

Intangible Warsaw:
Traditions, Customs and Practices
in a Co-city

Research report

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The views and recommendations included in this report, commissioned by the City of Warsaw Culture Department, constitute opinions expressed by the authors, and are not the official position of the Culture Department or any other institutions or organisations the authors are affiliated with.

The purpose of this report is to initiate institutional consultations at the City Office and to engender social dialogue and community debates aimed at reinforcing the system for safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage of Warsaw, by disseminating knowledge about it among Warsaw residents and developing transparent mechanisms for its further development.

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Introduction

We give you the first report devoted to the intangible heritage of Warsaw.

The report is not exhaustive – it is rather “an opening report”, a stimulus for further debate and discussion, and an attempt to illustrate the state of Warsaw’s cultural heritage preserved to date via intergenerational transmission: the practices, traditions and customs which build the identity of Warsaw residents and shape their relationship with the city. Conducting research based primarily on contact with people – the bearers of the heritage – in these difficult times of the pandemic resulted in the need to limit our activities. We believe, however, that the data collected constitute a valuable invitation for new meetings in the future, and grounds for the continuation of the research project.

The title of our report relates simultaneously to two issues: intangible heritage and the city. Connecting these two spheres are the ideas contained in the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and in the most recent City of Warsaw Cultural Policy of 2020. The ideas dwell in words such as cooperation, co-responsibility, co-management, contemporary times, community, collaboration, co-deciding, co-organisation, co-creation and coexistence. This is, therefore, a substantial change in the way of speaking and thinking about cities. **Warsaw is no longer just a city. Warsaw is becoming a CO-CITY.** We invite you to adopt such an interpretation of the notion of Warsaw’s intangible heritage.

We would like to thank the bearers of the intangible heritage of Warsaw, those who preserve it, the experts – Warsaw scholars, members of the Commission for the Intangible Heritage of Warsaw, and the management and staff of the Culture Department for their sincere readiness to share their time, stories and observations. This report would not have been possible if not for your sensitivity, knowledge and engagement.

We hope you enjoy the report!

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Glossary of important terms and abbreviations

BK – the Culture Department (Biuro Kultury) of the City of Warsaw

BOS – Warsaw Reconstruction Office (Biuro Odbudowy Stolicy)

cons. – consolidated text of an Act

NGO – non-governmental organisation

NID – the National Institute of Cultural Heritage (Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa)

PB – Participatory Budget

UM – City Office (Urząd Miasta)

WTW – Warsaw Rowing Association (Warszawskie Towarzystwo Wioślarskie)

Bearers of intangible cultural heritage – members of a specified group having knowledge of specific information and cultural practices acquired by way of direct intergenerational transmission and who are actively engaged in preserving and passing on such heritage [see p. 12]

Communities, groups and individuals – a term introduced in the 2003 UNESCO Convention, indicating diverse communities bound by a shared sense of identity, the essence of which is the preservation of common cultural practices, otherwise known as bearers of intangible cultural heritage

Convention – the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003

Folklorization – the practice of constructing a group's representation based on de-contextualised elements of the group's heritage selected on the basis of aesthetic criteria [see p. 26]

Intergenerational communication – direct verbal and non-verbal transmission of information and cultural practices which requires personal contact between representatives of at least two successive generations [see p. 12]

Revitalisation – the practice of traditions and customs whose intergenerational communication was interrupted [see p. 46]

Part I

1. Research methodology

2. What is – and what is not – intangible cultural heritage?

On the 2003 UNESCO Convention

3. Intangible cultural heritage in cities: in Poland and abroad

1. Research methodology

The research covered the area within the administrative borders of Warsaw. Pursuant to Article 14 of the Act of 15 March 2002 on the governance of the Capital City of Warsaw, this includes the districts of Bemowo, Białołęka, Bielany, Mokotów, Ochota, Praga-Południe, Praga-Północ, Rembertów, Śródmieście, Targówek, Ursus, Ursynów, Wawer, Wesoła, Wilanów, Włochy, Wola and Żoliborz.

Several methods were employed in the research, including: (1) desk research; (2) field studies, (3) analysis of legal acts and documents related to the city's cultural policy from the perspective of intangible heritage.

The desk research covered: (a) research of online materials potentially related to the intangible heritage of Warsaw, (b) publications of the City Office and District Offices on tradition and heritage, (c) documents concerning urban grant and scholarship programmes in the field of culture and cultural animation in terms of activities potentially related to intangible heritage.

Field studies were originally to have a much broader extent than what ultimately proved possible due to the restrictions arising from the COVID-19 pandemic. For instance, because cemeteries were closed on 1 November 2020, it was impossible to conduct ethnographic observation, and the survey on the traditions related to the holiday had to be limited to phone interviews regarding the distribution and manufacture of pańska skórka candy.

The pandemic restrictions also meant it was necessary to abandon focus meetings with NGO activists and participants of the actions they organise, which could not have been held on-line. Therefore, a decision was made to expand the research with the addition of an on-line questionnaire addressed to two groups of stakeholders who had been invited to take part in a training session on intangible heritage held by Hanna Schreiber and Ewa Klekot. The first group consisted of District Office staff members responsible for culture, education and sports, and the second group of employees of Warsaw public culture-sector institutions (i.a. culture centres and libraries) and community heritage custodians. The training session was attended by a total of 62 participants, and the questionnaires were completed by 21 people. The questionnaire included 16 open-ended questions grouped in the following thematic categories: law and politics, Warsaw practices and customs, Warsaw initiatives and actions, people of Warsaw, practices related to locations important to Warsaw identity, “Warsaw spirit”, and city government work. The full text of the questionnaire can be found in the Appendix to this Report (see pp. 69–76).

The research included 11 individual qualitative interviews (structured, see Appendix), two theme-specific interviews (unstructured), and ethnographic observations combined with interviews in 10 locations/activity sites (a sports club, a coffee bar, etc., observations as per research guidelines, see Appendix). The respondents were selected based on the following criteria: (1) qualitative and thematic interviews were held with Warsaw residents who hold university degrees and deal with some form of cultural and/or artistic activities as part of their profession, and who have knowledge about the city, its history and traditions that could be deemed “expert knowledge”, (2) the persons interviewed as part of the ethnographic observations were individuals involved in practices which might potentially constitute intangible heritage.

Of course, from the methodological point of view, persons with “expert knowledge” can also be

participants in heritage practices, and “practitioners” are the best experts in their area of interests. Quite different (qualitatively) is the proportional input of each group’s members in the heritage discourse, hence a decision was made to apply different research techniques. The materials obtained in the interviews and conversations were supplemented with the information gathered from the answers provided by the questionnaire respondents. This information enriched the content of this Report and introduced an additional perspective: that of officials and activists dealing with culture.

Moreover, the report was subject to a multi-stage consultation procedure. It was submitted for critical analysis at the meeting of the Commission for the Intangible Heritage of Warsaw (8 December 2020), and further referred to all the participants of the training sessions and interviews for their remarks. The report was finally presented at the meeting of the Culture & City Promotion Committee of the City Council of Warsaw.

2. What is – and what is not – intangible cultural heritage? On the 2003 UNESCO Convention

On the definition and purposes of the Convention

The notion of intangible cultural heritage is relatively new in Poland, even in discourse within sciences and domains traditionally dealing with culture studies, including heritage and its safeguarding, such as anthropology, ethnography, archaeology and law.

Its understanding and the below definition are, of course, not accidental. The definition was developed by state representatives, including experts from academia, in the course of discussions on a new piece of international legislation – the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (henceforth referred to as “the Convention”). The definition can be found in Article 2 of the Convention, which was adopted on 17 October 2003 at the 32nd session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and came into force on 20 April 2006. Poland became a Party to the Convention in 2011: The Convention was published in the Journal of Laws dated 19 August 2011 (No. 172, item 1018), and the ratification instruments were submitted to UNESCO on 16 May 2011. This way, Poland became the 135th country to submit its ratification instruments. By November 2020, the Convention had no less than 180 States Parties, which is an enormous international success and proves that it is of great significance to practically all the countries of the world (only 13 States have not yet ratified the Convention).

The “intangible cultural heritage” means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

Intangible cultural heritage is manifested inter alia in the following domains:

- a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle for intangible cultural heritage;
- b) performing arts;
- c) social practices, rituals and festive events;
- d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- e) traditional craftsmanship.

The definition indicates that intangible cultural heritage **is alive**, and reflects both the traditional and contemporary practices in which the identity of various communities, groups and individuals is expressed; that it is of an **inclusive nature**, not being aimed at giving exclusive rights to specific practices to a given group; and that it is **rooted in communities**, which also means that it can be regarded as an element of identity and traditions of specified communities only by the communities themselves and upon their consent.

The purposes of the Convention are as follows (Article 1):

- a) to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage;
- b) to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned;
- c) to raise awareness at the local, national and international levels of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage, and of ensuring mutual appreciation thereof;
- d) to provide for international cooperation and assistance.

All the aforementioned objectives are possible to achieve only in close collaboration with stakeholder groups – the bearers, as per the direct obligation laid down in Article 15 of the Convention: “Within the framework of its safeguarding activities of the intangible cultural heritage, each State Party shall endeavour to ensure **the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals** that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management.” Also speaking about cooperation based on respect and partnership are the Ethical Principles for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage adopted in 2015.

Safeguarding is understood as the preservation and transmission of the heritage to next generations, which ensures its viability and at the same time the possibility to transform and adapt the heritage to a new reality. Safeguarding thus focuses mainly on the processes of transmitting elements of intangible cultural heritage from generation to generation, instead of on producing specific objects through which such heritage is expressed.

There are several elements which are crucial to the identification of intangible heritage: the significance of a given cultural practice for identity, its viability and traditional nature, and direct intergenerational transmission and continuity (transmission over at least two generations).

Intangible heritage means living cultural practices rather than the reconstruction of historical practices. It is not about information written down or otherwise documented by an ethnographer, historian or folklorist, but about that which is continuously the subject of communication within the community that created it. A tradition plays its identity function only when those who follow it do not need to refer to any external, ideal versions thereof, or to a canon of tradition created outside the community, as was the case of folk art during the times of the Polish People’s Republic, where artists would learn about what is “folk” from competition jurors and specialists from the artistic and ethnographic committee at Cepelia (Central Bureau of Folk and Artistic Industry). **Where the intergenerational communication of traditions has been interrupted, its recreation on the basis of historical documentation, even the most accurate, will not constitute heritage, unless further generations return to practising the tradition and the reconstruction is revived in intergenerational transmission.**

Research into intangible heritage is, therefore, not so much aimed at creating a herbarium,

meaning a collection of dried specimens devoid of context, but at taking photographs and describing plants in situ, in their natural habitat. It is about devising protection for elements identified as heritage in their own habitat, to create support for the entire ecosystem in which such elements can thrive.

According to the Convention and its Ethical Principles, intangible heritage cannot be subject to valuation – no heritage is superior or inferior to another. Its basic value is expressed in the fact that it evokes in its bearers the sense of social belonging, ties with a community or group, a joy of doing something together, and often a feeling of pride and willingness to act for one's own environment. Therefore, not applied in reference to intangible heritage are terms used in assessing tangible heritage, such as “authentic”, “exceptional”, or “outstanding”. Of crucial importance is the intergenerational transmission of tradition, which creates intra-group bonds.

The activities described in the Convention are meant to serve as support of this kind. As the object of safeguarding is specific human activity (cultural practices, such as performances, customs, rituals and festive events, knowledge and skills related to traditional craftsmanship) and not the tangible results of such activities, [there cannot be talk of safeguarding by way of conservation, i.e. the preservation and maintenance of the status quo. The basic strategy for safeguarding intangible heritage is to support intergenerational communication by way of formal and informal education.](#) The task of institutions and persons working to safeguard intangible heritage is, above all, to create conditions for the further development of the cultural practice subject to protection. Education-based safeguarding also covers [popularisation](#), which might bring about an increase in the number of bearers of a given practice – for instance craftsmanship or performing arts – taking it beyond the community in which it was originally practised.

The introduction of the new term “intangible cultural heritage” and of a completely new safeguarding paradigm that came with the ratification of the Convention nearly 10 years ago, compelled officials, scholars and culture practitioners to make adjustments in terms of the existing and established definitions and procedures for the protection of cultural heritage and operation methods. Rather unexpectedly, it turned out that we can no longer pragmatically assume that heritage is simply a collection of artefacts.¹ At first, there were attempts to find a more “familiar” alternative, with suggestions of spiritual, intellectual, or oral heritage, or simply folk culture, folklore or tradition.

[By 2020, Polish scholarly and legal language had become well acquainted with the term.](#)

References to “intangible cultural heritage” can be found in the names of various authorities and advisory bodies (for instance, the Intangible Cultural Heritage Board at the Ministry of Culture or the Commission for the Intangible Heritage of Warsaw at the Mayor's Office), in financial support schemes (e.g. in the “Folk and Traditional Culture” Programme implemented by the Minister of Culture and National Heritage), on websites (i.a. [niematerialne.nid.pl](#), [kulturaludowa.pl](#)), and in guidelines addressed to local government units (e.g. *Dziedzictwo obok mnie – poradnik zarządzania dziedzictwem w gminach* [*Heritage Near Me – Guidance on Heritage Management in Communes*], National Institute of Cultural Heritage, Warsaw 2016), and even in publication series (“Niematerialne Dziedzictwo Kulturowe w Polsce i jego Ochrona” [“Intangible Cultural Heritage in Poland and its Safeguarding”] published jointly by the Maria

¹ E. Klekot, “Konwencja UNESCO w sprawie ochrony niematerialnego dziedzictwa kulturowego: archeologia pojęć”, *Ochrona Zabytków* 2014, Vol. 1, pp. 31–40.

Curie-Sklodowska University Press and the National Institute of Cultural Heritage). Although we are aware that not all readers of this report have had the chance to encounter the novel term, we encourage everyone to embrace it, or at least get accustomed to it. This is mainly because it gives us the opportunity to adopt a fresh and independent perspective, one that is unburdened by historical discourse, on this part of our identity.

The “revolution” in the debate on cultural heritage at large, in which the Convention of 2003 has had its share, also consists in the creation of new frameworks, blurring the existing boundaries between the tangible and the intangible, the cultural and the natural, things belonging to the past and to the future, between things which are the purview of communities and individuals, or experts and administrations.² **Due to the new definition, when speaking about “heritage” we must also direct our thoughts to traditions, practices and customs which build the sense of identity and continuity in specific groups, communities and individuals.** It is a considerable change, but a necessary one!

On the implementation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention in Poland

Each ratification of international law requires the State Party to create conditions for compliance with its provisions. **The Convention is implemented in all ratifying countries according to different procedures**, which stems from the fact that intangible cultural heritage is greatly diversified as it concerns the self-identification of communities, groups and individuals. It can, therefore, be a very “sensitive” issue as it touches deeply on the sense of identity, and as such can become grounds for conflict.

As regards the 2003 UNESCO Convention, the obligations of States Parties were defined in part III of the Convention entitled *Safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage at the national level*. Although the Convention itself imposes certain restrictions and requirements on the States, it provides a considerable degree of freedom to take specific steps aimed at the fulfilment of the purposes laid down in the Convention.

Under Article 11 of the Convention each State Party shall:

- a) take the necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory;
- b) among the safeguarding measures, **identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage** present in its territory, with the participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations.

The requirement to draft and regularly update registers/inventories/lists of elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in the territory of a given country, and to periodically submit reports to the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (a body established under the Convention, composed of representatives of 24 States Parties, elected for a term of 4 years in line with the principles of equitable geographical

² H. Schreiber, “Ten Remarks on the 10th Anniversary of the Entry into Force of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage”, (in:) H. Schreiber (ed.), *Intangible Cultural Heritage. 10th Anniversary of the Entry into Force of the 2003 UNESCO Convention through the Prism of Sustainable Development*, National Heritage Board of Poland, Warsaw 2017, pp. 434–471.

representation and rotation), was stipulated in Article 12.

In Poland, the implementation of the purposes of the Convention and the obligations placed on a State Party began with drafting the National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2013.

3. Intangible cultural heritage in cities: in Poland and abroad

The National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the intangible heritage of Polish cities

As of December 2020, the Polish National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage, drafted in 2013, has nearly 50 entries from across Poland. The list currently serves an informative purpose only (the issue of intangible heritage has yet to be stipulated in any act, and the provisions of the Convention are applied directly, while the list is compiled on the basis of inscription decisions made by the Minister of Culture), and contains descriptions of the phenomena included therein, their historical background, location, significance for the community following a given tradition, and photographs.³ An entry on the list is made upon approval of a relevant motion – the approval is issued by the Intangible Cultural Heritage Board, an advisory body operating within the structures of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage (since March 2021, the Ministry of Culture, National Heritage and Sports), composed of experts from academic centres throughout Poland specialising in various fields of study related to intangible heritage. The motion itself is prepared by an interested community, group or individual, and must be preceded by social consultations and consent for taking relevant measures aimed at inscribing a given element of intangible heritage on the National List. The motion form is available on: niematerialne.nid.pl.

