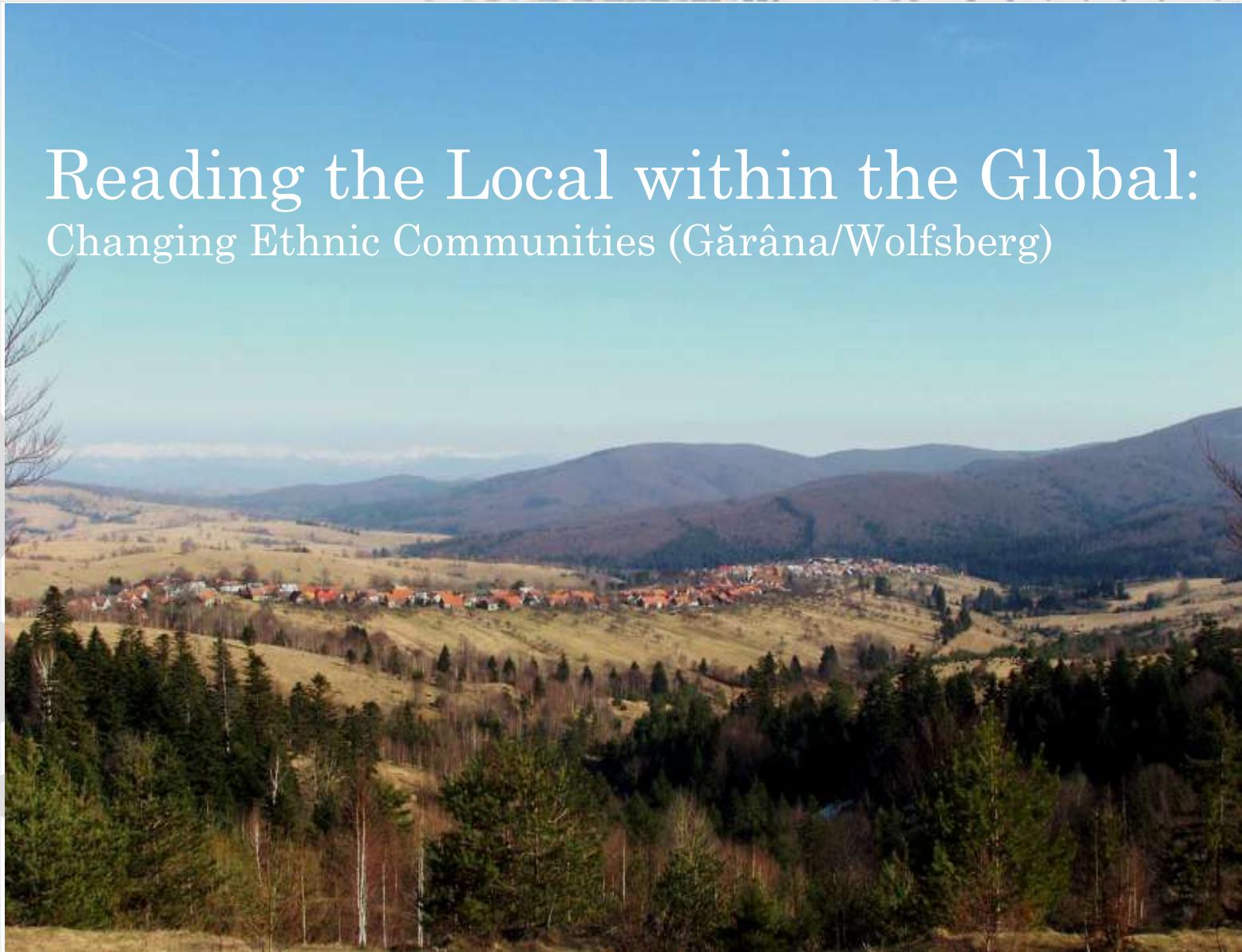


# Reading the Local within the Global: Changing Ethnic Communities (Gărâna/Wolfsberg)



### Case study: Gărâna / Wolfsberg

- village of pem population (Germans from Bohemia, nowadays Czech Republic; those inhabitants were called first böms, and then pem)
- colonised in the mountain area of Banat
- colonised at the beginning of the XIXth century (1826 – 1828)
- great majority - catholics
- situated at 1000m high
- the natural landscape corresponds to an ideal *Heimat* image, beautiful place
- a place of memory (*lieu de mémoire*)
- symbolic values of the Golden Age, of Lost Paradise, integrated in the idea of *Heimat*
- a certain kind of Germans
- a certain kind of colonists
- traditionally, woodcutters and cattle raisers
- during communist regime – commuters
- workers in constructions and industry (Reșița, Văliug, other places)
- January 1945: young Germans (17 – 45 men and 18 – 35 women) were deported to USSR ( Ural mountains, Siberia) for five years on the basis of so-called “reconstruction of the Soviet Union”
- workforce migrates to the city, then Germany (after 1989)
- change of ethnic balance: a traditional German (pem) village transformed step by step, after 1989, into a holiday village (dominated today by Romanians)
- interwar tourist traditions
- german houses of those who sold their houses and then left Romania were transformed into hostels, bed&breakfast houses (some form of inn)
- local and national tourism stimulated especially by the jazz festival and the folk festival.

