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**Uzupis (Vilnius) and Kalamaja (Tallinn):
Cultural quarters and the post-Soviet urban space transformation in Baltic
states**

Master's Thesis

by

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Hereby I declare that I worked out this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

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Prague, date

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Abstract

The collapse of USSR in 1991 became a starting point for many deep changes in Eastern and Central Europe. These changes affected not only politics, but all spheres of life. Urban development reflected it as well. The post-Soviet urban transformation is a specific chapter in history of the cities. In our work we will focus on the influence of cultural activities on districts' development with examples of Užupis in Vilnius and Kalamaja in Tallinn. Today both of these districts are known because of their artistic image and quick development. At the same time, these two capitals of Baltic states are registered on UNESCO World heritage list and Užupis and Kalamaja are parts of the protected areas. To support the balance between preservation of the historical heritage and modern development is an important issue for both of them. We will consider the influence of cultural activities on district's development and distinctive features of these processes in cases of Užupis and Kalamaja.

Key words: urban transformation, urban development, Cultural quarters, urban districts, cultural heritage, post-Soviet, Baltic states

Abstrakt

Kolaps SSSR v roce 1991 odstartoval mnohé hluboké změny ve východní a střední Evropě. Tyto změny se promítly nejen v politice, ale ve všech sférách života, včetně urbánního vývoje. Postsovětská transformace měst představuje specifickou kapitolu jejich vývoje. V této práci se soustředíme na vliv kulturních aktivit ve vývoji městských částí, a to na příkladu Užupisu ve Vilniusu a Kalamaji v Tallinnu. Dnes jsou obě městské části známé díky svým kulturním aktivitám a dynamickému vývoji. Jsou ale také součástí zápisu obou hlavních pobaltských měst na Seznamu světového kulturního dědictví UNESCO. Udržovat v rovnováze ochranu a údržbu kulturního dědictví a moderní vývoj je pro obě městské části důležité téma. V magisterské práci budeme sledovat vzájemné ovlivňování historických městských částí a procesů, které z nich činí kulturní čtvrtě, a distinktivní znaky a projevy těchto procesů v Užupisu a Kalamaji.

Klíčová slova: urbánní transformace, urbánní vývoj, kulturní čtvrti, městské čtvrti, kulturní dědictví, post-sovětský, pobaltské republiky

Абстракт

Распад СССР в 1991 стал отправной точкой для множества глубоких изменений в Восточной и Центральной Европе. Изменения затронули не только политику, но и все сферы жизни, также они отразились на городском развитии. Постсоветская трансформация стала особой главой в истории городов. В нашем исследовании мы сфокусируемся на влиянии культурной активности на развитие городских районов, на примере Ужуписа в Вильнюсе и Каламаи в Таллинне. Сегодня эти районы известны благодаря своему имиджу и быстрому развитию. Но в то же время, обе Балтийские столицы внесены в Список объектов Всемирного наследия ЮНЕСКО и Ужупис и Каламая так же являются частью охраняемой территории. Поддержание баланса между сохранением исторического наследия и современным развитием стало важной проблемой для них. Мы рассмотрим влияние культурной активности на трансформацию городских районов и особенности этого процесса в Ужуписе и Каламаи.

Ключевые слова: трансформация городов, градостроительство, культурные кварталы, городские районы, культурное наследие, постсоветское, балтийские государства

Introduction

The first time I visited Vilnius was the summer of 2013. After I had been there many times my local friends gave me many tips about places I need to visit and now I know the city very well. Though the first time I explored the city by myself with the help of guide books I found on internet. Beside the main must see sights such as City Hall, Gediminas Tower, Saint Anne's church, Three crosses, Museum of Genocide and The Portrait gallery there always was a mysterious word "Užupis". All guide books in there "top 20", "top 10" and even "top 5" lists of "what to do in Vilnius" included Užupis.

All descriptions emphasized the artistic and bohemian atmosphere there, Užupis was compared to Montmartre in Paris and Christiania in Copenhagen, always being mentioned Independent Užupis Republic and it's Constitution. This sounds very interesting and attractive to tourists and they go there already having some image and expectations in their mind. So did I. It took around forty minutes to see the statue of Angel, make a picture of the Constitution, to see the Užupis Art Incubator and backstreet with graffiti. I was strolling around Užupis for awhile and noticed the very different level of housing conditions in its different parts. The art galleries adjoined to the abandoned buildings and posh-looking new private houses were next

to the one-floor ramshackle wooden houses. A bit further from the river there were also quite a few Soviet buildings, but this part was not usually visited by the tourists and it is not mentioned in the guide books.

The romanticized image of the Artistic and Bohemian district, which appears in the guide books nowadays does not justify the expectations of the visitors anymore. Seems that there are two different districts: one that visitors hear about and one that visitors can see. The owner of the barbershop in the very heart of Užupis Alexandr P. in our conversation admitted, that since he opened business there, he often has visitors who came to Užupis in search of the artistic district. When he says that they are already there, people look very surprised. This conflict between image and the reality, was one of the reasons why I decided to research this topic.

The next year I visited Tallinn and the story repeated. All guide books recommended me to visit Kalamaja because of its “wooden houses and bohemian charm”, because it is “bohemian and trendy”¹ and “attracting creatives and those young at heart”². The first impression was very positive. Indeed Kalamaja looked like a very pleasant neighborhood to live in with interesting wooden architecture. Telliskivi creative city is located in one of the former factory’s building, and it brought together a diverse range of activities and businesses: shops, restaurants and bars, showrooms, typography. It was established in 2009 and since then became the largest hub for the creative economy in Estonia³. As in Užupis, in Kalamaja the signs of the transition period were quite noticeable. The new housing blocks were being built and at the same time some residential and industrial premises stayed partly abandoned or neglected. The next time I visited Kalamaja in the spring of 2016 when the process of gentrification in the neighborhood looked even more evident.

