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**HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF PERSISTENCE,
DESTRUCTION AND CREATION: THE CASE
OF RURAL LANDSCAPE TRANSFORMATIONS
IN CZECHIA'S RESETTLED BORDERLAND**

Keywords

Czech borderland
transfer of the Czech
Germans
landscape changes
historical geography
Czechia

Abstract

This paper is focused on the discussion of the transformations of the rural landscape in the Czech borderland in the second half of the 20th century. The borderland is presented as a certain entity in this paper. The main processes influencing the functioning of the landscape during the mentioned time period are characterized. Landscape changes on the local level are detailed using the model area of the Žlutice micro-region as an example.

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Introduction

The research goals of contemporary historical geography still stem from the two following assumptions in particular. Being aware of the fact that the geographic organization of the surrounding world and conceptions of it are the result of past developments, in order to understand them it is necessary to study the organization of geographic environment and the geographic ideas of earlier times. Historical geography is therefore the geography of the past¹ particularly in the sense that it studies this past in order to understand the present and therefore strives also for the practical application of its findings.² It is the lived-in landscape containing various relicts from the past that is often one of the main objects of such study.³ In this paper we focus on the discussion of the transformations of the rural landscape in the Czech borderland in the second half of the 20th century. This territory underwent changes in the above-mentioned period that were influenced by specific as well as general processes. The study of these transformations thus enables us to better understand the relationships between different types of driving forces involved in the development of local landscapes.

The borderland is presented as a certain whole in this paper. The most important processes influencing the functioning of its landscapes are not only characterized, but their consequences are also described using the example of the selected case study area of the Žlutice micro-region (see fig. no. 1). This region may be characterized as inner periphery, i.e. it is a type of area that is being often overlooked in the studies focused on the borderland. Findings about its transformations can therefore be further compared with already collected data on the development of other parts of the borderland. The borderland is not an area that has not been researched. Its transformations have been the subject of various studies, which we would like to build upon. These studies are the result of the work of experts in diverse fields. Thus last, but not least, the aim of this paper is to discuss the possibilities and significance of connecting differing directions in borderland research within the regionally-focused study of landscape changes.

¹ Robin A. BUTLIN, *Historical Geography. Through the Gates of Space and Time*, New York 1993.

² Compare with the approach of landscape biography, for example Jan KOLEN – Mathijs WITTE, *A biographical approach to regions, and its value for spatial planning*, in: *Multiple Landscape. Merging Past and Present*, edd. Wim van der Knaap – Arnold van der Valk, Wageningen 2006, pp. 125–145.

³ See for example Alan R. H. BAKER, *Geography and History. Bridging the Divide*, Cambridge 2003; R. A. BUTLIN, *Historical Geography* (see note 1); Eva SEMOTANOVÁ, *Historická geografie Českých zemí [Historical Geography of the Czech Lands]*, Praha 2002.

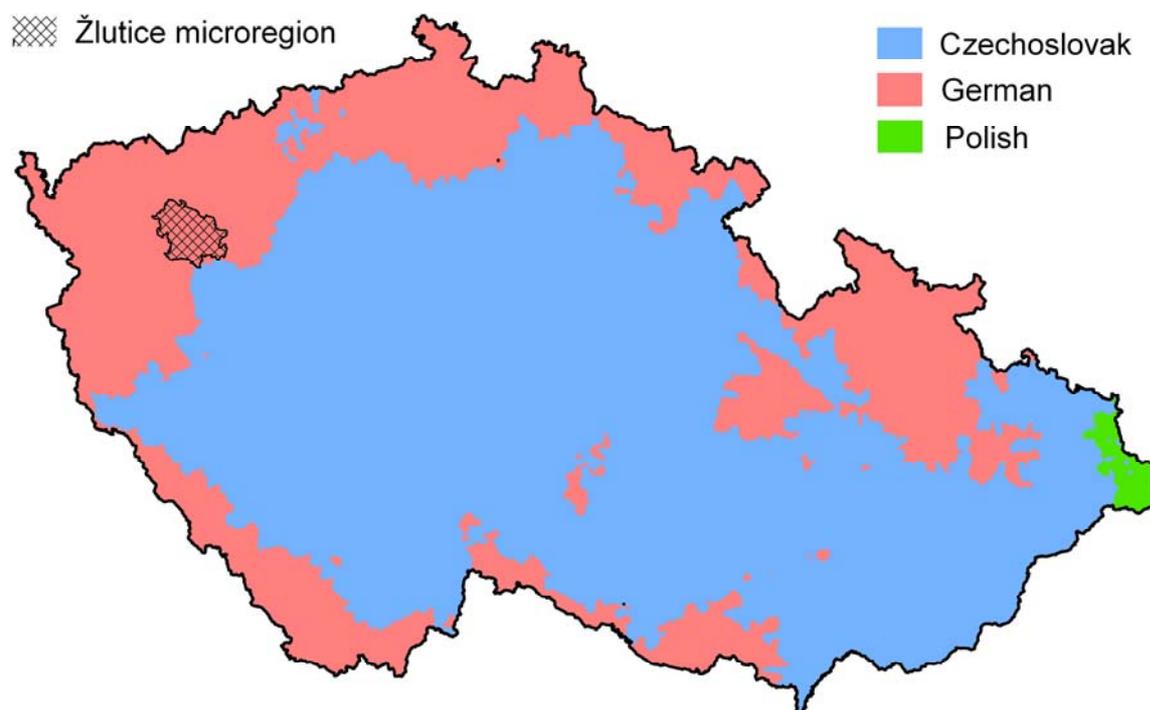


Fig. no. 1. Prevailing nationality of Czechia's inhabitants in 1930 and the position of the Žlutice micro-region within Czechia.

Diversity of the research on the borderland

The borderland is one of many manifestations of the territoriality of human practice. As a rule we define borderland as a transition and contact zone located between two different neighbouring regions. The borderland is not invariable and homogenous territory.⁴ In relation to internal and external conditions it is constantly developing and changing. On the basis of many criteria various borderlands may be delimited in one region.⁵ For the purposes of this paper the borderland means an area continuously adjacent to the borders of Czechia in which in 1930 the population claiming German nationality predominated (see fig. no. 1). This is approximately an area that was after the end of World War II affected by the population exchange in relation

⁴ Martin HAMPL, Pohraniční regiony České republiky: současné tendence rozvojové diferenciace [Border regions in the Czech Republic: contemporary tendencies of development differentiation], *Geografie* 105, 2000, pp. 241–254.