## CATHOLIC CHURCH – Gărâna (1870)



oct.2012



## THE VILLAGE





CREATIVE COOPERATION IN CULTURAL HERITAGE



Oct.2012



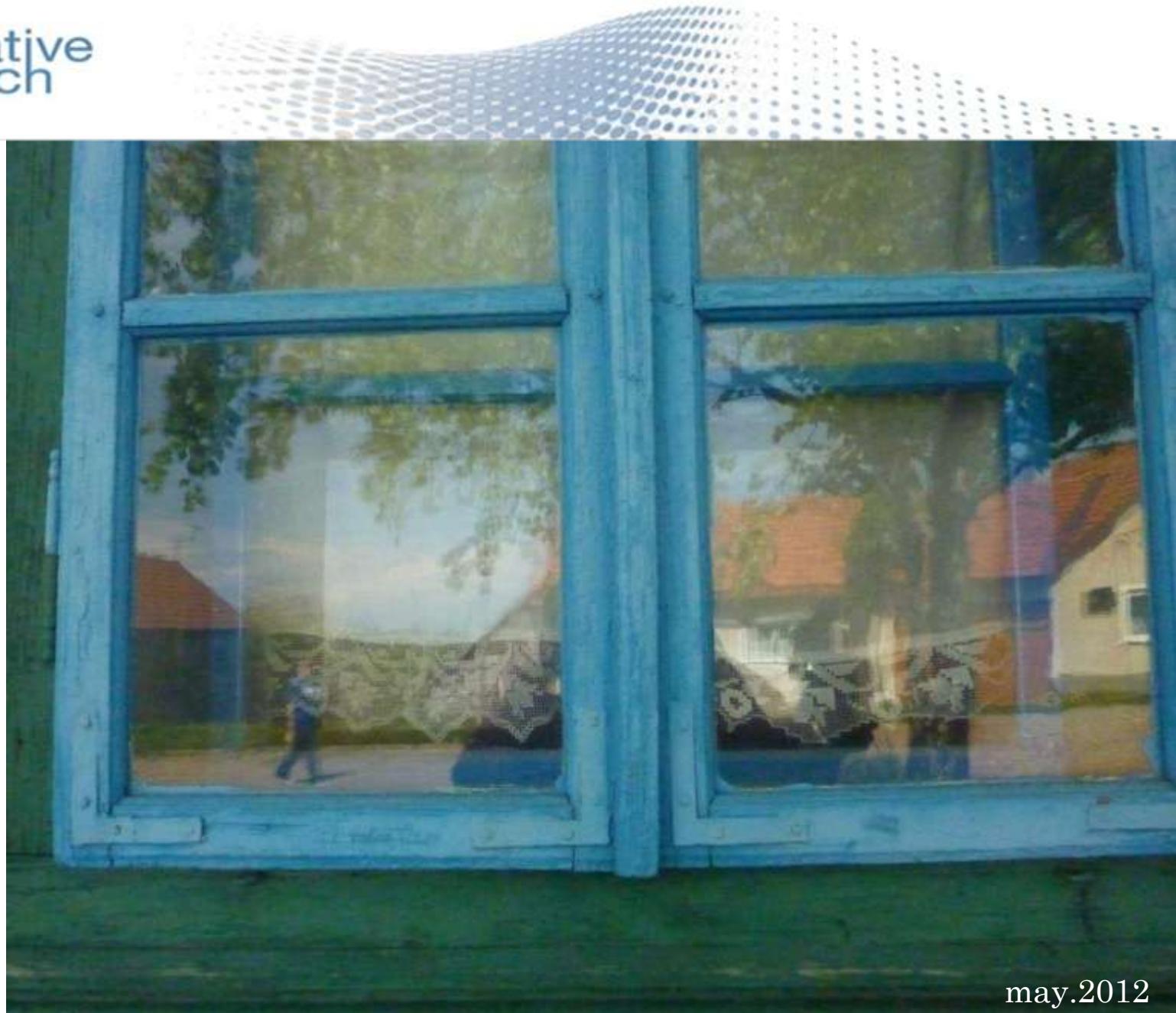


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may.2012



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jun.2013



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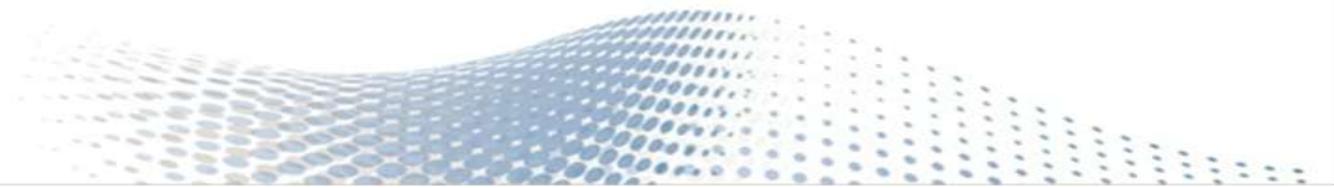
~1930



