

Urban Space
and Changing
Historical Culture



HISTORICITY

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HISTORICITY: URBAN SPACE AND CHANGING HISTORICAL CULTURE

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Julie Buckler (Harvard University, Cambridge, MA)

**URBAN STUDIES AND URBAN HUMANITIES:
RECONCEPTUALIZING THE FIELD FOR AN INTERDISCIPLINARY DIGITAL AGE**

No discipline owns “the urban,” and no methodology or way of understanding can encompass it. Collectively, we now understand “the urban” to be a site of continual transformation in response to scientific and cultural innovation, physical change, and social mobilities, among many other dynamic influences. How can we re-conceptualize urban studies by integrating disciplines, building on emergent ways of thinking, and transcending the specificities of time and place, while also drawing upon the case-study and comparative possibilities that individual cities offer?

What can the emerging paradigm of “urban humanities” bring to this common project? Urban humanities includes artistic representations of the urban, cultural history, cultural memory and heritage politics, the cultural sector, symbolic sites, urban languages and identities. Humanists investigate how urban “narratives” are produced and what kinds of work such narratives do in the world. We are interpreters of textual, visual, and material forms of urban cultural production, including cultural landscapes. We have particular methodologies for producing “thick descriptions” of urban textures and for investigating how specific urban histories and historical elements of the built environment shape the present. Urban humanities brings cultural and historical depth to issues of policy and design, and the relatively new field of “public humanities” actively seeks civic engagement.

In addition, the “spatial turn” in the humanities has brought a re-theorization of cultural space, and has simultaneously brought geo-spatial and geo-temporal data science tools to digital and spatial humanities projects, as we look to environmental design’s methods for analyzing the urban as a three-dimensional field. “Mapping” offers a central interdisciplinary and inter-medial framing concept for re-conceptualizing, investigating, and visualizing urban studies research problems, as well as a method, a medium, and a metaphor.

Finally, urban humanities now works within material environments “on the ground,” producing primary cultural-historical, contemporary, and spatial research through urban field work – observation, interviews, photography, film, and soundscape analysis. We are developing new and creative forms of “output,” including diverse visualizations, simulations, digital platforms and research portals, as well as hybrid forms of scholarship and publication models. This paper will survey a number of current urban studies projects that exemplify these new and promising trends.

Ewa Bérard (CNRS-ENS, Paris)

**URBAN HERITAGE OR HISTORICAL MONUMENT:
CONFLICTING URBAN CULTURES?**

What to preserve: old urban fabric or isolated artistic and historical monuments? From the beginning of the 19th century on, two distinctive approaches came to the fore: Victor Hugo’s vision of the city fabric highlighted by exceptional monuments and John Ruskin’s concern for common urban constructions preserved in their integrity.

The actual answer to the problem depended not only on the broad society changes (revolution, industrialization, and so on), esthetic or ethics considération; it was shaped as well by the dominant vision of urban development. Hausmann and Le Corbusier, proponents of functional and modern city, perpetuated Victor Hugo’s approach. The movement of preservation of historical cities (Old Paris, Old Florence, Old Petersburg) that emerged at the beginning of the 20th century, was, on the contrary, closer to Ruskin’s thesis. Its «genius loci» argument ignored all of functional urban requirements.

The second axis of the above sketched paradigm is the issue of authenticity, crucial to the Western tradition of preservation: Ruskin’s «piety», renewed by Alois Riegl’s «Alterswert», was dealt with differently in the case of isolated monument and of urban fabric. The main challenge came with the total destruction of urban centers during the WWII and the post-war reconstruction. However, twenty

years later, the notion of authenticity was rehabilitated by the Venice Charter. The so-called «Bologne experiment» associated the physical restoration of urban fabric with its social aspect, positing local residents and local economy as the main actors of urban heritage preservation.

The «`» has been successfully applied to the small historical units. As for the big cities, new interfering factors require new answers. The inrush of cosmopolitan uprooted inhabitants into big cities, be it wealthy leisure class or disherited immigrant workers, nullifies the option of preservation of the old areas in their authentic physical outlook and social environment. Mass tourism operating with mega planes and cruise ships invalidates the very notion of authenticity and threatens the depletion of heritage resources.