⁵ For example Pavel CHROMÝ, Historickogeografické aspekty vymezení pohraničí jako součást geografické analýzy [Historical-geographical aspects of delimitation of the borderland and of its geographical analysis], *Geografie* 105, 2000, pp. 63–76.

to the transfer of the Czech Germans.⁶ Therefore whenever the term “borderland” is used in this paper, it does not refer to all areas located near the borders of Czechia, but just to a large, specific part of it. The relict historical Czech-German ethnic boundary does still manifest itself in the geographical organization of the Czech society.⁷

Research on the above defined borderland and its development in the second half of the 20th century can be divided up into several streams focused in particular on the following topics: the history of the transfer and resettlement; changes in settlement and landscape; the transformations of local communities; culture and identity in the context of contemporary development of borderland regions; the history of specific phenomena, places, and regions.⁸ A certain measure for the importance of changes in the borderland after World War II is not only the attention actually given to the processes of transfer and resettlement,⁹ but also to the significance and consequences of related transformations of the cultural landscape,¹⁰ and to their societal and political,¹¹ human context.¹² The reflection of past events is still needed in order to understand the contemporary borderland landscape. However, there has been

⁶ This is however not a unique occurrence. Other areas in Central Europe were affected by similar post-war population transfers, see Leszek A. KOSIŃSKI, Changes in the ethnic structure in East-Central Europe, 1930–1960, *Geographical Review* 59, 1969, pp. 388–402.

⁷ Pavel CHROMÝ – Silvie KUČEROVÁ – Zdeněk KUČERA, Regional identity, contemporary and historical regions and the issue of relict borders – the case of Czechia, in: *Historical Regions Divided By the Borders: Cultural Heritage and Multicultural Cities. Regions and Regionalism*, No. 9, Vol. 2, ed. Krystian Heffner, Opole 2009, pp. 9–19.

⁸ The following list of studies should be understood as a list of examples. This paper’s goal is not to present borderland research in its entirety, but instead to indicate the topical range of studies.

⁹ For example František ČAPKA – Lubomír SLEZÁK – Jaroslav VACULÍK, *Nové osídlení pohraničí českých zemí po druhé světové válce* [New Settlement of the Borderland of the Czech Lands after the Second World War], Brno 2005.

¹⁰ Robin RAŠÍN – Pavel CHROMÝ, Land use and land cover development along the Czech-Austrian boundary, in: *Land Use/Cover Change in Selected Regions in the World. Vol. V, Part VII*, edd. Ivan Bičík – Yukio Himiyama – Ján Feranec, Asahikawa, 2010, pp. 57–65; *Proměny sudetské krajiny* [Changes of the Sudetan Landscape], ed. Matěj Spurný, Domažlice 2006.

¹¹ For example Eva HAHNOVÁ – Hans H. HAHN, *Sudetoněmecká vzpomínání a zapomínání* [Sudetan-German Remembrances and Forgetting], Praha 2002; *Rozumět dějinám. Vývoj česko-německých vztahů na našem území v letech 1848–1948* [To Understand History. The Development of Czech-German Relations on Our Territory Between 1848–1948], edd. Zdeněk Beneš – Václav Kural, Praha 2002.

¹² For example Michaela PEROUTKOVÁ, *Vyhnání. Jeho obraz v české a německé literatuře a ve vzpomínkách* [Expulsion. Its Reflection in Czech and German Literature and Memories], Praha 2008.

a shift in the focus of studies on the borderland in the sense that this area can no longer be approached exclusively as a landscape of transfer and resettlement, but in the interpretations of its development also later changes must be taken into consideration. Similar focus and reasons for having been developed do, with the above-mentioned studies, which they often refer to, have also the publications on changes in the settlement system¹³ and land use changes in the Czech landscape.¹⁴

The study of the culture and identity of local communities in the context of the issue of contemporary development of the borderland regions is a separate research chapter. In connection to this it is necessary to mention ethnographic research that has been conducted here since the 1950s. The aim of this research has been to understand in particular:¹⁵ the process of resettling of the borderland itself; the relationships of the settlers to the environment into which they moved and to the material culture of the transferred German population; the processes of reconstruction and adaptation of cultures and ways of life of newcomers in the new environment, their separating and integrative tendencies in the process of forming local communities; the differences between communities in the borderland and in the inland. Recently the focus of ethnographic research has shifted from the analysis of the process of settler adaptation in for them new environment to the search for answers to questions concerning the nature of culture created in the borderland during the second half of the 20th century and its viability – that is to say to an issue, which is partially dealt with in related researches on regional identity,¹⁶ and on mutual rela-

¹³ Settlement desertion and related changes in the settlement system have been given special attention. See for example Zdeněk KUČERA, *Zanikání sídel v pohraničí Čech po roce 1945 – základní analýza* [Settlement desertion in the Bohemian borderland after 1945 – a preliminary analysis], *HG* 34, 2007, pp. 317–334; Jiří ANDĚL – Václav POŠTOLKA, *Zaniklá sídla, vývoj a specifika* [Deserted settlements, development and specifics], in: *Vývoj sídelní struktury a obyvatelstva pohraničních okresů Ústeckého kraje*, edd. Jiří Anděl – Milan Jeřábek – Tomáš Oršulák, Ústí nad Labem 2004 (= AUP 88, *Studia Geographica* IV), pp. 85–108.

¹⁴ Current findings indicate that selected parts of the borderland can be considered as areas where there the landscape has been transformed the most in Czechia during the second half of the 20th century, compare for example Ivan BIČÍK – Leoš JELEČEK – Vít ŠTĚPÁNEK, *Land-use changes and their social driving forces in Czechia in the 19th and 20th centuries*, *Land Use Policy* 18, 2001, pp. 65–73.

