous ways, to describe business enterprises, new fashions, or fads of political correctness. He invited the students to compare the generally positive way in which people used the concept of 'tradition' with the generally negative way in which they talked of 'post-communist nostalgia'. 'Can we deny that communism, too, developed the force of a tradition? We are experiencing a part of that right now, at this border post; but it also contained more attractive elements.' His wife protested: 'Surely there is a difference between a regime imposed by the military force of the former Soviet Union and, say, the traditions we associate with the province of Galicia, which date back a thousand years or more?'

'It's true,' said the Professor, 'that the name Galicia refers to a medieval Kingdom in this region. But that disappeared in the fourteenth century. The name was reinvented in the late eighteenth century, as part of the strategy of the Austrian Habsburgs to present themselves as the legitimate rulers of this territory. It became part of their mythology, if you like. You see, there is no such thing as a 'natural' Galician tradition, just a word that foreign powerholders found convenient to manipulate.'

'Would you say the same about 'Polish' and 'Ukrainian?' asked one of the students. *'Are they also to be seen as false traditions?'*

'Well,' said the Professor, 'I don't want to argue that any traditions per se are false. Some may be based on understandings of the past that an historian might say were false, some might be based on values that I dislike, but as an anthropologist my starting point is to respect any tradition to which people are deeply attached, which gives them some sort of collective identity. It's clear today that the terms Polish and Ukrainian attract far stronger emotional loyalty than Galicia has ever done. But that need not prevent me from noting the historical evidence which shows that the mass acceptance of Polish and Ukrainian national identities is a very recent phenomenon.'

After this it was difficult to bring the discussion back to the concept of culture. The Professor suggested that anthropology did not need such a 'master concept' at all. Eventually it was agreed to put the following five options to a vote:

- a) Culture*
- b) Society*
- c) Custom*
- d) Tradition*
- e) No master concept at all.*

Each of these options obtained an equal number of votes from the students. The Professor smiled, 'We'll just have to leave it at that, or else leave the final word to Tom. It's no good inviting your teachers to exercise a casting vote on this issue.'

Ania found herself looking at them both in a somewhat different way. She would never warm to Professor Dylag, but in the course of this field trip she felt she had begun to understand him better as a human being. His teaching seemed always to lead to the conclusion that all social life was incredibly complex and we should therefore be extremely cautious before we rush to pronounce judgement on any part of it, even parts we think we know well. This had often struck her as evasive, but it was beginning to seem like the only reasonable starting point.

At 6.00 am. the Professor was summoned to meet the commanding officer. He returned a half an hour later to report that all was well again. 'The officer spoke Polish. He apologised for our long delay, but the stamp in our passports was decidedly irregular. Moreover, they had received a tip-off the previous day concerning drug trafficking, which they were obliged to take seriously. That's why they had to take our bus apart. We are free to leave, though they insist on keeping the vehicle for further tests. There'll be room for us on the regular Przemyśl-L'viv bus service, leaving in an hour.

Dr. Dylagowa suspected corruption. 'How much did you have to pay them?' she asked through clenched teeth.

The Professor ignored her. 'The commanding officer has meanwhile invited us all to the cafeteria for breakfast,' he said. 'And it's on the house!'

The hot tea and fresh bread were very welcome. Everyone groaned when vodka was produced, but once again there was no escaping their social obligations. The commanding officer proposed a toast to the summer school, and a second toast to the discipline of social anthropology, of which he had not previously heard. In obvious good spirits, he instructed his customs staff to return the leather coats that had been taken in the night. Cameras too were returned. The party was finally allowed to proceed to Przemyśl with body and soul just about intact. Apart from the minibus, only one item was retained at the border. 'I'm sure you will understand, we need a little more time to examine the contents of all these so-called journals. From what you tell me, this subject of social anthropology is entirely harmless. You even make it sound like quite an interesting pursuit. However, I really must give our security staff a chance to check all these handwritten materials, to make sure it is all as innocent as you say. If all goes well, you will be able to reclaim them by writing to our Ministry of the Interior in Kiev, but I should warn you, the process is likely to take at least six months.'



Figure 79: Leaving the border



Figure 80: Roadside advertisements: return to the magic of capitalism

Chapter 25-11: Assumption

Back at the youth hostel it was not long before they began to cheer up. Tom was waiting for Ania with a red rose in his hand and an expression of childlike excitement on his face. He listened patiently as she explained the events of the last twenty-four hours. 'Incredible,' he murmured, somewhat perfunctorily. 'Definitely no master concept needed,' he said firmly, when she told him about their inconclusive nocturnal debate. 'Now go and take a shower. You and me, and the Prof. and Dr. Dylagowa are all invited to my uncle's for lunch. First we've got to show our faces at the church, and celebrate the holiday. Today is the feast of the Assumption, one of the biggest Catholic feasts of the year in this city, and a national holiday. It's also Army Day, when we celebrate our defeat of the Bolsheviks in 1920. Of course the communists moved the occasion to another month altogether, but after 1990 it was soon moved back again. We also celebrate our main harvest festival today. Virtually the whole city is already out on the streets. And then, boy, is my family in for a surprise at lunchtime!'



