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**POSSIBILITIES OF PRODUCING SYMBOL OF PLANNED
AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT**

MOGUĆNOSTI PROIZVODNJE SIMBOLA PUSTARA

ABSTRACT

Planned agricultural settlements have been built in the end of 18th century and at the beginning of 19th century in the eastern part of Republic of Croatia. These settlements differ from other villages and living there provided better conditions for the inhabitants. In the agricultural settlements there were administrative buildings, residential buildings for seasonal workers, public and industrial buildings, but also area for sports and, according to plans, green infrastructure. On bigger settlements lived more than 50 families. After losing initial reasons of founding they started to disappear and decline in population. Lately few isolated, non-governmental groups expressed their intention to keep the memories referred to life in these settlements, wherein uniqueness of spatial and organizational way of life gets the cultural meaning. The settlements were underestimated until one of these building complexes has been inscribed on the list of Cultural Heritage. The aim of this research paper is to compare macro level as national level of producing and materialization of collective memories and micro level as local level on which narratives of collective memories appear. Overlapping of these levels gives an overview of possibilities and direction of development of symbols referring to Baranya's planned agricultural settlements. The paper provides relevant literature overview and the results of the empirical research. The research methodology includes questionnaires of target groups, gathered in communities oriented on maintaining memories on observed settlements. Given results are indicative and they are interpreted in accordance with limited sample of the examinee.

Key words: *planned agricultural settlements, collective memories, narratives of the past, symbols*

SAŽETAK

Pustare su planska naselja nastala krajem 18. i početkom 19. stoljeća na istoku Republike Hrvatske koja se prostornim sklopom, ali i načinom života stanovnika, razlikuju od sela u istom prostoru. Stanovanje na pustarama je tijekom 19. stoljeća predstavljalo zavidni standard radničkog stanovanja u sektoru poljoprivrede. Pustare su imale upravne zgrade, stambene nizove za sezonske radnike, javne i proizvodne funkcije kao i prostore za sportske namjene i prema planovima izvedenu zelenu infrastrukturu. Na većim pustarama živjelo je i više od 50 obitelji. Planirana i locirana iz agroekonomskih razloga ova naselja su nestankom početnog interesa počela demografski nestajati te se prostorno i materijalno rastakati. U posljednje vrijeme pojavila se inicijativa nekoliko izdvojenih, vaninstitucijskih grupa da održe sjećanja vezana za život u ovim naseljima pri čemu posebnost prostornog i organizacijskog načina života tendira kulturnom značenju. Dosadašnja slika i značenje ovih prostora nisu bili institucionalno formirani i poticani, sve do nedavnog stavljanja jedne od pustara pod institut zaštite kulturnih dobara. Cilj rada je usporediti makro, nacionalnu razinu kao aktivnog usmjeravatelja proizvodnje i materijalizacije kolektivnih sjećanja i mikro razinu na kojoj se sjećanja stvaraju individualno. Usporedba ove dvije razine usmjerava mogućnosti razvoja simbola baranjskih pustara. U radu se daje pregled relevantne postojeće literature i rezultati empirijskog istraživanja. Istraživanje je obuhvatilo prikupljanje stavova, mišljenja i naracija anketnim ispitivanjem ciljnih skupina, okupljenih u zajednicama usmjerenih na očuvanje sjećanja na pustare. Dobiveni rezultati su indikativni, i interpretira ih se u skladu s ograničenim uzorkom ispitanika.

Ključne riječi: *pustare, kolektivna sjećanja, naracija prošlosti, simboli*

1. Collective memories - interpretation of content

One of the elements of social integration, which is a reason that past does not remain past, but is an active factor over which people construct their lives, is collective memory. The literature studied points to the following terms: collective remembrance, collective memory and social memory. In the text by authors Brkljačić and Prlenda (2006) (in Gotal, 2010:191) the concepts mentioned are interpreted: collective memory which is "a collection of memories shared by a certain community" and collective remembrance "denoting work on the content and involving active practice of designing, structuring and reorganization of memory". Being realized in the field of human interaction, collective remembrance is always a political process, and collective memory a fragile product of the current consensus. "The term" social memory was used by authors Perasović and Vojak (2012), in accordance with suggestions made by Jeffrey Ollick (1999). Analysis of the material or the general subject memories independent of the individuals in the Croatian field of research was the subject of work of the authors: Markovina (2012) -analysis of symbols, street names and squares in Split; Potkonjak and Pletenac (2011) -the role of monuments in public spaces of cities Sisak, Sinj and Zagreb; Belaj and Urem (2010) -religious artifacts in space; Frangeš(2010)-the role of natural heritage in the collective memory. These examples of collective remembrance "see" embodied memories in the space as well in facilities such as calendars, street names, monuments, museums and similar constructs (Vučković Juroš, 2010). The other approach is based on an analysis of public discourse, educational materials, textbooks, production of documents and official policies (Vučković Juroš, 2010), for the example in the study of museum tendencies