A national register of good practices for the *safeguarding* of the intangible cultural heritage has been in place since 2018.⁴ There are currently only five entries in the register, while the UNESCO Register of Good Safeguarding Practices has 25 entries.⁵

The following elements of intangible heritage have been placed on the national list, as per the order of entry:⁶

- Artistic and historical gunsmithing
- Nativity scene tradition in Kraków
- The Lajkonik March
- Rafting traditions in Ulanów
- The Corpus Christi procession in Łowicz
- Esperanto language as the vehicle for Esperanto culture
- The skill of making and playing “koza” [goat] bagpipes
- Kashubian embroidery of the Żuków school
- Falconry – a living tradition

³ www.niematerialne.nid.pl/Dziedzictwo_niematerialne/Krajowa_inwentaryzacja/ [accessed on 20 December 2020].

⁴ www.niematerialne.nid.pl/Ochrona_dziedzictwa/Dobre_praktyki/ [accessed on 9 February 2021].

⁵ [ich.unesco.org/en/lists?text=&type\[\]=00005&multinational=3&display1=inscriptionID#tabs](http://ich.unesco.org/en/lists?text=&type[]=00005&multinational=3&display1=inscriptionID#tabs) [accessed on 9 February 2021].

⁶ Ibid.

- Polish national dances
- Church fair celebrations to honour St Roch with the animal blessing ritual in Mikstat
- The traditional Felczyński family bell-founding technique in Taciszów
- Dyngus Day verse recitations (przywołówki) in Szymborze
- Warmia local dialect as a vehicle for oral traditions
- Traditional toy making in Żywiec and Sucha
- Tree beekeeping
- Perebory – weaving traditions from the Bug river area
- Kraków bobbin lace
- The cultural tradition of the Biskupizna region
- costumed New Year Carolling (Dziady Noworoczne)
- “Turki” in Grodzisk (guard at the tomb of Christ)
- Koniaków crocheting tradition
- Wedding traditions from Szamotuły and vicinity
- Bagpipe making traditions from the Greater Poland region
- “Kabłacok” basket weaving skills from Lucimia
- “Kumoterki” sleigh races
- The skill of playing and making Żywiec bagpipes
- Corpus Christi processions with the tradition of preparing flower rugs in Spycimierz
- Gaida bagpipes – instrument-making skill and playing practice
- St Barbara’s Day celebrations observed by coal miners from Upper Silesia (Barbórka)
- Wickerwork in Poland
- The cultural traditions of Poznań Bambry (Poles of German origin living in the Poznań area)
- Kashubian Gwiazdka (Christmas Eve Carolling)
- The skill of hand painting the pattern from Opole region on ceramics
- The “leading the bear” custom in Opole Silesia
- Polonaise – Polish dance
- Easter Egg decoration from Opole region
- Kurpie paper cut-outs from Zielona Forest
- “Krzyżoki” Easter traditions in Borki Małe
- Fat Thursday women’s meeting (Babski Comber) in Opole Silesia

- Corpus Christi with the tradition of preparing flower rugs in Klucz, Olszowa, Zalesie Śląskie and Zimna Wódka
- Batik easter egg decoration in Opole Silesia
- “Dunajowanie” carolling in Łukowa and vicinity
- Traditional food blessing celebration in Dąbrowa Chotomowska
- Sowing heart and cross patterns on fields in the Strzelce Opolskie area
- Baking of “byśki” and “nowe latko” animal-shaped bread by Kurpie people from the Zielona Forest
- Carillon music in Gdańsk
- “Walking with a goat” carnival custom in Kujawy
- Embroidery from Urzecze on the Vistula river.

Few of the entries are connected with big cities (Kraków, Poznań), and some relate to small towns (Łowicz, Cieszyn). The majority of the entries thus far (as at December 2020) relate to rural and folk traditions. This can become an incentive to search for elements which are relevant to the identity of urban communities, including the Polish capital city – Warsaw, which currently lacks any entries on the list.

Two items from the national list, nativity scene tradition in Kraków and tree beekeeping, were submitted by Poland as candidates for one of the international lists established under the Convention – the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Following a detailed assessment and positive recommendation from the UNESCO Evaluation Body, and a decision of the Intergovernmental Committee confirming the recommendations – these traditions were entered on the list: Kraków nativity scenes in 2018 and tree beekeeping culture in 2020, the latter as an international entry with Belarus.

The Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and the intangible heritage of cities worldwide

There are three lists at the international level, which are intended to be an aid in the efforts to safeguard intangible heritage. These include the aforementioned Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, announced for the first time in November 2008, the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices. Although there are formally three lists, it is the Representative List that draws the attention of the States and the media. “Everyone wants to be on the list!”⁷ The list is becoming a measure of the position of a State submitting an entry, tangible proof of the power of its culture, improving its visibility and prestige, and an element of soft power on the international stage.⁸

⁷ E. Románková-Kuminková, “Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Beginning or the End of Sustainability?”, (in:) H. Schreiber (ed.), *Intangible Cultural Heritage. 10th Anniversary of the Entry into Force of the 2003 UNESCO Convention through the Prism of Sustainable Development*, National Heritage Board of Poland, Warsaw 2017, pp. 352–369.

⁸ H. Schreiber, “Intangible Cultural Heritage and Soft Power – Exploring the Relationship”, *International Journal of Intangible*

The perception of the Representative List as a tool in international cultural policy has resulted in the fact that States tend to submit nominations of nation-wide nature.⁹ This way, there are inscriptions in which the notion of “community” is subject to reinterpretation: “community” which, according to the intentions of the authors of the Convention, was to refer to a socially coherent group living in a specified territory, is understood as a nation, i.e., a group forming a nation state. Such is the case of the inscriptions of Turkish coffee culture and tradition (2013), the gastronomic meal of the French (2010), Indian yoga (2016), Chinese calligraphy (2009) or beer culture in Belgium (2016).

The matter of the list being established under the 2003 Convention was a source of multiple controversies. Opponents of this concept pointed to the inevitable consequences of it creating a certain hierarchy and, consequently, divisions.¹⁰ Problems of this kind are, however, unavoidable in compiling any type of inventory – even the national lists established in the implementation of the Convention (having the function of national inventories) have the makings of a prestige selection based on stringent procedures by way of which formal and substantive evaluation of the grounds for inscribing a given element is conducted.¹¹

Moreover, the presence of a given phenomenon on the Representative List does not ensure its safeguarding, and often it can expose a given element of intangible heritage to a threat, as it constitutes a milestone in its existence. It changes the way the phenomenon is perceived, by its bearers, and above all, on the local, national and international stage.¹² An entry on the List may thus become a bone of contention and a source of international conflict.¹³

Among the most prominent threats to intangible heritage related to the functioning of the List is the degeneration of the original function and meaning of the inscribed element. This is mainly related to its commercialisation resulting from increased interest from external entities, most notably the tourism industry, falling on the community of bearers, and, in turn, the bearers’ fully understandable wish to profit upon seeing an opportunity to improve their own standard of living.¹⁴

The risks related to the functioning of the List also apply to intangible cultural heritage practised in cities all over the world.

The Representative List currently includes 492 such entries from 128 States. Inscriptions referring to the intangible cultural heritage of European urban areas include the following spheres of cultural practice:

- Carnival traditions and parades, such as, for instance, the Carnival of Binche (Belgium,

Heritage 2017, Vol. 12, pp. 43–57.

⁹ C. Duvelle, “A Decade of Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: Challenges and Perspectives”, *Ethnologies* 2014, Vol. 36, No. 1–2, pp. 27–46.

¹⁰ V. Hafstein, “Intangible Heritage as a List: From Masterpieces to Representation”, (in:) L. Smith, N. Akagawa (eds.), *Intangible Heritage (Key Issues in Cultural Heritage)*, Routledge, London–New York 2009.

¹¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 93.

¹² E. Románková-Kuminková, *op. cit.*

¹³ An Deming, “Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguarding: A Global Campaign and Its Practice in China”, (in:) H. Schreiber (ed.), *Intangible Cultural Heritage. 10th Anniversary of the Entry into Force of the 2003 UNESCO Convention through the Prism of Sustainable Development*, National Heritage Board of Poland, Warsaw 2017, pp. 52–67.

¹⁴ A. Skounti, “The Intangible Cultural Heritage System: Many Challenges, Few Proposals”, *Santander Art and Culture Law Review* 2017, Vol. 3.

inscribed in 2008), a joint Belgian and French entry concerning a procession of giants and dragons (France and Belgium, 2008), the Busó festivities at Mohács (Hungary, inscribed in 2009), Hopping procession of Echternach (Luxembourg, 2010), the Ride of the Kings in south-eastern Czech Republic (Czech Republic, inscribed in 2011), the Valencia Fallas festivity (Spain, inscribed in 2016), and the Basel Carnival (Switzerland, inscribed in 2017);



1. Carnival of Binche. Photo Marie Claire, CC BY 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons

- Practices related to traditional craftsmanship skills, such as traditional violin craftsmanship in Cremona (Italy, inscribed in 2021), and gingerbread craft from Northern Croatia (Croatia, inscribed in 2010);
- Culinary traditions, for example, the art of Neapolitan ‘Pizzaiuolo’ (Italy, inscribed in 2017);
- Religious traditions, such as the celebrations of big shoulder-borne processional structures (Italy, inscribed in 2013), the Feast of the Holy Forty Martyrs in Štip (North Macedonia, inscribed in 2013), the Škofja Loka passion play (Slovenia, inscribed in 2016), the Celestinian forgiveness celebration (Italy, inscribed in 2019), and Holy Week processions in Mendrisio (Switzerland, inscribed in 2019);
- Traditional grass-roots methods of managing common resources or resolving disputes related to such resources – the irrigators’ tribunals of the Spanish Mediterranean coast: the Council of Wise Men of the plain of Murcia and the Water Tribunal of the plain of

Valencia (Spain, inscribed in 2009);

- Customs related to historical community institutions which had a significant impact on the nature of a given town or city, such as Sinjska Alka, a knights' tournament in Sinj (Croatia, inscribed in 2010), classical horsemanship and the High School of the Spanish Riding School in Vienna linked to the Royal House of Habsburg (Austria, inscribed in 2015).¹⁵



2. Sinjska Alka. Photo PJJ, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons

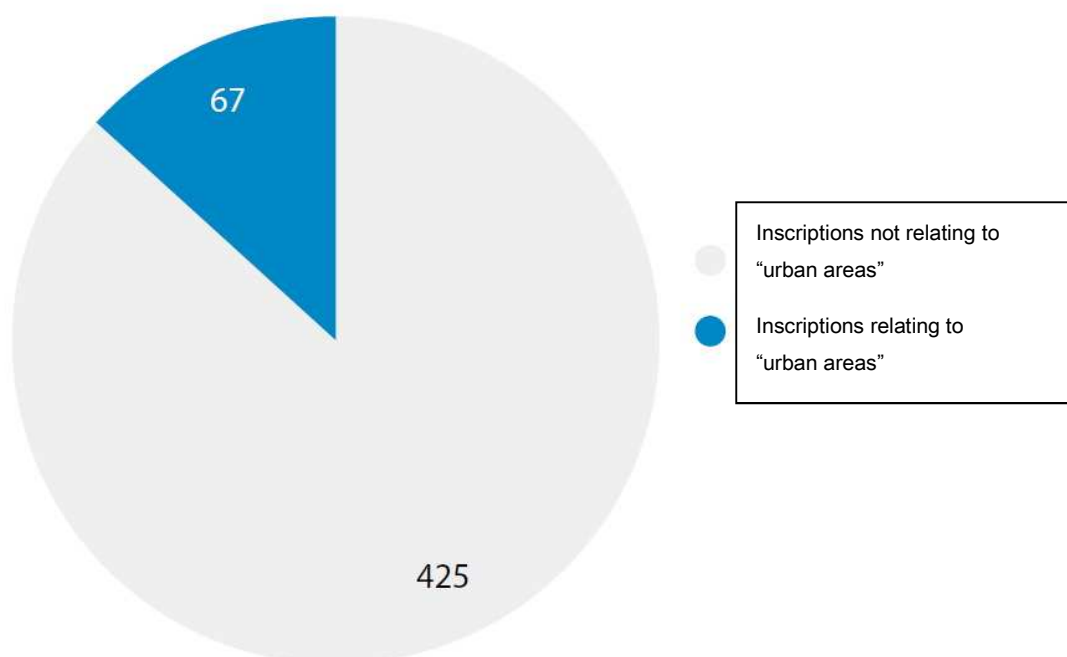
Analysis of the elements inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity related to urban areas indicates that the category of urban intangible cultural heritage was dominated by European countries, with Belgium, France and Spain occupying the top positions.

Communities, groups and individuals – the bearers, being the practitioners of intangible heritage – are the most important

Due to the inclusion of the definition of intangible cultural heritage in the Convention, with emphasis placed on communities, groups and individuals, there emerged a new way of understanding what heritage is, and might be – one that delegitimises the exclusivity of expert

¹⁵ Detailed information about the aforementioned elements of intangible heritage can be found at ich.unesco.org/en/lists.

discourse in favour of a discourse that includes the bearers of heritage: communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals (cf. Article 15 of the 2003 Convention, Schreiber 2017).



3. "Urban areas" and elements inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (with 429 elements on the list as of December 2020). Sixty-seven entries were qualified by UNESCO as elements concerning "urban areas"

Based on: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/diver&display=biome#tabs> [accessed on 30 December 2020]. Prepared by J. Krzesicka.

In the 2003 Convention, the bearers are mentioned for the first time as the fundamental "vehicles" of cultural heritage, whose opinions cannot be ignored at any level (local, national or international).¹⁶

In all international legal acts referring to broadly understood culture and heritage, adopted after 2003 by UNESCO or the Council of Europe, a new, grass-roots and community perspective on heritage is clearly visible: both in the scope of its creation, and the preservation of its viability, its safeguarding and decision-making concerning it. The two most important international conventions referring to the safeguarding of cultural heritage ratified after 2003 are the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions of 2005¹⁷ and the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (the Faro Convention).¹⁸ Both documents stress the importance of social participation as the key to preserving cultural heritage. Article 2(b) of the Faro Convention introduces the term "heritage

¹⁶ In: H. Schreiber, "Intangible Cultural Heritage and Soft Power..." Of course, even such a significant change in the language of international legal acts does not result in a shift in the practices of States, including the implementation mechanisms. A perfect example of attempts to maintain the "State-centred approach" can be found in the extension of the notion of "community", as referred to in the 2003 Convention, to national communities, which allows not only local and regional communities, but also country-wide communities to request inscriptions on the Representative List.

¹⁷ Journal of Laws of 2007, No. 215, item 1585.

¹⁸ Faro, 27 October 2005.

community” which “consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations.”

Empowering communities, groups and individuals has also led to the acknowledgement of further groups which are crucial from the perspective of intangible heritage and its safeguarding. They are the so-called passive bearers of cultural practices, those who are not directly involved in a given practice but feel connected to it, as, for instance, Kraków residents who come to the Adam Mickiewicz monument every first Thursday of December to view the works of artists constructing nativity scenes (active bearers). As exemplified by the provisions of the Faro Convention, it has been acknowledged that it is in fact ordinary people, non-specialists in the sphere of a given element of culture, that build the foundations for the stability and viability of specific traditions.

Part II

4. Identification of intangible heritage
5. The identity narrative of a city and the intangible heritage of Warsaw
6. The experience of living in Warsaw and intangible heritage
7. Conclusions and further research

4. Identification of intangible heritage

The Convention definition of intangible heritage places emphasis on its identity-forming significance to the practising group, on the continuity of intergenerational communication, and on its relationship to the surroundings and the past constructed in expressions of traditions.¹⁹

Therefore, as regards the identification of intangible heritage by experts, attention is paid mostly to the presence of direct and intergenerational communication of tradition. This means that the practices, skills and meanings identified as intangible heritage should be transmitted between its bearers by way of personal communication, while means of remote information transfer (images, written materials, photographs, films) should only serve as an aid in this process. **If a given tradition or practice has been documented with the use of any of these means but has been abandoned by those practising it only to be later reconstructed thanks to the available resources, it cannot be identified as intangible heritage within the meaning of the Convention. Reconstructed practices might surely be of great significance for the identity of the groups who decide to revitalise them, but the continuity of direct intergenerational communication is decisive here.**

The social context of a given tradition or practice is also crucial: for instance, a specific musical performance style or means of artistic expression might be significant to the identity of a given group at a specific moment in time, but, at the same time, it can be a matter of fashion and can change with successive generations within the practising group. Also, it can be regarded as aesthetically attractive outside the group and adopted by other communities. If this is the case, it often becomes part of the image of the group that created the tradition, yet this is an image constructed by the group that has taken it over. An urbanite who tells a resident of a rural area what is and what is not folk acts precisely according to this mechanism. The formation of phenomena defined as “rural folklore” consisted in the creation of an image of rural reality based on certain elements thereof, selected in a given time and place by folklore experts belonging to a totally different social group than the residents of rural areas. Folklore includes practices and contents communicated directly within groups and circles (prison folklore, children’s folklore, etc.) and is often identified as intangible heritage. However, in arriving at such identifications, we should take into account the context of the origin of a given practice and the context of its performance. **The phenomenon of folklorization implies that the practice of folklore is deprived of its original context.** This is of great importance from the point of view of intangible heritage as it changes the identity-forming significance of the tradition or practice in question: **it becomes a show** and its function in relation to the surroundings, most of all the social setting, and to the past of the group concerned undergoes change. **Folklorization is an integral part of modernisation processes** and those related to social transformation. In light of the phenomena described by the metaphor of the “cultural supermarket”,²⁰ i.e., late modern identity politics combined with the commodification of culture, folklorization has become a wide-spread phenomenon. The identity-forming significance of folklorization is becoming one of the key issues in the identification of

¹⁹ In its colloquial sense, “history” means the past, but from the methodological point of view in social sciences and humanities it is only one of the methods of speaking about the past. In this report, we are trying to make a distinction between the past and history, mostly because heritage is also a method of narrating the past, different from history in multiple aspects. Cf. M. Saryusz-Wolska, R. Traba (eds.), *Modi memorandi. Leksykon kultury pamięci*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Warsaw 2014.