## WEDDING IN GĀRĀNA



~1980



# RESEARCH

**Researchers:** students and young researchers

**Period of time:**

- ▶ May 2012
- ▶ October 2012
- ▶ October 2013
- ▶ June 2013 (with a group of Swiss students, Fribourg University, coordinated by François Ruegg)

**Sites:**

- ▶ Gărâna /Wolfsberg
- ▶ Brebu Nou /Wiedenthal
- ▶ Becicherecu Mic

**Sources of analysis:**

- ▶ Interactions with locals and hostel owners
- ▶ “Life story narrations”
- ▶ Conducted /thematic interviews
- ▶ Interviews with people from local administration (mayor, vice-mayor)
- ▶ Participant observation (everyday life, “*chirvai*”)
- ▶ The museum (*Heimatstube*) and other archive places (administrating and storing local memory)





## IN THE FIELD



IN THE FIELD - at “*chirvai*” (Kirchweih) - celebrating the church saint patron; in Gărâna is Saint Theresia



oct.2012

BEFORE STARTING THE RESEARCH - in *Christl Haus*, adorned with “traditional ethnic” objects, placed near modern household refrigerator with a commercial to mineral water



jun.2013

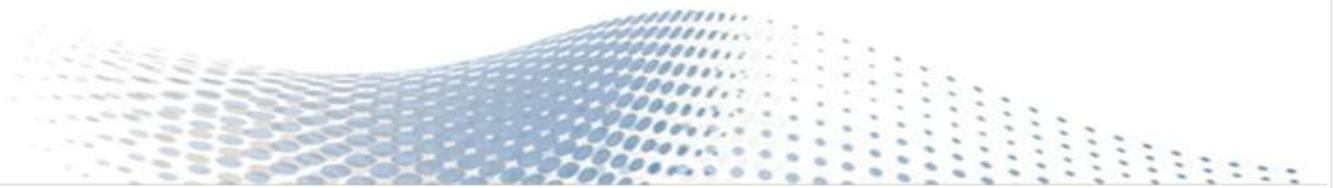
## PREMISES

- ▶ **After 1989:** Rediscovering local memory and diversity vs **before 1989:** ideological uniformity (efaced specificity), ideological and nationalist tendency of homogeneity
- ▶ **Before 1989:** Staging ethnic diversity within folk manifestations; displaying and celebrating unity around a unique centre of power (Chanting Romania festival); formal representation of all ethnic minorities
- ▶ **Before 1989:** Translating traditional holidays from original context (traditional) to transform them into showcase (to illustrate tradition)

**Question for the research today: How the changes before 1989 have influenced nowadays manifestations?**



Presenting in Reșița a “chirvai” as a “German tradition” from Gărâna

**Themes of study:**

- ▶ Interaction dynamics between ethnic groups
- ▶ Between rural and urban
- ▶ Using “diversity” and “local tradition” as patrimonial and tourist resource
- ▶ Closing – opening relations regarding identity dynamics (identity territorialisation, negotiating individual and collective roles, relations with “others”)
- ▶ Memory – living tradition relationship in defining intercommunity social relations
- ▶ Local - global tensions

**Focusing on two relevant themes:**

1. Object circulation from everyday life space to museum space

From using an object to exhibit the object in a museum and tourist context

- Museification of everyday life
- Recycling the object as tourist brand
- From local to global
- 2. The “*chirvai*” (Kirchweih)
  - From a religious holiday to a traditional reinvented practice (interaction and spectacle space)
  - From a holiday of a local community to an event organised by German NGOs (status change)
  - Revealing event
  - Staging social order
  - Establishing identity borders and reunifying community around the *Heimat*, and the holiday (pem people – recover the idea of being German, regrouping the family around the *Heimat*, integrating foreigners, using the “*chirvai*” for legitimacy or political action)

## A CENTRAL CONCEPT: THE IDEA OF *HEIMAT / HOMELAND / PETITE PATRIE*

From our fieldwork to the history of this concept

**“To explore the *Heimat* memory as a comprehensive cultural, social, and politic phenomenon”** - see Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor. Württemberg Imperial Germany and National Memory (1871 – 1918)*

Creation of the XIXth century, Württemberg, Germany

Connector between **local and national** (Suabian identity and Germaneness):

“a simultaneous representation of **the locality, the region and the nation**” (Confino 1997:101),  
“looked in the past for reassurances of local uniqueness in a period of a national homogenization.”  
(Confino 1997:103)

**Marks identity dynamics** “Heimatized” the nation, making it in an everyday mental property and creating a visual image of it in their minds (Confino 1997 :100)

**Past and present, tradition and modernity:** “not to substitute the present with an idyllic past, but to construct a *modus vivendi* between the progress of the present and the tradition of the past (Confino 1997 :103)

Suggesting perenity in a modern context

*Heimat* is “**memory combined knowledge and sensibilities.**”(Confino 1997 : 102)

Embodiment of the idea of Heimat in **a visual display of tradition** including:

Patrimonialisation of local history, everyday life, lifestyle, holidays in “Heimat museum”

Preserving the landscape and its beauty and “beautifying” the ambiance

“*Heimat* is individuality, beauty, remarkableness.”