Figure 81: Procession and open-air mass in Przemysl (photos courtesy of Stanislaw Stepien)

Ania was intrigued, but Tom would not say more about what lay in store for his family. After mass they took photos of secular ceremonies and military parades. Wlodek told Tom and Ania that the Greek Catholics had their own public procession on the occasion of the Epiphany celebrations, on 19 January. Traditionally, the Roman Catholic bishop would join our procession, which we call Jordan after the River Jordan, and our bishop would return the compliment by joining the Roman Catholic procession on Corpus Christi day. 'Of course that's how it should be, Catholics respecting each other's ritual calendars. But the previous Roman Catholic archbishop would never join in our procession. Even now very few of the ordinary Roman Catholic clergy encourage their people to take part in our rituals. Their identity as nationalists is stronger than their commitment to good ecumenical relations. And these attitudes don't just create poisonous political tensions in the city, they mess up people's personal lives as well.'

His last sentence lingered in their minds throughout lunch. Wlodek went home to his parents, Maria looked anxious throughout the holiday meal, Tom seemed nervous and impatient. When the last plates were removed the Professor delivered a short speech of thanks, which Ania found

altogether pompous. When the conversation reached a natural pause, Ania thought, 'right, that's it, it's time to get up and return to Cracow.' Then Maria quietly asked Tom to explain what they had found in the archives the previous day. He was momentarily taken aback. He looked at her father, beaming between his academic guests at the head of the table, and then at her mother and grandmother, who had already left the table in order to continue with their knitting in more comfortable chairs. Then he answered as follows:

'OK. Our teachers' - he nodded towards the Professor and Dr. Dylagowa - 'have encouraged us all summer to be adventurous, to apply the ideas that we learn in the context of one branch of theorising, or one part of the world, to other branches and other parts. A couple of weeks ago we heard about an anthropologist called Mary Douglas. She is faithful to Roman Catholicism as well as to the Durkheimian strand in social science. Above all, she is interested in what holds society together. One of her main contributions has been to emphasise the special attention that is given to the things that fall outside the standard classification schemes - these things are often seen as abominations and exceptionally polluting, or they may, like the pangolin in Central Africa, be ascribed a privileged mediator's role on the basis of their peculiar characteristics. To be honest, all of that stuff floated right past me in the lecture.' The Professor allowed himself a faint smile, as Tom continued. 'But then we came on this fieldtrip, we attended the Lemko Festival and talked to some of the villagers up there. We came here to Przemyśl and, even though I've been visiting you regularly since I was at grade school, I heard for the first time about the conflict over the Carmelite church, and what it feels like to be a Ukrainian in this city. Hasn't anyone in anthropology thought about applying Mary Douglas's ideas to ethnic categorisations? Surely this helps us to understand the situation here. For Poles, the Greek Catholics are an anomaly! They are people who claim to be Catholics and they honour the same Pope, even though he's a Pole. Yet they hold their services in Ukrainian, they allow their priests to marry (but not their bishops!), they celebrate all the holidays that we do, only two weeks later. And so on! My theory is that the Polish population of this city still has trouble coming to terms with the fact that it now constitutes about 98% of the total population, whereas until the middle of the last century it shared the space with Ukrainians and Jews. It might not be so bad if the four hundred or so Ukrainian families were Orthodox, for then we would have a clear division. We could link the minority decisively to the east, to Russia, to all our historic enemies. But no, we can't do that, because of this peculiar historical hybrid that's existed in this region since 1596, the Greek Catholic Church. We can't forgive them for coming so close, and spoiling our nice tidy classification of east and west down the centre of Europe.

Our teachers also told us, in the tradition of Malinowski, to try to see how the various dimensions of a society fit together - or perhaps I mean a culture, I'm still not quite sure about that one. They obviously don't all fit together harmoniously. This city needs the Ukrainians economically and allows them to the bazaar, but at the same time its leaders try to minimise their presence, to banish all reminders that Ukrainians were a large presence here in the past, an integral part of the city. But the dimension on which I want to focus, and I promise it won't take long, is the dimension of kinship. That's what Maria and I were investigating in the archives all day yesterday. That's what I want to tell you all now!'



Figure 82: Tom at work in the State Archives

No one dared to interrupt this flow. Both ladies had set aside their knitting. Maria's father filled small vodka glasses for himself and the Professor. Dr. Dylagowa declined. Maria was red and very tense.