²⁰ G. Matthews, *Global Culture/Individual Identity. Searching for Home in the Cultural Supermarket*, Routledge, London–New York 2000.

intangible heritage. The addressee of the folklorized message is of crucial importance here: [group identity expressed in the form of a souvenir, an object for tourists, will not constitute intangible heritage. Nor will a show addressed only to an audience outside the group which practices the tradition being demonstrated, as is the case with a vast majority of festivals and staged rituals or demonstrations of craftsmanship skills.](#)

The context of traditions being practiced is also crucial in the case of elements of intangible heritage such as languages. Endangered languages are currently becoming the focus of documentation practices aimed at grasping their vocabulary, grammar or syntax rules. Because a language which is no longer used ceases to be intangible heritage, measures taken to encourage its usage become essential. Nowadays, the use of local languages and dialects is in fact limited to the ritualised sphere of competitions or folk fairs – a language no longer used on a daily basis becomes a “costume” and not a living cultural element of the group speaking the language. Phrases in dialect, or dialect-styled embellishments which creep into literature, music or theatre are not the intangible heritage of the group speaking the dialect but of the group which created the literary, musical or theatre work. Hence [the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage in the form of a language should primarily consist in creating conditions for the language being spoken on a daily basis.](#) Nowadays, this means introducing the language into formal education in the region where it is used and creating media content in the language, instead of reducing it to a folklorized spectacle.

5. The identity narrative of a city and the intangible heritage of Warsaw

A vital part of a city's identity narrative is its past, primarily meaning remembrance and heritage, not scholarly history. Heritage allows the past to be updated and engenders its role in the social creation of the present.²¹ In Warsaw, the link between intangible heritage and social memory is mainly demonstrated in the sphere of practices referring to the past of World War II and the post-war reconstruction of the city. Part of *Warsaw's identity narrative is its identification as a city-phoenix, reborn from the ashes, and as a city of heroic sacrifice, directly related to the former. Due to the lack of continuity in the intangible heritage of the city, acquiring a special significance are the intangible practices which build the continuity of memory.* The practices commemorating the wartime past of the city and constructing it as intangible heritage focus around the Warsaw Uprising (1944) and the genocide of the city's Jewish community. In general, recurring practices, e.g., annual events, are socially more effective in passing on memory and potentially more sustainable in the long-term perspective, hence Warsaw intangible heritage practices related to the remembrance of World War II have assumed such a form. The anniversaries of specific events become collective, one-off commemorations of events that transpired as a process, such as Warsaw civilians being shot dead in the streets by the Nazis, or the systematic, multi-stage social exclusion and physical extermination of Jews. In both cases, the dates of the outbreak of armed uprisings constitute an opportunity to commemorate the said processes.

The entire modernity of Muranów was reborn from ashes. This was a part of the awareness and heritage of martyrdom. Like a Phoenix. The apocalypse opened up new life here. The material continuity was broken, but something mysterious happened. This materiality exists underground.

– Assoc. Prof. Jacek Leociak

Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN),

Polish Center for Holocaust Research,

Institute of Philosophy and Sociology PAN

Intangible heritage practices related to the remembrance of the Warsaw Uprising

Due to the links of the Warsaw Uprising with the Government-in-exile in London and the Home Army (AK), for four decades following the end of World War II, the memory of the event was cultivated via grass-roots initiatives surrounding former insurgents, their families and friends, and certain units and troops of the Polish Scouting and Guiding Association (ZHP, after the official re-establishment of the organisation in 1956). Each year, the practices, mostly based on oral narration

²¹ Cf. B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production", *Museum International* 2004, Vol. 56, No. 1–2, pp. 52–64.

on the events, culminated with a meeting at 5 p.m. on 1 August at the municipal cemetery (formerly military cemetery) at Powązki, next to the Gloria Victis monument (unveiled in 1946). Interest in the Warsaw Uprising and related history, especially among the “new” Warsaw residents of the time, was stimulated by a small but widely distributed assortment of press articles and books issued after the political thaw of 1956. Particularly noteworthy in this regard were a special edition of “Stolica” weekly (1 August 1956, *The Warsaw Uprising in Pictures [Powstanie Warszawskie w ilustracji]*), and, as one of our respondents pointed out, a “terribly censored book by Stanisław Podlewski titled *March through Hell [Przemarsz przez piekło]*, first printed in 1949.”

In addition to Powązki Cemetery, assemblies commemorating these events were also held in other locations where insurgents exhumed from the battlegrounds were laid to rest (e.g., Tarchomin Cemetery). This form of tradition had immense identity-related significance, and due to its oral expression and the political circumstances, it was quite exclusive in character as it was largely limited to members of intelligentsia families whose roots predated the war. The bearers of this tradition included mostly residents of the city who had fought in the uprising (and their families), and simply anyone who had survived it (for instance, civilians who had not taken up arms). Moreover, pre-war Warsaw residents and their descendants were a minority after World War II, so for most of the city’s population, the oral expression of the memory of the War did not relate to Warsaw or the Uprising. On the 25th anniversary of the outbreak of the uprising (1969), a new intangible form of public commemoration occurred in the city’s public space, in which the *Mokotów March* was played every day at 5 p.m. by the clocktower of the Gothic House at 59 Puławska St.

In the 1980s, though still not officially sanctioned by the authorities, the commemoration practices grew beyond the circle of people directly related to the intelligentsia who had taken part in the Warsaw Uprising, becoming a form of protest against Communist Poland’s version of the wartime past and against the political reality of the Polish People’s Republic. This expansion of the group practising the tradition was also related to the emergence of new, officially approved commemoration sites, i.e., the Little Insurgent Monument (1983) and the Warsaw Uprising Monument (1989). Post-transformation changes to the state system resulted in the unencumbered dissemination of the memory of the Warsaw Uprising (including a slew of academic historical studies²²), making it one of the central – if not one of the most important – elements of Polish narration on World War II. As regards intangible heritage, this led to the politicising of such intangible cultural practices as meetings at Powązki Cemetery on 1 August or the collective singing of Warsaw Uprising songs in Warsaw public space, made possible after 1989, as well as to the emergence of contents and symbols related to the Uprising in popular culture, which meant their commercialisation and even their vulgarisation from the perspective of the bearers of the tradition. The widespread presence of themes related to the Warsaw Uprising was also connected with the opening of the Warsaw Rising Museum (2004) and, most of all, with the part of its educational activities which popularises the heroic and adventurous version of the narrative (see the Museum shop’s product range).

²² Cf. comprehensive studies: N. Davies, *Powstanie '44*, Wydawnictwo Znak, Kraków 2006; K. Krajewski, T. Łabuszewski, *Powstanie Warszawskie. Fakty i mity*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Warsaw 2006; J. M. Ciechanowski, *Powstanie Warszawskie. Zarys podłoża politycznego i dyplomatycznego*, Bellona, Pułtusk–Warsaw 2009.

The history of the Warsaw Uprising does not concern the majority of the residents, as Warsaw was, and still is, inhabited by a sizeable immigrant population. In this context, the acquired memory of the Uprising and the adoption of identity seems interesting.

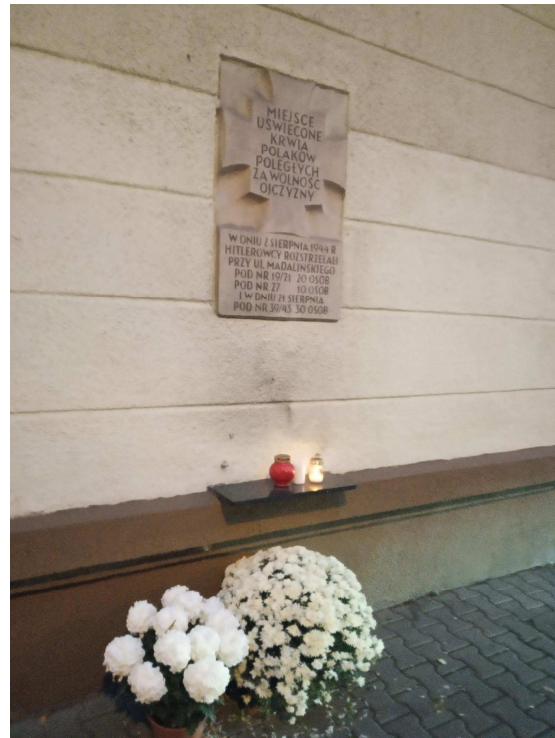
– Grzegorz Piątek,

architecture critic, historian specialising in the architecture of Warsaw

At the same time, since the beginning of 1945, grass-roots activities were carried out with a view to commemorating the victims of German occupation; charcoal or paint inscriptions were made on sites of public shootings, on walls or pavements, crosses were erected and plaques were placed, providing information on the date of a given event, and often on the victims. In 1950, city authorities began to mark the locations with sandstone plaques, designed by Karol Tchorek in several slightly different versions. The plaques mostly commemorated civilian victims of the war and occupation, identifying shootings from the Warsaw Uprising period and those perpetrated in the preceding period of autumn and winter 1943–44 on order of the commander of the SS (*Die Schutzstaffel der NSDAP*, an elite paramilitary unit of the German Nazi party) and of the Warsaw district police, Franz Kutschera. Some of the existing plaques (around 190 plaques out of over 400 remain) are sites of grass-roots practices related to cultivating the memory of the Warsaw Uprising; on 1 August and on other occasions, local residents light candles and lay flowers there. There are also places in Warsaw – like the Railway Engineer Co-operative House at 62 Wawelska St., on the corner of Pługa St., a tenement house at 15 Mianowskiego St. and the tenement house of the Railway Workers' Co-Operative at 60 Wawelska St., corner of 1 Uniwersytecka St., forming the Wawelska-Uniwersytecka-Mianowskiego-Pługa quarter – which have gone down in the history of the Warsaw Uprising as a solitary bastion called the “Wawelska Redoubt.” Currently, a tight-knit community operates there, meeting each year on the anniversary of the event (such practices are of a completely grass-roots nature).

Case study: commemorative practices in Mokotów

In the research, observations of commemorative practices focused on the area of Mokotów. The district has over 140 plaques and memorial sites dedicated to the victims of World War II, with particular attention to the Warsaw Uprising. Memorial sites are officially under the care of the Mokotów District Office of the City of Warsaw, although private owners of properties or premises and administrators of a given area (e.g. the Greenery Authority) also play a substantial part here. At the same time, some of the locations (mostly the plaques designed by Tchorek), have or had assigned community guardians, with the relevant information given on small brass plates (e.g. schools or companies).



4. A plaque designed by Karol Tchorek at 39/43 Madalińskiego St. at Easter time in 2020 and on 1 November 2020. Photo A. Czyżewska



5. Plaques at 61 Rakowiecka St., with visible remnants of a pasted-on piece of paper covering the word “Hitlerites.” According to our sources, the paper had the word “Germans” written on it. Photo A. Czyżewska



6. A candle lit under one of the plaques in Mokotów by Legia Club supporters on 1 August 2020; the small inscription plaque explains that the caretakers of the place are the students of a local primary school. Photo A. Czyżewska

During the observations, it was found that the candles are lit not only on the anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising (it was interesting to note that on that day candles and flowers could be found only under the plaques commemorating the Uprising) but also on other occasions, i.a., on 1 November and during Easter. While single candles appear under some plaques only occasionally, there are other places in the district where they are lit nearly at all times (e.g., Tchorek's plaque on Olesińska St.).

The greatest number of candles were placed under plaques and memorial sites on 1 August. Residents placed dozens of candles next to small yellow and red wreaths from the city (laid by city authorities), and candles were lit outside the Prime Minister's Office. The most popular places for residents to lay flowers and candles included two important locations, Morskie Oko Park and Dreszera Park, where the official celebrations attended by the district authorities were held. People arrived there all day (also from other parts of the city) to leave candles and take photographs. It is worth noting that some lanterns placed by the Prime Minister's Office (large, with a characteristic label) burned until November, their candles having been replaced when the original ones burned out.



7. A sheet of paper put up at 5 Rakowiecka St. on 1 August 2020; the text repeats the inscriptions of the official plaques, providing the date and the number of victims, but calls the perpetrators “Germans” instead of the official “Hitlerites”. Photo A. Czyżewska

An interesting situation took place on 1 November 2020, when visits to cemeteries were banned by the Government. As a gesture of solidarity with the manufacturers and sellers of occasional accessories, Warsaw residents bought large quantities of candles and potted chrysanthemums which they would later place at memorial sites. Candles and flowers could be found under nearly every plaque in Mokotów.

The number of memorial sites in the district is changing. Several new plaques are added each year. One of the 2018 Participatory Budget projects involved the commemoration of the Sielce redoubt at Chełmska St. The initiative was proposed by a former insurgent who turned to local activists for support. They prepared the participatory budget application and were listed as the project authors.²³ Nevertheless, it was the aforementioned Home Army veteran who had fought in the redoubt area that advocated for such commemoration. One of the residents of the Siekierki Estate put forward a similar initiative, wishing to commemorate the residents of Siekierki who had died during World War II. This project was also implemented.

²³ <https://bo.um.warszawa.pl/projekt/15018> [accessed on 17 January 2021].



8. A monument in Morskie Oko Park (Dworkowa St.) in memory of AK soldiers and insurgents murdered by the Nazis after the capitulation on 27 September 1944. Photograph taken on 1 November 2020. Photo A. Czyżewska

There are also grass-roots initiatives of an ephemeral nature. One example is a piece of paper someone hangs on 1 August on one of the buildings on Rakowiecka St., with a note saying: “A place sanctified by the blood of Poles who died for their homeland. 6 persons were killed here by Germans on 2 August 1944. 3 women, a child and 2 men. Lest we forget.” The note is probably placed by someone who lost family members at that location. On some plaques designed by Tchorek (e.g., at św. Andrzeja Boboli St.) someone covers the word “Hitlerites” with a piece of paper saying “Germans”. The notes are removed by persons responsible for the maintenance of memorial sites.



9. Flowers laid by officials on behalf of the Mayor of Warsaw and Mokotów District Authorities in front of the Gothic House on 1 August 2020. Photo A. Czyżewska

Intangible heritage practices related to the remembrance of the Holocaust

Although fighters from the former Warsaw Ghetto were commemorated for the first time in April 1946, and the impressive Ghetto Heroes Monument was erected nearby in 1948, there were practically no grass-roots commemorative practices in the Muranów area. This resulted from a combination of various demographic, political and psychological factors which have already been the subject of extensive academic analysis spanning several disciplines.²⁴ Grass-roots practices related to Jewish heritage and remembrance of the Holocaust occurred in the late 1970s in Warsaw intelligentsia circles consisting of people with no Jewish roots or recently discovered Jewish roots (e.g., Jewish Culture Week organised by the Club of Catholic Intelligentsia). This can be

²⁴ On the phenomenon of Jewish heritage in Europe in general: R. Gruber, *Virtually Jewish. Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe*, University of California Press, Berkeley 2002; on the commemoration of the Holocaust: M.C. Steinlauf, *Bondage to the Dead. Poland and the Memory of the Holocaust*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse 1997; a recent publication about Muranów: *Tu Muranów. Dzielnica ponad gruzami*, Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich POLIN, Warsaw 2020; on the commemoration of the Holocaust in the context of Warsaw and Poland: M. Bilewicz, M. Lewicka, A. Wójcik, "Living on the Ashes. Collective Representations of Polish-Jewish History among People Living in the Former Warsaw Ghetto Area", *Cities* 2010, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 195–203; E. Klekot, "Memory and Oblivion in the Cityscape. Commemorations in the Warsaw Districts of Muranów and Mirów", *Ethnologia Europaea* 2015, Vol. 45, No. 1, pp. 58–79; J. Nowak, S. Kapralski, D. Niedźwiedzki, *On the Banality of Forgetting. Tracing the Memory of Jewish Culture in Poland*, Peter Lang, Berlin 2018; A. Orla-Bukowska, "New Threads in an Old Loom. National Memory and Social Identity in Postwar and Post-Communist Poland", (in:) R.N. Lebow, W. Kansteiner, C. Fogu (eds.), *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe*, Duke University Press, Durham–London 2006, pp. 177–209.

attributed to the emergence of publications of fundamental importance to the subject of the Warsaw Ghetto genocide being in the discourse on post-war culture, including *Rozmowy z katem* [*Conversations with an Executioner*] by Kazimierz Moczarski (1977) and *Zdążyć przed panem Bogiem* [*Shielding the Flame*] by Hanna Krall (1977). In 1983, on the 40th anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, a march was held on Umschlagplatz as part of a grass-roots initiative. At the same time, the Catholic periodical “Znak” released a double issue devoted to Jewish subject matter (February-March 1983) and a group of volunteers began cleaning the Jewish cemetery in Warsaw. As one of the participants of the events recalled, in the 1980s, every year on the anniversary of the outbreak of the Ghetto Uprising, Father Jan Zieja would hold services in the church on Żytnia St. for the Jews who had died or been killed. During these masses, it was customary to not only recollect the history of the uprising in sermons, but also to read psalms in Polish and Hebrew.