## THE HEIMAT MUSEUM



Figure 1. The Heimat museum in Weinheim, 1909. The objective of the exhibition was to enable the youth to experience the time of their ancestors. Heimat museum represented the nation's origins by displaying a collection of undifferentiated objects from the past. (Courtesy of the Museum der Stadt Weinheim)

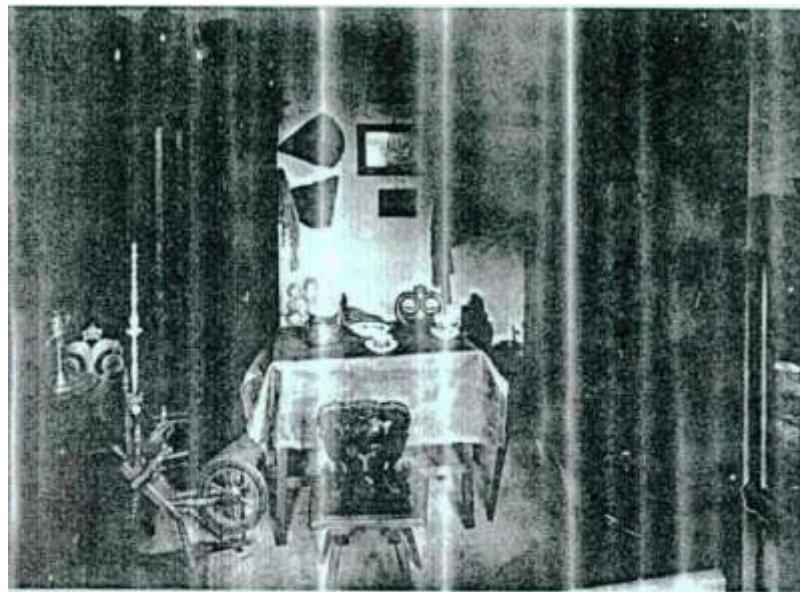
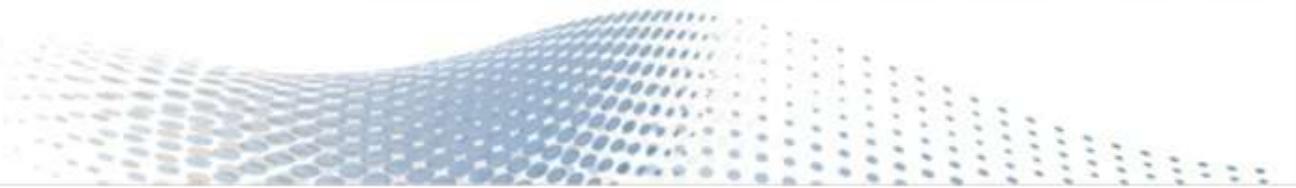


Figure 2. The Heimat museum in Weinheim, ca. 1910. One mode of representation of origins was based on reconstruction of the material and spiritual ambience of Germans in the past. The historic ambience rooms represented history in a linear and forward-moving direction, thus creating a local narrative of history that linked Germans in the Second Empire with their past. (Courtesy of the Museum der Stadt Weinheim)

- The Wolfsberg museum is a *Heimatstube* which has the slogan:
- “*So we have lived / So we live today .*”
- For us *this slogan rise questions: is it a continuity or a gap?*



may.2012



## THE MUSEUM – PART OF HEIMAT MYTHOLOGY

### A possible response:

Memory anthropologists have shown that the “*lieu de mémoire*” (Pierre Nora) as a form of collective memory emerges when the living community who bears the memory starts to fade away . In this condition the museification of everyday life and lifestyle functions as an reassuring image suggesting continuity, sense of belonging, projection of a future.

Thus the projection of the Heimat image in the museum is an ideal mode to configure a relation between past and present by combining local narrative, folklore, history and ethnological documents, imagining history, geography and local tradition as parts of an whole with strong symbolic power.