'I asked for the books from that particular village because I remember my grandfather telling me the name. This was the village where his father had been born and raised, before his emigration to the United States in 1912. Of course it was a Roman Catholic village. What I didn't know until now is that most of other villages in the district were Greek Catholic. And they intermarried! It looks absolutely clear that the mother of my great grandfather was, at least by birth, a Greek Catholic from Y, that is to say, a Ukrainian and not a Pole. That means, Uncle,' - he looked across at Maria's father - 'that the mother of your father's father was Ukrainian. So Maria, too, has got Ukrainian blood in her - one sixteenth, to be precise. So how in heaven's name can you be so opposed to her relationship with Wlodek, just because you categorise him as a Ukrainian?

But that's not the end of it. Is Wlodek really a Ukrainian? This may come as a shock to you, but our research yesterday in the archive shows that Wlodek is related to all of us. He is our cousin, though relatively far removed. One of his great great grandmothers was almost certainly a sister of the great great grandfather that Maria and I have in common; but of course that lady moved from X to Y, a Ukrainian village. Later the family moved to this city, and the memory of that generation, before the First World War, when intermarriage was thoroughly routine, has died out.'

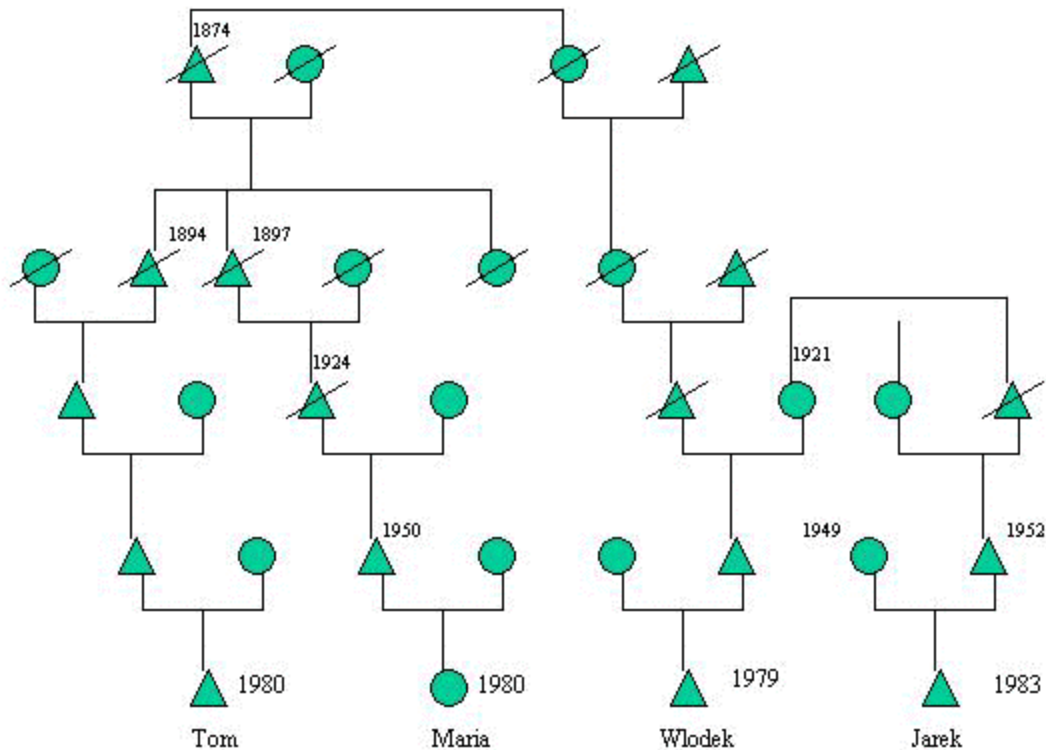


Figure 83: Tom's Diagram

Before Tom's Uncle could say anything, his mother spoke up from the corner. 'No, no, it's not died out,' she said. 'I wanted to explain all this to you years ago, but my son refused. Now it's time to bring everything out into the open. I was born in 1924, the same year as my late husband. I can remember how the Greek Catholics celebrated their Jordan rituals on the frozen river before Hitler's war. I don't remember it as an observer from a distance, but as a young girl in the crowd. For I was from a Greek Catholic family, and I didn't become a Roman Catholic until 1947, and then only because it was the only way to avoid deportation. Most of my own family had already been taken off to the Ukraine in 1945. I was already engaged, that's why I stayed. My husband made me promise that I would become Polish, that we would bring up our children as good Roman Catholic Poles. And I kept this promise. I never had any more contact with my family, though I thought about them often. I kept my promise because I was afraid that it would do no good to open up all those awful events from our past.'