The paper insists on the historical evolution of two aspects of preservation and on today's solutions.

Oksana Zaporozhets (Poletayev Institute for Theoretical and Historical Studies in the Humanities, Higher School of Economics, Moscow)

**SUBWAY AS TIME MACHINE:
DISCOVERING URBAN MULTI-TEMPORALITY**

“We can no longer agree on what counts as a city. We think of the particular sites or moments...” (Amin, Thrift, 2002) This statement is both a declaration and a challenge, though a decade after its publication it is more productive not just to admit the multiplicity of the city, but to question *how different sites* (or their assemblages) shape the urbanity and urban temporalities. The subway as an urban hybrid (technological, spatial, temporal, material, etc.) was brought to life by the needs of constantly growing modern metropolis and became a laboratory for urban changes.

The first subway in USSR was built in Moscow in 1935. Being a large-scale and innovative technology, the subway turned out to be a symbol of successful modernization and “technologization” of the Soviet city. It presented new technologies to urbanites and influenced the standards of “modern city”. For the long time the subway had been considered as a symbolic award, the recognition of the special status of the city in urban hierarchy. Thus, in 1960–1970-s the construction of the subway moved to the capitals of Soviet republics mostly due to political reasons leaving aside the big cities with lower status. In late 1990s the construction of subway became a sign of economic success and political independence.

My presentation is based on the field research of Moscow and Kazan subways and its users. I will address the perception of the subway and the ways it is used nowadays. Being a complex system, subway balances between different temporal modes. At the same time a rapid technologization of urban environment in Russia in late 1990-early 2000-s (which started in shopping malls) challenged the perception of the subway as an innovative urban technology and turned it into the “old school” object. In cases it gets noticeable by the users, it is treated rather as a museum of urban materiality or the objectification of tradition than a “technological miracle”. The questions to be discussed: what affected re-semanticization of subway? What temporal modes we can identify while observing the conversions of the subway? How and why do routine urban structures (such as subway) contribute to the historization of the city?

Ayse Ereğ (Yeditepe University, Istanbul)

**CONTEMPORARY CREATIVE REFLECTIONS ON ISTANBUL
AS A HISTORICAL CITY**

Restructured by the globalisation discourse, the paper will try to analyse how a range of global practices are important processes structuring urban socio-spatial transformation in the contemporary world, including the changing imaginaries of a city and its past. If the specific marketing of a city depends on its products or existing resources, it could be said that in the case of Istanbul, this is its history, its motives in architecture and arts, as well as its mega-events including the art biennial and so forth. In this context, the paper will discuss how these resources are instrumentalised in order to reposition the city in the interest of global forces. By examining the discursive change in the urban imaginary of Istanbul in the last two decades through media, the contemporary art exhibition

statements and selected contemporary artworks, the paper will discuss the shifting relations of the past and the changing urban space in a city, spectacularizing them in the interests of urban flows.

Svetlana Eremeyeva (Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)

URBI ET ORBI:

MODERN CHURCH AS AN ACTOR IN THE URBAN SPACE

Russian Orthodox Church today is active to develop a secular cities space. Increased presence in the modern life is at the same time a form of an active expansion of the past. Newly created objects tend to position themselves by appealing not to the present, but to the duration of the historic presence and they tend to use the rhetoric of historical justice restoration.

The purpose of the report is to analyze how the Church systematically and consistently influences the urban space by changing urban places not only physically but by attributing certain historical qualities to the objects, by forming memory profundity.

The first in time practice with space was to set up a sculptural monument – we can now talk about the phenomenon of church monumental propaganda (“the capture” of socially and historically significant spaces – Hermogenes monument in the Alexander Garden, serial monuments – about 40 monuments to Peter and Fevronia all over Russia and attempts to “replace” the values of symbolically significant places – a proposal to set up a monument to St. Vladimir at the Lubyanka square).