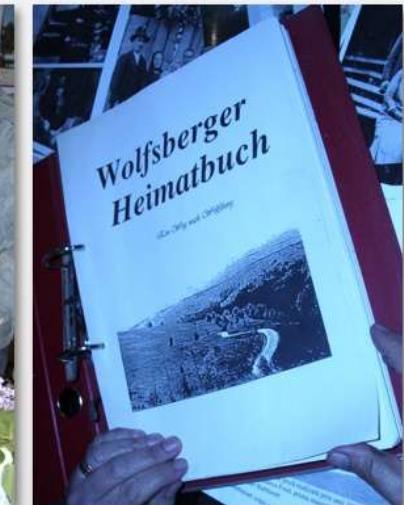


## INTERVIEWING THE MUSEUM FOUNDER



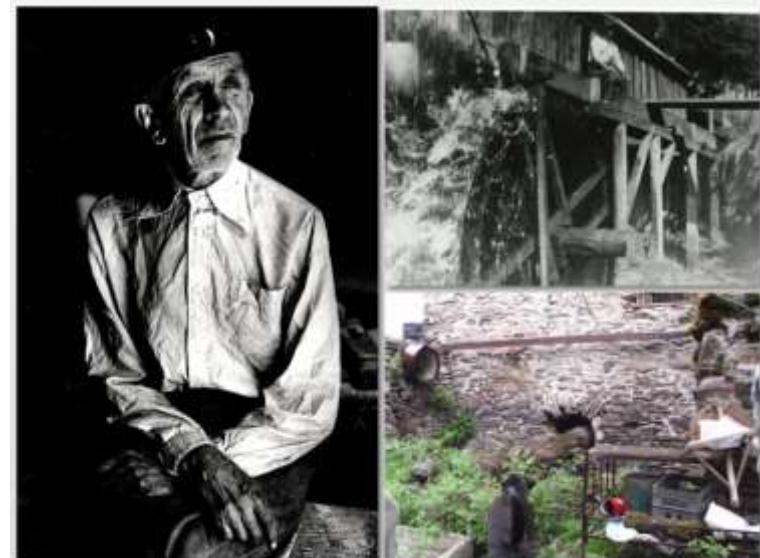
## Patrimonialising memory: in between family archive and local museum (Heimatstube)

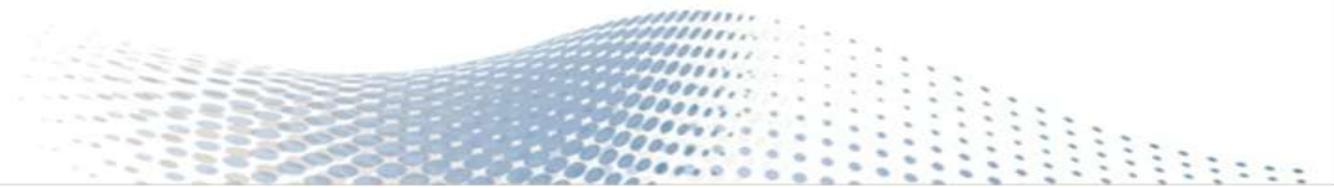
- The watermill as a place of memory
- The watermill is a centre for memory documenting
- The owners, Katharina and Gerhard Hausner narrate on their family history, mill history, nowadays community of pem people.
- Interviews based on photos, personal documents, books
- The mill is a place where family and community memory is reenacted
- Tourist centre
- Helps producing the idea of *Heimat*
- In competition with the museum
- 
- Gărâna Heimatbuch can be found at the Hausners
- Important source of memory
- Reunites written documents of all who left the village or still live there
- The documents are kept in order to be used when in need (in order to give authenticity, to compare data regarding the history or traditions).



## FROM THE FAMILY HERITAGE TO MUSEIFICATION. THE MILL – A POSSIBLE TOURIST AND HERITAGE OBJECT ?

- DESCRIPTION Maria Hausner (born Kortik), wife to Balthasar Hausner (married in 1931), grandmother to nowadays mill's owner, Gerhard Hausner. (up)
- Gerhard's grandfather belonged to the fourth generation of millers in Gărâna. The mill is situated at crossroads from Brebu, Văliug and Gărâna. The mill and the saw mill were used until the 80s. People used to grind wheat and corn but Katharina Hausner remembered that when the times were difficult they also ground crumb, for those in need.
- “The grinding process of the first mill: the grains fall from a hopper in a sieve, from there into a milestone hole and then between two such stones. These are then wrapped in a wooden carcass. The cereals are ground and pushed to the edge of the rocks, where flour, bran and hulls fall through a hole in a skin screening.”
- Fragment tradus de Daria Maria Jurca și Tonia Marișescu din documentul care descrie istoria morii (cf. Smaranda Vultur coord. *Germanii din Banat*, Paideia, 2000, pp. 332-333)





## THE OBJECT – FROM DAILY USE TO QUOTING OR ABOUT HEIMAT AS MEMORY PRODUCT AND TOURIST BRAND

During fieldwork, we noticed a fluid frontier between everyday life and the life represented in the museum. Same objects can be found in the households of the locals, in the museum and the interior design of bed and breakfast houses.