The old lady paused, but there were no tears. Ania thought she looked angry with her son. She continued, 'Your father was so angry when you told him that you wanted to marry your school sweetheart, the pretty girl from K. You thought he was being unreasonable, but he did have his reasons. Did he ever talk to you about them?'

Tom's uncle jabbed his vodka glass sharply onto the table and addressed his mother. 'No, he didn't tell me anything, he didn't have to tell me. Do you really think I didn't know that you were Ukrainian? Whenever I quarrelled with anyone as a schoolkid, or disagreed with one of the bosses at the factory, your background was the very first thing they flung in my face! And do you

really think I don't know about what happened in K, where the entire village converted from Greek Catholic to Roman Catholic, because it was the only way they could carry on living in their homes? It's true, I didn't know this at first, when we met at school. You don't consider the group labels when you're in love with an individual, a person, and her parents didn't know how to tell me when I was first taken home to meet them. I only put two and two together when I heard some older people talking in Ukrainian on the bus back to the city.'

By now his wife's face was full of tears. She was unable to utter a word. Maria was stunned. She turned on her father: 'So you went ahead and married the Ukrainian you loved, but just like Grandma, you would both pretend to be one hundred percent Polish! And when I happen to do just what you did, and fall in love with someone at school, you behave just as your father did and tell me to end the relationship. But times have changed, dad. We can talk about these things nowadays, there's no need to go on seeing every Ukrainian as a source of danger, as a threat to our Polish society.'

'Times may have changed,' her father agreed, 'but I wouldn't say for the better. You know what's been happening here since the communist lid was removed. Look at all the passionate hatred that some people here direct to the Ukrainians. I've never gone along with any of that, as you know, but I just don't want my family to be caught up with it. That's the only reason why I've never talked to you about all this, because I don't want you to become a victim of the tensions here. We are all the same before God, Roman Catholic or Greek Catholic, it doesn't matter, but why should we expose those we love most to unnecessary dangers?'

His wife choked agreement. 'Do you know how difficult it's been for me over the years? Most of my relatives in the village are talking about going back to the Greek Catholics, on the grounds that it's their traditional church, which they only left because of the dreadful political circumstances of the 1940s. I knew you would find out about all this sooner or later.'

Ania coughed as politely as she could: 'Wouldn't it be possible to join the Greek Catholic Church and continue to see yourselves as Poles in a general cultural sense? I mean, you'd carry on living here and using the Polish language in everyday life.' Dr. Dylagowa nodded approvingly as the question was put.

'That's out of the question,' said Maria's father as he poured some more vodka. 'A decision to join the Greek Catholics is a public declaration that you feel yourself to be Ukrainian rather than Polish. That's the way it is here.'

'It may be like that now,' said the Professor, but I don't think it was like that a hundred years ago, when these villages were part of multiethnic East Galicia. I think in those days there were plenty of villages where Greek Catholics spoke Polish, and even some where Roman Catholics spoke Ukrainian. It was nationalist pressure, both Polish and Ukrainian, which eventually succeeded in bringing religion and national orientation perfectly into line.'

Dr. Dylagowa chimed in at this point. 'Yes, and sorry Tom, but that's why it's pointless to talk about people having 'one sixteenth Ukrainian blood' as you said of Maria a few minutes ago. From what we have just been told, you might wish to revise this estimate. Indeed, if we copy out her family tree she seems to be more Ukrainian than Polish. But what do these labels mean? It's perfectly possible that the families of these ladies here, who we are now reclassifying as

Ukrainian, had inmarrying Poles in their earlier genealogies. I really think we should leave the business of determining identity by blood composition to that rather unpleasant phase in the history of anthropology when the discipline was put to serve the criminal objectives of the Nazis.'

The discussion continued for some time. There was general agreement on how majority-minority relations in Przemysl might be improved in the future. The Professor wanted to discuss whether any lessons could be learned for other parts of the country, or even for other parts of the world, wherever people asserted 'cultural differences' as their basis for negative stereotypes and violence. Eventually the ladies made some more tea and resumed their knitting. Maria looked at her father and said, 'I'm off to meet Wlodek now.'

'Of course,' he replied.

Dr. Dylagowa looked at her watch: 'I'm afraid we need much more research to shed light on all these matters and we can't possibly solve them all today. Our students have to take the train back to Cracow this evening. Thank you so much for your marvellous hospitality!'

PART SEVEN: CONCLUSION

Chapter 26: Anthropological Education

DD: Our fieldtrip and all the other assignments that we have suggested during this summer school should have helped you to understand what we mean when we say that social anthropology aims to be holistic. Of course it would be possible to devise a project in any of the villages and towns that we visited last week which concentrated on, just one aspect of those communities. But I think we saw, perhaps most clearly during our interviews at the bazar in Przemysl, how economic decisions can have complex motivations and need to be understood in their cultural context. We need knowledge of economic trends to understand continuing peasant grievances. We need knowledge of the history of ethnic relations in the region to understand why some Lemkos feel aggrieved about the loss of their forest rights.