Another practice is associated with the church architecture which development trends will be considered in the report. In particular, a prime example of how modern churches continue the tradition of the national idea representation promises to be a temple Russian New Martyrs and Confessors of blood at the Lubyanka (Sretensky monastery). This gigantic construction can/ should change the scaling and accentuation of one of the central Moscow districts. Competition for the design of this temple showed that the modern church architecture virtually does not exist and the one that exists - is not supported (winners choice). Unspecified glance must take such monuments as traditional, existing here for long (almost all eternity), and in this sense, as an evidence of a long and continuous tradition rather than as present and future symbols of the ROC. Similar conclusions allow to perform an analysis of the projects implemented under the program “200 churches in Moscow”.

Alisa Maximova (Department of Sociology, Higher School of Economics, Moscow)

BRINGING TOGETHER THE MEANINGS OF POLYTECHNIC MUSEUM:

DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIVE CONTEXTS AND IMAGES OF MUSEUM’S FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

In the paper, different interpretations of old Polytechnic Museum are analyzed in relation to images of the future museum that exist among its audience. It will be shown that the museum is characterized by its position at the intersection of incoherent and sometimes even contradictory meanings. Firstly, its location in the historical center of Moscow is taken into account. Secondly, the museum building invokes interpretations connected to events that took place there as well as to its architecture and interior design, and is often associated with something mythical, even “fairytale”. Finally, the permanent exhibition follows the idea of scientific and technological progress, but usually is interpreted as exhibition about history of science (partly because it was only little updated since 70-s) and is believed to be object-centered rather than story-centered. Inconsistency of these contexts causes the absence of one common understanding of the Polytechnic Museum’s meaning. I will argue that what the audience expects the museum to be like in the future varies according to which of the described interpretative contexts comes to the fore. Consequently, contradictory wishes are expressed concerning what museum should become after modernization, and scenarios of its development fluctuate from “conservative” to “progressive” model.

Andrey Vozyanov (European University, Saint Petersburg)
WHERE CAN EXHIBITS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES?
A CRITICAL CARTOGRAPHY OF THE MUSEUMIFIED CITY

The specific time-spaces of museum attracted a lot of scholarly attention and were described by terms such a “heterotopia”. Along with possessing artificially organized temporalities that are “other” to the city, a classic museum exemplifies the space which is ordered according to tangible conventional epistemologies and principles of classifications. Possibilities of such classificative mapping applied to the city remain less clear. The objects of different styles and epochs exposed in urban space – buildings, monuments, streets – are temporally discontinued, mixed, situated next to each other in a non-linear sequence. Both museum and city mobilize re-mapping tools like excursions, plans, routes etc in order to create a diachronically coherent narrative. The presentation attempts to problematize the urban politics of heterochronicity from critical cartography perspective. How the specific museum powers of mapping are transposed onto museumified city like St. Petersburg? What are the historical context and the role of museumification in local time-space mapping discourse? Where one can see the present impact of new media and their potential for mapping the urban heterochronicities? The discussion will draw on the study of objects and exhibitions assembling in the State Museum of Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Yulia Kamaeva (Laboratory of Cultural Projects, Moscow)
THE SYSTEM OF HERITAGE MANAGEMENT IN MINOR HISTORICAL TOWNS OF
THE ‘GOLDEN RING’

The heritage management is an important development factor for small historical towns of the ‘Golden Ring’ symbolical agglomeration. This factor is not only of cultural, but of economical nature as well, as it influences the wellbeing of the towns’ residents. State museums (with different levels of jurisdiction) are the major administrators of the towns’ cultural heritage, however, smaller local ‘private’ museums take part in managing it as well. Lately, the Russian Orthodox Church has also become an important participant of this process. The analysis of the situation shows that all these operators interact poorly with one another and have no other cultural resources’ management strategies but those that they came up with spontaneously. This state of affairs makes the study of such ‘spontaneous’ strategies even more interesting.