¹⁵ According to Nad'a VALÁŠKOVÁ – Zdeněk UHEREK, *Novoosídlenecké pohraničí* [New settlers' borderland], in: *Kultura – společnost – tradice II. Soubor statí z etnologie, folkloristiky a sociokulturní antropologie* [Culture – Society – Tradition II. A collection of works in ethnology, folklore studies and sociocultural anthropology], ed. Zdeněk Uherek, Praha 2006, pp. 53–108.

¹⁶ For example Pavel CHROMÝ – Helena JANŮ, *Regional identity, activation of territorial communities and the potential of the development of peripheral regions*, *AUC – Geographica* 38, 2003, pp. 105–117.

tionships and perceptions of communities living on both sides of the Czech state border.¹⁷ The history of specific phenomena, places, and regions form a special category among the studies on the borderland.¹⁸

The borderland, its development, and the transformations of its landscape and local communities have become the object of many researches. Each of the described fields of research contributes in its own way to the knowledge about and understanding of the borderland's past as well as its current state, and thus also helps to form the ideas about its future. However, is it the theme of landscape and its transformations what really connects these diverse research approaches?

The five faces of landscape

Today the topic of landscape is usually considered to be an interdisciplinary field of research with integration potential on the boundaries of the social and natural sciences. We are not going to discuss the details of the integrated landscape research. We will limit ourselves only to a discussion of selected landscape characteristics and of related research on which we need to focus.

Although there are diverse approaches to the study of landscape, using the findings of other authors it is possible to come up with certain summarising statements. Landscape researches and the related ideas about the meaning of the term landscape can be divided into different groups, which do not mutually negate each other, but are rather complementary.¹⁹ A certain shift from determining landscape types, and analyzing their functioning and transformations towards attempts to understand and interpret the causes of changes and values of studied landscapes, including their protection and planning, may be observed. All of these goals are still a part of landscape research and its definition.²⁰ The fact that they mutually supplement each other also enables a formulation of comprehensive statements about land-

¹⁷ František ZICH, *Národnostní a etnické vztahy v českém pohraničí. Obraz Čecha, Němce, Rakušana a Róma ve vědomí obyvatel* [National and Ethnic Relationships in the Czech Borderland. Image of the Czech, German, Austrian and Roma in the Consciousness of Inhabitants], Praha 1996.

¹⁸ For example Alena JÍLKOVÁ – Tomáš JÍLEK et al., *Železná opona. Československá státní hranice od Jáchymova po Bratislavu 1948–1989* [The Iron Curtain. The Czechoslovak State Border from Jáchymov to Bratislava 1948–1989], Praha 2006.

¹⁹ Michael JONES, The elusive reality of landscape. Concepts and approaches in landscape research, *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift* 45, 1991, pp. 229–244.

²⁰ Compare The European Landscape Convention, Florence 2000 (accessible at: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/heritage/Landscape/default_en.asp).

scape's qualities. Landscape is holistic, dynamic, and perceived.²¹ It has territorial, material as well as societal dimensions²² and has open relationships.²³ Landscape has also certain inertia and memory. It is not just a collection of variously-aged objects,²⁴ but has an associative function, supporting the preservation of memories and the forming of ideas, which at the same time contribute to its transformations.²⁵ Landscapes have many meanings and values and their interconnectedness with human cultures results in the need to understand and protect them as a part of our heritage.²⁶

Several papers have already focused on the possibilities for integrated research of various landscape characteristics within one research model.²⁷ With the use of their findings we can come to the following conclusions. The cultural landscape is

²¹ Marc ANTROP, Background concepts for integrated landscape analysis, *Agriculture, Ecosystems and Environment* 77, 2000, pp. 17–28.

²² Compare Zdeněk KUČERA, Krajina jako dědictví [Landscape as heritage], in: Eva HEŘMANOVÁ – Pavel CHROMÝ et al., *Kulturní regiony a geografie kultury* [Cultural Regions and the Geography of Culture], Praha 2009, pp. 156–180.

²³ Compare Don MITCHELL, New axioms for reading the landscape. Paying attention to political economy and social justice, in: *Political Economies of Landscape Change. Places of Integrative Power. The GeoJournal Library* 89, 2008, pp. 29–50; *Globalisation and Agricultural Landscapes: Change Patterns and Policy Trends in Developed Countries*, edd. Jørgen Primdahl – Simon Swaffield, Cambridge 2010.

²⁴ Martin GOJDA, *Archeologie krajiny. Vývoj archetypů kulturní krajiny* [The Archaeology of Landscape. The Development of Cultural Landscape Archetypes], Praha 2000.

²⁵ David LOWENTHAL, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge 1985; Simon SCHAMA, *Landscape and Memory*, New York 1995.

²⁶ See for example *European Culture Expressed in Agricultural Landscapes. Perspectives From the Eucaland Project*, edd. Gloria Pungetti – Alexandra Kruse, Rome 2010; Malcolm ANDREWS, *Landscape and Western Art*, Oxford 1999; however, the relationship between landscape and culture is not limited to the European culture.

²⁷ The following claims come mainly from the following publications: Alois HYNEK, Ná-zorová diverzita v chápání krajiny – souvztažnost prostorovosti krajiny [Diversity of attitudes towards landscape – correlation of landscape spatiality], in: Jaromír KOLEJKA et al., *Krajina Česka a Slovenska v současném výzkumu*, Brno 2011, pp. 12–46; Michael JONES, Land-tenure and landscape change in fishing communities on the outer coast of central Norway, c. 1880 to the present. Methodological approaches and modes of explanation, *Geografiska Annaler* 70 B, 1998, pp. 197–204; Tarja KEISTERI, The study of changes in cultural landscapes, *Fennia* 168, 1990, pp. 31–115; J. KOLEN – M. WITTE, A biographical approach (see note 2); Richard S. SCHEIN, A methodological framework for interpreting ordinary landscapes: Lexington, Kentucky's Courthouse Square, *Geographical Review* 99, 2009, pp. 377–402; Nico ROYMANS – Fokke GERRITSEN – Cor VAN DER HEIJDEN – Koos BOSMA – Jan KOLEN, Landscape biography as research strategy. The case of the South Netherlands project, *Landscape Research* 34, 2009, pp. 337–359.