10. “This a daffodil. Muranów is written here in Polish and Yiddish. It commemorates the Ghetto Uprising. I am from this neighbourhood, and I identify with its history. It was an important event, and it completely changed this place. And it influenced its later history.”

— Warsaw resident

In Europe, the practice of Jewish heritage by persons not connected to the Jewish community by way of family ties is not an exclusively Polish or Warsaw phenomenon. Since the beginning of the 21st century, commemorative initiatives, mostly grass-roots projects, are being implemented in

Muranów and other parts of Warsaw (by artists and NGOs, partly financed from city funds). Their initiator and coordinator is the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, which operated as a non-governmental social initiative between 1995 and 2005.

Intangible grass-roots heritage practices related to the remembrance of Warsaw Jews mostly include walks visiting the tangible remnants of heritage and memorial sites relating to the city's wartime past. They take the form of organised guided tours for groups (organised by individuals, on the initiative of various NGOs or the POLIN Museum) and tours without a guide based on materials available online or in books;²⁵ and are attended by people from all over the city. With regards to the residents of districts with a Jewish past, in particular Muranów, such walks are part of the lifestyle, because strolling through one's neighbourhood is considered to be a natural Warsaw thing. Walks, understood as a practice of intangible heritage, are related to building a specific physical relationship with the surroundings by moving around in a way which is defined as a "tourist gait" in anthropology.²⁶ This involves attentive, multi-sensory observation of the surrounding area and a desire to expand one's knowledge on the items and phenomena being observed. In the context of Warsaw identity, in which a vital element is a neighbourhood-based experience of city living, such walks seem to have potential to be a form of intangible heritage practice.²⁷ However, in former Ghetto areas, much like the interest in Jewish history and in the post-war history of one's own neighbourhood, this practice seems to pertain to residents who moved here after 2000.

We are all descendants of newcomers, regardless of which generation we belong to. Warsaw has always assimilated newcomers.

— Jerzy Majewski,
Warsaw scholar

Intangible heritage practices related to the remembrance of post-war reconstruction

Inasmuch as the cyclicity of anniversary celebrations (1 August; the "Daffodils" campaign on the anniversary of the outbreak of the Ghetto Uprising, organised by the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews) facilitates the ritualisation of practices in the two previous spheres of remembrance creating the identity-related narrative of Warsaw, the process of the city's reconstruction after World War II did not generate a specific date which could become an occasion for regular commemorative practices. Furthermore, memory of the reconstruction often gives way to narration about pre-war Warsaw, constructed as a nostalgic vision of the city's bygone magnificence, of which every trace

²⁵ Cf., for example, guidebooks by Jan Jagielski; also B. Engelking, J. Leociak, *Przewodnik po nieistniejącym mieście*, Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, Warsaw 2013.

²⁶ S. Osterlund-Potzsch, "Pedestrian Art. The Tourist Gait as Tactic and Performance", *Ethnologia Europaea* 2010, Vol. 40, No. 2, pp. 14–28.

²⁷ Cf. *Warszawa w doświadczeniu mieszkańców. Raport z badania etnograficznego*, 2015 (a research report); *Badanie tożsamości Warszawy i jej mieszkańców*, report.

was destroyed by the reconstruction. At the same time, the reconstruction is mentioned mostly in the context of Warsaw's immovable heritage, meaning activities aimed at symbolically bringing back the urban-planning continuity of the city.

Grass-roots practices focusing on the commemoration of the reconstruction are currently present in the area of the Bielany I, II, III and IV housing estates, built in 1950–1965, known to their residents as “Piechotkowo” in memory of their architects, Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka. These practices take the form of commemorative activities cultivating the memory of the architects within the estate grounds (murals) and are reflected in their very name. No other architects of modernist or socialist-realist housing estates in restructured Warsaw have become a part of neighbourhood folklore to such an extent as the Piechotkas have. This might result from the fact that they personify both the figure of the “grandparent – Warsaw insurgent” (both architects participated in the Uprising), a figure of extraordinary value in Warsaw identity, and the figure of the “grandparent – builder of the People's Poland,” one which tends to be closer to the hearts of contemporary Warsaw residents born in the city.

6. The experience of living in Warsaw and intangible heritage

The neighbourhood and its significance from the perspective of intangible heritage

Bonds with your neighbourhood constitute an important element of the experience of living in Warsaw. As reported by people born in Warsaw, the area where you live as a child and teenager often plays an identity and formative function, even if you live elsewhere as an adult. A bond with one's neighbourhood is related to the aforementioned "identity-related walks," which demonstrate features of intangible heritage practice. A characteristic aspect of a relationship formed with a housing estate is its foundation in direct, physical accessibility: a housing estate is an area which you get to know and use on foot.

It is important to have your bar, your hair stylist or your greengrocer's. The Paragraf Bar is one of the spots in Warsaw where I feel comfortable, it is an extension of my living room, my home. We have been coming here since secondary school.

— Warsaw resident

Bazaars

Shopping at local bazaars, some of which have a multi-generational history (e.g. Wolumen, a market behind Mirowska Hall, the market on Szembeka Square, or the market next to Banacha Hall) is an integral part of living in Warsaw. Różycki Bazaar occupies a special place among Warsaw markets due to both its long history (it was established in 1882) and its location in Old Praga, a district particularly prone to alienating folklorization narratives of the well-educated and more affluent residents of left-bank Warsaw, not to mention its substantial role in meeting the consumption needs of Warsaw residents in times of shortages in Communist Poland. However, Różycki Bazaar, and the "Ciuchy" Market in Rembertów, just like the former open-air market on Polna St., of great importance in the Communist Poland era, did not serve as local markets but were places where hard-to-get products could be bought, mostly imported and luxury goods, creating conditions for profitable trade, though not always legally. *Różycki Bazaar is also associated with its specific street food tradition – meat-stuffed potato dumplings (pyzy) packed in jars, which probably came there after World War II as an import from "the East"* (as Anna Dąbrowska, one of the experts, mentioned in her interview, written accounts from 1945 indicate the dumplings were considered a novelty, and that they were cooked in people's homes and sold in the streets). Currently, the area next to the renovated Różycki Bazaar houses the Praga Museum of Warsaw, a major actor of the processes related to the intangible heritage of right-bank Warsaw (oral history archives, documentation of crafts workshops and revitalisation programmes addressed to tradespeople), as well as stylised food establishments where tourists visiting Praga can try this traditional dish.

Warsaw cuisine is rather based on left-overs, a cuisine of the poor. Pork trotters in aspic is boiled pig's feet, which is not a particularly attractive type of meat. Vegetable salad is made from vegetables used in cooking soup. Warsaw's dishes have a lot of traces of poverty.

— Magdalena Maślak,

*author of a culinary education programme,
POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews*

Cake shops and coffee bars

The local experience of living in the city is, to some extent, also related to culinary intangible heritage practices. Mainly, these pertain to establishments producing craft confections and baked goods: cream-filled rolled wafers at Wiatraczna Roundabout (Alina Przewłocka), doughnuts on Górczewska St. (Zagoździński), gingerbread biscuits on Grabowska St., Blikle rose-filled doughnuts, sweets at Radzikowski cake shop. Frequenting coffee bars (Paragraf, Bar Kawowy near the Gruba Kaśka well, Piotruś Bar on Nowy Świat St.) can also be regarded as culinary intangible heritage. Places of this kind attract customers of all ages, both those who wish to explore locations outside of the mainstream and those who are nostalgic aficionados of familiarity and affordable meals.

Frequent visitors describe them as places from another era, and their attractiveness is rooted in the conviction that they are authentic. “These places have a long-standing tradition,” they say. “But they are not museums.” They also point to the fact that new establishments which charge high prices and require a certain refinement come and go in Warsaw all the time, while the coffee bars are still here. According to regulars, the prices and behaviour standards in bars make them accessible to everyone. Coming to these places has an egalitarian dimension; it allows you to step outside your social circle and meet a whole cross-section of Warsaw society. “They are places in which relationships between various people are built, and each of them feels like it’s your place.”

Coffee bars have been operating without interruption for decades, but their current decor mostly dates back to the 1990s. Though they were originally run by the “Społem” Warszawska Spółdzielnia Spożywców (WSS – Warsaw Consumer Co-operative), after 1989 former “Społem” employees became leaseholders. Some establishments, e.g. Bar Kawowy near Gruba Kaśka, are run by successive generations of leaseholders. When some of the bars faced a threat of closure (e.g. Bajka or Amatorska), their customers came to their defence. At Paragraf, established in the 1960s, the leaseholders invited two regulars to start organising musical and culinary events in an effort to attract a younger clientele, which proved very popular and drew several hundred people.²⁸

These places are universal. They appeal to all kinds of people. Apart from us, our friends, and Art Academy students, during the

²⁸ www.facebook.com/Cafe-Bar-Paragraf-135872803129468/events [accessed on 17 January 2021].

day they are visited by lawyers, or seniors living in nearby buildings.

— *Warsaw resident*

Wuzetka, a chocolate sponge cake with whipped cream popular in the communist era, is closely tied to coffee bars. It can be regarded as an example of Warsaw culinary heritage due to its namesake – the W-Z Route (East-West Route), which opened concurrently with the cake’s introduction by state-owned confectioneries.

Practices related to the landscape and nature

A housing estate is generally an area which is used and explored on foot, but beyond the housing-estate boundaries there are also pedestrian spaces like large city parks, urban forests and the Vistula River banks, in particular “the last wild urban beaches in Europe” along the right bank.

*Going to the Vistula river bank, picnics in the park, visits to a park... This is what my grandparents did and I think it is characteristic of Warsaw, though it was restricted in the 1980s. But it is returning nowadays.
And the city is beginning to return the river to the residents.*

— *Magdalena Maślak,*

*author of a culinary education programme,
POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews*

Some of the interesting phenomena from the perspective of intangible heritage practices include grass-roots actions taken by the residents of various parts of the city with a view to protecting elements of the local natural environment, such as, for example, blocking access to an oak tree slated to be cut down due to the construction of a tram line in Białołęka (the residents’ protests led to a change of plans), or the recent story of the so called Falenica Pine Tree, a unique, gnarled fifty-year-old tree that people call “the gate to the city” (FB: Falenicka Sosna), which was in danger of being cut down in 2018 due to plans to rebuild a nearby railway line. Thanks to local residents, the pine tree came in second in the 2020 Tree of the Year competition, organised by the Gaja Club, garnering nearly 15 thousand votes.

Sports practices

Residents’ engagement in sports has, to a certain extent, a neighbourly or local dimension, and it involves both identity-related elements (playing on and/or supporting local clubs, such as Hutnik Warszawa in Bielany District, Sarmata in Wola, or Gminny Klub Sportowy Targówek [Targówek

Municipal Sports Club]) and traditions passed on from generation to generation, relevant to specified groups of practitioners, such as cyclist “meetups” – informal gatherings and training sessions for cyclists. One of the most popular meetups sets off from Babka Roundabout (currently, officially called Radosława Roundabout), through Legionowo, Jabłonna to the dam in Dębe, where there is “one of few climbs [in Masovia] where you can race,” as one of our interlocutors explained.

Another route leads from the defunct “Nowe Dynasy” cycling track at Podskarbińska St. to Pruszków, where the only functioning cycling track in the Warsaw area is located.

As regards ties with local clubs, of significance are the communities that form around them, whose tight-knittedness and explicit identification foster local identity. Clubs grow their own communities through various means. They draw from their own history and from connections with the history and nature of a given neighbourhood; the Hutnik club relies on its connections with the Warsaw Steelworks and workers’ traditions, the Sarmata Club evokes the pre- and post-war history of Wola District as a district of working-class people and communities with ties to large industrial plants. The clubs run sports academies for children with the hope of potentially bolstering the club’s local presence. As one of our interlocutors put it: “It is easier to identify with a club if it has a local player in its ranks – a player from here, from Powiśle or Czerniaków... Or a player who moved here when he was 12 to perfect his skills at the academy. This makes you identify with the club more than if the players were transferred here and come and go ... nevertheless, they were shaped somehow here on the spot. Their level of connection and identity with the club is different than that of ‘mercenaries.’ This is great.” The academies and sports schools also attract young players’ parents and families to the matches. The clubs make and sell merchandise for supporters (e.g., scarves, T-shirts, sweatshirts, etc.; Hutnik also has mugs, softshell jackets, baby bodysuits and even Hutnik-brand coffee). The Hutnik Club also runs a pub under the same name, where Hutnik beer is served. Another Warsaw-based sports club with its own brand of beer is the new Alternatywny Klub Sportowy “Zły” (established in 2015) connected with the Szmulki area.



11. Interior of the Hutnik Club supporter store. Photo A. Czyżewska

Why do you support a football team? It is a way of spending your free time, it evokes emotions, provides an opportunity to build and experience emotions. We need such emotions. And it is easier to support someone you know and like. ... Blood is thicker than water.

— Warsaw resident



12. A Hutnik Warszawa scarf. Photo A. Czyżewska

In the context of sports activities, the form of the common or collective practices, and how a community and its identity develop around them, is of great importance. All those providing information pointed out this fact, regardless of the sport they do. Hence the crucial role of clubs as social spheres where individuals can pursue their passion for sport and socialise. Although one can go cycling or rowing alone, our interlocutors stressed the value of collective work, mutual motivation and joint responsibility. At the same time, they asserted that they liked spending their free time together (but that deteriorating relations in a club can also be a motivation to quit). Hence the need to organise joint activities which go beyond sports.

[The Warsaw Rowing Association \(WTW\)](#), the oldest sports club in the City, organised various cultural and social events in addition to providing conditions for doing sports. Right after World War II, WTW was not only a sports club but also a meeting place for young Warsaw residents who survived the Uprising, and an alternative to ZMP (Union of Polish Youth). “My mother did not need to sign up to PZPR [Polish United Workers’ Party] because she was a WTW member.” WTW organised various events for its members. “They were a big deal all over Warsaw. Everyone wanted to come to a Christmas or a New Year’s party organised by the rowers at Foksal.” Kayaking trips were also organised.

In 1892, WTW was the organiser of the “garlands” festival on the Vistula River on St John’s Eve – a traditional custom “which has permeated into the city’s folklore” and which lived on for decades, enjoying huge popularity. At the time, it constituted intangible heritage, but the mass festivities which are currently held at the Fountain Park cannot be regarded as such anymore. Nowadays, social life around the club is picking up steam again, but on a much smaller scale than in the past.

Practices related to the holiday calendar

Like the “garlands,” Easter is a part of the holiday calendar, during which there is a tradition of Christ’s Tombs being built in Catholic churches. The custom of visiting the tombs in various

churches has existed since the Saxon dynasty²⁹ era (roughly the first half of the 18th century). During communist times, and the 1980s in particular, the tombs were designed by prominent artists and they not only preserved the moral message of Christ's death and resurrection, but often, similarly to Kraków's nativity scenes or the Harvest Festival wreaths in Częstochowa, would symbolically refer to the current political situation. Currently, especially at the Visitationist Church in Warsaw, where Paweł Sosnowski is the artistic curator, the Tombs are intriguing works of art with a transcendent message, while those erected in other churches still tend to refer to the current social and political situation of the Church and Poland.

Warsaw is best preserved in its cemeteries. Those are the places that are significance to the Warsaw spirit.

— Assoc. Prof. Błażej Brzostek,
Institute of History, University of Warsaw

The custom of providing an updated artistic setting for liturgical Easter decorations, which are eagerly visited and enjoyed by the city's residents, is not typical of Warsaw only, yet can still be regarded as an example of the intangible heritage of Warsaw.

Mass visits to cemeteries and lighting candles on graves on 1 November is a Poland-wide tradition and a characteristic, identity-related trait of the country. In Warsaw, this has a very local and unique element, i.e., the sale of pańska skórka candy around cemeteries. Sometimes, these sweets are sold by specialist candy vendors and sometimes by part-time candle sellers who have other full-time occupations. According to our interlocutors who are involved in this trade, the candy used to be called "panieńska skórka" ("maiden's skin") and was marketed as a cure for sore throat. It is difficult to ascertain when and how it first appeared in front of cemetery gates. The candy's production, though conducted without official licence or industrial equipment, is professional: while the recipe is widely available, it is not easy to obtain a hard block without sufficient expertise (the correct hardness is a sign of pańska skórka's "authenticity"), and those lacking it end up with a sticky mass. Potential sellers find manufacturers via personal contacts and buy pańska skórka candy in A4 format blocks 5 cm in thickness, which they then chop into smaller pieces and wrap in paper. [Pańska skórka candy is a unique Warsaw product, and its manufacturing tradition is a piece of the city's culinary heritage.](#)

When cemeteries were closed on 1 November 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic, numerous sellers of pańska skórka took their business online and communicated with customers on Facebook, often receiving bulk orders of several dozen or even several hundred pieces.