We can remark within the museum the tendance to display or to create memorable events starting with exceptional meteo phenomena (heavy snow) or traditional holidays with important symbolic features as the “chirvai”

The museum becomes a social and cultural barometer for the daily life of an ethnic community and in the same time a place of construction of an “imagined community” which projects at the same time an image of belonging and “differance” towards Germaneness.

# Museum (up) vs houses (down); object and ethic of household



mai.2012



## Vavi's house



may.2012



## DAILY USE VS MUSEIFICATION



## Skis in the museum cellar, and in houses



may.2012



## PAULA B&B





## “La răscruce” B&B

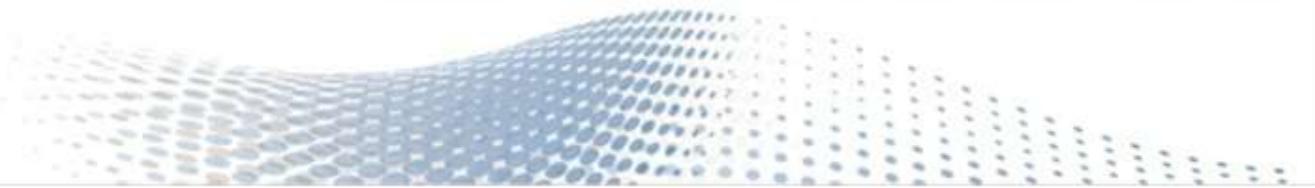


may.2012

- Object in the museum – pair of bellows, “traditional” plates (up)
- Picture of the ancestors (down)



may.2012



## HEIDI BED AND BREAKFAST



1



Picture 1 – inside the museum (Heimatstube)

Picture 2 – at Heidi's B&B

Picture 3 – sledge at the “Sus ïn sat B&B”

Picture 4 – glass case / show case with miniature (Kleinleben) traditional objects (winding frame, sledge, chair, fountain etc) – suggesting the essence of Heimat “- in Heidi's B&B



may.2012

## Reinterpreting traditional crafts

- (eg.) Handmade carpenter products (Rank Ferdinand)  
– tourist products (up)
- Harnesses made by Joseph Zangl, and exposed in the museum (last photo, down)





Bed and breakfast  
interior design at  
“Sus in sat” (up)

Objects from  
museum (down)





1



2



3



4

Picture 1, 2, 3 – interior of an inhabited house  
Picture 4 – inside the museum (some clothes have the label “made in Austria”)

may.2012

Vavi's costumes and traditional hairstyle presented for the researchers during the “*chirvai*”



Katharina Hausner (fragment interviu, 01:09:00)

- K: Luăm unu care e acumă... Ăsta e șorțu și ăsta e leibl. Mai trebuia o bluză... o bluză albă.
- L: ăsta e leibl?
- K: Da. Asta-i rochie și șorțu. [...] Asta ar fi o bluză cum am dus înainte de 90, dar fiecare a făcut bluza aicea, nu... Asta o fost bluză, dup-aia leibl.
- L: Bluză și leibl, fustă și șorțu?
- K: Da, și mai un batic a pus aicea. Si astea sunt „rochie deasupra”, deasupra de rochie lăsată. Întâi lăsată asta, după asta, după șorț.[...] K: Așa a fost bluze înainte...
- L: Erau și cu modele?
- K: Erau așa și cu modele cosit (cusute) așa, cu mâna. Si aicea o fost danteluțe așa.
- L: ăsta era baticul? Si se punea peste bluză?
- K: Peste bluză, aicea, și se legă frumos, nu cum fac eu acumă! Dup-aia a mai venit, nu cred că am aicea, un guler.
- L: Era și batic și guler?
- K: Si, si! Si batic și asta. Si legat în spate cu o bandelută, așa. [...] Asta e de fete; dacă o fost căsătorită, o pus batic pe cap.
- L: Si culorile?
- K: La Paști o fost roșu, la Chirvai o fost 3 zile, fiecare zi altă culoare, la Revelion o fost alb...
- L: Tot?
- K: Rochia, bluza. Leibl-ul o fost roșu, albastru, maro.
- L: Si daca era măritată?
- K: Dacă erai măritată e mai albastru, mai închis la culoare. [...] ăştia-s ciorapii. Ciorapi albi, până la genunchi și pantofi negri.