the result of interactions between natural conditions and human needs and ideas expressed through practice and between natural and cultural processes taking place on various scales. Every culture in a given time and place creates to a certain degree its own landscape, wherein during this process it is influenced by natural conditions as well as by material creations already present in the landscape and by own way of life, customs, norms and traditions. Landscape transformations have an almost non-linear character and always include complex interactions between physical structures on the one hand and changes in cultural values and mentalities on the other. When studying these transformations it is therefore necessary to give attention to material components of the landscape, some of which survive, some of which disappear, whereas others are newly created, as well as to non-material, abstract and invisible influences which take part in the transformations of material landscape structures, and in their (re)presentation and (re)interpretation. We ask not only about how the organization of the landscape and the objects contained therein have changed. We also investigate who, how and why has changed the landscape and in which cultural, social, economic and political context this has happened, what the landscape means for the identity of in its development interested communities, how do through the (re)construction of its symbolic parts social relationships, practices and values get reproduced and normalized, and how the landscape becomes an instrument for the changes of those practices and values. In other words, attention is given to (a) forms, (b) functions, (c) processes causing landscape changes, (d) the context in which forms and functions do exist and changes take place,²⁸ (e) meanings and values related to the above listed points. These five characteristics interconnect the various approaches to landscape research. Thus, they also form the outline of the following parts of this paper.

Processes and historical context

Landscapes change naturally;²⁹ what is left to people for discussion are causes, the course and the results of these changes. Table 1 shows the main processes that have influenced the development of the Czech cultural landscape since the mid-twentieth century. Some of these processes are still continuing, while others came to an end. In the table the processes are divided into groups based on their relationships

²⁸ Mats WIDGREN, Can landscapes be read?, in: *European Rural Landscapes. Persistence and Change in a Globalising Environment*, edd. Hannes Palang – Helen Sooväli – Marc Antrop – Gunhild Setten, London 2004, pp. 455–465.

²⁹ Marc ANTROP, Landscape change. Plan or chaos?, *Landscape and Urban Planning* 41, 1998, pp. 155–161; Jaromír KOLEJKA – Pavel TRNKA, Assessment of landscape changes. Theoretical starting points for study and the research reality, *Moravian Geographical Reports* 16, 2008, pp. 2–15.

Table 1. Selected processes that have influenced the development of the Czech landscape since the mid-twentieth century.³⁰

PROCESSES	INLAND	BORDERLAND
Population and settlement		
rural depopulation	X	X
transfer of the Czech Germans	X	XX
transformation of the settlement network in the borderland		X
pseudo-urbanization of landscape	X	X
suburbanization	X	X
Economy		
land consolidation	X	X
agricultural cooperatives	X	X
extensification of agriculture and land abandonment	X	X
industrialization of landscape	X	X
Politics		
land nationalization	X	X
militarization of landscape	X	XX
rise and fall of the “iron curtain”		X
“return to Europe”	X	XX
Culture		
renaming of landscape	X	XX
use of culturally and historically valuable buildings for special purposes	X	X
secularization of landscape	X	XX
transformation of the relationship to landscape	X	X
protection of landscape values	X	X
development of second home ownership, recreation and tourism	X	X

with: population development and settlement changes, economic, political, and cultural changes; and furthermore according to their relative importance for landscape development in the inland and in the borderland. The mentioned processes cannot be con-

³⁰ Taken from and modified after Zdeněk KUČERA – Pavel CHROMÝ, Depopulation, resettlement and landscape changes in the peripheries of the Czech borderland, in: The Political Ecology of Depopulation. Inequality, Landscape and People, edd. Ángel Paniagua – Raymond Bryant – Thanasis Kizos, Zaragoza 2012, pp. 191–213; originally derived from: Pavel HÁJEK, Jde pevně kupředu naše zem. Krajina českých zemí v období socialismu 1948–1989 [Our Country is Going Forward Fast. The Landscape of the Czech Lands in the Period of Socialism 1948–1989], Praha 2008; X = significant; XX = more significant in that category, while significant in all other categories at the same time.

sidered to be strictly distinct. Several of them took place concurrently or were followed by one another. Only a small number of the mentioned processes were also specific to the borderland. Despite this, we shall focus especially on their relationship to this territory in the following discussion.

As was indicated above, one of the most significant events that influenced the development of the borderland in the second half of the 20th century was the transfer of the Czech Germans. Similarly like other events in the past,³¹ this transfer has brought up questions about the significance of one event for the future directions of long-term transformations of certain landscapes. The processes of the transfer and subsequent resettlement of the borderland after World War II resulted in an almost total population exchange and meant a radical intervention into the society as well as tangible and intangible cultures of the borderland. As a result there was a loss of approximately 3 million permanent inhabitants,³² and large parts of mountain areas and of areas less favourable for agriculture were depopulated. Several hundred settlements were completely abandoned and deserted.³³ Many empty buildings were preserved only due to the fact that they were transformed into second housing.³⁴ Along with the original residents, the memory of the local landscape was also transferred. Those who resettled the borderland had to create new relationships to the environment into which they came. Although the transfer cannot be considered the direct cause of many of the later population, economic, social, and cultural changes, it had through the sudden interruption of the long-term continuity of settlement and of established ways of life contributed to these changes. New communities were, for example, created by settlers of various ethnicities and nationalities who were used to mutually different social and cultural norms and customs. This fact still influences events in borderland regions, where there conflicts between different communities may arise. The transfer of the Czech Germans was the beginning of complex changes in landscape and in ways of life, which have resulted in differences between

³¹ Václav MATOUŠEK, Třebel. *Obraz krajiny s bitvou [Třebel. The Image of Landscape with Battle]*, Praha 2006.

³² Vladimír SRB, *1000 let obyvatelstva českých zemí [1000 Years of the Population of the Czech Lands]*, Praha 2004.

³³ David KOVAŘÍK, *Proměny českého pohraničí v letech 1958–1960. Demoliční akce v českém pohraničí se zřetelem k vývoji od roku 1945 [Changes of the Czech Borderland Between 1958–1960. Demolition Actions in the Czech Borderland with Emphasis on Development after 1945]*, Brno 2006; compare Z. KUČERA, *Zanikání sídel* (see note 13).