I've been eating pańska skórka since I was a little girl. That was the reason why I went to the cemetery. Not to commemorate those who

²⁹ J. Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warsaw 1985, p. 47.

had passed away. I went there for the candy... Now, I don't like it anymore. But as a child, I couldn't resist it. If you sell the candy, you approach it differently. Standing at the stall and eating it for three straight days, it makes my stomach turn. But to be honest, I still eat it.

— Warsaw resident

Craftsmanship as intangible heritage of Warsaw

Urban craftsmanship traditions may constitute a city's intangible heritage if they involve specific, traditional craftsmanship knowledge passed on directly from generation to generation. According to old Polish tradition, the greatest treasures of the Polish Commonwealth were maidens from Kraków, vodka from Gdańsk, gingerbread from Toruń and ankle boots from Warsaw.

The tradition of Warsaw-based shoemakers is carried on not only by Jan Kielman's workshop on Chmielna St., established in 1883, but also by the "Stopa" Specialist Work Cooperative, established in 1950, and by the shoemaking workshop of Tomasz Pietrzak at 46 Targowa St., established in 2017 by a craftsman working in the trade since 2005.

Craftsmanship, as a way of life, is vital to the city not only because it is a source of income for artisans who pass on unique skills which constitute the intangible heritage, but also due to the fact that the presence of tradespeople contributes to the identity of neighbourhoods and city districts. The safeguarding of, and support for, craftsmanship is an area where the city's authorities and institutions, as well as non-governmental organisations, have begun to focus extensive efforts, as in, for example, the preferential lease scheme offered to artisans by the housing authority (Zakład Gospodarki Mieszkaniowej). The "Miasto jest Nasze" Association developed a map of trade workshops in individual districts. The Praga Museum of Warsaw is implementing programmes for the revitalisation and promotion of Praga-based craftsmanship, as well as for the support of intergenerational communication of traditional craftsmanship skills. The latter is achieved in a number of ways: (1) via apprentice programmes addressed to young artisans working in a given trade, offering them an opportunity to learn from a master; (2) via a programme implemented in partnership with the Faculty of Design at the Academy of Fine Arts (ASP) addressed to students interested in collaborating with traditional trade practitioners (under this programme Ewelina Czaplicka-Ruducha completed a 2016 project titled *Artisans of Design – the Development of a Men's Clothing Collection in Collaboration with Warsaw Artisans*); (3) during workshops addressed to amateur handicraft enthusiasts wishing to improve their skills. In 2019, a special handicrafts workshop with tools, machines and guidance provided by Warsaw artisans was set up at the Praga Museum of Warsaw with a view to popularising crafts and facilitating contact between apprentices and ageing masters.

Warsaw music traditions

In Warsaw's popular music tradition, where the adaptation of global music styles is commonplace, one of the most prominent forms is the Warsaw tango, connected to the pre-war cabaret traditions of left-bank Warsaw and later with courtyard ensembles. Tango reached Poland from Buenos Aires and Montevideo via Paris. Presented for the first time as a dance in a play titled *Targ na*

dziewczęta at Warsaw's Teatr Nowości (1914), it quickly acquired a local, Warsaw colour thanks to a substantial group of outstanding songwriters and great demand from listeners. The main features distinguishing the Warsaw tango from its Argentinian precursor include a slower tempo and a melodic pattern strongly influenced by Romantic and Jewish music. Among the most famous of the several thousand Polish tango compositions are *Tango milonga* and *To ostatnia niedziela* by Jerzy Petersburski. Thriving during the occupation on both sides of the ghetto walls, in the streets and in restaurants, since the mid-1940s the Warsaw tango has become a staple in the repertoire of countless courtyard ensembles. But the Warsaw tango is not just entertainment music. Thanks to lyrics rooted in the social reality of the time and catchy, nostalgic melodies, it constitutes a vital and vivid vehicle for tradition (cf. for example *Warszawo ma; Złociste chryzantemy; Warszawo, moja Warszawo...*). Praga, on Warsaw's right bank, owes its unofficial anthem to the cabaret music of left-bank Warsaw – the song is *Chodź na Pragę*, popular among groups showcasing urban music folklore. *Chodź na Pragę* is a foxtrot from a variety show titled *Uśmiech Warszawy*, staged for the first time at the Morskie Oko cabaret in 1930. All of the show's music was composed by Artur Gold, with lyrics written by Tadeusz Stach (real name: Stanisław Biernacki). Artur Gold belonged among the most outstanding popular music composers of the inter-war period, having penned many hit songs, such as *Jesienne róże* (which can be regarded as an example of the Warsaw tango) or *Ta mała piła dziś*. He died in Treblinka in 1943.

It seems to me that we are experiencing a heyday of pre-war courtyard music. Everyone understands what the Warsaw tango is, and a lot of people know what a bandżola (a type of banjo) is. ... In Warsaw, the practice of music making in courtyards was particularly vibrant, as everyone had heard of Grzesiuk or knows the Kapela Praska band. Music being played in courtyards is a big part of our identity.

— Anna Karpowicz,
flautist, curator, activist

After World War II, bands specialising in Warsaw music folklore, like Stanisław Wielanek's Kapela Czerniakowska, Kapela Praska or Orkiestra z Chmielnej, drew from the tradition of ensembles playing music in courtyards. As a music making style originating in Praga, the courtyard ensemble concept was commemorated in the form of a monument at the corner of Floriańska and Kłopotowskiego streets. An attempt to follow the tradition of playing music in courtyards is the Warszawskie Combo Taneczne, whose founder and leader, Jan Młynarski, honours the heritage of Stanisław Grzesiuk and the Jaworski Brothers' Orchestra (as a side note, Grzesiuk's "Warsaw-ness" was questioned by one of our interlocutors because he was not born in Warsaw). The list of contemporary Warsaw-based performers of traditional courtyard music also included Czesław Bend, Trupa Teatralna "Warszawiaki," the Warsaw Sentimental Orchestra and Heniek Małolepszy.

Another global popular music trend adapted by performers from Warsaw is [Warsaw hip-hop](#), characterised by references to the local reality. Bemowo has its own more-than-twenty-year-old hip-hop tradition, which spawned the famous song *Yelonky* by Fenomen. Warsaw hip-hop is not yet an intergenerational phenomenon, but with its reception in many ways resembling that of the tango some one hundred years ago, it is likely to become a part of Warsaw's musical heritage.

Another author and performer of songs about Warsaw is Paweł Sołtys, known as Pablopavo, who affirms his Warsaw spirit and local colour while also incorporating the stylistics of reggae/urban folk with a contemporary twist. His songs abound in references to Warsaw geography, places like Grochów, Targówek and Praga Północ. Pablopavo has also produced new arrangements of songs from Stanisław Grzesiuk's oeuvre, such as for example *Ballada o Stanisławie Okrzei*. It is worth stressing that while Pablopavo's original lyrics often deal with dodgy subjects just like the lyrics of earlier songs belonging to Warsaw's musical folklore, they relate to contemporary life and not that of the 1920s or 1950s. For instance, they speak about the gangs of the mid-1990s, the contemporary situation of working class people or problems with social insurance. One of the most popular songs by Pablopavo, titled *To jest piosenka o różnych rzeczach*, tells the tragic story of the unsolved 2011 death of Jolanta Brzeska, an activist fighting for tenants' rights.

Other artists representing the urban folklore current and having clear connections with Warsaw locality include Lesław and his band Komety. Lesław's recordings are filled with references to Żoliborz and Bielany (an urban legend states he never crosses the overpass above Gdański Station and has spent his whole life in Żoliborz), though Mokotów and Ochota also make appearances. Both artists' songs include love stories and reminiscences on ordinary life in the streets of Warsaw, which can be regarded as a continuation of the lyrical tradition of [Warsaw bards](#).

Urban courtyard music – a blend of classy and elegant culture with rural culture (no money or tickets). A combination of erudition and knowledge from books and erudition and knowledge from the streets.

— Jan Młynarski, musician,
leader of *Warszawskie Combo Taneczne*

The “acoustic intangible heritage of Warsaw” is surely a more comprehensive term than “musical heritage.” The notion of “acoustic intangible heritage of Warsaw” encompasses not only the alarm signal commemorating W hour, which brings the entire city to a standstill, but also the urban sound and music landscape, a big part of which is also the music of Fryderyk Chopin, resounding in Chopin concerts at the Royal Łazienki Park near the composer's monument, or from the musical benches installed during revitalisation works at Krakowskie Przedmieście St. (2009), a hit with tourists. Thanks to long-standing festival and jam session traditions dating back to 1958, jazz music is also a vital element of the city's “acoustic heritage.”

Reconstruction and revival activities

[The definition of intangible heritage under the Convention places emphasis on direct expression](#)

and continuity of tradition. Given that, practices consisting in the revitalisation or reconstruction of old traditions and customs, which were abandoned, cannot be regarded as heritage. In Warsaw, due to the substantial breach of population continuity as a result of war losses and the post-war inflow of population from outside the city and the city's rapid modernisation, the continuity of numerous traditions was broken. Using folkloristic and historical knowledge, as well as literary inspirations, NGO activists are undertaking various activities aimed at the revitalisation or reconstruction of cultural phenomena like the boat-building tradition on the Vistula River (Binduga Warszawska, Czerniakowski Port, "Szerokie Wody" foundation), Warsaw music folklore (Heniek Małolepszy, Teściowa Śpiewa band) and the Warsaw dialect, which currently constitutes a stylisation tool in humorous literary and musical works ("Gwara Warszawska" Association, Wiech's Laurel Wreath Competition). Traditions of oral expression, being inspiration for contemporary forms of popular culture, are utilised in the "Praga gada" Project [Praga talking], in which stories and memories of senior residents of right-bank Warsaw collected in the Oral History Told Differently Archives maintained by Fundacja Animacja and available in the foundation's collection of recordings (<http://pragagada.pl/>) are transformed into comic books.

7. Conclusions and further research

The intangible heritage of Warsaw, on the one hand, seems to be deeply set in the narrative on the city's wartime and post-war history (practices commemorating the Warsaw Uprising, the Holocaust, and remembrance of the reconstruction of the city after World War II), and on the other hand – due to the tangible nature of the practices they create – it is related to the neighbourhood level of city organisation, the level most accessible through direct experience of living in a given location. The panoramic nature of the research resulted from its exploratory nature, but the data collected seems to indicate that the next step could be a deeper exploration and documentation of several selected cases which could help future users of a map of such practices (to be supplemented by residents) to better realise what kind of phenomena should be taken into consideration.

Due to the fact that this document is an “opening report,” an invitation to further discussions and reflections on potential specific measures to be undertaken, it was limited to the several areas discussed in part II of this report. It surely does not exhaust the subject matter of the intangible heritage of Warsaw. Our research confirmed that there are many more spheres worth exploring, and each conversation with the residents of Warsaw unveiled further trails which should be followed in the future. The sports practices deserving of study after the pandemic restrictions are lifted include the traditions accompanying horse race betting at Służewiec Racetrack during the Great Warsaw Race [Wielka Warszawska] or the Mokotów Race (Mokotów Award Race) – in 2020, all races were held without spectators. Other threads related to intangible heritage include, for instance, the tradition of pigeon breeding and the bird fairs which were held after World War II at Stalowa St.

Also noteworthy are the practices engaged in by the communities of tenants and owners of allotment gardens as well as the potential outcomes of a competition with a long-standing tradition called “Warsaw in flowers and greenery” (first edition in 1929) in the form of grass-roots traditions or a canon of household decorative plant cultivation. The practices related to immovable and tangible heritage are also interesting, and constitute a separate category of elements contributing to the development of city residents' identity, such as, for example, the fund-raising campaign at Powązki Cemetery initiated by Jerzy Waldorff. The commemorative practices described in Part II surely require separate, extended research, as does each of the areas discussed there.

Part III

8. The domestic legal system and the safeguarding of intangible heritage
9. The cultural policy of the city and the intangible heritage of Warsaw
10. The analysis of Warsaw programmes, projects and initiatives – on undertakings with intangible cultural heritage in the background
11. The operations of District Offices and intangible heritage
12. Summary: Intangible cultural heritage of Warsaw at the heart of sustainable development of the co-city

This part of the report is based on:

- 1) analysis of legal regulations;
- 2) analysis of strategic documents, marking out the directions of thinking about and acting in the sphere of culture, and defining the cultural policy of the city;
- 3) analysis of Warsaw programmes, projects and initiatives referring to the issue of intangible heritage;
- 4) analysis of the answers obtained as part of a survey conducted after a one-day training session devoted to the subject of intangible heritage.

8. The domestic legal system and the safeguarding of intangible heritage

The Polish Constitution refers directly to the protection of **national heritage** (Article 5),³¹ **cultural heritage** (Article 6(2)) and cultural property (Articles 6(1) and 73). Cultural heritage, without distinction between its individual elements, tangible or intangible, is covered by constitutional protection.

The essential laws which organise and define measures in the sphere of cultural heritage, part of it being intangible heritage, include:

- the Act of 21 November 1996 on Museums³² (Journal of Laws of 1997, No. 5, item 24, w/ amendments), whose Article 1 reads as follows: “A museum is a non-profit organizational entity which collects and preserves natural and cultural heritage of mankind, both tangible and intangible, informs about the values and contents of its collections, diffuses the fundamental values of Polish and world history, science and culture, fosters cognitive and aesthetic sensitivity and provides access to the collected holdings”;
- the Act of 23 July 2003 on the Safeguarding of, and Care for, Heritage³³ (Journal of Laws of 2003, No. 162, item 1568, w/ amendments), which does not refer directly to “intangible cultural heritage” but a reverse relationship can be noted here: The Convention refers to tangible heritage elements, indicating that the definition of intangible cultural heritage also includes “instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces.” The definition laid down in the Convention also includes facilities which fall within the statutory definition of a heritage site;
- the Act of 8 March 1990 on Commune-level Local Government³⁴ (Article 7(1)(9)) under

³¹ Article 5 of the Constitution: “The Republic of Poland shall guard the independence and integrity of its territory, shall ensure human and civil rights and liberties, and citizens’ safety, and shall protect the national heritage, and ensure the protection of natural environments in line with the principle of sustainable development.”

³² cons. Journal of Laws of 2020, item 902.

³³ cons. Journal of Laws of 2020, items 282, 782, 1378.

³⁴ cons. Journal of Laws of 2020, items 713, 1378.

which cultural matters fall under a commune's own tasks, including municipal libraries and other cultural institutions, as well as the protection of, and care for, heritage sites;

— the Act of 5 June 1998 on County-level Local Government³⁵ (Article 4(7)) under which county authorities perform tasks above municipality level, including in the sphere of culture and the protection of, and care for, heritage sites;

— the Act of 5 June 1998 on Province-level Local Government³⁶ (Article 14(3)) under which province authorities perform tasks in the sphere of culture and the protection of, and care for, heritage sites.

A special role of territorial local government units also arises from the provisions laid down in Article 15 of the Convention, under which, within the framework of its safeguarding activities of intangible cultural heritage, each State Party shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management.

It is worth noting that a commune, as a territorial local government unit, is defined as a community occupying a specified territory which acts through its representative bodies (municipal authorities).

Territorial local government units currently perform their tasks in the sphere of culture and safeguarding cultural heritage, i.a., through;

- 1) local-government cultural institutions, including commune and municipal cultural centres;
- 2) municipal heritage protection officers (as regards tasks entrusted in the scope of government administration);
- 3) museums managed by local-government authorities.

This also applies to Warsaw, which has special status as it is a municipality with the status of a city with district rights.

³⁵ cons. Journal of Laws of 2020, item 920.

³⁶ cons. Journal of Laws of 2020, item 1668.

9. The cultural policy of the city and the intangible heritage of Warsaw

The city's system is first and foremost governed by the Act of 15 March 2002 on the system of the Capital City of Warsaw (further referred to as “the Act”³⁷) and the Statutes of the City of Warsaw (further referred to as “the Statutes”³⁸).

Neither of these instruments mentions the terms which are of key importance to the report, such as culture, identity, and intangible cultural heritage.

These terms are present in about 60 ordinances and resolutions,³⁹ although it should come as no surprise that they do not provide details on how the terms ought to be interpreted. The Culture Development Programme,⁴⁰ adopted in 2012, and its successor, the Cultural Policy of the City of Warsaw (further referred to as “the Policy”),⁴¹ constituting a part of the #Warszawa2030 Strategy, can be regarded as the most important documents defining the cultural policy of the city in the last decade.

The new approach is clearly centred around the elements which constitute the essence of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage:

- a space for cultural practices as a space for reflecting on the sustainable development of the city, including the creation of a “responsible community” which is inclusive and diverse;
- “the bearers” of intangible cultural heritage are at the same time – as per the Policy – “the driving force of the city,” “the creators and users of the city,” and not just passive “recipients.”