Even a brief look at the history of Užupis and Kalamaja will show that their similarities are deeper than just peculiarities of the development during the Post-Soviet period. Both of these districts are located in the presence of the Old Town, but right after the city walls. The territory of Užupis is approximately 0.60 square kilometers, the territory of Kalamaja is considerably bigger- 2.1 square kilometers, but the number of inhabitants is commensurable-

¹Kalamaja - Wooden houses & Bohemian charm. By visittallinn.ee 25.05.2016
<https://www.visittallinn.ee/eng/visitor/discover/articles-guides/kalamaja> (09.02.2017)

² Kalamaja. Where to go in Tallinn. Visit Estonia. Official tourist information website
<https://www.visitestonia.com/en/where-to-go/tallinn/kalamaja> (09.02.2017)

³ Telliskivi. History. Official site of Telliskivi creative city. <http://telliskivi.eu/en/loomelinnak/history/> (09.02.2017)

approximately 7 000 inhabitants in Užupis and 9 000 in Kalamaja. The population in both cases is stably growing in the last years. During the previous period of history these districts had a rather poor population of artisans and fishermen. After the appearance of factories in XIX and XX centuries the population of the districts were mainly substituted with workers.

In 2017 there was published a list of the 23 coolest and “hipsterized” neighborhoods in Europe. For ranking the districts was created a special index that takes into consideration the trend-setting and creative industry indicators such as independent coffee shops, vintage fashion stores, record shops, vegan cafes, independent bike shops, co-working spaces and art galleries or studios to the number of residents.⁴ Penalty points were subtracted for areas that had high numbers of big chain brands such as Starbucks, Costa and Pret a Manger.⁵ In that rating list Kalamaja and Užupis are on the 11th and the 13th positions respectively.

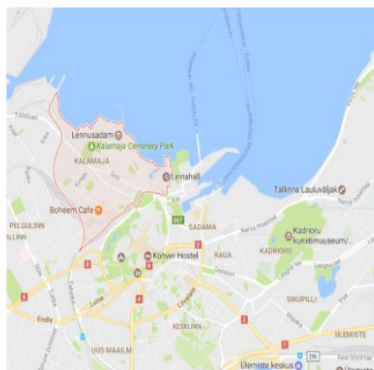
Noteworthy that the second place on the list belongs to a neighborhood in the third Baltic capital- in Riga. Miera iela recently began to be called a “hipster center” of Europe. Miera street is 2 173 kilometers long and primarily it was the road which connected Riga and the city’s cemetery. This is reflected in the name of the street “Miera iela” literally means “peaceful street”, but not in the meaning “nonviolent”, but in the meaning “tranquil” and “rest in peace”. The history of this street begins in the middle of the XIX century and the majority of buildings were built in the beginning of the XX century, often in the popular Art Nouveau style. Since then Miera iela became a popular place for local bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. At the Miera iela are located two significant places for Riga: the oldest and the biggest maternity hospital, where was born almost every third person in Latvia and famous chocolate factory “Laima” which was opened in 1870. This introduction to the history of the neighborhood is important for understanding that Miera iela unlike Užupis and Kalamaja was never a neglected and problematic area of Riga and after the collapse of the USSR had different principal conditions for development.

⁴ Leach Naomi, Europe's achingly hip neighbourhoods revealed: Manchester, Edinburgh and Berlin are home to some of the top new tourist hotspots. Daily Mail. 17.01.2016
http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/travel_news/article-4129188/Europe-s-achingly-hip-neighbourhoods-revealed.html (09.02.2017)

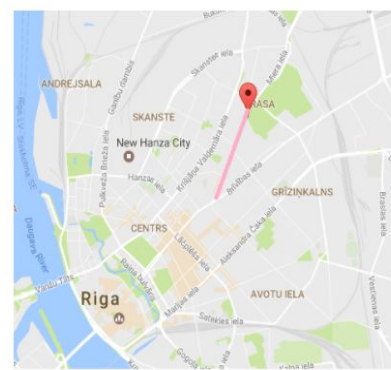
⁵Hancock Edith, The 23 coolest neighbourhoods in Europe, according to travel bloggers. 20.01.2017
<http://uk.businessinsider.com/the-coolest-neighbourhoods-in-europe-2017-1/#23-poble-sec-barcelona-spain-1> (09.02.2016)



Vilnius, Lithuania
Uzupis



Tallinn, Estonia
Kalamaja



Riga, Latvia
Miera iela

Uzupis, Kalamaja and Miera iela on the maps of Vilnius, Tallinn and Riga⁶

Užupis in Vilnius and Kalamaja in Tallinn, whose revitalization caused by cultural activities and cultural industries are rather unusual phenomena in the urban development of Baltic States the last two decades. Today these two districts are widely recognized in the public opinion as cultural districts. This image provokes interest of tourists, visitors, developers and homebuyers. The main goal of research is to consider different stages of the development in this district from the restoration of Lithuanian and Estonian Independence in 1990 till 2015. This time period had been chosen because the restoration of Independence signified the end of the Soviet epoch and the beginning of the transition period, precisely during these years the current image of these districts was formed.

In the first part of the research, we will make an introduction to the history of the districts. This is important for the understanding of the present situation and primary conditions for the development. Užupis and Kalamaja are one of the oldest neighborhoods of Vilnius and Tallinn. Their history takes roots in the XV-XVI centuries, in XIX-XX century several industries were located there, but the end of the Soviet era and the beginning of the 90-s was a period of decline. Their history explains the peculiarities of the district's structure, architecture, housing space and social composition. In that part will be shown the different stages of the development of the districts in the connection with art industries. The appearance of the art industries, workshops and galleries, relations with local administration and authorities, shift on the real estate market, the usage of the old housing stock and former

⁶ Uzupis, Kalamaja and Miera iela on the maps of Vilnius, Tallinn and Riga. Google maps, 2017

industrial objects and gentrification. The image of the districts in the media and in public opinion also has undergone changes.