³⁴ Jiří VÁGNER – Dieter K. MÜLLER – Dana FIALOVÁ, *Second home tourism in light of the historical-political and socio-geographical development of Czechia and Sweden*, *Geografie* 116, 2011, pp. 191–210.

the borderland and inland regions still visible in the organization of the landscape,³⁵ population and cultural characteristics,³⁶ and human and social capital.³⁷

Other more general changes were caused by the coming of the Communists to power in 1948. Property ownership structure and agricultural production methods were transformed: agriculture was collectivized, private businesses were liquidated, land was consolidated, and agriculture was industrialized. In borderland areas at higher altitudes, signs of the extensification of agriculture started to appear in a still greater extent – a decrease of the area of arable land which has been substituted by forests and permanent grasslands. This is a trend that has continued even after 1990.³⁸ The landscape was also influenced by continuing industrialization, growth in energy consumption, and resulting environmental stress.³⁹ Due to Czechia's position within Europe, landscape was militarized as well. In the 1950s along the western and southern state borders a closed-off zone was delimited in order to prevent crossing of the state border outside of the selected strictly guarded places. This area later became known as the "Iron curtain".⁴⁰

The landscape of the borderland continues to change after the start of democratization of the Czech society in 1989. Some of the hitherto closed and inaccessible areas were once again opened to the public, and interest in local heritage and landscape was restored. Selected former military training areas were closed and their future use became a subject of debates.⁴¹ Tourism has developed in mountainous areas in particular due to their environmental potential.⁴² Activities of municipalities

³⁵ R. RAŠÍN – P. CHROMÝ, Land use (see note 10).

³⁶ Zdeněk KUČERA – Silvie KUČEROVÁ-KULDOVÁ, Designated landscape values versus local attachment – A Preliminary survey, in: Venkov je náš svět / Countryside – Our World, ed. Věra Majerová, Praha 2008, pp. 108–120.

³⁷ Vít JANČÁK – Tomáš HAVLÍČEK – Pavel CHROMÝ – Miroslav MARADA, Regional differentiation of selected conditions for the development of human and social capital in Czechia, *Geografie* 113, 2008, pp. 269–284.

³⁸ Ivan BIČÍK – Leoš JELEČEK, Land use and landscape changes in Czechia during the period of transition 1990–2007, *Geografie* 114, 2009, pp. 263–281.

³⁹ Jiří ANDEĚL, Regions of environmental burden in the Czech republic – Methods of definition, *AUC – Geographica* 29, 1994, pp. 111–125.

⁴⁰ A. JÍLKOVÁ – T. JÍLEK et al., *Železná opona* (see note 18).

⁴¹ Tomáš SEIDL – Pavel CHROMÝ, Environmental conservation in military training areas – source of spatial conflicts?, *Europa XXI* 21, 2010, pp. 103–115.

⁴² More than 40 % of the area of the resettled borderland is now included in some type of protected area; Zdeněk KUČERA – Silvie KUČEROVÁ-KULDOVÁ – Pavel CHROMÝ, Land-

and civic associations have gradually become focused on the restoration of local monuments. Occasionally, monuments are even being restored in cooperation with the former residents of German nationality. Despite this, many monuments, for example churches, have remained abandoned and in unfavourable conditions. There is no one to take care of them. In the areas where they are located live a lot less people than in the times when they were built. Moreover, the situation is not helped by the fact that the borderland is now one of the regions with the lowest share of religious inhabitants in Czechia.⁴³ The sad paradox of the existence of some of these monuments is also the fact that while they have survived the communist period before 1989 in a relatively good shape, they were later damaged by vandals and thieves. The cultural landscape of the borderland and its memory are still changing.

Forms, functions, meanings and values

Every landscape not only develops under the influence of various processes. It is also made up of forms with which certain functions, meanings and values are associated. The landscape of the Czech borderland underwent many changes in the second half of the 20th century. Several forms, functions and values related with this landscape have remained preserved, and others have been replaced with new ones. In this part of the paper we shall focus on the discussion of some of them using the Žlutice micro-region as an example.

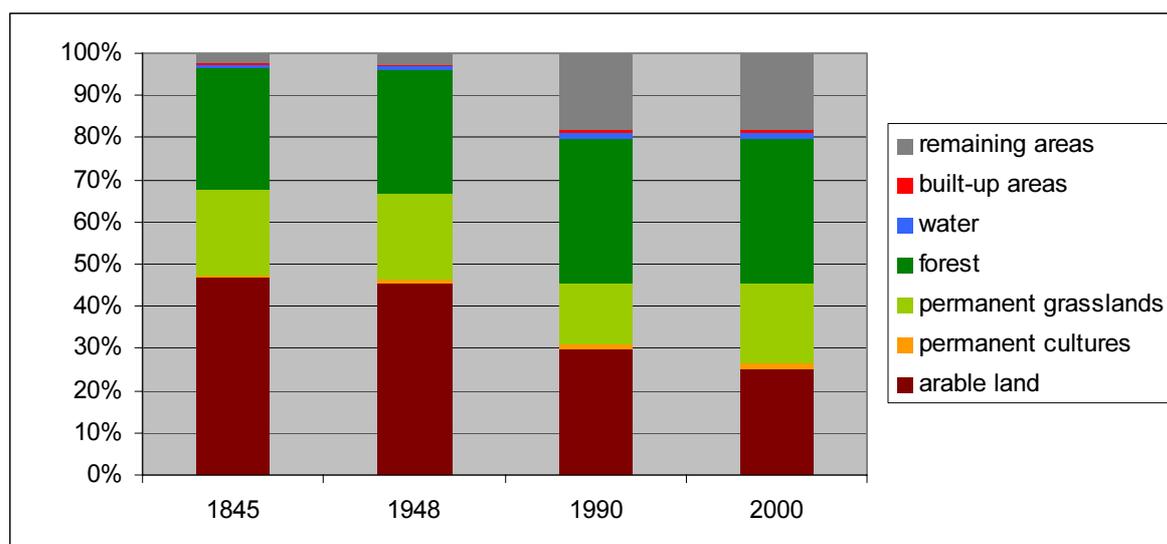
Based on the data contained in the database of land use in Czechia⁴⁴ we can characterize the contemporary landscape of the Žlutice micro-region as being cultivated extensively. However, as the graph no. 1 indicates, in the first half of the 20th century the landscape of the micro-region was more open, with arable land and permanent grasslands dominating. During the 20th century the share of arable land decreased by nearly half, and the extent of forest and other areas grew. From fig. no. 2⁴⁵ it is clear

scape heritage between areal preservation and areal development – the case of Czechia, *Geographia Polonica* 81, 2008, pp. 5–23.