Or you might choose to explore further the rich symbolism of Polish Catholicism. That symbolism has been modified over time and the Church as an institution is in quite a different situation nowadays from that in which it found itself under communism. A study of its symbols and rituals is bound to reflect these wider social changes, at any rate if it concerns itself with how these are now practised and understood by Polish people. It is possible to imagine an investigation, perhaps one that aimed to find the deeper logic of these symbols, that did not depend on fieldwork at all, since all the data could readily be accessed in books or even from the internet. But that would not be a social anthropological study, as we define the discipline.

ETD: Holism is easier asserted than practised, and even Bronio never managed to write a single synthesising study to spell out all the connections that mattered in the case of the Trobriand Islanders . . .

The deeper problem I have with holistic approaches is that they oblige us to focus on bounded units, for only in this way, by defining a bounded whole, can we proceed to show how all the parts either fit together or become entangled in relations of contradiction or whatever. The holistic approach leads us too easily into the trap of Bronio's strong notion of culture. It wasn't only the Trobrianders who were 'a culture'. He applied the same model of the world to his native Poland and to Central Europe generally. In fact, this is where his concept of culture came from in the first place. But was there in his lifetime a unique Polish culture to which all speakers of Polish belonged and with which they identified? The evidence we gathered in Galicia last week suggested that the distinctiveness is actually rather new, that in the nineteenth century the Polish speaking peasant and the Ukrainian speaking peasant had far more in common culturally than either could ever share with a university intellectual from Cracow. Bronio was careful to distinguish his cultural nationalism from any form of political nationalism, but it seems to me that even cultural nationalism should be highly suspect. It accepts the nationalist's basic assumption, whereas I think this is what anthropology should be challenging . . .

DD: Let me move on to address a question that has come up indirectly at many points over the last few weeks. Is anthropology of any *use* to the world? Can anthropological knowledge be *applied*? This is a question we hear not only from our students but also, for example, from members of our own families, especially those who grow crops and raise animals in the

countryside. We have been asked the same question by senior officials in a number of Ministries, including the Ministry of Education. At first, we thought they were out to eradicate us from the university syllabus, as part of their latest cost-cutting drive. It turned out, however, that they really did want our advice on a proposal to introduce social anthropology to the secondary school curriculum in our country. The intention was to add a more international and multicultural dimension than was covered by existing school subjects, such as history and 'civics', which confined themselves overwhelmingly to Poland and selected strands of European history. As sometimes happens, even in the best of marriages, we could not quite agree on our response, and so, in the end, we submitted separate reports.

My report emphasised the achievements of applied anthropology. The first part drew on my collaboration with officials responsible for the Aid and Development Program, to advise them on how best to take local cultural conditions into account in the design and implementation of development projects. Inputs from an anthropologist who has specific local knowledge are essential if interventions are to succeed. Even an anthropologist who, though not knowing much about the particular location, has experience from other, similar interventions, really can make a difference. Anthropological knowledge is not a substitute for the precise technical skills of engineers, soil scientists etc. but it can facilitate the optimum deployment, or we might say the 'translation' of this scientific knowledge. It can also help outside 'experts' to appreciate local knowledge, not only for solving 'technical' problems in the local environment but also for its own sake, as a cultural value. In these very concrete ways, anthropological knowledge may be useful.

The basic point does not apply only to remote places with traditions very different from our own but also here in Central Europe. Anthropological enquiries in our own society can also make a positive contribution. For example, work on the new minorities taking shape in our big cities might help to ensure better inter-cultural understanding than has been achieved so far in Britain, France and Germany. In the rural context, anthropological work could be highly relevant to the decisions taken in Brussels on European farm policy, or at least to the mitigating of their effects for millions of Polish peasants.

Happily, it seems that recognition of the usefulness of anthropology in this sense has increased more or less continuously since Bronio made the case for 'applied anthropology' in the 1920s. Nowadays many anthropologists are employed by governmental and international bodies such as the World Bank. Their expertise in sensitive observation can also be focused on bureaucratic organisations, including those which employ them. This can both extend our knowledge of how such institutions work and increase their efficiency. It follows that to invest in anthropological expertise may be a smart decision for a rational profit-maximising corporation as well as for governments and non-governmental organisations.