In the second part of our research we will summarize and analyze the processes and changes that took place in Kalamaja and Užupis during the last twenty five years. We will try to evaluate the role and efficiency of art activities in the chosen district using such parameters as number of art industries, changes of house prices, increasing of popularity and recognizability.

Sources, Concepts and Methods

The object of our work is very recent and there are not many academic researches dedicated to it. That is why the usage of media sources such as newspapers, magazines and internet blogs were absolutely necessary as they reflect current changes and realities. We used available articles in English, Lithuanian and Russian languages. In our research we also used interviews. In total we took fifteen unstructured interviews in a form of guided conversation. The interviewees were people whose life or activities are connected with Užupis in any way: local inhabitants, business owners, participants of the artistic community, tenants and visitors. The goal of these interviews were to collect information about main changes and tendencies, to determine the perception of the district and its image, to find out the negative and positive aspects of the district's transformation from the local perspective.

Such topics as gentrification and cultural quarters in the case of the Post-Soviet Urban development obviously have numerous distinctive features. Dr. Matthias Bernt from Helmholtz-Centre for Environmental Research in Leipzig emphasized the difference of the Post-Soviet case and lack of researches on it. Dr Bernt is an author of several works about gentrification in Berlin, including the case of Prenzlauer Berg- a district in the former East Berlin. The very basic conditions for the gentrification as private ownership and allowance of capital were not presented in the Soviet countries. After the collapse of the USSR the process of privatization, began and people became the owners of the properties they lived in. The price and quality of the property not always corresponding to the economical opportunities of the

owners to maintain it. That it in many ways predefined the specificity of the urban development in the Post-Soviet countries during the next decade.

The reason why is that the “classical” theory of gentrification was created in Western historiography in 1960-1970, and since then changed a lot. Now in the Western countries beside the “classical” way of gentrification when the poor district through its low prices became inhabited by, for example, young people who change its appearance and make it attractive for the middle or upper class residents and businesses, is not the only one anymore. Since 1970 the theory of gentrification became more complicated, including more different factors, influences, social, economic and demographic aspects. It can be rural gentrification or super gentrification, as well.⁷

The gentrification in the post-Soviet countries or particularly in the Baltic States began and was going in the context of post-Soviet development in general. These two notions “Post-Soviet development”, “globalization” and “gentrification” in many cases have an intersection but does not mean the same.

The reason why it is complicated to write about the Post-Soviet development is the diversity of countries to which you can apply this term. The terms “post-Soviet” or “Post-Socialist” countries include a big group of countries which are very different culturally and socially. “Soviet” means something that is concerning the former Soviet Union. There are Eastern Germany, Baltic States, Poland and Czech Republic on the one side and the republics of Central Asia, Caucasus and Russia, Balkan countries on the other. All of them have not just different historical backgrounds, but also took different ways of the development after the collapse of the USSR.

Since 1990 there were published numerous articles and books dedicated to the Post-Soviet development of the countries, including the urban development. For example, an article by J. C. Myers “Traces of Utopia: Socialist Values and Soviet Urban Planning” for better understanding of the Soviet urban policy in general. A very interesting article is “From socialist to post-socialist cities: narrating the nation through urban space’ by Alexander C. Diener and Joshua Hagen was published in 2013 and includes the most recent tendencies in de-communization on the Post-Soviet space. In "Transformation of Cities in Central and Eastern Europe: Towards Globalization" by F. E. Ian Hamilton, Kaliopa Dimitrovska Andrews,

⁷Galkina Ylia, Sociologist Mattias Bernt about gentrification in the cities. Interview. 26.05.2015
<http://www.the-village.ru/village/city/city-interview/215109-gentrification> (22.01.2016)

Nataša Pichler-Milanović which was published in 2005 authors are considering different aspects of transformation, privatization and changes in Central Europe during the last 20 years.

For describing the main tendencies of the post-Soviet urban development in Central European Countries Kaliopa Dimitrovska Andrews in her article “Mastering the post-socialist city: Impacts on planning the built environment”(2005) use the characteristics which were defined by canadian urban geographer Larry Bourne in 1976. These are:

- growth of the urban fringe, or suburbanization;
- reurbanization/revitalization of the central areas;
- growth of need for infrastructure, especially transport;
- and growth and decline of particular nuclei (urban nodes) (e.g. relocation of industry away from city centres, and establishment of shopping centres on the outskirts of towns).⁸

Cultural activities are now widely used as a very effective instrument of revitalisation of the district and often associated with gentrification as well. But cultural activities nowadays take place worldwide and not always lead to equal results. Carl Grodach, Nicole Foster and James Murdoch from the University of Texas in the example of one hundred districts in U.S with various cultural industries showed their different influence on the revitalisation of the area. In the research “Gentrification and the Artistic Dividend: The Role of the Arts in Neighborhood Change” they explain that to show that particular types of arts activities are connected to gentrification processes. The individual artists, artistic businesses and spaces create initial conditions for gentrification though the aesthetic revaluation of the place. The neighborhood becomes attractive for the visitors, investors, developers, other businesses and higher income members. Artistic or cultural activities are not homogeneous. There are fine arts which have a positive association with revitalization and characterized by growing income level, employment and housing values. The commercial art industries show the strong association with gentrification including negative aspects of it.⁹

The described pattern fits to Užupis in matters that individual artists began the process of revitalization, created a recognizable image of the district at the end of 1990s. In the beginning of 2000s the individual workshops more and more were substituted by artistic

⁸ Kaliopa Dimitrovska Andrews, Mastering the post-socialist city: Impacts on planning the built environment. Op.cit Bourne in Kivell, 1993. Transformation of Cities in Central and Eastern Europe: Towards Globalization" F. E. Ian Hamilton, Kaliopa Dimitrovska Andrews, Nataša Pichler-Milanović. United Nations University Press 2005. p.160

⁹ Grodach Carl, Nicole Foster, James Murdoch III, Gentrification and the Artistic Dividend: The Role of the Arts in Neighborhood Change (working paper) University of Texas at Arlington, 2014 pp.4, 16

businesses, artistic community was institutionalized in the form of Art Incubator. Since then it was a process of gentrification with negative and positive attendant circumstances.