The creation of ‘private’ museums is one of the brightest recent trends in this area. Such private initiatives could be classified into three groups: 1. museum as an addition to an already existing business; 2. museum as a business project; 3. museum as an educational facility without commercial goals aimed at raising awareness. Another example of the abovementioned new strategies is the concentration on recreational and event-oriented tourism. Some of these projects go as far as making the actual historical town into a mere background of the recreational program. The third strategy is the development of local handicrafts. Addressing fairy-tale subject matter is a widespread strategy as well – almost all operators use it in one way or another. And finally, over the past few years the orthodox pilgrims have become a target-group for tourist operators. This development is due to the increasing influence of the Russian Orthodox Church as an administrator of cultural heritage.

One should mention that these new strategies are being developed alongside with traditional tourist services, which have existed (as the analysis of guidebooks shows) ever since the 1970s.

**Alexander Makhov (Poletayev Institute for Theoretical and Historical Studies in the
Humanities, Higher School of Economics, Moscow)**
**HISTORY AND CITY – THE SENSE OF THE PAST FRAMED BY URBAN
ENVIRONMENT**

Currently history is getting more and more involved in the public sphere. The construction of different images of the past becomes an integral part of everyday urban life. History is ‘used’ in urban architecture and advertising, in cultural and sport events. It seems very difficult to overview the whole diversity of the forms of historical knowledge in contemporary urban space.

The popularization and dissemination of historical knowledge could not go unnoticed by social scientists. Currently, there is an increasing number of publications which explore the construction and representation of history in the public space. At the same time, reception and reproduction of popular historical knowledge in everyday life have not yet been studied.

Analyzing historical discussions on a Yekaterinburg city web-forum, I will try to consider the perception of urban historical heritage in citizens’ everyday life and to show its features and characteristics. Also, I am going to outline different practices and aims of using the urban past in everyday life.

My main point is that people perceive urban past in quite a different way than they perceive history of states and nations. A popular understanding of the local history is founded on the personal sensing of the past and its otherness for the present-day citizens. In comparison with “Big history”, urban past doesn’t contain any controversial interpretations of the past. It seems generally accepted and valuable for every participant of this web-forum. I believe that this common sensing of urban past can be a major factor for uniting and fortifying local communities.

**Natalia Samutina, Boris Stepanov (Poletayev Institute for Theoretical and Historical Studies in
the Humanities, Higher School of Economics, Moscow)**
MULTITEMPORALITY OF THE MUSEUM-RESERVE “TSARITSYNO”
**Presentation of a book: Tsaritsyno: attractions with history (2014). Eds. N. Samutina, B.
Stepanov. M.: New Literary Observer**

In the commentary coinciding with the presentation of the new book we are going to discuss in details a symptomatic example of a problematic shift in the cultural reception and public usage of one particular historical place in Moscow. State historical, architectural, art and landscape Museum-reserve “Tsaritsyno” is a heterochronia with a complicated history. Nowadays it contains as different parts as “authentic” XVIII century architectural ensemble (with some later renovations); a newly reconstructed Grand Palace which had remained a ruin from 1796 till 2007 and now presents its visitors with a loose phantasy about “the Golden Age of the Russian History” and particularly about the life and ideas of the Empress Catherine II; a green zone with a cascade of ponds and a forest which is experienced by numerous visitors as a recreation space; a huge light and music fountain built during the last renovation in 2007, that epitomizes different “attractions” of the renovated Tsaritsyno and its unlimited photo opportunities, and so on. Attracting mass visitor and struggling with different concepts of “authenticity”, “culture”, “history”, “ideology”, “museum”, with different regimes and practices of reception, Tsaritsyno has become a kind of “theme park of the eighteenth century” and a characteristic example of a changing culture of history in Post-Soviet metropolises.

The newly published book is based on 3 years of collective research at the Museum-reserve «Tsaritsyno» done by a group of researchers and students of Higher School of Economics.