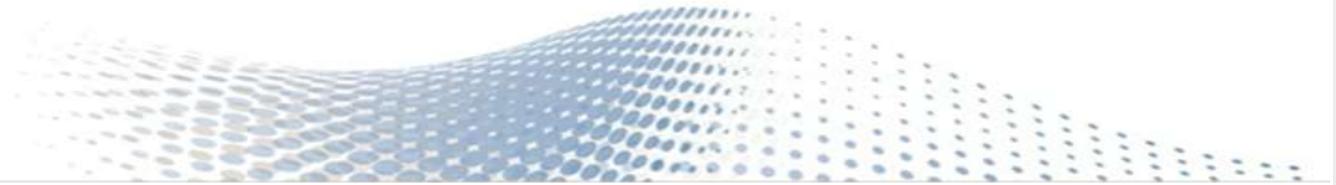


## FRAGMENT FROM THE INTERVIEW WITH KATHARINA HAUSNER, AT THE WATERMILL

### The costume

- K: We take one which is now... this is the apron and this is the *leibl* (i.e. waistcoat). We need a blouse... a white blouse.
- L: Is this a *leibl*?
- K: Yes. That's the dress and that's the apron. This is a blouse from before 1990, but everyone made a blouse here. That was a blouse and afterwards, the *leibl*.
- L: A blouse and the *leibl*, the skirt and the apron?
- K: Yes. And we used a kerchief, here. And this is the “over dress”, over the dress. First the dress, then this, after the apron. Those were the blouses...





## THE “CHIRVAI” SCENE – FROM MEMORY AND IDENTITY RECONSTRUCTION TO CULTURAL POLICIES AND POLITICS



## THE CHIRVAI — FROM TRADITIONAL PRACTICE TO A POSTMODERN DISPLAY

The *chirvai* is :

- an artifact
- a mixed product
- the result of interaction between local community (what people remember and how things should be done) and German NGOs which impose a standard German model
- a contrast between local costumes (local youngsters) and Suabian costumes (outsiders from Nădlac) both suggesting Germaneness opposed to the representation local identity through a *Heimat* holiday.



oct.2014

Claudia Rachici remembers the *chirvai* from her childhood (1975- 1983)

Kirchweich la Wolfsberg (amintiri din anii 1975 – 1983 , din timpul vacanțelor petrecute la mătușă : Terezia Rudlof, născută Riter, care locuia în partea de sus a satului . Mergeam în vizită și la mama mătușii, locuia aproape de biserică (pe strada laterală).

Îmi amintesc de acel Kirchweich pentru că nu am scăpat de insistențele mătușii mele de a mă îmbrăca în costum local.

Eram în vacanță la Reisl împreună cu Oma (bunică), care era verișoară primară cu Reisl. Oma, născută Schwartz Wilhelmina (părinți : Schwartz Wilhelm și Terezia Riter) s-a rupt de satul natal, s-a „orășenit” – cum o tot apostrofa Reisl !

Pe atunci Reisl era încă singură. S-a căsătorit foarte târziu (până s-a căsătorit Oma considera că trebuie să meargă la ea, după căsătorie... mai degrabă venea Reisl la Reșița).

Îmi amintesc multiplele și inutilele mele proteste la îmbrăcat : costumul era cam mare, fustele prea multe, eșarfa mă strângea îngrozitor... Oma îmi împletise (ca de obicei) părul în codițe mult prea strânse și cu prea multe fontițe...

Când în sfârșit am plecat, Reisl ne-a dus cu căruța cu cai. Avea cai foarte frumoși , și iubea și îngrijea cu devoțiune.

În căruță, Reisl și Oma stăteau pe bancheta vizitiului – conduceau căruța. Iar restul oaspeților de la oraș trebuia să stăm semiașezăți, nu pe băncile din căruță, ci pe lateralele căruței. Era ca un fel de defilare de sărbătoare, erau multe familii care „se prezintau” astfel. Imi amintesc de căruțe încărcate, familii numeroase îmbrăcate în costume locale, căruțe în care erau și săteni mutați la oraș (erau și vecini din cartierul meu Reșițean și colegi de școală).

În căruța noastră, pe laterale stăteam eu și verișoara mea,Karin, pe o parte, în față noastră părinții verișoarei , Lizet și Ferdinand Fischer (ei erau și încă mai sunt păstrători ai tradiției).



Cu o zi înainte surprinsesem (la chemarea verișoarei care pândeau momentul) alaiul de flăcăi care ducea bradul tăiat din pădure la locul central al petrecerii. Aflasem că bradul fusese ales de bătrâni din sat și că cel care trebuia să îl taie, sau cel puțin să dea primele lovitură era cel mai vrednic fecior din sat. Am văzut un băiat din alai care s-a desprins cu o ramură de brad în mâna și a intrat în curtea unei case. Am aflat că lăsa creanga unei fete și aşa își anunța sau își susținea intenția de căsătorie.

Memoria mea fotografică a mai reținut o imagine, a unui dans, care mi-a plăcut mult. Atenția asupra lui mi-a fost atrasă de Oma, care îl aștepta, și de zâmbetul sugestiv al mătușii Reisl, care mi-a spus că Oma l-a dansat în tinerețe.

Era un dans cu puține perechi, toți în costume locale de sărbătoare, și de fapt nu se dansa în pereche, ci fiecare participant avea un capăt al unei panglici sau sfori colorate legată de trunchiul bradului din centru și se mișcau în cerc în jurul bradului. Îmi amintesc că se povestea ceva pe margini, printre pemoaicele mai bătrâne, că au fost ani în care acest dans nu a fost dansat, povestea cineva că într-un an se întâmplase ceva cu Tânărul care trebuia să taie bradul...