Užupis - “the other side of the river”. Vilnius

History of Užupis from the XV century till 1990

Užupis is one of the oldest parts of Vilnius. Written sources mention it since the XV century, when there had been founded monastery of Benedictines. In XV-XVII centuries through Užupis passed roads to the East- to Polotsk and Vitebsk. Sometimes Užupis had been mentioned as “Rusu miestas” (“Russian city”), probably because there lived some foreigners (not necessarily from Russia). The place was divided from the city with Vilnia river, “Užupis” or the polish name of the neighborhood “Zarzecze” is literally mean “the other side of the river”. In XVI century there was built a fortification wall and Užupis became separated administratively and legally from the rest of Vilnius. Many artisans settled in Užupis to use all advantages of life by the river. They built water mills, paper factories, potters used clay from the river for making pots and bricks. In memory of that time, one of the streets in Užupis was called “Malūnų gatvė”- “Mills street”, another one is “Polocko gatvė”- ”Polotsk street”. Archaeological excavations conducted in 2001 proved the existence of numerous workshops in Zarzecze in the XVI century: as were found many pots, furnaces and pottery fragments. Three wooden bridges connected Užupis with the main part of Vilnius.

In the XVII-XVIII centuries both Vilnius and Užupis had been affected by fires. Population of Užupis changed, that time there began to settle workers and slavic merchants.

In the beginning of the XIX century in Imperial University of Vilnius were two secret organizations: The Filaret Association and Philomath Society. Within their participants were many outstanding people of that period. One of them was Adam Mickiewicz, who is regarded a national poet in Poland, Lithuania and Belarus. The goals of those societies were self-education, self-development, but students had debates about an acute political issues, as, for example, restoration of Polish independency. The discussion of such a dangerous topic required observance of caution and secrecy. From that point of view, Užupis was a very convenient place for gatherings, because of numerous hidden places and forest. In 1824, one hundred eight people were convicted of membership in the Philomaths or related societies, twenty of them were exiled to Siberia. The name of Filaretu street in Užupis refers to those events.



View of Užupis by Juozapas Peška, 1808.

Popinė (Popowszczyzna, Popówka) is a historical part of Užupis, located between Antakalnio forest and Polotsk street. In 1999 during archaeological excavations there was founded a cemetery. In XVII century that cemetery belonged to the local Orthodox community. The name of the place - “Popine” also came from the old Russian name for priest- “pope”.¹⁰

In 1898-1901 instead of old wooden bridge, which was connecting between Užupis and the city center from the beginning of the XVII century, was built metal one. The project was worked out by engineer J. Malinovsky. Today that bridges is in the list of Vilnius cultural heritage.¹¹ Probably, it was necessary to build a new bridge, because in 1892 in Vilnius had been organized the first system of public transport -”konka”, and one of the lines connected Užupis

¹⁰Asauskienė Aušra, Danguolė Dainien. Užupis Vilnijos Vartai.
<http://www.vilnijosvartai.lt/locations/listing/?id=99>

¹¹Užupio tiltas [Užupis bridge]. Kultūros vertybių registras. Kultūros paveldo departamentas prie Kultūros ministerijos <http://kvr.kpd.lt/#/static-heritage-detail/461b4726-8314-47e2-a4d7-e740551cd72d>

with city center. The transport connection of Užupis is very weak even nowadays, in 2015 there was just one bus line within it.

The main historic sight of Užupis is Bernardine cemetery- one of the oldest in Vilnius. It was established in 1810 by Bernardine monks of the Church of St. Francis of Assisi. The cemetery is located in the eastern part of Užupis and was expanded in 1860s. After the Second World War the cemetery was abandoned and finally was closed in 1970. The cemetery was forgotten for years and the situation changed only in 1988, when the restoration works were started. In 1989–1990 the Monument Restoration and Design Institute prepared historical researches about the Bernardine cemetery. In 2002–2006 and 2008, in order to protect examples of unique memorial architecture, the Department of Cultural Heritage budgeted for the restoration of the oldest gravestones. The history of Bernardine cemetery is closely connected with the Polish history and Polish population of Vilnius. There were buried many intellectuals, professors and other renowned people of Polish or Polish-Lithuanian origin. That is why Poland so interested in the restoration works there. In 2005 “Adomas Mickevičius' fund” for the support of the Lithuanian-Polish relationships, indicated the implementation of the renewal project of the Bernardine cemetery as its priority aim. On its initiative, the protection programme of the restored and repaired gravestones began. In 2008, fifty-three gravestones had been restored, noticeably supplemented the historical and archival material and made qualitative reinforcement works of the cemetery downhill.¹²

The second cemetery in Užupis is the Old Jewish cemetery and it has got a very tragic history. Besides Snipiskes Jewish cemetery Užupis Jewish cemetery is the oldest one in Vilnius. Snipiskes cemetery was established in the XV century, but had been closed in 1831. Užupis Jewish cemetery was active from 1828 to 1943. During those years there were buried more than seventy thousands people. In 1964 Soviet authorities made a decision to demolish the cemetery. The gravestones were pulled out and used as building materials in different parts of Vilnius, for example as stairs on Tauras Hill. Just a small number of human remains were reburied elsewhere.¹³

¹² Vilniaus Bernardinų kapinės, Kapinių apsauga ir restauravimas. LDB objektas. Lituaniškos duomenų bazė. [Bernardine Cemetery. Cemetery Preservation and Restoration. "LITUANISTIKA" DATABASE] <http://etalpykla.lituanistikadb.lt/obj/LT-LDB-0001:J.04~2010~1367173513352>

¹³ Lithuania: Užupis Jewish Cemetery in Vilnius No Longer Forgotten. Samuel Gruber's Jewish Art & Monuments. 2.12.2015 <http://samgrubersjewishartmonuments.blogspot.lt/2015/12/lithuania-Užupis-cemetery-in-vilnius-no.html>

The history of Užupis is closely linked with history of Lithuanian Jewish community. Until the Second World War Jews made up 33-40% of Vilnius population, and the city sometimes was called “Jerusalem of the North”.¹⁴ Before 1861 there was a law which prescribed for the Jews to settle just in certain parts of the Old Town. After the ban was lifted Jews got an opportunity to live in other areas. Big part of Jewish community settled in Užupis, they were mostly traders, and not very wealthy. After that Užupis gained a reputation of the Jewish district.