May 24

**Eve Blau (Harvard University, Cambridge, MA)
URBAN RESEARCH BETWEEN HISTORY, THEORY, AND PRACTICE:
PROJECT ZAGREB**

In the last twenty years, the rate and intensity of change in cities across the globe – particularly in the developing world, but also in the First and Second worlds – are challenging not only normative planning methods, but also traditional concepts of the urban, and our ability to understand the dynamics of change itself.

If we want to understand the dynamics and modalities of contemporary urban change and their implications for spatial practices – urban design and architecture in particular – it seems clear that we need to develop new techniques for analyzing and representing conditions that are hybrid and unstable; that make it possible to chart continuities and discontinuities, and to map relationships between the local and translocal. Most of all we need techniques for analyzing and representing conditions that are dynamic, synchronous, and contingent on multiple factors at divergent scales. In other words, we need to be guided by the conditions we are examining, the problems they present, and the questions they raise. How do we do that?

This paper engages that question by presenting a project that set itself the task to do just that. The focus is on methods developed in the context of *Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice*, a research project concerned with understanding the dynamics of practice – urban and architectural – in conditions of instability and repeated political change. A range of methods of analysis were used to understand how urban design and planning operate under such conditions and to discover if the permanently transitional environment of modernizing Zagreb generated new techniques for city making.

**Eszter B. Gantner (Institute for European Ethnology, Humboldt University, Berlin; Herder—
Institute, Marburg)**

**FROM ELECTROPOLIS TO THE ART – PRODUCTION OF METROPOLISNESS
IN THE CASE OF BERLIN**

Berlin had to redefine itself in various ways as a metropolis of Germany and Central Europe after every historical crisis from the end of the 19th century. At the end of the 19th century Berlin became the industrial and technical innovation centre of Imperial Germany and Central Europe too. Mark Twain called famously Berlin the German Chicago, and for other contemporaries as well the city seemed to be the manifestation of industrialisation. Metropolisness and the image of “Laboratory” had been linked until the WWI in the case of Berlin.

Nowadays, Berlin is famous of its lack of industry and finance economy, but art and artists are playing an immense role in the branding of the city as it is widely known. But not only the branding is influenced by the presence of the artists, the self-understanding of Berlin is also very hard to imagine without them. The images of art and artists in contemporary Berlin, the values connected with these images may partly explain the production of the “metropolisness”.

This presentation reflects on the changes of Berlin’s image from the *fin de siècle* till today trying to understand how historical changes are linked with various images during the production of Metropolisness. In the course of this also the agents, their practices and strategies of the production will be introduced and analysed.

Yulia Biedash (School of Cultural Studies, Higher School of Economics, Moscow)

**COSMIC MOSCOW:
PATRIOTIC TOURISM AND NEW ICONOGRAPHY OF THE CITY**

To describe peculiarities of this or that city means, in addition to all other things, to answer the question, what kind of icons dominate it, projecting particular social meanings. The capacity of some

urban images to take part of social fixers (i.e. key elements in the process of collective identity formation) makes the analysis of iconic experience of great importance for urban studies. This paper is dedicated to the analysis of military icons, the role they play in city space, and iconic consciousness they form. Our reasonings will be organized in three steps. At first we shall consider the dual nature of image and its specific (iconic) materiality (1). Then we shall go on to the problem of city space iconization, stressing the importance of biography and topography of images (2). After that we shall try to verify our theoretical statements through the analysis of concrete iconic practice that is of reactualization of military (patriotic) icons in contemporary Moscow (3). As a case for critical analysis we shall take the tourist project “Moscow Space” supported by municipal authorities, which is aimed at revealing Moscow as “the cosmic capital of the world”. Through the analysis of military icons and patriotic discourse they maintain we would like to understand, what social values are signified by this aesthetically shaped materiality.