The Policy refers to the four objectives of the #Warszawa2030 Strategy; (a) responsible community, (b) convenient localness, (c) functional space, (d) creative environment.

Each of the objectives may utilise and be fulfilled through the potential of Warsaw's intangible cultural heritage. It is clear that the Policy is not an implementing document, and cannot indicate specific solutions or measures, or establish a hierarchy of the objectives. However, it responds to questions about the key values, principles, and priority directions of culture development in Warsaw.

We believe that the spheres of the city's living, creative and evolving intangible cultural heritage analysed in Part II, significant to the identity of communities, groups and individuals (also at the level of city districts), present still untapped potential to collectively accomplish each of the

³⁷ Journal of Laws of 14 September 2018, item 1817, consolidated text of the act on the system of the Capital City of Warsaw.

³⁸ Official Journal of the Masovia Province of 9 December 2019, item 14465, Notice No. 1/2019 of the Warsaw City Council of 28 November 2019 on announcing the consolidated text of the Resolution on the Adoption of the Statutes of the City of Warsaw.

³⁹ bip.warszawa.pl/Menu/przedmiotowe/zarzadzenia_uchwaly/wyszukiwarka_zarzadzenia_uchwaly.htm?WTekst=dziedzictwo&page=3 [accessed on 18 January 2021].

⁴¹ http://www.kulturalna.warszawa.pl/pi/117202_1.pdf [accessed on 18 January 2021].

⁴¹ Appendix to Ordinance No. 1007/2020 of the Mayor of Warsaw dated 5 August 2020.

aforementioned objectives together with the bearers of intangible heritage.

The values which were identified in the Policy as crucial to the sustainable development of the city include responsibility, openness, diversity, roots and freedom.

These values correspond with the values included in the definition of intangible heritage promoted by the 2003 UNESCO Convention:

- joint responsibility and joint decisions about what is essential to the identity of communities, groups and individuals – the bearers of intangible heritage;
- openness to other communities, groups and individuals; inclusiveness, readiness for dialogue and willingness to share heritage knowledge;
- diversity of people and of the practices, customs and traditions which are important to them, with none considered superior in relation to others;
- roots, referred to as “a sense of identity and continuity” in the Convention;
- and, last but not least, freedom which in respect of intangible heritage means acceptance of change, understanding of its dynamics and absence of top-down/unilateral interference to this sphere and to the meanings assigned to a given expression of heritage by its bearers.

10. Analysis of Warsaw programmes, projects and initiatives – on undertakings with intangible cultural heritage in the background

The analysis was focused on selected programmes, projects and initiatives implemented or coordinated by the City of Warsaw since 2011 (the year of Poland's ratification of the 2003 UNESCO Convention) or, in some cases, commenced at an earlier date, if relevant data was available, covering a period ending in 2020. The selection was based both on the adequacy of sources (the probability of finding mention of an initiative related to intangible cultural heritage within a given sphere), and the availability of data and information. Ultimately our attention turned to:

- the art scholarship programme of the City of Warsaw;⁴²
- open calls for proposals addressed to non-governmental organisations, announced by the City of Warsaw as part of entrusting public tasks to NGOs;⁴³
- Warsaw Participatory Budget for 2021;⁴⁴
- the operations of the following City of Warsaw departments: the Culture Department, Sports & Leisure Department, Heritage Protection Department, as organisational units of the City of Warsaw Office, where the initiation of measures related to intangible cultural heritage is most probable.

The results of the desk research confirmed the state of affairs described earlier in this report – intangible heritage is still a relatively new concept, but no longer unknown. Therefore, searching for information on the intangible cultural heritage of Warsaw is still a pioneering enterprise, the initiatives potentially qualifying as measures related to intangible heritage being dispersed.

For instance, the art scholarships analysed as part of the research are awarded by the City of Warsaw⁴⁵ in eight categories (film, literature, music, care for heritage sites, dance, theatre, visual arts, and dissemination of culture), and although none of them are directly related to the category of intangible cultural heritage, some of the scholarships might be regarded as existing in its orbit, such as, for example, the scholarship projects by Jan Mencwel, titled *The Remembrance of Reconstruction / the Reconstruction of Remembrance – Audio Accounts of Witnesses of History, Editing and Dissemination, Development of Documentation and a Website Outline* (2015), by Ewelina Czaplicka-Ruducha: *Artisans of Design – the Development of a Men's Clothing*

⁴² www.kulturalna.warszawa.pl/stypendia-artystyczne.html [accessed on 30 December 2020].

⁴³ [www.ngo.um.warszawa.pl/otwarte-konkursy/nowy-wykaz?tid=All&tid 1=All&field data waznosci value\[value\] \[year\]=&tid 2=All](http://www.ngo.um.warszawa.pl/otwarte-konkursy/nowy-wykaz?tid=All&tid 1=All&field data waznosci value[value]www.ngo.um.warszawa.pl/otwarte-konkursy/nowy-wykaz?tid=All&tid 1=All&field data waznosci value[value] [year]=&tid 2=All) [accessed on 30 December 2020].

⁴⁴ bo.um.warszawa.pl/archiwum-pomyslow?regional=1 [accessed on 30 December 2020].

⁴⁵ Cf. <http://www.kulturalna.warszawa.pl/stypendia-artystyczne.html> [accessed on 30 December 2020]. The analysis below was prepared on the basis of widely available data.

Collection in Collaboration with Warsaw Artisans (2016), by Cezary Lisowski: *Stoneware from Praga* (2017), by Alicja Wysocka: *Handicrafts Always Made Here. Crafts Workshops and Co-operatives in Contemporary Warsaw* (2019), or by Jakub Polakowski: *A Film Account of Five Old Local Hairdressers and Barber Shops in Various Districts of Warsaw (Mokotów, Ochota, Wola, Praga, Żoliborz), the People Working There and Their Clients* (2012).⁴⁶

Analysis of the information published on the websites of the City of Warsaw and its subordinate departments revealed only faint traces of initiatives centred around the intangible heritage of Warsaw. Among these are the only competition organised to date by the City of Warsaw in which intangible heritage played a key role – *In Love with Warsaw* in 2016,⁴⁷ two conferences devoted to the topic of heritage (*Praga Anew* in 2018, and *Reconstruction. Preserving the Memory of Space* in 2005), and projects important from the perspective of housing-estate identity, such as *Post-Industrial Praga*, *Ursus Identity Chamber* or an initiative to establish a bugle-call for Wawer district.

The potential of intangible cultural heritage can surely be exploited (and has been exploited to a certain extent) as part of educational activities, for instance by the Education Department in the sphere of “Warsaw studies education.” It is worth mentioning that in 2020, one of the priorities of the Culture Promotion Fund (Fundusz Animacji Kultury) implemented as part of the Warsaw Cultural Education Programme (managed by the Culture Department) focused on “cultural education projects which are related to the safeguarding of the intangible heritage of the City of Warsaw, the respect for, and promotion of, such heritage among residents.” Two projects were awarded funding as part of the programme – *The Gallery of Forgotten Places 2.0*, implemented by the Doróżkarnia Culture Centre, and *Something for Ursus*, implemented by the Ursus Culture Centre. Education is surely one of the key areas thanks to which the intangible heritage of Warsaw will have a chance to find its place in the consciousness of the city’s residents.

As regards sports activities, it was slightly more difficult to find initiatives referring to intangible cultural heritage – most of the measures undertaken by the Sports & Leisure Department are centred around improving the physical fitness of Warsaw residents, and the extent to which the potential of intangible heritage is exploited in this sphere is insufficient. The website of the Sports & Leisure Department has information about kayak polo classes (with a black and white photograph which might suggest it is a long-lasting and intergenerational practice), traditional sailing school or boat building workshops, so it is clearly visible that the Vistula River has become a very important part of a healthy lifestyle in Warsaw (the Sports & Leisure Department has developed a whole programme entitled *Actively on the Vistula River*). A similar move could be made in relation to sports activities which constitute intangible heritage in an attempt to capitalise on the potential in this area, for example, by looking to the city’s living cycling traditions, despite the lack of a track, or supporting the identity-related activities of local sports clubs.

The situation is similar with the Green Warsaw programme⁴⁸ – the potential of intangible heritage could also be exploited in this area, especially as it has been partially noticed, its website including information on Warsaw forests being “tangible proof of the gardening traditions of

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Its objective was to promote the cultural heritage of the City of Warsaw in its intangible dimension (the historical traditions of places and communities, the symbolism of places, urban legends as an element of folklore) and creative photography.

⁴⁸ <https://zielona.um.warszawa.pl> [accessed on 9 February 2021].

Warsaw.”⁴⁹ The issue of local small-scale green spaces – squares and lawns – seems particularly interesting. According to data from the City of Warsaw, there are over 160 of such areas in Warsaw, but the website provides descriptions of only four squares, which might indicate that no measures have been undertaken with a view to archiving their history or the “greenery-forming” activities of local communities related to the sites. Turning public attention to grass-roots practices of caring for green spaces could become one of the ways to capitalise on the potential of intangible heritage in this sphere.

As regards open competitions addressed to non-governmental organisations, emphasis was placed on calls for proposals related to the sphere of culture after 2017 (i.a., calls related to the performance of public tasks “in the scope of culture, art, protection of cultural property and national heritage,” “in the scope of supporting and disseminating culture, art, protection of cultural property and national heritage,” and “in the scope of culture and art”). The submissions did not include any projects which directly referred to intangible heritage in their titles; however, about 50 projects could be regarded as to some extent related to this area. Most of these projects have references to either “oral history” or to the sphere of commemorating the Warsaw Uprising and the city’s post-war reconstruction. The remaining projects concerned culinary traditions, music, folklore, craftsmanship or sports. In this context, it seems appropriate to quote a comment from one of the survey participants, who noted that events related to intangible cultural heritage might struggle not only with insufficient funding (that is why one of the solutions could be to grant priority to such submissions or to establish a separate competition dedicated to this issue), but also with a certain routine approach to the selection of topics and methods for implementing a project on the part of the financing body (old, well-tested themes are prioritised, especially if they are “measurable”). Therefore, it seems necessary to rethink the ways cultural events are financed, so that it becomes possible to avoid the trap of favouring and choosing themes and forms of events which have already been explored.

| Year | Section | Competition | Project title | Organisation | Area |
|------|-----------|--|---|---|----------|
| 2018 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1887/2017 | The Lost Museum 2018 | Ad Artis Fundacja Sztuki SAR | Other |
| 2018 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 6187/2017 | The Cultural Heritage of Praga-Południe. Protecting, Documenting, Remembering | Fundacja „Hereditas” | Other |
| 2018 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1887/2017 | Social Archives of Warsaw | Stowarzyszenie Miłośników Ziemi Mazowieckiej „Masław” | Other |
| 2019 | Education | announced by way of ordinance No. 289/2019 | Wawer Farm | Fundacja „Akademia Innowacji” | Folklore |
| 2020 | Education | announced by way of ordinance No. 453/2020 | Forgotten Polish Tales, Games and Other Traditions | Fundacja „Szafa kultury” | Folklore |
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 7610/17 | Warsaw Folklore in the Past and Present | Klub Jagielloński | Folklore |
| 2019 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 2483/2018 | Our Beautiful Masovia – Culture, Art and Traditions of Masovian Ethnic Groups | Stowarzyszenie klubu seniora „66” | Folklore |

⁴⁹ <https://zielona.um.warszawa.pl/lasy> [accessed on 9 February 2021].

| | | | | | |
|------|-----------|---|--|--|--------------|
| 2017 | Education | announced by way of ordinance No. 774/2017 | "Great-Grandpa Franciszek's Stove Lid 2", Meaning Civilian Kayaks and Buses | Fundacja AVE | Oral history |
| 2017 | Education | announced by way of ordinance No. 1716/2016 | The Ghost, the SPA, "Kozioł" "Koziołeczek" ... and Great-Grandpa Franek's Trick, Meaning CIVILIAN WARSAW | Fundacja AVE | Oral history |
| 2018 | Education | announced by way of ordinance No. 781/2018 | Discovering Local Stories | STOCZNIA | Oral history |
| 2018 | Education | announced by way of ordinance No. 781/2018 | Kleks Magazine, Piłsudska, Tarchomin '80 and Jakub's Civil Guard, Meaning GREAT-GRANDPA FRANCISZEK'S STOVE LID | Fundacja AVE | Oral history |
| 2019 | Education | announced by way of ordinance No. 290/2019 | Traits of Our Neighbours | Kolejka Marecka, Stowarzyszenie Obrony Pozostałości Warszawy | Oral history |
| 2019 | Education | announced by way of ordinance No. 289/2019 | Levi and Dalia's Warsaw. On Foot across Warsaw | Fundacja „CultureLab” | Oral history |
| 2019 | Education | announced by way of ordinance No. 289/2019 | URSUS Industrial Plant – the Cradle of Technological Development and Community Life | Fundacja dla Ursusa | Oral history |

| | | | | | |
|------|-----------|--|---|--|--|
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1190/2017 | Praga Night and the Open Żąbkowska Street Festival | Fundacja Ośrodka Karta | Oral history |
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1758/2016 | Personal Sense Factory – FSO 2017 | Stowarzyszenie im. Stanisława Brzozowskiego | Oral history |
| 2018 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 498/2018 | Mokotów's Treasures. Things You Don't Know about Your District | Fundacja Kulturotwórcza „Grupa w działaniu” | Oral history |
| 2018 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1887/2017 | Face Cream and Chocolate – an Exhibition on Memories of Workers of the Wedel and Pollena-Uroda Plants at the Praga Museum of Warsaw | Stowarzyszenie „Grupa Artystyczna Teraz Polisz” | Oral history |
| 2018 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1822/2017 | Non-Existent Warsaw | Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Warszawy | Oral history |
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 6441/16 | Milk Bars in the City Centre – an Urban Game | Stowarzyszenie „Slow Food Warszawa” | Cuisine |
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 5000/2016 | Wola Cooking Pot, the Culinary Heritage of Wola | Spółdzielnia Socjalna Wola | Cuisine |
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1758/2016 | The Culinary Identity of Warsaw | Stowarzyszenie „Slow Food Warszawa” | Cuisine |
| 2018 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1886/2017 | “All the Mazurkas of the World” Festival | Fundacja „Wszystkie Mazurki Świata” | Music |
| 2019 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1844/2018 | All the Mazurkas of the World 2019 – Warsaw as the Capital of Mazurkas | Fundacja „Wszystkie Mazurki Świata” | Music |
| 2017 | Education | announced by way of ordinance No. 774/2017 | Walks in Non-Existent Warsaw | Kolejka Marecka, Stowarzyszenie Obrony Pozostałości Warszawy | Remembrance of the Uprising / reconstruction |
| 2018 | Education | announced by way of ordinance No. 781/2018 | Warsaw Children 1944 | Klub Sportowy „Delta” | Remembrance of the Uprising / reconstruction |
| 2018 | Education | announced by way of ordinance No. 781/2018 | The Great History of Small People. Teenagers' Stories about Times when Poland Was Fighting for Independence | W stronę dziewcząt | Remembrance of the Uprising / reconstruction |
| 2019 | Education | announced by way of ordinance No. 289/2019 | Warsaw 1939. History Education Programme | Fundacja ART | Remembrance of the Uprising / reconstruction |
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 1034/2016 | A Generation of Own Paths | Fundacja „Naszym dzieciom” | Remembrance of the Uprising / reconstruction |
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 73/2017 | Urban Game “Włochy 44” – 2017 | Stowarzyszenie „Brzask” | Remembrance of the Uprising / reconstruction |
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 6440/16 | A Concert Dedicated to the Heroes of the Warsaw Uprising | Stowarzyszenie JAX | Remembrance of the Uprising / reconstruction |
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1092/2017 | A Song from the Barricades – a Concert Dedicated to Heroes of the Warsaw Uprising | Stowarzyszenie JAX | Remembrance of the Uprising / |

| | | | | | |
|------|---------|--|--|--|--|
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 7090/17 | "We Will Be Ghosts Soon, Too" – Poems and Songs by the Poets of the Warsaw Uprising. Music by Zygmunt Konieczny... | Fundacja Ens na Rzecz Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego | Remembrance of the Uprising / reconstruction |
|------|---------|--|--|--|--|

| | | | | | |
|------|---------|--|---|---|--|
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 3602/16 | Barricades in Praga 1939: Continued – Kamionek | Fundacja „Korpus Ochotników Specjalistów” | Remembrance of the Uprising / reconstruction |
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1758/2016 | Foreigners in the Warsaw Uprising | Fundacja artystyczna ERINA B. | Remembrance of the Uprising / reconstruction |
| 2018 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1065/2018 | A Song from the Barricades – a Concert Dedicated to Heroes of the Warsaw Uprising | Stowarzyszenie PAX | Remembrance of the Uprising / reconstruction |
| 2018 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 1586/2017 | 3rd “Włochy 44” Urban Game | Stowarzyszenie „Brzask” | Remembrance of the Uprising / reconstruction |
| 2019 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 14414/2018 | Songs of Wartime Warsaw – a Concert on the 80th Anniversary of the Outbreak of World War II and 75th Anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising | Stowarzyszenie WEST | Remembrance of the Uprising / reconstruction |
| 2019 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. CLXII/2158/18 | 1 Sierpnia St. is Alive – 75th Anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising | Stowarzyszenie grupa historyczno-edukacyjna „Szare szeregi” | Remembrance of the Rising / reconstruction |
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 6440/16 | Vistula River DIY in Śródmieście Workshops on Making and Repairing Rigging and Deck Fittings | Fundacja Szerokie Wody | Craftsmanship |
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 3602/16 | Gilding Workshops with the Use of Traditional Techniques and Materials | Stowarzyszenie Rzemiosł Artystycznych i Ginących Zawodów | Craftsmanship |
| 2018 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 5284/2017 | 14th Warsaw Ceramics Meetings | Polski Związek Ceramików | Craftsmanship |
| 2018 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 5284/2017 | Gilding Workshops with the Use of Traditional Techniques and Materials | Stowarzyszenie Rzemiosł Artystycznych i Ginących Zawodów | Craftsmanship |
| 2018 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1822/2017 | Boats of the Vistula River in Warsaw | Fundacja „Do Dzieła” | Craftsmanship |
| 2019 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 6922/2018 | Gilding Workshops with the Use of Traditional Techniques and Materials | Stowarzyszenie Rzemiosł Artystycznych i Ginących Zawodów | Craftsmanship |
| 2019 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 6954/2018 | A Course and Workshops – Basics of Antique Furniture Restoration and Artistic Carpentry | Stowarzyszenie Rzemiosł Artystycznych i Ginących Zawodów | Craftsmanship |
| 2019 | Culture | announced by way of resolution No. 12876/18 | The Disappearing Heritage of the Capital City – Meetings with Artisans (not financed) | Fundacja „Hereditas” | Craftsmanship |
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1758/2016 | Warsaw Dance Museum | Stowarzyszenie „Format Zero” | Sport |
| 2017 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1758/2016 | The Sporting Trails of Bygone Warsaw | Stowarzyszenie Przyjaciół Czarnych Koszul „Wielka Polonia” | Sport |

| | | | | | |
|------|---------|---|--|--------------------------|-------|
| 2018 | Culture | announced by way of ordinance No. 1886/2017 | Traditional Dance Academy – Polish Traditional Dance Workshops, Including Dances of Bygone Warsaw (not qualifying) | Fundacja „Czas Tradycji” | Sport |
|------|---------|---|--|--------------------------|-------|