We have also been approached by officials of our Foreign Ministry in a rather different context. They wanted us to advise them on the causes and the motivations behind some very painful conflicts that took place not long ago, in a region not so very far away from here. Bronio believed that warfare was yet another field to which the anthropologist might make a distinctive contribution. Where he spoke of nationality conflicts we are likely nowadays to speak of 'ethnic cleansing', but the patterns of behaviour have not changed so much. Anthropologists can help to explain this behaviour, not as something biologically inherent in human nature, but as a variable that depends crucially on the use of myths and symbols. They can point out the contingent nature

of the groups that engage in violent conflict and their long-term interdependencies with their opponents. This is very important at times when the groups own representations emphasise the opposite. Please note that in cases such as this I fully accept the need to go beyond the 'local model'.

Our Galician field trip showed that we Poles need to learn from our history, above all, from our failure to resolve our conflicts with our own immediate neighbours. I argue that cultural minorities, not necessarily defined as ethnic, are being formed all the time, and they very often correspond to inequalities of social class. Anthropological observers of these processes can illuminate the symbols people use to maintain their group boundaries. Such analyses, if the results are properly communicated, can make a contribution to mutual understanding and tolerance. This was the basis on which I proposed adding social anthropology to the school curriculum, as a way of disseminating these ideals among all our citizens in their formative years. I am still waiting for a decision on my proposal from the Ministry.

ETD: I have doubts about this educational agenda and so I prepared an independent report for the Ministry. I do of course share my good wife's ideals, and I too would like to see more social equality as well as more mutual understanding and tolerance in the world; but when it comes to the school curriculum I worry about sending contradictory measures and over-simplifying the issues. Most applications of anthropological knowledge involve simplification. The consultant who prepares a report on a so-called development project usually has to gloss over at least some elements of the internal diversity among the people affected by the project. Such simplification may be justified if it leads to outcomes that all observers may agree are better than those which would occur without any anthropological input, but I think many schoolchildren might wonder why anthropologists favour intervention at all. They are young and idealistic, and most associate anthropology with the study of human diversity. It will confuse pupils if they are taught that anthropologists are actively engaged in efforts to 'modernise' and 'develop' people in remote parts of the world – in other words, to make them more like ourselves. Indeed, whatever Bronio may have written about the importance of 'applied anthropology', I don't really think his heart was in it. In their heart of hearts, most social anthropologists want to keep people different, not make them more like each other.

Anthropological expertise is increasingly expected to contribute to 'inter-cultural understanding' between migrant groups in large cities, or to explain 'ethnic conflicts' wherever they occur. In these cases the emphasis is placed on differences. The danger once again is that we shall end up reinforcing the view that most pupils in this country have acquired long before they reach secondary school, namely that the world is made up of 'thing-like' cultures, the dominant one in this country being that which we call Polish. The question is: can we hope to educate schoolchildren away from the notion of culture as a thing, with sharp boundaries, towards the notion of culture as a process, with boundaries that are always fuzzy and permeable? At your age, as university students, particularly those of you who have travelled a lot, we expect you to be capable of questioning the 'reified' notion of culture, though no one who is brought up with such a view of the world finds it easy to be rid of its influence. Perhaps the time will come when Polish schoolchildren grow up with different notions of identity from those which predominate today; but until then, I am reluctant to argue for the introduction of a general social anthropology program into our secondary schools.

What I proposed instead to the authorities in the Ministry was adding an anthropology component to the teaching of religion or contemporary history. Specifically, I suggested that the most decisive change in our lifetime had been the end of a long experiment with a novel world religion, namely communism. I proposed that the Polish case be compared with others in this region, and also world-wide. I remain convinced that the rise and fall of communism was a cycle of great evolutionary significance for the whole world and not just for those Eurasian countries which experienced the movement most directly. It is surely worth exploring what light anthropology can shed on momentous events in the recent history of one's own country. I probably made a mistake, however, in suggesting that communism as an ideology could be fruitfully compared with Roman Catholicism and nationalism. That must have been a bit too much for the officials in the Ministry, who turned down my proposals rather brusquely.

DD: We are poles apart on these educational issues! Professor, you are deliberately distorting the way I am using the concept of culture. Of course I don't see cultures corresponding neatly to nations and territories. I made it quite clear that I am interested in all kinds of cultural diversity, not only the sort that we call ethnic. Ethnic and national groups are very important forms of identity in the contemporary world, but they are still no more than a subset of culture.

Behind the Professor's worries about oversimplification I'm afraid I see an old-fashioned élitism. Perhaps he acquired this from his teachers in Britain, where there has always been some reluctance to see the discipline expand and find its place in the modern world. Those who disapprove of anthropologists working in development agencies and business enterprises will also disapprove of teaching anthropology to schoolchildren. This was one of the reasons why so many British social anthropologists came from the upper social classes. Pupils in ordinary state schools were simply never given a chance to discover the discipline.