Luke Dickens (The Open University, Milton Keynes, UK)
**DISPLACED ENCOUNTERS WITH THE WORKING CLASS CITY:
DIGITISATION, MATERIALITY AND PRACTICES OF COMMUNITY MEMORY AT
THE SALFORD LADS’ CLUB**

Occupying purpose-built Edwardian premises, the Salford Lads Club (SLC) in Ordsall, Greater Manchester, has served more than 20,000 young members since opening in 1903. The club, which quickly became established within a movement of similar lads clubs, offered opportunities to local working class children growing up in the densely populated neighbourhoods surrounding the Manchester Ship Canal, which was built in the 1890s. This paper presents findings from a year-long collaborative research project undertaken with members of the SLC in 2011, which centred on a supported, intergenerational storytelling process intended to coincide with the club’s celebrations of its 100th annual camping trip to rural Wales. This research involved making audio recordings of ‘Tales from Camp’ by a group of current and ex- members aged between 13 and 93, and running a series of workshops where participants were helped to animate their stories into short films using digital copies of the clubs rare collections of film and photography. Such narrative exchanges not only served as an important opportunity for participants to share their memories of being city lads visiting the countryside, but moreover, supported the digital preservation of these materials by using them as the basis for experimenting collectively with the production of a ‘civic archive’ of working class histories at the club. In this regard, the Tales from Camp project is positioned within a wider series of creative efforts by the SLC that both reflect on and further enhance its continued existence in an area of Salford otherwise characterised by repeated rounds of demolition, urban renewal and an associated sense of historical amnesia.

**Alexandra Kolesnik (Poletayev Institute for Theoretical and Historical Studies in the
Humanities, Higher School of Economics, Moscow)**
**MAPPING THE PAST:
POPULAR MUSIC MEMORYSCAPES OF LIVERPOOL**

Liverpool, largely known as a ‘musical’ and ‘creative’ city, takes an important place in the history of British popular music – the city has become a center of popular music movement in the late 1950s – early 1960s called ‘Mersey Beat’, one of the centers of electronic music boom in the 1990s, etc. Despite the close examination of some particular venues or moments of the history of urban culture, the diverse musical heritage of the city is not regularly presented and explored. The paper describes a study carried out within the project “Popular Musicscapes and the Characterization of the Urban Environment” based on the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC, Landscape and Environment programme) in partnership with English Heritage and National Museums Liverpool in 2007–2009. The research included a study of numerous archival data, interviews with musicians, fans and city-dwellers, the collecting of oral memoirs and histories, audio and video recordings. As a result, it was revealed a few centers in the history of popular music in Liverpool, called ‘Three

Graces' by analogy with an ensemble of grand buildings on the River Mersey waterfront: the Cavern Club, Eric's Club, and Cream. These three sites have taken on broader symbolic meanings as representative of entire musical genres and eras. These venues provide landmarks that have come to represent significant moments in Liverpool's musical heritage, linked closely to the city's social, cultural and economic landscapes during the 1960s, 1970s and 1990s. In a sense this mapping of Liverpool's popular music heritage calls attention to hidden or alternative histories of the city that are less often mapped.

Yulia Lajus (Center for Historical Research, Higher School of Economics, Saint-Petersburg)
**FISHERIES IN ST. PETERSBURG:
FORGOTTEN HISTORY OF CITY-RIVER INTERACTION**

History of urban rivers as city-river interaction which manifested itself through material arrangements and social practices is rapidly developing subfield of environmental history. However, while much attention is paid to history of changing of riverscapes (through channelization, construction of embankments and bridges) and organization of water management, history of urban fisheries remains a neglected topic. In most cities fisheries is perceived both historically and contemporary as a part of every-day life which does not need any reflection or commemoration. This is particularly true for St. Petersburg where the figure of fishermen was and still is a visible part of urban landscape but fisheries is not much included in historical / cultural narrative of the city. Thus, among a range of sculptures of city professionals that appeared during last 20 years and include, for instance, a figure of water-carrier, we will not find a fisherman. In many encyclopedias printed for the city 300 years anniversary ten years ago there were no articles on fisheries. Do we have a history to connect the "lonely Finish fisherman, Nature's wretched stepson" from Pushkin's myth of creation of St. Petersburg with current seasonal excitement with the smelt – a small fish which pretends to become one of the city brands? Being accustomed to fishermen in the city we do not reflect the changes that this activity went through during centuries because the changes were gradual and not that radical as a shift from horse to car or from individual water-carrier to a sophisticated system of water-pipes. Urban fisheries even when its economic value decreased remained the last possible interaction of people with the "wild" nature in the city. With all changes during the centuries urban waterscapes remained more natural than landscapes and this is still important for more people than we usually think. This paper is attempted to integrate snapshots of fisheries history of St. Petersburg on the base of historical-ecological, cartographic and visual materials and to discuss the importance of this activity for everyday life and culture of the city.