concerning the analysis of exhibition catalogs 1985-1995 of Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb and the Croatian History Museum (Bingula, 2012). The integration of these interpretations of memories is essential for achieving cultural consensus about the past. Part of recent works discusses the theoretical and operational discourse (Vučković Juroš, 2010, 2012; Vinšćak, Vranić, 2013) which supports the development of the observed topics.

Places of identity formed through memories as well as the reasons for memories can often thank their preservation to the very fact that they had been left by the side of the development trends present in the wider society (Frangješ, 2010), and the initial impetus for their protection is often a poor state of space having great importance, formally protected and in that way creating a framework for preventing the decline. The institutional framework of protection represents only a base for further developments, which is only expected, but not certain.

2. About the planned agricultural settlements and participants

"A planned agricultural settlement" or "Pustara" (the Hungarian word "puszta") designates a spacious, level steppe in Hungary. In addition to the above mentioned meanings, settlements are forms of organized, planned collective housing characteristic of Hungary, Slavonia and Baranja, and were built during the 18th and 19th century, in Slavonian plains, owned by wealthy aristocratic families. The reasons for establishing such settlements are hidden in the changes of the social regime (the end of the limited feudal-serf relationship), the emergence of the labor market (human freedom) and the process of urbanization of rural areas. In order to maintain labor force, aristocratic families devised new elements to attract and retain the workforce in these areas. Networks of settlements were being established, and linked with agricultural railway created planned settlements with primary production function, in relation to its scope and character expressing higher industrial development of the administrative unit in which they were located (Merey, 1985). Baranja settlements differed from Baranja villages being methodically built according to the zoning system, adapted to the individual location. The authors Živković and Horvat (1985) conducted a site review of the main settlement Kneževo and twelve settlements (Kneževo, Mirkovac, Jasenovac, Brestovac, Zlatna Greda, Sokolovac, Šebešir, Kozjak, Sudaraš, Širine, Zeleno Polje) which are today worth documents on these sites.

Planned agricultural settlements were methodically built according to different urban matrices, and all the settlements were organized around farmyard, that reassembled residential housing, a park with an administration building, an apartment for the manager and service buildings (Figure 1). Economic yards were organized around the barn for cows (up to 60 cows), buildings for the production of animal feed, dairy, offices and warehouses as the largest buildings in the planned agricultural settlements. Certain settlements consisted, in addition to basic production facilities, of buildings which were specialized for other activities: Kneževo - central administrative settlement - craft production, brick factory, mill; Mirkovac - craft production, mill, sheep barn; Brestovac - hemp production, selection of seeds; Zlatna Greda - hemp production, cane processing, sawmill, breeding of nutrias; Širine - pig stalls, two lodges; Sudaraš - a lodge (Živković, Horvat, 1985).

Figure 1 Settlement Jasenovac from the air



Source: HAVC, 2013-2014; <http://www.havc.hr>

Housing in planned agricultural settlements in its time was at the peak point of the workers' standard of living in the agricultural sector. In settlements were administrative buildings and barracks for seasonal workers located. More than fifty families lived in larger settlements. Managers lived in large apartments in public buildings. Repairers, locksmiths, blacksmiths and wheelwrights were first or last in a line. Other workers, who performed basic agricultural work, lived with their families in the central residential buildings, while barracks for seasonal workers were built away from the workers' apartments (Figure 2). Row houses contain six apartments, which consisted of a bedroom, kitchen and pantry. Iron stove was used for heating and cooking in the kitchen. Opposite the residential buildings there were pigsties each belonging to one apartment. Improvised summer kitchenettes, patios, sheds and henhouses were built afterwards as service rooms of individual apartments (Stober, Lončar-Vicković, Koški 2011).