It seems to me that anthropology must be brought into the school curriculum if we are to transcend the limits of national and European-centred thinking. Moreover there is a demand for it among our schoolchildren: they are eager to find out more about the cultural diversity of this planet. At the moment, Bronislaw Malinowski is almost unknown to Polish schoolchildren. Yet his work alone could provide an immensely stimulating introduction to the discipline. I think that introducing anthropology into schools can play a positive role in changing those deep-seated attitudes which, we both agree, pose a problem that is by no means restricted to Poland. Why sit back and wait for attitudes to change, when active anthropological education program could help to promote tolerance and understanding right now? Secondary school pupils are quite capable of grasping the complexity of the world in which they live, and anthropologists can give them useful tools and a range of challenging data from other places that can help them to understand their own society better.

The basic course I should like to teach would be called 'Cultural Differences and Human Rights'. The purpose would be to emphasise the diversity of human cultures and to show that, in every field of activity we care to look at, there are exciting alternatives to Polish and European traditions. We should encourage the pupils to join international organisations to promote cultural pluralism and to protect the rights of cultural minorities everywhere. Intellectuals have shirked their social responsibilities for too long.

ETD: I think these points are all very valuable. However, I worry that this will lead to exaggerated attention being paid to the exotic, to romantic notions of primitive folk at home with nature. It can be counterproductive to mix scholarly and political commitments. Professors have seldom made good politicians. Human rights activists usually began as critics of all forms of state power, but many are increasingly ready to approve of large states intervening in the affairs of smaller ones if this seems to be justified on 'humanitarian' grounds. Having for so long opposed Soviet domination in this country and the rest of Eastern Europe, I don't think it's consistent if we now accept American domination, especially if this takes military forms. Recall the views you heard expressed last week by the Lemko museum curator . . .

Unfortunately we are running out of time. Does anyone have any last questions?

Ania: You, Professor, have advised us to acquire field experience in an 'unfamiliar' setting before attempting to work as an anthropologist in our own societies. Given our backgrounds in western Europe and America, do you think Poland qualifies as 'unfamiliar' in this sense?

ETD: (Pause) In many ways, yes. I hope you have noticed that we still do quite a lot of things rather differently in this 'old Slavonic city', as Malinowski described it. The differences may be fewer than they were in his day, but they are likely to remain significant for a long time to come. Your experience this summer does not, however, qualify you as anthropological fieldworkers. By requiring you to live in an international dormitory and to attend these classes, have made it impossible for you to live as an anthropologist should, integrated into the local society. You would need to stay much longer and go much deeper into some particular social context to be able to write a satisfying ethnography. There is no way in which you could achieve this depth in the course of our summer school, but all the same we hope that your assignments and trips have given you some inkling of what it is like to do fieldwork.

Assignment

We are pleased to invite you, on this last evening of the summer school, to join all the other classes in a ceremony to commemorate the 600th anniversary of the refounding of the Jagiellonian University. The Rector will make a speech in the Philharmonic Hall, and after he has spoken our Dean will present you with your certificates. As you know, the Malinowski Prize is awarded to the student who submits the best journal, the student we judge to have been the most conscientious and imaginative in carrying out all the small assignments that we have given you during the last six weeks. This year we have a problem. We cannot collect your journals today for scrutiny, as we have done in past years, because they are currently being scrutinised by Ukrainian security police! There is of course one exception. Tom did not accompany us on that memorable excursion last Saturday. We have inspected his journal and found that it reaches a high standard. For his initiative and thoroughness, particularly in his archival work, we have agreed to recommend him for the Prize, which will be presented by the Dean. We would like you, however, for the sake of the summer school's future, not to divulge too much to the Dean about all your experiences last week. Please do not in any circumstances mention the minibus.



Figure 84: Tom receives the Malinowski prize from the Dean (photo courtesy of Tilo Grätz)

EPILOGUE

It is time to take leave of Ania, Tom, Maria, Wlodek, Marek and Jarek. The minibus was eventually returned, but unfortunately the confiscated journals were never recovered from the Ukrainian authorities, so Tom's is the only surviving documentary evidence. He has asserted his intellectual property rights and refused permission for quotation. We have no reliable information about their further personal histories, but we can imagine the following alternatives from a vantage point towards 2020

Variant One:

Wlodek joined Maria permanently in Cracow after obtaining a place to study Ethnologia at the Jagiellonian University and follow up his passionate interest in the mythology of the Slavic peoples. Maria abandoned her economics course in favour of sociology. After a further year she was able to specialise in socio-cultural anthropology, and some of her classes were shared with Wlodek at the Ethnology Institute. They married soon after graduation and succeeded in obtaining scholarships for postgraduate research in Ukraine. Jarek, whose business flourished, was a great source of help to them at this time.