In 1944 was reestablished Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic and for the next forty-five years Lithuania became a part of the USSR. The city’s Polish name “Wilno” had been changed on “Vilnius” and the city became the capital of Lithuania, instead of Kaunas. The Polish population of Vilnius was leaving the city. During the Second World War and the Holocaust in Lithuania were killed two hundred and five thousands Jewish people, what is approximately 90% of Jewish population in the country.¹⁵ In 1955-1957 instead of restoration of Jewish heritage sights, the Soviet government destroyed the Great Synagogue of Wilno and Užupis Jewish cemetery. It practically vanished the last footprints of the great Jewish community in Vilnius. After the Second World War houses that belonged to Jewish and Polish inhabitants in Užupis and in other districts stayed empty, but shortly they were handed over to new owners.

During the Soviet period on the territory of Užupis were built three factories:

- In 1950 on Polocko gatve 13, was founded stockinette factory named after one of the bolsheviks leaders Felix Dzerzhinsky, in 1956 the name had been changed on “Vilijos”. In 1962 it became experimental stockinette factory “Vilijos”. The factory had been completely closed in 2004.¹⁶

- The second factory is tinned food factory ‘Gerove’ on Zarasu street, 5. It was opened in 1948 and still works.

- Vilnius factory of printometers had been open in 1949 at the border of Užupis, on Pylimo street. It was privatised in 1995, and due to financial difficulties it was reorganised in 2001. The factory finally had been closed after the economic crisis in 2009.¹⁷

¹⁴ The Jerusalem of Lithuania. The Story of the Jewish Community of Vilna. Yad Vashem. <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/vilna/overview.asp>

¹⁵ Lithuania. Holocaust Encyclopedia. <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005444>

¹⁶ Apleistos vietoves, pastatai ir kita [Abandoned places, buildings and other]. An abandoned textile factories "Vilija". Apleisti.lt 19.01.2010.

<http://www.apleisti.lt/2010/01/19/apleista-tekstiles-gamykla-%E2%80%9Cvilija%E2%80%9D/> (23.06.2016)

¹⁷Promyshlennost Litvi [Lithuanian industry]. Vilskaitas. 6.02.2011

<http://www.liveinternet.ru/users/anbat/post150426268/> (23.06.2016)



Factories' location in Užupis (Google maps)

Užupis at the second half of the XXth century, according to the memories of contemporaries, was a very indelible part of Vilnius. It was especially noticeable at 1970-1980s, when Užupis was very marginalized and unsafe area. Vytautas Ališauskas a philosopher and former ambassador of Lithuania in Vatican remembers: “In 1975 when I was the first year student in Vilnius University, students compulsory had to visit house of Dzerzhinsky's mother. And then we had been told, that we should not walk alone there. Just with an excursion. It was not allowed in the Soviet Union just to say that somewhere is dangerous. So they just said, that we should not be there alone. It was my first meeting with Užupis.”¹⁸

Development of Užupis after 1990

The collapse of the USSR and 1990s was a time of changes for the whole Lithuania and became a turning point for Užupis, as well. There is the Academy of Arts right next to Užupis bridge and the young artists began to organize their workshops in the abandoned buildings or

¹⁸ Fanailova Elena, Spornaya territoria [Disputable territory]. Radio Svoboda. 6.12.2015 <http://www.svoboda.org/content/transcript/27407279.html>

even to squat them. The popularity and fame of the place was growing and in 1997 *“the residents of the area declared the Republic of Užupis, along with its own flag, currency, president, cabinet of ministers, a constitution written by Romas Lileikis and Thomas Chepaitis, an anthem, and an army (numbering approximately 11 men). They celebrate this independence annually on Užupis Day, which falls on April 1st.”*¹⁹

Anika Grisakov, nowadays works in Estonian Embassy in Lithuania, she was born in Tallinn, but at the end of 1980s moved to Vilnius. Anika not only remembers the very beginning of Užupis Republic, but contributed to it. In 1991 the students from the Art Academy began to squat abandoned buildings in the neighborhood. After the collapse of USSR the factories were closed or reorganized and people who lived in Užupis despaired to sell the houses and just left them. The most famous squat was at Užupio street, 2 where now is Užupio Art Incubator.

In the beginning artists had not got any conditions for life or for work. There were no heating and hot water. But the young people were very enthusiastic and in 1995 the idea of Independent Artistic Republic appeared. Their neighbors were not always happy about this community, because “everything what is hard to understand seems dangerous in the beginning” -says Anika. The participants of the community were trying to introduce themselves to the people and to establish communication. Was organized the first alternative fashion show “ArMada” and then people began to talk about Užupis.²⁰

In 1997 mock independence of Užupis was proclaimed. Two people played a key role in it: Romas Lileikis and Tomas Chepaitis. Romas Lileikis was born in Vilnius in 1959, he was studying in Vilnius Conservatory from 1977 to 1978 and graduated from Philological faculty of Vilnius University in 1985. He is a well known film director writer and composer. He is an director of five films: *Aš esu (I Am)* (1990), *Olandų gatvė (Dutch Street)*, *Anapus (Beyond)* (1995), *K+M+B* (2001), and *Saša (Sasha)* (2006), and author (composer and lyricist) of three music albums: *Kiaulės sakmė (The Pig's Saga)*, *Evangelija nuo Romo (Gospel of Romas)*, and *Requiem*.²¹ Tomas Chepaitis is Lithuanian editor and translator. He was born in 1959 in Moscow, his parents were translators. In 1985 he graduated from Moscow Literature University named after M.Gorky. From 1992 he lives in Vilnius. He wrote humoristic sketches

¹⁹Užupis everywhere. About Užupis. Užupis Embassy. <http://uzhupisembassy.eu/> (20.06.2016)

²⁰ Interview with Anika Grisakov. Vilnius. January, 2016

²¹Lileikis Romas. Clips from Films Directed and Interviews. Ovguide.