⁴³ Tomáš HAVLÍČEK – Martina HUPKOVÁ, Religious landscape in Czechia. New structures and trends, *Geografie* 113, 2008, pp. 302–319.

⁴⁴ Available at <http://lucc.ic.cz/>; compare Ivan BIČÍK – Lucie KUPKOVÁ, Dlouhodobé změny využití krajiny Česka: metody, výsledky, problémy výzkumu [Long-term land use changes in Czechia: methods, results, problems of research], *HG* 33, 2005, pp. 346–366.

⁴⁵ The land use change index was calculated using data available at <http://lucc.ic.cz/>. The change index expresses on what percentage of a given territorial unit changes in land use occurred. For details see I. BIČÍK – L. KUPKOVÁ, Dlouhodobé změny (see note 44). For information about



Graph no. 1. Development of the land-use structure in the Žlutice micro-region between 1845 and 2000.⁴⁶

that the transformation of the landscape of the Žlutice micro-region was not even. The largest changes can be noticed particularly in the northern and central parts of the area. This means in the parts from which the first was affected by the establishment of the military training ground in 1953 and the second by the construction of the water reservoir in 1968. In those parts fundamental landscape and settlement changes, which were accompanied with the disappearance of many settlements, took place. Despite this, even the total scope of post-war transformation of the micro-region cannot be underestimated. The extent of the changes is indicated for example by the fact that whereas in 1930 there were 27,000 residents present with an average population density of 55 people/km², in 2001 the average population density was only 20 people/km² and only 10,000 people resided here permanently.⁴⁷

the localization of the deserted settlements see Z. KUČERA, *Zanikání sídel* (see note 13) and <http://www.zanikleobce.cz>.

⁴⁶ Authors' analysis based on the data available at <http://lucc.ic.cz/>.

⁴⁷ The presented information about population changes comes from the analysis of data from the following publications: *Statistický lexikon obcí v zemi České, úřední seznam míst podle zákona ze dne 14. dubna 1920, čís. 266 sb. zák. a nař. Vydán ministerstvem vnitra a Státním úřadem statistickým na základě výsledků sčítání lidu z 1. prosince 1930* [Statistical Lexicon of Municipalities in the Bohemian Land, The Official List of Places According to the Act from April 14, 1920, No. 266 of Collection of Acts and Provisions. Issued by the Ministry of the Interior and State Statistical Office on the Basis of December 1, 1930 Census Results], Praha 1934; *Seznam obcí v zemi České podle stavu z prosince 1945* [The List of Municipalities in the Bohemian Land as of December 1, 1945], Zprávy Státního úřadu statistického republiky Československé XXVII,

The greatest population decline occurred between 1945 and 1946, when the population decreased by approximately 16,000. Rural towns, i.e. main centers of the region, and settlements located on the most important transportation lines were the most successfully resettled. Settlement structure has changed completely. Whereas in 1930 there were very few settlements with less than 25 inhabitants, in 2001 this type of settlements prevailed. Population changes thus became along with other social, economic, and political events one of the most important driving forces of the landscape changes in the Žlutice micro-region.

Cultural changes however were also an significant part of the transformations of the area. These manifested themselves not only in the modification and disappearance of structures considered to be important by the former German population, but also in their renovation and in attempts to (re)interpret and to come to terms with past events through the creation of new structures (see fig. no. 3, 4). Commemorative sites in particular, such as for example memorials and cemeteries, and sacral structures have become a part of the debates concerning the transformations of values and meanings associated with the cultural landscape of the borderland.⁴⁸ Using the Skoky pilgrimage site as an example, changes in the physical condition, functions, and meanings of such structures are described in the following text. In order to fulfill this goal, findings collected from various sources, knowledge based on interviews conducted in spring 2011 and on field observations will be used.

The Skoky pilgrimage site is located in the central part of the Žlutice micro-region, i.e. in the part whose character was significantly changed by the construction of the water reservoir in the 1960s (see fig. no. 2). This two-tower pilgrimage church built on the site of an original chapel in 1736–1738,⁴⁹ is located on an elevated point in the middle of the deserted village (see fig. no. 5). Together with the remains of another

Řada D, číslo 1–16, [Reports of the Czechoslovak State Statistical Office XXVII, Series D, nos. 1–16] Praha 1946; Seznam obcí v republice Československé. Díl I. Seznam obcí v zemi České podle stavu z konce roku 1946 [The List of Municipalities in the Czechoslovak Republic. Part I. The List of Municipalities in the Bohemian Land as by the End of the Year 1946], Praha 1947; Statistický lexikon obcí České republiky 2003. Podle územního členění státu k 1. 1. 2003 a výsledků sčítání lidu, domů a bytů 2001 [Statistical Lexicon of Municipalities of the Czech Republic 2003. Based on the Territorial Division of the State as of January 1, 2003 and on the Results of the 2001 Census], Praha 2004; Jiřina RŮŽKOVÁ – Josef ŠKRABAL et al., Historický lexikon obcí České republiky 1869–2005. I. díl [Historical Lexicon of Municipalities of the Czech Republic 1869–2005, Part I], Praha 2006.

⁴⁸ This is similar to other parts of Central Europe affected by the transfer of the German population, see for example Dagmara CHYLÍŇSKA, Trudne dziedzictwo – cmentarze poniemieckie w krajobrazie kulturowym Dolnego Śląska [Dissonant heritage – Former German cemeteries in the Lower Silesia cultural landscape], ArchK 2007, pp. 31–39.

⁴⁹ Zdeněk BOHÁČ, Poutní místa v Čechách [Pilgrimage Sites in Bohemia], Praha 1995.