13. Analysed selected projects and programmes relating to intangible heritage of Warsaw. Prepared by J. Krzesicka

Trying to avoid the aforementioned “trap,” the Culture Department announced a competition for NGOs in 2020 (for 2021) titled “The Cultural Heritage of Warsaw” (an open call for proposals organised by the Culture Department).⁵⁰ In the competition, participants submitted at least several projects which refer to elements that can be defined as “intangible cultural heritage” (i.a., *Old Warsaw Traditions – Intergenerational Art Workshops*, a project approved for implementation by Towarzystwo Historyczne im. Szembeków [The Szembek Family Historical Society]).

Also worth mentioning are several projects implemented by Warsaw-based non-governmental organisations around locations which might become sites for practices that can be classified as intangible heritage. All of them were nominated or were awarded honourable mentions in the S3KTOR contest, aimed at promoting Warsaw non-governmental organisations to residents and selecting the best initiatives in a given year. For obvious reasons, the results of the competitions translate into an increase in the popularity of activities undertaken by the third sector. One such project, implemented by Stowarzyszenie „Pracownia Etnograficzna” im. Witolda Dynowskiego [the Witold Dynowski Ethnographic Laboratory Association] concerned the wooden Finnish houses in Jazdów (*Finnish Houses – Personal Memories, History, Contemporary Times*; S3KTOR 2013⁵¹) – as part of the project, ethnographic documentation on 16 houses was collected, studied and made available to the public. Jazdów itself has become a place where a thriving community organising open social, cultural, educational and artistic activities has coalesced.⁵² Another initiative – the Nowe Dynasy Community Museum (S3KTOR 2014) implemented by Koło Theatre Studio – is centred around the “Orzeł” cycling track at 11 Podstarbińska St., a now defunct velodrome which remembers the heyday of Polish track cycling. The community forming around this initiative is also actively engaged in efforts to revive the cycling track and transform it into an open leisure activity and sports area called “Green Dynasy.”⁵³ A similar story applies to Osiedle Przyjaźń [Friendship Neighbourhood] – another place on the map of Warsaw which has spawned a community that cares for the neighbourhood grounds and nurtures its traditions (community archives of Osiedle Przyjaźń implemented by Stowarzyszenie Przyjaźni PS; S3KTOR 2015).⁵⁴

Based on the projects falling within the “culture” category submitted to the Warsaw Participatory Budget, it can be stated that particularly popular are undertakings that focus not so much on a specific location whose existence is threatened (as is the case with the aforementioned initiatives), but place emphasis on neighbourly spaces – aimed at strengthening local bonds and integrating the neighbours (such as, for example, courtyard/local picnics). Projects in the sphere of “commemorative culture” are also highly popular (to name but a few: *Saving the Muchozol Mural*

⁵⁰ ngo.um.warszawa.pl/otwarte-konkursy/dziedzictwo-kulturowe-warszawy-otwarty-konkurs-ofert-przeprowadzany-przez-biuro-kul [accessed on 30 December 2020].

⁵¹ ngo.um.warszawa.pl/sites/ngo2.um.warszawa.pl/files/zalaczniki/artykuly/domki_finskie_-_pamiec_osobista_historia_wspolczesnosc.pdf [accessed on 30 December 2020].

⁵² <https://jazdow.pl> [accessed on 30 December 2020].

⁵³ <https://nowedynasy.pl> [accessed on 30 December 2020].

⁵⁴ <https://przyjaznps.wordpress.com/archiwum-spoleczne-osiedla-przyjazn> [accessed on 30 December 2020].

for Praga; An Information Plaque on the History of the Dutch “Olender” Settlement and Cemetery in Kępa Zawadowska; Trees Commemorating Wojciech Młynarski, Zofia Czerwińska, Zbigniew Religa and Other Famous People in Powiśle; Working-Class Wola – the History of Industry in Wola: An Exhibition and Guided Tours; A Concert Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of “Sady Żoliborskie” Park; Leopold Tyrmand’s Bench), while projects directly concerning practices related to intangible heritage are missing (the exception being a project titled *Ochota Artisans and the Second Life of Objects – an Urban Game*). If any heritage-related practices do appear, they seem strongly deprived of territorial connections (as in the case of a project titled *“To the Polonaise ...” – the Polonaise as Our Cultural Heritage*). It is worth referring here to the views expressed by one of the survey participants, who said that a number of practices which could be regarded as intangible heritage remain low-key and do not seek any institutional forms of support, which might result in excessive interference to their informal structure.

In discussing the intangible heritage of Warsaw, it would be difficult to disregard the activities of the Heritage Protection Department, which, although it deals with tangible cultural heritage sites, might become a source of valuable information on the intangible aspect of heritage. For instance, in the Commune Heritage Register, since 2019 both the registry sheets (for immovable heritage) and address sheets (for other facilities) are supplemented with information on the “intangible value” of a given location (if such data is available).⁵⁵ Valuable information about intangible heritage can also be obtained from community heritage guardians (currently about 40 people have this function in Warsaw) or from volunteer memorial site custodians. The Heritage Protection Department often undertakes initiatives which relate to the intangible dimension of heritage in addition to its tangible elements – a perfect example of this is an initiative to provide care to historical art studios (under which the Warsaw Historical Art Studio Office was appointed), focusing on the development of protection principles, documentation and promotion of historical art studios and their assets which constitute a diverse, colourful and rich oeuvre of artists with ties to Warsaw. As stated on the website of the Heritage Protection Department: “Historical art studios constitute an element of the cultural heritage of Warsaw.”⁵⁶

Conclusions and recommendations:

- Warsaw’s undertakings which could be linked to intangible heritage are to a large extent dispersed, and the notion of “intangible cultural heritage,” though not a novelty, has not received due recognition, both at the City of Warsaw Office, in its various departments, and at the district level.
- The potential of intangible heritage is insufficiently exploited in various Warsaw initiatives and measured of the City Office.
- Therefore, it seems necessary to rethink the ways cultural events are financed, so that it becomes possible to avoid the trap of favouring and choosing themes and forms of events which have already been explored and have been “overdone.”

⁵⁵ The address sheet of a heritage site, in Point 8 “History, description and values” refers to the sphere of intangible heritage. Cf. the Regulation of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 10 September 2019 amending the regulation on the maintenance of the heritage register, the national, provincial and commune heritage records and the national list of stolen or illegally exported heritage, Journal of Laws of 2019, item 1886.

⁵⁶ <https://zabytki.um.warszawa.pl/content/historyczne-pracownie-artystyczne> [accessed on 30 December 2020].

— The institutional form of support for intangible heritage requires in-depth reflection – if it is designed incompetently, it might prove counterproductive, becoming a strong interference to the informal structure of such practices.

11. The operations of District Offices and intangible heritage

The respondents taking part in the survey pointed to the fact that, at the district level, the legal framework for events concerning cultural heritage includes: The Act of 25 October 1991 on organising and running cultural activities (4 respondents), the Act of 20 March 2009 on the security of mass events (4 respondents), Ordinance No. 1007/2020 of the Mayor of Warsaw of 5 August – The Cultural Policy of the City of Warsaw (3 respondents), and Public Procurement Laws (3 respondents).

In the context of activities in the sphere of culture and heritage in Warsaw, most survey participants have not encountered any references to the UNESCO Convention. Only some of them had any contact with the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1972, and only two participants mentioned the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003. It is therefore necessary to undertake comprehensive educational measures in this sphere, in particular ones targeted to the staff of Warsaw-based cultural institutions.

The respondents noted that as part of their operations, government offices are trying to refer to local heritage/history/traditions (e.g., through the symbolism of coats of arms and dedicated publications and events). The following view explaining why this is limited seems quite telling: “Białołęka has had its own coat of arms since 28 April 1995. The coat of arms primarily invokes traditions, refers to important events in the history of the area, and defines its characteristic features. The fact that it is parted per pale (halved vertically) reminds us that the commune was established by way of joining two localities Tarchomin and Białołęka – and that it has a partly agricultural identity. [In our materials we do not use the Białołęka coat of arms pursuant to the Ordinance of the Mayor of Warsaw No. 5293/2010 on the introduction of a catalogue of the rights vested in relation to promotional activities. We act in line with the Visual Identification System Book \(KSIW – Księga Systemu Identyfikacji Wizualnej\). The objective in applying the KSIW is to build the City of Warsaw’s image via employing a cohesive visual identification scheme.](#)”

12. Summary: Intangible cultural heritage of Warsaw at the heart of sustainable development of the co-city

Warsaw is a number of cities in one: It is a city which “died” tragically, a city which “rose from ashes,” and a city of contemporary men and women living in Warsaw, both those who were born in the city, and newcomers who decided to build a life in Warsaw. It is also for those who need a safe, friendly and sustainable city, one which they can feel is “their city.”

The Warsaw spirit is closeness and relationship-building.

— Anna Karpowicz,
flautist, curator, activist

The concept of sustainable development, dating back to the 1980s, is an idea which can be deemed successful on the global scale. In the context of UNESCO, the way was paved by the adoption of the Hangzhou Declaration of 2013⁵⁷ which called for an attempt to include culture in new development goals for upcoming years, as proposed by the UN. It should be noted that although we did not manage to include culture as an independent goal among the [seventeen new goals in the Agenda for Sustainable Development \(Sustainable Development Goals – SDGs\)](#), it nonetheless appears in various forms (local culture, cultural diversity, intercultural understanding, culture of peace) in several places in the agenda (Point 8 and Point 36, and Goals 4, 8, 11 and 12). The significance of cultural heritage itself was particularly stressed in Goal 11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.

Defined for this goal was Target 11.4: Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage. It is no coincidence that [safe and sustainable cities were included among the most important seventeen goals for humanity](#).⁵⁸ Reports prepared by international organisations like the UN or the OECD point to the fact that [by 2050 around 70% of the world’s population will live in urban areas](#). The progressing urbanisation processes will also affect the existing large agglomerations, in particular capital cities.

⁵⁷ Hangzhou Declaration: Placing Culture at the Heart of Sustainable Development Policies, adopted in Hangzhou, People’s Republic of China, on 17 May 2013, <http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/images/FinalHangzhouDeclaration20130517.pdf> [accessed on 18 January 2021].

⁵⁸ For more information, see T. Elmqvist, X. Bai, N. Frantzeskaki, C. Griffith, D. Maddox, T. McPhearson et al. (eds.), *Urban Planet: Knowledge towards Sustainable Cities*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2018.

It is a huge challenge which redefines the way we think about the development of cities: We are shifting away from existing infrastructural and institutional categories – a trend also noticed by policy-makers – and toward categories which are integrated, multidimensional and, most of all, shift the city management paradigm to one of “co-management,” to the role of local communities that are “co-responsible” for and “co-organise” activities in cities.

The essence of the Warsaw spirit is something which we acquire rather than something we have to learn.

— *Dr Robert Gawkowski*
University of Warsaw Archives

The intangible heritage of cities is becoming the subject of increasingly intense studies and scientific interest. The paradigm of managing cultural heritage in a participatory and inclusive way, referring to local communities, which in the case of urban areas means a district or a housing-estate community, is becoming part of new challenges that are the focus of the field of urban studies. Contemporary scientific thought of the future of cities is quite coherent as regards the future of city growth: they are not just cities but **CO-CITIES** managed at the grass-roots level by local urban communities, functioning on the basis of local, neighbourly, housing-estate, and city district bonds. An international research project which is currently being implemented covers 100 cities worldwide (<http://www.collaborative.city/>). The project aims to explore new forms of participatory city management favouring social inclusion, economic growth and development of social innovation. “Co-cities” rely on co-management, which implies joint, collaborative, polycentric urban social communities, where the city’s natural, cultural and digital resources are co-managed by a public-private community operating on a contractual basis. Polycentric management of co-cities covers various forms of connecting resources and collaboration between five potential entities: social innovators (i.e., urban activists, persons engaged in community life, etc.), public authorities, enterprises, civil society organisations and research institutions (i.e., schools, universities, cultural institutions, museums, academies, etc.).

The ultimate goal is to create more equitable and democratic cities.⁵⁹

Taking into consideration the reflection on the intangible cultural heritage of Warsaw in the debate on the city’s future and sustainable development is a natural step which all city co-managers ought to take. If Warsaw is to become a co-city, nurturing the sense of community and including into its bloodstream both those who were born in Warsaw and newcomers, it must consciously and wisely take care of the elements which constitute its identity. Intangible cultural heritage is the core of community identity.

⁵⁹ More details in: Ch. Iaione, “The Right to the Co-City”, *Italian Journal of Public Law* 2017, Vol. 1, No. 9; S. Foster, Ch. Iaione, *The Co-City*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA 2020.

Appendix

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2. Sinjska Alka. Photo PJJ, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons.
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4. A plaque designed by Karol Tchorek at 39/43 Madalińskiego St. at Easter time in 2020 and on 1 November 2020. Photo A. Czyżewska.
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8. A monument in Morskie Oko Park (Dworkowa St.) in memory of AK soldiers and insurgents murdered by the Nazis after the capitulation on 27 September 1944. Photograph taken on 1 November 2020. Photo A. Czyżewska.
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11. Interior of the Hutnik Club supporter store. Photo A. Czyżewska.
12. A Hutnik Warszawa scarf. Photo A. Czyżewska.
13. Analysed selected projects and programmes relating to intangible heritage of Warsaw. Prepared by J. Krzesicka.

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The Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997 (Journal of Laws of 1997, No. 78, item 483, with amendments)

The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage signed in Paris on 17 October 2003 (Journal of Laws of 2011, No. 172, item 1018)

The Act of 21 November 1996 on Museums (Journal of Laws of 1997, No. 5, item 24, with amendments)

The Act of 8 March 1990 on Commune-Level Local Government (consolidated text, Journal of Laws of 1990, No. 16, item 95, with amendments)

The Act of 5 June 1998 on County-Level Local Government (Journal of Laws of 1998, No. 91, item 578, with amendments)

The Act of 5 June 1998 on Province-Level Local Government (Journal of Laws of 1998, No. 91, item 576, with amendments)

The Act of 15 March 2002 on the System of the Capital City of Warsaw (Journal of Laws of 2002, No. 41, item 361, with amendments)

The Act of 23 July 2003 on the Safeguarding of, and Care for, Heritage (Journal of Laws of 2003, No. 162, item 1568, with amendments)

Regulation of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage of 10 September 2019 amending the regulation on the maintenance of the heritage register, the national, provincial and commune heritage records and the national list of stolen or illegally exported heritage (Journal of Laws of 2019, item 1886)

Statutes of the City of Warsaw (Official Journal of the Masovia Province, No. 23 of 27 February 2008, item 875, with amendments)

The Cultural Policy of Warsaw, Appendix to Ordinance No. 1007/2020 of the Mayor of Warsaw dated 5 August 2020

Questionnaires for the on-line survey

– version for stakeholders being officials of District Culture Divisions

Dear All,

This questionnaire is part of a research project titled “Intangible Warsaw. Traditions, Customs, Practices” commissioned by the Culture Department of the City of Warsaw. Our objective is to identify areas and practices of the intangible heritage of Warsaw – a subject which hitherto has not been studied in detail. The results of the anonymous survey will be used for the identification and preliminary cataloguing of Warsaw’s intangible heritage and to make conclusions and recommendations to be placed in the final research report. We will be grateful for your assistance and for filling out this questionnaire by 9 October 2020.