**Anna Tolkachova, Polina Ermolaeva (Institute for the Comparative Studies of Modernity,
Kazan)**
**CITY AT THE CROSSROADS OF HISTORY AND MEGA-EVENTS:
CONSTRUCTING THE NEW IMAGE OF KAZAN**

The present research provides insights into the construction and representation of the image of Kazan and its city's social landscape under the influence of such mega-events as 1000th Anniversary of Kazan (2005) and Universiade (2013). Based on the representative surveys of the citizens' opinion, focus group discussions with city's stakeholders and discourse analysis of the local mass media, our research is portrayed how the image of the city of Kazan has been changing over last decade in the perception of different groups. The study highlighted the absence of a singular image of the city vis-à-vis to different city groups rather an 'umbrella construct': a sport capital of Russia, a city for youth, a cultural hub of Russia, etc. While majority of Kazan stakeholders view historical changes of city's social landscape in an optimistic perspective ('economic boost', 'infrastructure development', 'technological regeneration'), there are certain groups criticizing the loss of city's authenticity behind the scenes of such transformations and its 'genuine' historical and cultural value.

Greg Yudin (Laboratory for Studies in Economics Sociology, Higher School of Economics, Moscow)

Yulia Koloshenko (Department of Sociology, Higher School of Economics, Moscow)

TALE AND TRADITION: DIFFERENT MECHANICS OF PRODUCING TOURISTIC EXPERIENCE IN A SMALL TOWN

Tourist studies have convincingly demonstrated that successful touristic enterprise is always dependent on building effective mechanisms of producing touristic experience. Some of such devices involve active work with historical past in order to produce history and tradition for touristic perception, while others purposefully reject “real” history and substitute it for myths and tales. What is the difference between tradition and tale as mechanisms of producing tourist experience? How do they combine with each other? What are specific ways of treating/ignoring historical past in both cases? And are there any inherent limits to construction of historical past? Our answers to these questions rely on the fieldwork study of the place of tourist industry in the life of small town. The study was conducted in 2013 in Myshkin (Yaroslavl’ region), the city being particularly interesting as an example of creating profitable places of interest from the scratch, without significant cultural or historical heritage at hand. The case is particularly instructive for study of the place of history within mechanics of constructing tourist experience in Russia.

Pavel Kupriyanov (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow)

**CONSTRUCTING HISTORICAL SPACE IN A SMALL TOWN:
CASE OF CHERDYN (PERM REGION)**

An active search for local symbols and brands is a characteristic feature of today’s provincial city. This is largely due to the tourism development considered as a universal anti-crisis strategy (particularly relevant in the case of small cities). To realize the strategy an attractive city image should be constructed. First of all it results in more or less radical transformation of urban space: symbolized, reinterpreted, with new objects and places created. For “historical places” it means construction of historic space.

A small city of Cherdyn – cultural and administrative center in the North of Perm region – is one of representative cases. It is a popular tourist place mainly because of its historical image, formed in the XIXth century and officially secured in the 1970. Recently this image has got a new incitement that effected directly on urban space, changed intentionally in different forms. Specific ways and mechanisms of this process will be examined in the report on materials of fieldwork in 2009–2013.