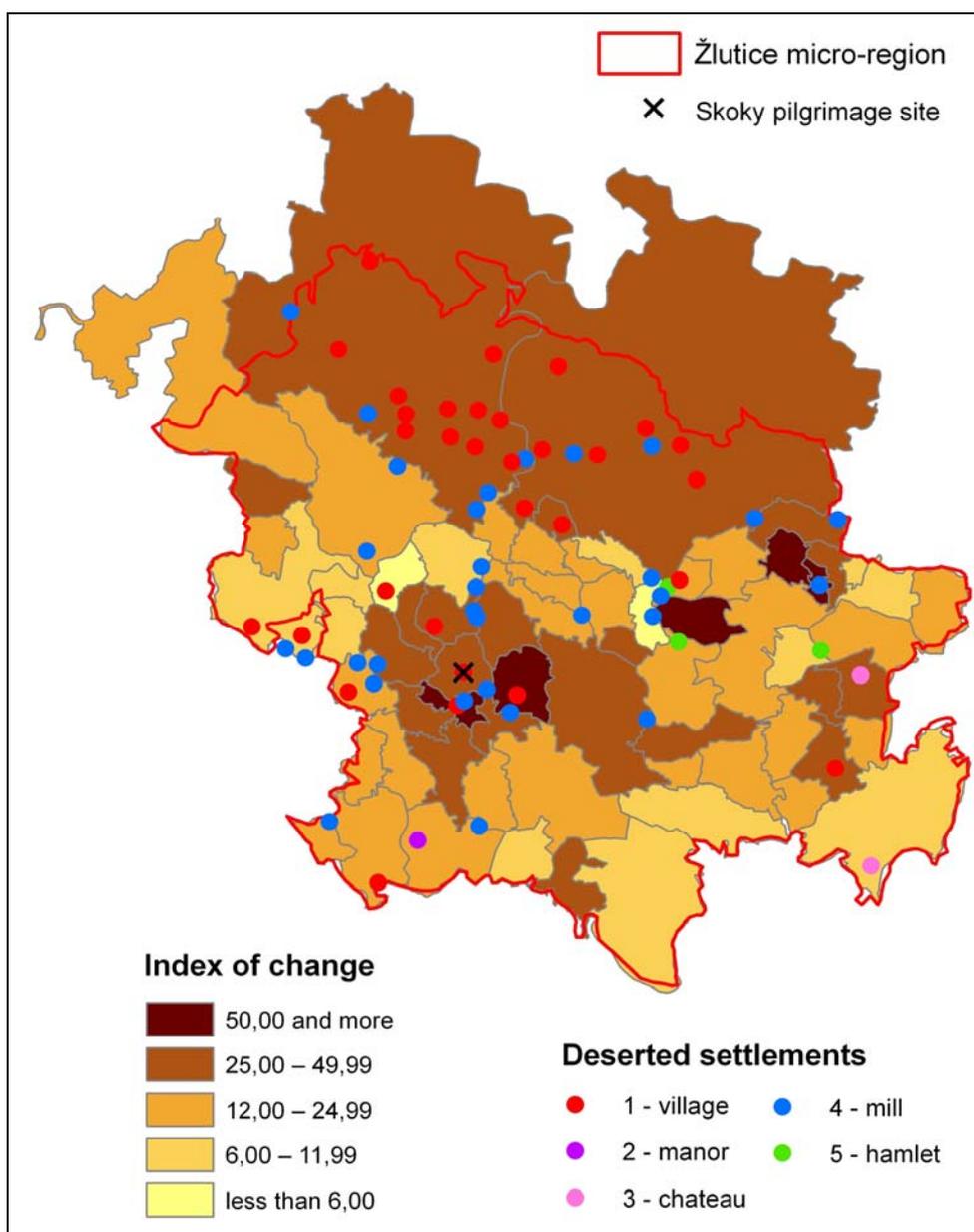


Fig. no. 2. Total land use change on the territory of the Žlutice micro-region in 1845–2000 and its relationship to deserted settlements after 1945. – For further details see note 46.

building, a former inn, it serves as a reminder of the past glories of the pilgrimage site. It used to be known throughout all of Bohemia and the local pilgrimage tradition was, in combination with a special technological solution of the movement of the holy picture during pilgrimage masses leading to its unintended jumping while moving, responsible for the creation of the famous saying: “Panenko Skákavá!” (Jumping Virgin! – this is directly associated with the Czech name of the site, Mariánské Skoky, which may be loosely translated in English as Marian Jumps and was derived from the former German name of the village, Mariastock). Hardly anyone

though now directly links this saying to the pilgrimage site in Skoky. Today, the access to the pilgrimage site is more difficult than it used to be in the times when the village was inhabited permanently. The only road that led there was flooded by the water reservoir. The site is accessible only along field paths from nearby villages. However, in spite of its location in an isolated spot, it has not been completely abandoned. It lives on in the memories of those who used to make the pilgrimage here, and its present plight is being publicized and dealt with by a civic association from a nearby small town.⁵⁰ Not only are pilgrimage masses held here regularly, but also other social and cultural events take place in Skoky, mainly during the summer tourist season. There is no lack of visitors during these events. Despite the remoteness of the site, the “unattractiveness” of an empty, altar-less church looted during the 1990s, and the fact that it is difficult to get here. For example on the day of the main religious pilgrimage in the spring of 2011, about 300 people came. Czechs and Germans of various age groups met here. Everyone who came took part in the religious celebrations, even though they were not primarily searching for faith. On the day of the pilgrimage there was a bus for pilgrims that, starting at the monastery in Teplá, drove around the region and brought people without their own transportation as close as possible to the pilgrimage site. The route of this special bus symbolically followed the pilgrimage route connecting the church in Skoky with its administrative headquarters. This pilgrimage route was created as a part of the project organized by the civic association, the goal of which is to support tourism and regional awareness.