Figure 2 Planned agricultural settlement Zeleno polje



Source: private collection NGO "Pustaraši", 2014

About 80% of building fund has been preserved even today. Some buildings have their origin function, while others are abandoned or have changed their purpose. A good revitalization practice presents the new usage of the administrative building in Zlatna Greda, used by the Eco Centre Zlatna Greda. The building has been properly restored, suitably converted and equipped, so it represents a potential core of future restoration and revitalization of the entire complex (Decision on historic properties, Class: UP-AND-612-08 / 11-06 / 0707, 2011). Problem of settlements revitalization hides in ownership transformation. Municipalities were

given territory of planned agricultural settlements that remained a property of privatized former social companies (Croatian Forests, Belje, Croatian Waters, etc.). Municipality investments do not refer to settlements, but to the needs of the territory of villages, because there are more urgent problems there (reconstruction of schools, road construction ...). The settlements thus become no one's interest (Stober, Lončar-Vicković, Koški, 2011).

3. Methodology and research of memory about the settlements

The initial research idea claims that for complete collective memory it is necessary to include collective memory of individuals that appears in interactions within social groups to the semiotic and institutional approaches. The main question of the study was about shaping and transformation of the collective memory through identification of main concepts. The attitudes were gathered by a structured questionnaire. The framework for structuring the survey and the analysis of the document were established according to the Law on Protection and Preservation of Cultural Heritage, Official Gazette No. 69/99, in which the types of cultural heritage are noted - Article 7, 8, and 9. The study involved two non-governmental groups "Korijeni pustare" and "Pustaraši", established in 2012 and 2013. The purpose of establishing these organizations is preservation of the memory on previous activities, life and work in the settlements of the Croatian and Danube region. The questionnaire was carried out using a network link that was available at the social network of non-governmental groups during March 2015.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Institutional level of protection of planned agricultural settlements

According to the Law of Protection and Preservation of Cultural Heritage (Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia, NN 69/99) cultural-historical areas are unique locations of urban or rural buildings having a distinct historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social or technical importance, mutually sufficiently connected to denote associated spatially recognizable features. These are historic settlements and parts of settlements: urban and semi-urban units, urban centres, village units, healthcare and hospital complexes, historical subdivision, parts of settlements (historical city districts, squares, ambiances, streets, blocks). The status of protected cultural and historical unit of planned agricultural settlement Zlatna Greda was acquired by Decision UP / II-612-08 / 12-02 / 011, 2012. The text on protection emphasizes the upper objectives of procedures and it also states: "The protection of the settlement Zlatna Greda preserves its visual identity, regulates the adaptation and represents new future constructions in order to preserve material evidence about lifestyle and work in working units, established in the estate Belje at the time of the Austro-Hungarian rule The protection and revitalization of this settlement will preserve the historical complex that would, besides the museum documentary function, greatly contribute to the tourist offer and promotion of cultural heritage "(Solution UP/II-612-08/12-02/011). The document explains reasons and values in the settlement analyses, while reasons for protection are divided according to the type of cultural goods (Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia, NN 69/99).

Table 1 Analysis of the text of the Resolution on the settlement Zlatna Greda as cultural asset

	TYPES OF CULTURAL PROPERTY		
	IMMOVABLE CULTURAL HERITAGE	MOVABLE CULTURAL HERITAGE	INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE
WHOLE	<i>was planned according to the grid of streets a green belt divides the settlement into administrative, housing and manufacturing part attractiveness and ambience incorporation of settlements in the Danube-Drava swamp forests</i>		<i>sustainability of community work way of life and work</i>
PART	<i>origin buildings were built in the second half of the 19th century , industrial architecture, administration building, icehouse, a large workshop, barn for calves, building warehouses, a watchtower, workers' apartments, a blacksmith shop, school, bakery, shops, water tower cobblestone paving, paving bricks</i>	<i>bell above the entrance of cattle slaughterhouse hunting wagon, carriages</i>	<i>making of a watchtower making feeding sites making carriages and hunting rounds</i>
DETAIL	<i>fired bricked masonry buildings, covered with flat clay tiles, pilasters, decorative bricks</i>		<i>making clamps for animals making harnesses for horses, making seats for carriages</i>

Source: authors' data

5. A collective memory of social protection level of planned agricultural settlements

In the survey participated 45 people, 24 women (53.3%) and 21 men (46.7%). Age structure indicates the limitations of the on-line survey research as the survey was not answered by people above 65 years old. The stakeholder group had following age structure: 15.6% under 35, 22.2% from 35 to 44 years, 28.9% from 45 to 54 years, 24.4% of 55-65 years. According to the research, 88.9% of respondents have lived in settlements, while 53.3% of them have worked there as well.