They eventually returned to Przemyśl, he to work at the county museum and she with a post at the city development office. The regional economy boomed after Ukraine was admitted to the European Union. Maria and Wlodek had a new house built on the east bank of the San and brought up their children bilingually and bidenominationally. Michal was baptised in the Greek Catholic cathedral, while Olga followed her mother as a Roman Catholic. Both religious calendars are observed in their home. The family was delighted when, after years of campaigning, the city council agreed to recognise the major religious holidays of the minority denomination as official public holidays. Indeed, this Przemyśl case established a precedent later successfully followed by many other minority communities all over Europe.

Tom and Ania completed the courses for which they were registered and then they too chose social anthropology for graduate work. His project took him, as part of an interdisciplinary team, to Amazonia; and the experience he gained here led in turn to a series of posts with non-governmental organisations working in that region, where he occasionally ran into Marek, a dedicated campaigner for the land rights of indigenous peoples. Ania laid the foundations of her successful academic career with fieldwork in Poland, in a village not far from the one in which she had felt so uncomfortable during the summer school fieldtrip; it might even have been the same village. She uncovered many surprising details of social life, details which showed how most (but not all) villagers were at home in their world in a sense which they evaluated positively, even though they were still very poor in terms of money incomes. She benefited greatly from having Prof. Dylag as her supervisor and from remaining in touch with Tom. Later they carried out several projects together. To the disappointment of their families, they never married, but eventually they bought a house jointly in west London. They visit Poland most summers and often cross into Ukraine, since all border controls have vanished from this region. Their children speak good Polish, thanks largely to their close contacts with Michal and Olga in Przemyśl. They particularly enjoy their visits to Uncle Jarek's shop in the city centre, since he invariably spoils them with a treat.

Variant Two:

Maria was refused permission to change her course. After graduation she went to work in the capital and became a highly successful advertising manager with a multinational company that had identified a demand in Poland for more modern and internationally popular foods. Wlodek could not afford to take up the place he was offered at the Jagiellonian University shortly after its privatisation and eventually he returned to live with his parents in Przemysl. When the authorities, following Poland's entry into the European Union, advertised for additional customs and security officers to work along the eastern border, his application was at first turned down. His knowledge of Ukrainian, which he had thought would be an asset in the border work, in fact made the Polish authorities suspicious. Eventually he obtained a post in the Armed Border Defence unit. Marek, who had given up his legal studies and taken out Polish citizenship, was his dynamic Commanding Officer. Wlodek resigned not long afterwards, when his unit was involved in several notorious cases, including the slaughter of seven Ukrainians thought to be attempting to enter the European Union illegally. Jarek and the wife he had just married were among the dead. After this incident, Wlodek worked as an unpaid volunteer in the Greek Catholic parish. Like the other members of this minority, he stoically endured the taunts of unemployed Polish youths in his neighbourhood.

As for Tom and Ania, they obtained respectable degrees and moved into secure office jobs in their native cities. They married compatriots and had children, who were cared for by foreign nannies. They sometimes send each other Christmas cards, but it is a long time since either of them visited Poland. Their children, all monoglot English speakers, insist on holidaying elsewhere.

Further Reading

Tom and Ania both felt that they could have prepared better for their summer school. They now agree with their teachers that fieldwork should not be attempted before one has done some background reading on the history of a region and the cultural traditions of its people. Many suggestions for further reading in anthropology are given at the end of my book. There is not a great deal available in the English language on Malinowski's life (though Michael Young is preparing a full biographical study) or on Cracow and Galicia. English speakers can subscribe to an email discussion list on the city at www.eGroups.com/group/krakow-now. The following books give more detail on various central themes:

I. Bartal and A. Polonsky (eds:) *Focusing on Galicia: Jews, Poles and Ukrainians 1772-1918*. Volume 12 in the series, *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry* (London and Portland: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization 1999)

E. Duda *The Jews of Cracow* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Hagada and Argona-Jarden Jewish Bookshop, 1999)

C. Nagengast *Reluctant Socialists, Rural Entrepreneurs, Class, Culture and the Polish State* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1991)

C. M. Hann *A Village without Solidarity; Polish peasants in years of crisis* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985)

R. Ellen, E. Gellner, G. Kubica and J. Mucha (eds.) *Malinowski Between Two Worlds; the Polish roots of an anthropological tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). (See especially the chapter by Raymond Firth, Malinowski's most distinguished student.)

Malinowski Witkacy (Catalogue of Exhibition described in chapter 2) published as special issue of the journal *Konteksty* Vol. LIV, Ns. 1-4, 2000

P. R. Magocsi *Of the Making of Nationalities There is No End* (New York: East European Monographs DXL, 1999, 2 Volumes, 1999)

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