The example of the Skoky pilgrimage site shows that the transformation of symbolic places in the borderland has not always led to their total destruction and abandonment. However, preservation of such places is often accompanied by their reinterpretation and by at least partial transformation of their symbolic content and function. This is reflected in the activities and statements of those who take care of such places. In the case of Skoky it was necessary for the civic association to start a discussion about why the church was in serious disrepair and what were the possibilities for its future use. Thus perhaps the administrator of the church, the monastery in Teplá, sees a need to non-violently address people who have no direct relationship with the church and who are not religious, but who may care about cultural heritage. A representative from the monastery stated during an interview: *“Overall I try to be realistic. Pilgrimages, the way that they used to be (...) today are somewhere completely different. Here by us the Skoky, its glory (...) is gone, and won’t be restored. It is more of a place where people can meet with God through Mary. There’s a centuries-old tradition there (...), so it’s more of a conception (...), that various activities that are there are not just spiritual, and actually it is cultural activities that dominate, like concerts and performances (...). I view this here in the borderland*

⁵⁰ See <http://www.skoky.eu>.

region as the content of the pilgrimages, (...) that it gives people here a lot more, or it addresses them. (...) Religious non-believers, lots of people more or less like monuments and want to help that site, not out of some religious conviction, but I'd say that the people that do there something, that most of them are not involved in the church, but the fate of the site is not indifferent to them. They know that it is an incredible building. They respect it and want to preserve its value for future generations. Therefore, there is a noble idea behind it all. (...) I think this is where the path is leading. I mean here in our regions where traditions have been severed, interrupted."

Borderland landscape as palimpsest and multihistoric heritage

The landscape of the Czech borderland underwent many changes in the second half of the 20th century. Like every landscape, the contents of this one too refers to past events and times. In this sense it is a palimpsest⁵¹ and a multihistoric heritage,⁵² which is constantly undergoing development and (re)interpretation. Changes in the landscape of the borderland were caused by general processes, taking place on the entire territory of Czechia, as well as by events specific for the borderland. With the transfer of the Czech Germans after World War II not only the continuity of its cultivation and interpretation was broken. The overall number of its inhabitants also decreased. Especially poorly accessible areas with less favourable conditions for agriculture remained unsettled. As a result of post-war changes many settlements in the borderland disappeared. With the change of the political regime at the start of the 1950s many areas directly on the border were completely closed to the public. Along with the population transfer there was a significant cultural change. The new residents, the settlers, who brought with them their own ways of life, customs, traditions and values, had to conform to living in a new environment as well as they have in many ways adapted the landscape that was new to them according to their needs. The political and social changes associated with the democratization of the Czech society after 1989 represented a certain break in borderland landscape development. Dynamic changes took place particularly in border mountain regions, where there new possibilities for the development of tourism and cross-border contacts opened up.⁵³ In addition, there has been gradual growth in the interest of local com-

⁵¹ M. GOJDA, Archeologie (see note 24).

⁵² Karoline DAUGSTAD – Eir GRYTLLI, How to study and manage a multihistoric landscape, Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift 53, 1999, pp. 85–92.

⁵³ Compare Milan JEŘÁBEK – Jaroslav DOKOUPIL – Tomáš HAVLÍČEK et al., České pohraničí – bariéra nebo prostor zprostředkování? [Czech Borderland – Space of Barrier or Mediation?], Praha 2004.



Fig. no. 3. A monument to post-war events reading: “In memory of returning Czech lands to Czech hands”, Soběchleby. – Photo Jiří Kulda (2009).



Fig. no. 4. A symbolic cross made of gravestones of deserted German graves, Nahořečice. – Photo Zdeněk Kučera (2011).

munities to understand the transformations of their regions in the entire borderland. The aim of these activities however is not to return the landscape its original character, but to create a relationship with certain historical and intergenerational continuity to the lived-in landscape. The landscape of the borderland changed irreversibly during the second half of the 20th century. In some parts of the borderland landscape character changed fundamentally. Although some old elements disappeared, the landscape was enriched with new structures, values and ideas. Despite the post-war population exchange, the landscape of the borderland still remains inhabited. This is a point which mutually connects not only its residents, but also many studies on the borderland.

Zdeněk Kučera – Silvie Kučerová

Historická geografie přetrvávání, zkázy a obnovy: případ proměn venkovské krajiny dosídleného pohraničí Česka

Príspevek se zaměřuje na diskuzi proměn venkovské krajiny pohraničí v období druhé poloviny 20. století. Pohraničím se zde rozumí území souvisle přiléhající k hranici Česka, na němž v roce 1930 převažovalo obyvatelstvo hlásící se k německé národnosti. Jedná se přibližně o oblast, jež byla po skončení druhé světové války postižena výměnou obyvatelstva v souvislosti s odsunem českých Němců. Nejvýznamnější procesy ovlivňující fungování zdejší krajiny jsou v příspěvku nejen charakterizovány, ale jejich důsledky jsou též přiblíženy s využitím příkladu modelového území Žluticka. Pozornost se věnuje (a) formám, (b) funkcím, (c) procesům způsobujícím změnu zdejší krajiny, (d) kontextu, v němž se změny odehrávají, (e) krajinným významům a hodnotám a jejich proměnám.

Krajina pohraničí svým obsahem odkazuje na minulé události a období a je v tomto smyslu palimpsestem či multihistorickým dědictvím, jež podléhá neustálému vývoji a (re)interpretaci. Její změny byly způsobeny jak obecnými procesy, uplatňujícími se na celém území Česka, tak událostmi pro pohraničí specifickými. S odsunem českých Němců došlo k přerušení kontinuity v její kultivaci a interpretaci. Zejména hůře přístupné oblasti s méně příznivými podmínkami pro zemědělství zůstaly nedosídlené. V důsledku poválečných změn mnoho sídel v pohraničí zaniklo. Se změnou politického režimu na počátku 50. let 20. století byly některé příhraniční oblasti veřejnosti zcela uzavřeny. S výměnou obyvatel pohraničí je spojená i významná kulturní změna. Dosídlenci se museli přizpůsobit životu v novém prostředí a také si v mnohém pro ně novou krajinu přizpůsobili. Určitý zlom ve vývoji krajiny pohraničí znamenaly politické a společenské změny po roce 1989. Postupně se rozvíjí zájem místních společenství o poznání proměn svých regionů. Cílem těchto aktivit ovšem není vrátit obývané krajině její původní ráz, ale vytvořit si k ní určitý vztah s historickou a mezigenerační kontinuitou. Krajina pohraničí se nenávratně změnila. Zůstává však krajinou obývanou. Něčím, co vzájemně spojuje nejen své obyvatele, ale též mnoho studií na téma pohraničí.



Fig. no. 5. The pilgrimage church in Skoky. – Photo Silvie Kučerová (2010).