Restul amintirilor mele sunt legate de...prăjituri și camarazi de joacă...



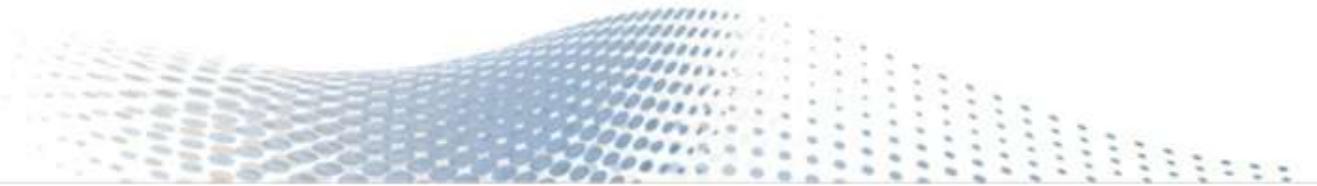
oct.2014



## KIRVAI COSTUMES



oct.2012



## GĂRÂNA BRASS BAND IN THE '80s





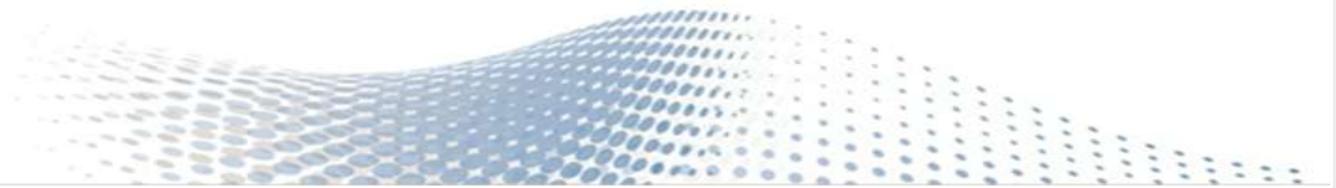
## MUSIC AT CHIRVAI



oct.2012



oct.1998



- Tensions and negotiations
  - Power relations
  - Ethnic relations
  - Reinforcing relation between the ones who left and the ones who stayed
- 
- The festivities from Gărâna and Becicherec included local authorities (the Romanian mayors, recently elected)
  - In Gărâna – the mayor tried to fit in (to RESEMBLE the locals) by gestures, costumes, taking part in the main moments of the holiday, in Becicherec the mayor displays his official insignia, assumes a high visibility profile, his interest for ethnic diversity, and his ecumenism in a village which is nowadays inhabited by a great majority of Romanians. All these for political purposes (elections)
- 
- In Becicherec, the festivities are organised by a teacher, with the help of her pupils (Romanian or Roma adolescents) The youngsters wear a German costume, without identifying themselves from an ethnic or confessional point of view.
  - All these attest a German identity which is recovered in a museum form. The chirvai remembers to the local community of its lost diversity.



## THE MAYOR at the festivities



## BECICHERECU MIC – *chirvai*



nov.2012



CREATIVE COOPERATION IN CULTURAL HERITAGE



nov.2012

## CONCLUSION

- La Gărâna Heimat-ul își conservă funcția de conector al identității locale cu cea etno-națională dar câștigă tot mai mult teren o lume nouă în care “specificul local” e tratat ca o categorie a etnicului în general, a rusticului, a ceva ce valorizat pt ca e vechi, e originar, “autentic”. Pensiunile pun în mișcare chiar mecanismul acesta de autentificare care leagă localul de global. Pentru că pensiuni de acest tip găsim nu doar în Germania sau Austria, ci și în alte locuri în care se dezvoltă aşa zisul agroturism ce valorizează ca și Heimat-ul specificul local sub presiunea noilor ideologii (ecologism, hrana bio slow food, întoarcerea la tradiții, la natură, turism rural și cultural etc) și ale noilor forme de comunicare (media, internet, rețele de socializare etc). E fără îndoială simptomul unei lumi deschise în care modelele sunt transmisibile indiferent de distanță, generând globalul.
- In Gărâna, the Heimat conserves its function as a connector between local and ethno-national identity , unifying the community, the locals and the emmigrants from the village (in Germany), in the term of a rediscovered Germanness.
- In the same time the local agro-tourism revalues the Heimat as a tourist brand in terms of rustic, folk antiquities original authentic.
- In fact, this tourism elaborates a global model of displaying tradition under the influence of new ideologies (ecology, slow food, returning to traditions, to nature as a source of picturesque and return to the origins). The new forms of communicatin allow a rapid spread of this succesful model, within a society of entertainment and an intensive negociation of social representations.



## RURAL ENGLAND



## RURAL BELGIUM (FLANDERS)



## RURAL FRANCE (NEAR STRASBOURG)





CREATIVE COOPERATION IN CULTURAL HERITAGE



jun.2013