The data in the questionnaire is saved automatically, so you can stop filling in the form and return to it later via the link provided in the invitation to take our survey. Links are generated individually for each participant, so please do not share it with other persons wishing to take part in the survey. In such cases, please send an e-mail to niematerialna.warszawa@gmail.com with a request for a new link and the e-mail address where the additional questionnaire is to be sent.

A draft version of the report will be sent to the participants of the training session in December 2020 / January 2021, with a request for a final consultation and suggested corrections.

Law and politics

1. Which legal regulations (secondary legislation to acts, ordinances of the Mayor of Warsaw, etc.) do you refer to while organising events concerning the broadly-understood sphere of culture and heritage in Warsaw? List them.
2. In your opinion, what is the greatest challenge (legal or administrative) while organising events in the sphere of culture and heritage in Warsaw?
3. Have you ever encountered any references to UNESCO conventions in your activities concerning culture and heritage in Warsaw? Which conventions?

Warsaw practices and customs

4. What customs, in your opinion, distinguish Warsaw from other Polish cities?
[Please name any local customs you know of (applying to all of Warsaw or an individual district) and/or any culinary, crafts, gardening, volunteering, sports or musical traditions. If possible, please provide links to websites providing information on the events you have listed]
5. Can you recall any practices/customs which have been followed for at least two generations in the district you work in, related to:
[Please also list the customs which you have mentioned in your answers to the other questions]

- ▶ sports?
- ▶ culinary traditions?
- ▶ remembrance of World War II and the reconstruction of Warsaw?
- ▶ craftsmanship?
- ▶ music?
- ▶ nature/gardening/greenery/cityscape?
- ▶ any other spheres not mentioned above, or related to another area of Warsaw?

Warsaw initiatives and activities

6. Can you think of any activities and initiatives in the sphere of culture and heritage (in particular intangible heritage) without which you cannot imagine
 - ▶ Warsaw?
 - ▶ the district you work in?
7. Have any non-governmental organisations implemented projects concerning local traditions in the district you work in? What did the projects involve?
[If possible, please provide links to websites with information on the events you have listed]
8. Can you recall any event or situation which mobilised the residents of a given area/district of Warsaw to take joint action for the preservation of a given place and/or related tradition?
What was it?

The people of Warsaw

9. Are there any persons without whom you cannot imagine
[You can name both historical figures and those living today]
 - ▶ Warsaw?
 - ▶ the district you work in?

10. Do you know any persons you would call Warsaw (intangible) heritage leaders – both those who directly cultivate a given tradition and those who help safeguard it? If yes, list them and briefly describe their activities.

Practices around places vital to the identity of Warsaw

11. Are there any places being a source of practices and activities, and not only a symbol, without which you cannot imagine
- ▶ Warsaw?
 - ▶ the district you work in?
12. Do you know any places in the district you work in which attract people on a recurring basis to preserve local bonds and celebrate a specific event? Please list and describe them.
- ▶ Do you know any such places in other districts/areas of Warsaw? If so, please list and describe them.

“Warsaw spirit”

13. Have you ever organised/taken part in any events which are unique to Warsaw? What were they?
- ▶ In your opinion, what does it mean that they had “Warsaw spirit”?
 - ▶ If you were to organise something “typically Varsovian,” what would it be?

Office work

14. Does your District Office refer to local intangible heritage (local customs/practices/imagery) in their promotional or image-building activities?
- ▶ If yes, what elements of local intangible heritage does it refer to, and in what context (e.g., are they an element of district symbols/coats of arms)?
 - ▶ If no, why is that so in your opinion?
15. Which practices/traditions/local customs are not covered by institutional support?
[If you do not know such practices, skip this question]
- ▶ Why are they not covered by support?
[If you do not know such practices, skip this question]
 - ▶ How can you discover practices worth supporting?

16. Imagine you can decide on the way a given practice/activity/tradition can be safeguarded and covered by support of the District Office. What solutions would you propose?
17. If you could nominate a Warsaw tradition passed down from generation to generation as a candidate for the National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage, what would it be?

If you have any other thoughts, remarks or suggestions, feel free to share them here.

Thank you for your time!

The research team of the “Intangible Warsaw” project

niematerialna.warszawa@gmail.com

– version for stakeholders not being officials of District Culture Divisions

Dear All,

This questionnaire is part of a research project titled “Intangible Warsaw. Traditions, Customs, Practices” commissioned by the Culture Department of the City of Warsaw. Our objective is to identify areas and practices of the intangible heritage of Warsaw – a subject which hitherto has not been studied in detail. The results of the anonymous survey will be used for the identification and preliminary cataloguing of Warsaw’s intangible heritage and to make conclusions and recommendations to be placed in the final research report. We will be grateful for your assistance and for filling out this questionnaire by 9 October 2020.

The data in the questionnaire is saved automatically, so you can stop filling in the form and return to it later via the link provided in the invitation to take our survey. Links are generated individually for each participant, so please do not share it with other persons wishing to take part in the survey. In such cases, please send an e-mail to niematerialna.warszawa@gmail.com with a request for a new link and the e-mail address where the additional questionnaire is to be sent.

A draft version of the report will be sent to the participants of the training session in December 2020 / January 2021, with a request for a final consultation and suggested corrections.

Law and politics

In your opinion, what is the greatest challenge (for example, legal or administrative) while organising events in the sphere of culture and heritage in Warsaw?

1. Have you ever encountered any references to UNESCO conventions in your activities concerning culture and heritage in Warsaw? Which conventions?

Warsaw practices and customs

2. What customs, in your opinion, distinguish Warsaw from other Polish cities?
[Please name any local customs you know of (applying to all of Warsaw or an individual district) and/or any culinary, crafts, gardening, volunteering, sports or musical traditions. If possible, please provide links to websites providing information on the events you have listed]
3. Can you recall any practices/customs which have been followed for at least two generations in the district you work in/the district you have ties with, related to:
[Please list also the customs which you have mentioned in you other answers]

- ▶ sports?
- ▶ culinary traditions?
- ▶ remembrance of World War II and the reconstruction of Warsaw?
- ▶ craftsmanship?
- ▶ music?
- ▶ nature/gardening/greenery/cityscape?
- ▶ any other spheres not mentioned above, or related to another area of Warsaw?

Warsaw initiatives and activities

4. Can you think of any activities and initiatives in the sphere of culture and heritage (in particular intangible heritage) without which you cannot imagine
 - ▶ Warsaw?
 - ▶ the district you work in/the district you have ties with?

5. Have any non-governmental organisations implemented projects concerning local traditions in the district you work in/the district you have ties with? What did the projects involve? [If possible, please describe them and provide links to websites with information about the events you have listed]

6. Can you recall any event or situation which mobilised the residents of a given area/district of Warsaw to take joint action for the preservation of a given place and/or related tradition? What was it?

The people of Warsaw

7. Are there any persons without whom you cannot imagine [You can name both historical figures, and those living today]
 - ▶ Warsaw?
 - ▶ the district you work in/the district you have ties with?

8. Do you know any persons you would call Warsaw (intangible) heritage leaders – both those who directly cultivate a given tradition and those who help safeguard it? If so, list them and briefly describe their activities.

Practices around places vital to the identity of Warsaw

9. Are there any places being a source of practices and activities, and not only a symbol, without which you cannot imagine

- ▶ Warsaw?
- ▶ the district you work in/the district you have ties with?

10. Do you know any places in the district where you work/the district you have ties with which attract people on a recurring basis to preserve local bonds and celebrate a specific event? Please list and describe them.

- ▶ Do you know any such places in other districts/areas of Warsaw? If so, please list and describe them.

“Warsaw spirit”

11. Have you ever organised/taken part in any events which are unique to Warsaw? What were they?

- ▶ In your opinion, what does it mean that they had “Warsaw spirit”?
- ▶ If you were to organise something “typically Varsovian,” what would it be?

Office work

12. Do District Offices refer to local intangible heritage (local customs/practices/imagery) in their promotional or image-building activities?

- ▶ If yes, what elements of local intangible heritage do they refer to, and in what context (e.g., are they an element of district symbols/coats of arms)?
- ▶ If no, why is this so in your opinion?

13. Which practices/traditions/local customs are not covered by institutional support?
[If you do not know such practices, skip this question]

- ▶ Why are they not covered by support?
[If you do not know such practices, skip this question]

▶ How can you discover practices worth supporting?

14. Imagine you can decide on the way a given practice/activity/tradition can be safeguarded and covered by support. What solutions would you propose (e.g., legal solutions)?
15. If you could nominate one Warsaw tradition passed down from generation to generation as a candidate for the National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage, what would that be?

If you have any other thoughts, remarks, or suggestions, feel free to share them here.

Thank you for your time!

The research team of the “Intangible Warsaw” project

niematerialna.warszawa@gmail.com

Interview guidelines

Introduction to research:

The objective of the research project titled “Intangible Warsaw. Traditions, Customs, Practices” is to produce a report describing the status of intangible cultural heritage preserved to date by way of intergenerational communication of the cultural heritage of Warsaw, divided into four thematic areas: Warsaw culinary customs and traditions, musical practices, sports practices, and commemorative practices related to World War II and the post-war reconstruction of Warsaw. The project was commissioned by the Culture Department of the City of Warsaw. The research team is composed of: Hanna Schreiber, Ewa Klekot, Anna Czyżewska, Julia Krzesicka and Bogna Kietlińska.

Guidelines

1. What sparked your interest in Warsaw? When did it happen? Where did you acquire knowledge of the subject?
2. If you were to explain to someone with no ties to Warsaw what the essence of “Warsaw spirit” is, what would that be? What is your understanding of “Warsaw spirit?” What is typical of Warsaw?
3. What is unique in the behaviour of Warsaw residents?
4. Are there any specific practices/activities related to your understanding of Warsaw spirit? (Ask additional questions about specific spheres: Warsaw culinary traditions, musical practices, sports practices or commemorative practices related to World War II and the reconstruction)
5. Which of the spheres is closest to you and why?
6. Is it possible to indicate activities/practices/customs characteristic of individual city districts?
7. Are there any other areas of Warsaw’s living culture that I have not mentioned and that are important to you? What are they?
8. Where did you acquire knowledge on them (how did you learn about them, when did you encounter them for the first time)? Have you shared your knowledge on them? With whom and in what circumstances (e.g., written text, private conversations, a tour of Warsaw given to people who do not live in the city)?
9. Did you have an opportunity to pursue practices/activities in the sphere/in any of the spheres? How did you learn about a given practice? When and where did you learn about it?
10. When are the practices/activities pursued? Who are they important to? Why are they important to these people?
11. How is knowledge on the practices/activities passed on further?
12. And why is knowledge on the practices/activities not passed on? Why are there problems with them being passed on (as a result of which a given practice disappears)?
13. Can you think of any events related to the practices/activities? (Ask additional questions about specific spheres: Warsaw culinary traditions, musical practices, sports practices or commemorative practices related to World War II and the reconstruction)
14. Did you have an opportunity to pursue practices/activities in the sphere/in any of the spheres? How did you get to know a given practice? When and where did you learn about it?
15. Can you recall any anecdotes related to “Warsaw spirit”? Where did you first hear them? (Ask additional questions about specific spheres: Warsaw culinary traditions, musical practices, sports practices or commemorative practices related to World War II and the reconstruction)
16. Can you think of anything which is wrongfully regarded as being Warsaw-style/associated with Warsaw spirit? What can be the reason for such errors?

17. Are there any people you would mention in relation to a given sphere/spheres (Warsaw culinary traditions, musical practices, sports practices or commemorative practices related to World War II and the reconstruction)? Why are they significant in your opinion?
18. Do you perceive yourself as a Warsaw resident, and do you perceive the heritage of Warsaw as your own heritage?
19. How would you finish the sentence “To me, Warsaw spirit is...”?

Ethnographic observation guidelines

Field studies covered four main areas:

1. Culinary practices, including pańska skórka candy and the operation of coffee bars;
2. Sports practices, including rowing, cycling and football (including being a fan);
3. Practices concerning the commemoration of World War II victims;
4. Music practices, including attempts to define Warsaw music.

The research was conducted on the basis of interviews with the bearers of heritage and preliminary desk research, field observations, photo documentation, and so-called quick interviews (short, unstructured conversations with participants of events being studied).

Due to the wide range of the issues discussed, the number of interlocutors was limited to those persons who were strongly engaged in practice, playing various roles in their cultivation. The interviews had the form of a casual conversations focused on the topic being analysed and the interlocutor's experiences.

Issues related to pańska skórka candy:

- ▶ What were, and what are, the interlocutor's experiences related to pańska skórka?
- ▶ What is pańska skórka? How do you know that it is authentic pańska skórka?
- ▶ What is the demand for pańska skórka among customers?
- ▶ The situation in 2020 where cemeteries were closed for epidemiological reasons.

Issues related to coffee bars

- ▶ What are coffee bars and who visits them?
- ▶ What is the product range of coffee bars, and what are the prices?
- ▶ How often do they go to coffee bars, and which bars do they choose?
- ▶ Do they know the story of those places?
- ▶ Who comes to those places?
- ▶ Do they engage in the activities of the coffee bars? If yes, how?

Issues related to sports practices and the operations of sports clubs

- ▶ The history of a sports club;
- ▶ Own experiences in a given discipline, including motivation and reasons for taking up a sport;
- ▶ Methods of club operations;
- ▶ Amateur versus professional sports;
- ▶ The specific nature of practising a given discipline in Warsaw (and optionally in Masovia region);
- ▶ What does the clubs' "Warsaw spirit" involve?

Issues related to commemorative practices and memorial sites

- ▶ What memorial sites are there in a given area?
- ▶ Who takes care of them and how?
- ▶ Which practices are institutional and which are community-based?
- ▶ Are there any conflicts around memorial sites? If so, what are they?
- ▶ When can you observe the greatest degree of interest in memorial sites?
- ▶ Who are community guardians of memorial sites, and how does this form of guardianship work?

Issues related to music

- ▶ What is Warsaw music?
- ▶ Which music genres are Varsovian?
- ▶ Which artists are regarded as Warsaw musicians and why?

Recommended reading

- Katarzyna Chudyńska-Szuchnik, *Zręczni. Historie z warszawskich pracowni i warsztatów*, Muzeum Warszawy, Warsaw 2019.
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- Władysław Grzelak, *Cyganeria z Udziałowej, 1908–1913*, Czytelnik, Warsaw 1965.
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- Wojciech Herbaczyński, *W dawnych cukierniach i kawiarniach warszawskich*, Veda, Warsaw 2005.
- Ireneusz Ihnatowicz, *Obyczaj wielkiej burżuazji warszawskiej w XIX wieku*, PIW, Warsaw 1971.
- Roman Jasiński, *Zmierzch starego świata, wspomnienia 1900–1945*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 2006.
- Zdzisław Kaliciński, *O Starówce, Pradze i Ciepokach*, Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 1983.
- Jerzy Kasprzycki, *Osobliwości warszawskie*, Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, Warsaw 1979.
- Włodzimierz Krzemiński, *Mój przedwojenny świat*, Zapiski, Warsaw 2001.
- Maria Kuncewiczowa, *Dyliżans warszawski*, PAX, Warsaw 1991.
- Piotr Łopuszański, *Warszawa literacka w okresie międzywojennym*, Prószyński i s-ka, Warsaw 2017.
- Jerzy Majewski (a blog): <https://miastarytm.pl/category/warszawa>.
- Grzegorz Piątek, *Najlepsze miasto świata*, W.A.B., Warsaw 2020.
- Przemysław Piechocki, Katarzyna Wagner, Krzysztof Zwierz, *Skąd się biorą warszawiacy? Migracje do Warszawy w XIV–XXI wieku*, Muzeum Warszawy, Warsaw 2016.
- Stanisław Maria Saliński, *Long-play warszawski*, PAX, Warsaw 1996.
- Mariola Siennicka, *Rodzina burżuazji warszawskiej i jej obyczaj*, DiG, Warsaw 1998.
- Bernard Singer, *Moje Nalewki*, „Czytelnik”, Warsaw 1993.
- Bernard Konrad Świerczyński, *Przemitynicy życia*, Karta, Warsaw 2018.
- Jarosław Trybuś, *Przewodnik po warszawskich blokowiskach*, Księży Młyn, Warsaw 2011.
- Jadwiga Waydel-Dmochowska, *Dawna Warszawa*, PIW, Warsaw 1959.
- Jadwiga Waydel-Dmochowska, *Jeszcze o dawnej Warszawie*, PIW, Warsaw 1960.
- Bronisław Wieczorkiewicz, *Gwara warszawska dawniej i dziś*, PIW, Warsaw 1966.
- Wiesław Wiernicki, *Wspomnienia o warszawskich knajpach*, author's own imprint, Warsaw 1994.
- Anna Żarnowska, *Robotnicy Warszawy na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, PIW, Warsaw 1985.

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