Vladimir Fajer (Poletayev Institute for Theoretical and Historical Studies in the Humanities, Higher School of Economics, Moscow)

**ANTI-URBAN ARCHITECTURE:
FICTIONAL MEDIAEVAL SPACE IN A MOSCOW SUBURB**

A substantial part of contemporary Russian architecture is not only excluded from urban space, but even hardly accessible for professionals. I mean the luxurious estates of the well-off residents of Moscow suburb settlements. Many of these buildings were designed with the claim of uniqueness, and some can be really considered unprecedented. This paper deals with a relatively small and inexpensive estate in the prestigious residential area Rublyovka west of the capital. Crowded with decorative details the main building and the minor constructions of the yard have been designed according to a very complicated program. To decipher this code one should turn to Byzantine angelology, Western medieval concepts of human life, and finally tie them together. As a whole the project is not a stylization of any existing architectural ensemble; the high walls hide a fictional Medieval space totally secluded from our chronotop. The estate ignores both the surroundings and contemporary architecture (although some new materials were used during the construction). The only distant analogue in the surrounding area is the famous Meyendorf “Castle”, which nowadays

serve as a governmental residence. The Meyendorff mansion was built in 1880s as a stylization to medieval French chateaus, and it alludes to centuries-old genealogy of the owner. Our estate, on the contrary, does not appeal to any real facts in the family story of the proprietor; the latter and the architect have build this imaginary world in seek of uniqueness and beauty (as they understand it). Their interests had met together: the owner could show off his capabilities, the architect strived for realization of his artistic and intellectual potential. Nevertheless, the owner soon have sold the house, having preferred the bigger and the less decorated one.

**Kirill Levinson (Poletayev Institute for Theoretical and Historical Studies in the Humanities,
Higher School of Economics, Moscow)**
***HEIMWEHTOURISTEN AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF LOCAL HISTORICAL
CULTURE: A CASE STUDY***

After the majority of Baltic Germans resettled to Germany in 1939, an era began in Latvia in which they largely disappeared from the collective self-image of Latvians. The real estate, the means of production and the cultural institutions left behind by Germans became Latvian property and the recollection of the centuries-long life side by side and cooperation was reinterpreted in a nationalist sense. This development was intensified in and after the World War II in the course of Sovietization, particularly since the majority of Germans remaining in Latvia were exiled to Siberia and the official propaganda often labeled them as accomplices of the Nazis. After 1945 Baltic Germans lived far away from their home country. Quite numerous in West Germany in the beginning, their organizations and periodicals gradually vanished. But the memories lived on, and the desire to see their homes abandoned decades ago remained strong in many Baltic Germans. However, the iron curtain left virtually no possibility for contacts between them and their old home country.

Following Latvia's declaration of independence in early 1990s, the situation changed, but in Riga it developed in a way that was different from the province. In the capital where international tourism boomed, the Latvian government, the UNESCO and the EU seek to emphasize the common heritage. Therefore they invest a lot of energy and money in restoration of monuments of the German Baltic history which are also the country's most important tourist attractions. The restoring of buildings, the founding of institutions, the museums and exhibitions, conferences etc. testify to the fact that political, scientific, historical and commercial interests of both nations lead to Germans fitting again in the historical self-image of Latvians.

By contrast, the majority of political initiatives and institutional measures hardly reach rural areas. In the province, where the presence of the Germans had been less visible in the past and where fewer attractions for paying western tourists exist now, the 'recollection work' and the transformation of historical consciousness go much more spontaneously. They depend largely on attitudes and constellations of individual actors on site rather than on the managing, accelerating or inhibiting effects of macroeconomic and political forces. To learn more about Germans' and Latvians' changing relationship to their common past and present, one must analyze it on the grassroots level. A preliminary on-site research done in a small rural community in Latvia has shown that visits by 'nostalgia tourists' from Germany since 1990 have triggered a transformation in the historical consciousness of local Latvians. Today, many of them regard themselves as heirs to a common history and make efforts to preserve and restore its monuments, such as German cemeteries, buildings, and churches, even though no immediate profit can be expected therefrom. My hypothesis is that the driving force behind this change is the person-to-person communication between the Latvian inhabitants of the community who lack a past predating 1939 and the Germans who show an intense interest precisely for and ample knowledge of that period of time without laying claims to the property.