<https://www.ovguide.com/romas-lileikis-9202a8c04000641f8000000000cdf60a> (12.02.2017)

for Lithuanian newspapers, translated from Russian, English to Lithuanian, from English, Lithuanian, French, Polish to Russian. Section editor at “Vilnews” and chief editor of “Užupis Herald”. From 2013 Tomas Chepaitis is a member of Europe’s Culture parliament.²²

Romas Lileikis and Tomas Chepaitis are authors of the Constitution of Užupis. The Constitution of Užupis now one of the main sights there. Since 1998 the Constitution was translated into 23 languages. It was proposed to print the text of the Constitution on a silvery plaques. The first to plaques were published in Lithuanian and English languages and were attached on the wall by Uzupio kavine. Later due to increasing number of plaques in different languages they were moved to the wall on Paupio street. The third plague was in French and after the Constitution was translated into the three most popular languages which are spoken in Vilnius: Russian, Polish and Belarusian. Usually the producing of the plague is sponsored by the Embassy of the country of the language in Lithuania, sometimes wholly sponsored by the Embassy of Užupis in this country.²³



The Constitution of Užupis, Paupio street (february 2016)

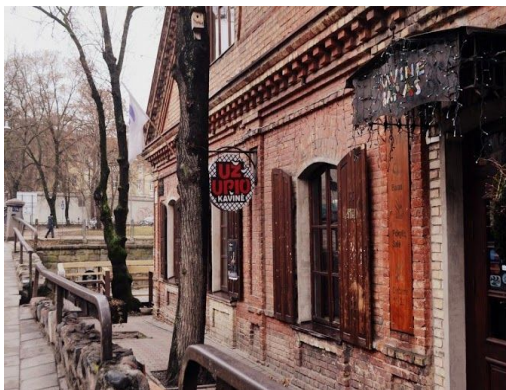
Constitution of Užupis itself provokes interest for visitors. There was no Constitution like that before. It consist of forty one points and a motto “Don’t fight. Don’t win. Don’t surrender.” The forty one points include such a statements as *Everyone has the right to make*

²² Chepaitis Tomas, Short autobiography for Starptautiskā Rakstnieku un tulkotāju māja (International Writers 'and Translators' House) 3.10.2016
<https://www.facebook.com/608261119224354/photos/pb.608261119224354.-2207520000.1475682887./1246295735420886/?type=3> (12.02.2017)

²³ Constitution of the Republic of Užupis. Užupis everywhere. Official site of Republic of Užupis.
<http://uzhupisembassy.eu/uzhupis-constitution/> (12.02.2017)

*mistakes, Everyone has the right to be unique, Everyone has the right to love, Everyone has the right not to be loved, but not necessarily, Everyone has the right to be happy, Everyone has the right to be unhappy. No one has the right to violence.*²⁴ The text of constitution went viral and was quoted in numerous blogs, the reason for it was very accurately noted in The Daily Telegraph's article dedicated to Užupis: "The constitution might be tongue-in-cheek but the underlying sentiment of tolerance and inclusion is serious."²⁵

"Užupio kavine" is located at Užupio street, 2 plays a noticeable role in the mythology of Užupis Republic. "Užupio kavine" suppose to be a parliament building of the Artistic Republic. The cafe is situated in the historical part of Užupis, on Vilnele riverbank by Užupio bridge and Užupio Art Incubator. This is one floor, red brick building and its history began in the middle of the XVIII century. In 1748 there was a workshop of goldsmith Snitko but it was burned during the big fire in 1776. The new restored building was bought by baker Heydas in 1796. He rebuilt house and as a result appeared an inner yard. In 1853 the house belonged to the merchant Finas, who opened shop there. Since then place changed many owners and used as a shop. The cafe opened there in 1995 and as soon the district began to gain popularity "Užupio Kavine" became popular as well. The owners of the cafe took supported initiatives of the Artistic Community and hosted gatherings, concerts and exhibitions, "Užupio kavine" became a center of alternative cultura. In 2002 by the cafe was installed the sculpture of mermaid, made by Romo Vilčiausko. "Užupio undine" became one of the popular tourist attractions in Užupis.²⁶



²⁴ Constitution of Užupis. Republic of Užupis. Official site.<http://Užupis.uchplus.org/2013/10/14/constitution-republic-of-Užupis/> (12.02.2017)

²⁵ Just Back: Inside Užupis, Lithuania's free-thinking republic. The Telegraph. 8.08.2016. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/lithuania/articles/inside-Užupis-lithuania-free-thinking-republic/> (12.02.2017)

²⁶ Užupio Kavine. Istorija. [Užupis cafe. History] <http://www.uzupiokavine.lt/id-istorija.html> (17.02.2017)

“Užupio kavine” and “Užupis undine” (february, 2016)