One third of respondents has spent more than 15 years living in the settlement and the same share of respondents were born there. There is 17.8% respondents specify a planned agricultural settlement as the present place of residence, while other respondents stated places in different location in Croatia or other countries (Austria, Slovenia, Germany). The survey consisted of questions about preferences for the protection of planned agricultural settlements and their elements, divided up in types of cultural heritage (tangible – immovable/movable; and intangible). Results showed strong protective attitudes of respondents in all categories of heritage (Figure 3, 4 and 5).

Figure 3 According to your opinion, what should be preserved as immovable cultural heritage?

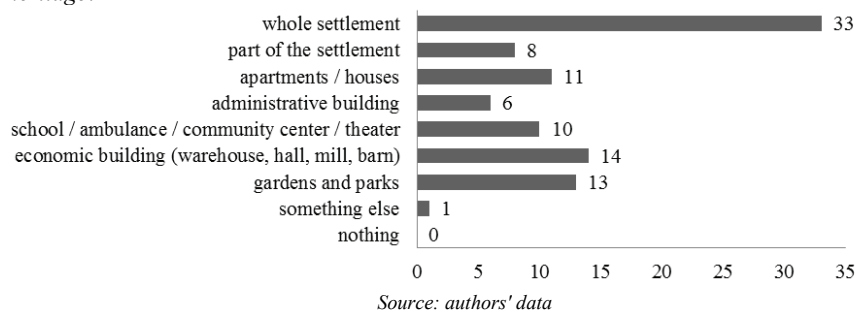


Figure 4 According to your opinion, what should be preserved as movable cultural heritage?

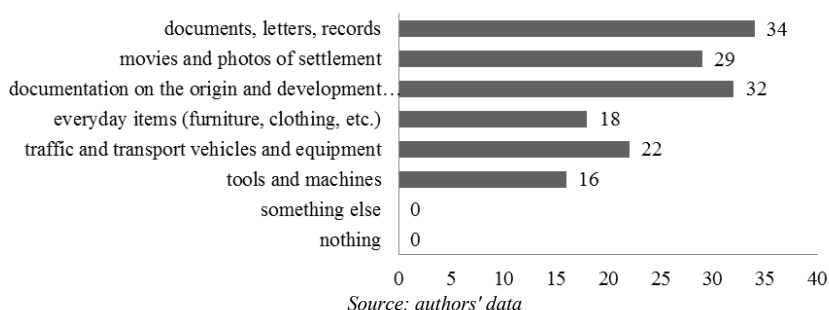


Figure 5 According to your opinion, what should be preserved as intangible cultural heritage?



The analysis showed that 33 respondents expressed the need for protection of the entire settlement. Respondents stressed the importance of protection of farm buildings, gardens and parks. Results of the survey highlight the need for research of documents, letters, records, documents on the development of planned agricultural settlements and similar. All respondents considered the need to establish a museum related to settlements, 82.2% of them chose the location for the museum in one the settlements, while 11.1% think that the City of Osijek represents the best location. The respondents pointed out the need for preservation rituals and ceremonies, stories as well as knowledge and skills within the category of

intangible cultural heritage. Within non-governmental organization, the need to preserve all the elements of a planned agricultural settlements was recognized, and publishing of books on testimonies has been highlighted as the desirable medium for the protection.

6. Conclusion

Memories, identity, and heritage are linked concepts whose sequence is not always linear. The term 'collective memories' was in reviewed literature interpreted as active participant in political and social transitions. By establishing a relationship with the ideas from the past toward vision of the desired future, we create an opportunity to realize the potential in the present. The purpose of the research was not to prove some approaches to 'memory studies', but rather an attempt to define dominant narratives when it comes to phenomenon of a settlement. We were interested in the interaction and the formation of the discourse on memory that is modelled within non-governmental groups gathered around their interaction and communication about life on planned agricultural settlement.

The formal document that nominates Zlatna Greda for the cultural and historical heritage complex within Croatian regulatory legal framework, was analysed. Common points as well as gaps have been recognized by comparing the analysis results from conducted survey. Target group responses have shown that the value of industrial heritage buildings has been recognized as well as values of parks and gardens within these settlements.

The research results indicate the need for establishing comprehensive protection of cultural-historical areas that will include movable and intangible heritage. This approach should include tourism, cultural and economic development in the aim of protection to take advantage of their large spatial potentials. In a society in which the actions of civil organizations are not equated with institutional instruments, there is a need for the exchange of intentions. The example of Zlatna Greda could be declared as a model of revitalization of that type of settlement in case that a cooperation between the protection and development interests occurs.

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