The transformation of Užupis

The minister of foreign affairs of Užupis Republic Tomas Cepaitis says, that Užupis as a district with all its picturesque yards and little houses had all opportunities to become a popular district. This is very calm and green place, but Republic made the name of Užupis recognizable. “Without the Artistic Republic, says Cepaitis, Užupis would lost the attractiveness for investors”. In his interview to “Nedvizhimost” magazine he proved that this is not a myth- since 1990s prices for realty in Užupis increased, as nowhere else in Lithuania. “When the district become popular among the young people many apartments were restored. Now business actively engaged in it. Officials also participated in the development. Užupis became a prestigious area. If we talk about the renting prices, the room 15-20 squares can cost 1000 litas per month. If we are talking about buying, now small apartment can be purchased for 100 000 dollars. I bought a flat for 10 000 dollars in the mid-90’s.”²⁷ Cepaitis thinks that people were attracted by cultural activities and romantic atmosphere of the neighborhood.²⁸

In spite of the non official status of Republic, it independently supports dialog with Vilnius administration. The example of such a dialog, is a discussion about the project of an apartment block instead of former supply meters factory “Skaiteks”. The factory was founded in 1950 and used to be the biggest and the most innovative company in this sphere in the USSR. After 1991 the factory was privatized, reorganized and partly closed. It finally became bankrupt in 2009.²⁹ The big territory of the factory was abandoned and was not used. It was a popular destination for “unusual tours” for tourist who would like to explore a neglected side of Vilnius, and for industrial heritage tourism.³⁰ In 2013 Vilnius administration made decision to restore this area. The difficulty is that this area is an outskirt of Vilnius Old Town, which is in UNESCO list of World Heritage. The project of restoration had been developed by Lithuanian architect

²⁷ Cepaitis Tomas, Interview. Nedvizhimost, 27.05.2013 <http://nedv.info/index.php?article=1056&arts> (20.06.2016)

²⁸ Cepaitis Tomas, Interview. Nedvizhimost, 27.05.2013 <http://nedv.info/index.php?article=1056&arts> (20.06.2016)

²⁹ Vilnius factory VILSKAITAS. 6.02.2011 <http://www.liveinternet.ru/users/anbat/post150426268/>

³⁰ Koelemajj Jorn, Urban exploring in abandoned Vilnius. The Protocity. 6.01.2014. <http://theprotocity.com/urban-exploring-in-abandoned-vilnius/> (20.06.2016)

Mindaugas Pakalnis. Tomas Cepaitis pointed out that architects took into account many factors, but some important points were missed. In the first version of the project had not been considered question of transport accessibility. It could lead to many inconveniences for inhabitants. Members of Užupis Community opened public discussion about the possible problems. The project was held up and changed³¹. The complemented plan received very good references from UNESCO. “Paupys is part of the Protection Zone of the Old Town, thus the new quarter has to be contextual. We do not seek to imitate the Old Town. Our goal is to create an appropriate background for the historic heritage of Vilnius and, of course, to reflect the times. From the beginning, our policy was to consult, discuss and look for optimal solutions. This will be continued” said Pakalnis.³²

The communication and relationships with the local administration is an important point for Užupis Republic. The artistic community and activists would like to save the spirit of place. Vilnius administration interested in the development of the district and in attractiveness for investors. Tomas Cepaitis worries that very often authorities, who have to protect the historical buildings, are actually acting in the interests of business.³³ Despite on it, adepts of Užupis Republic confirme that sometimes administration demonstrates definite understanding and support. Vytautas Ališauskas a philosopher and former ambassador of Lithuania in Vatican says: “I remember one thing very well. In 1991-1992 authorities in Vilnius had realized that something strange is going on. There is a marginalized area and no one knows what to do with it. Suddenly there something is happening spontaneously and authorities were able to support that spontaneous project. I think that was the most important and now we can talk about independency. Because it was not created by administration, it just had happened. Authorities just understood that it is good and supported it. I remember there were many discussions about Užupis in ministries. There was even an idea to sell abandoned buildings to embassies, which were coming to independent Lithuania”. Tomas Cepaitis: “Maybe it rescued Užupis -while no one knew what to do with it, the district was developing.”³⁴

The new stage in accepting of Užupis community by authorities began in 1997. Arturas Zuokas, who was the mayor of Vilnius from 2000 to 2007 and from 2011 to 2015, decided to

³¹ Cepaitis Tomas, Interview. Nedvizhimost, 27.05.2013 <http://nedv.info/index.php?article=1056&arts>

³² UNESCO has Given Its Blessing to Paupys Project in Vilnius. Paupys. 12.07.2013. <http://paupys.lt/en/content/unesco-has-given-its-blessing-paupys-project-vilnius>

³³ Cepaitis Tomas, Interview. Nedvizhimost, 27.05.2013 <http://nedv.info/index.php?article=1056&arts>

³⁴ Fanailova Elena, Spornaya territoria [Disputable territory]. 6.12.2015 <http://www.svoboda.org/content/transcript/27407279.html>

move in Užupis. He said, that when he visited Užupis the first time it was very neglected area, but very charming, at the same time. In 1996 he sold his house in a prestigious area of Vilnius (now in his former house is Dutch embassy) and moved to Užupis. In 1997 the Užupis proclaimed independence and local authorities accept those news very carefully. Arturas Zuokas, describes that event: “We had to hang a sign of the republic. So we sent a request to mayor Rolandas Paksas. And the municipality looked on it quite seriously. We even had been refused make the table with the words "Republic of Užupis", so we had to change it to "Užupio res-public”.”³⁵

Arturas Zuokas, ensures that he was trying not to meddle in Užupis affairs, when he became a mayor. Despite on it, his appearance there caused various changes. Ruta Mekuskaite, is an artist in Užupis Art Incubator. She remembers that after Zuokas moved in, the district almost immediately became more popular. Then the mayor said that “good cars need good roads”³⁶. Obviously, that the good cars and their owners demanded not only good roads. It led to the changings in housing and infrastructure tendencies.

Victor Ankudavicius, is an architect and also an active member of Užupis community. He was rather saddened by the changes: “All bohemian districts appeared in a very neglected areas. And shortly these areas become bohemian and then prestigious. The same unfortunately will happen with Užupis. Money decides everything and that what I see as a civil engineer, does not make me happy. Architects and builders lie and manipulate the laws. These won't be good buildings, because of the transport capacity of Užupis. Cars and parkings will block it.”³⁷

Anika Grisakov has her own view on the role of Arturas Zuokas in the development of Užupis. In her opinion the former mayor of Vilnius was good for the district not because he supported initiatives, but rather because he did not hinder them. She assumes that Zuokas was trying to use Užupis to maintain his image of democratic and open minded politician, but at the same time wanted to stay far enough in case of any scandals. Some of the projects and exhibitions that were organized by Užupis community were quite ambiguous and Zuokas did not want to be associated with them.³⁸

³⁵Žukovskis Andrejus, Paprastasis Užupio pilietis – A.Zuokas [Citizen of Užupis-A.Zuokas]. Kauno diena. 2.04.2013. <http://kauno.diena.lt/naujienos/vilniaus-miestas/paprastasis-uzupio-pilietis-azuokas-240397> (7.05.2016)

³⁶ Interview with Rasa Mekuskaite. Užupis. February, 2016.

³⁷ Fanailova Elena, Spornaya territoria [Disputable territory]. 6.12.2015 <http://www.svoboda.org/content/transcript/27407279.html> (7.05.2016)

³⁸ Interview with Anika Grisakov. January, 2017.

One of the most successful initiative which was implemented by Užupis artistic community is the installation of the “Angel of Užupis”. The statue of Angel on the main square of Užupis was built in 2002. The idea of Angel as a symbol of Užupis belongs to the president of Republic Romas Lileikis and to sculpture Romas Vilciauskas. The Angel should become a symbol of “revitalized Užupis”. “The idea was to make a statue not of Lenin and not of Landsbergis³⁹, but just of a winged creature, who carries messages.”⁴⁰



The Angel of Užupis by Romas Vilciauskas.

Money for the project had been taken from the different sources. Participants of the Artistic community began a charity action “Let the Angel to be!”. There were printed postcards with the Angel on it and each cost ten litas. It was one of the sources, but significant amount of money were donated by individuals and businessmen. The largest donation that had been received is one hundred thousands litas from the owner of “Senukai” shopping malls.⁴¹ “The Angel is the symbol of artistic revival and freedom in East Europe and depicts Gabriel blowing a trumpet to herald it.”⁴²

³⁹ Professor Vytautas Landsbergis is a Lithuanian conservative politician and Member of the European Parliament.

⁴⁰ Grigolytė Rūta, Simbolis: Užupio angelas iškilo iš mažų kopijų [Symbol: Angel of Užupis was descended from small copies]. Kauno diena. 5.02. 2013

<http://kauno.diena.lt/naujienos/vilniaus-miestas/simbolis-uzupio-angelas-iskilo-mazu-kopiju-240395> (7.05.2016)

⁴¹ Axis mundi prohodit cherez Užupis. [Axis mundi passes through the Užupis]. IĮ «NET ARTIS». 9.10.2012

<http://net-artis.com/axis-mundi-proxodit-cherez-uzhupis/> (7.05.2016)

⁴² Scott Paul Richard , The Full Monte. Lulu Press, Inc, Mar 24, 2014

Artist Rasa Mekuskaite, said about the Angel: “It became not just a symbol of Užupis, but the symbol of Vilnius. Once I participated in one international event and there was a map with different cities and their symbols on it. And the Angel had been chosen as a symbol of Vilnius. And before it always was either our main cathedral, or Gediminas tower. Užupis became one of the most popular touristic places.”⁴³

The image of Užupis today is different not only from the Soviet period, but also from Užupis in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The history of Užupis Art Incubator reflects these changes and can be a bright example. Today Užupis Art Incubator is the center of cultural life in Užupis. It includes “Kalnas Hub” and “Galera” gallery. In 1990s the building of Incubator was the main and famous squat. That is how one of the witnesses and participants described the process of transition and establishing of the Art Incubator: “All abandoned places there [in Užupis] belonged either to private owners or to municipality. The building of Incubator belonged to Vilnius administration. After several years they said, that if we want to continue doing something there, we should do it in official way. Otherwise we must leave. It was a total chaos in the community those years- artists came and left very quickly, but still some artists, who were working there permanently negotiated that question with municipality and agreed to stay in official way. Now this is Užupis Art Incubator.”⁴⁴

In 1996 the squat at Užupis gatve 2, was transformed into Alternative Art Center (AMC) and “Galera” gallery. The goal of the center was to provide space to the artistic young people, where they could to work and to realize their ideas. The activities of the Alternative Art Center attracted an attention of tourists and citizens. Since there Užupis began to be represented in guide books as an “bohemian district”.⁴⁵

In 2002 Alternative Art Center with participation of Vilnius administration was reorganized into Užupis Art Incubator (UMI). It was the first project of this sort in Baltic states.

In 2011 was started the project "NGO 'Užupis Art Incubator' development ", funded by the EU Regional Development Fund and Vilnius city municipality. It had been finished in 2014 and during that time Art Incubator was repaired and reconstructed and formed new art space at Krivių g. 10 (“UMI Kalnas”).⁴⁶

⁴³ Interview with Rasa Mekuskaite. Užupis. February, 2016

⁴⁴ Interview with Rasa Mekuskaite. Užupis. February, 2016

⁴⁵ Užupio Meno Inkubatorius, Inkubatorius. Official site of Užupis Art Incubator. <http://www.umi.lt/2002-2013/> (6.05.2016)

⁴⁶ Užupio Meno Inkubatorius, UMI plėtros projektas [projects of development] Official site of Užupis Art Incubator. <http://www.umi.lt/inkubatorius/umipletrosprojektas/> (6.05.2016)

That project of reconstruction marks a new stage in Užupis development and reflects changes which had happened in Užupis. If before Užupis art community was an example of spontaneous self-organization, now it became a part of official institutions. “When I just moved to Vilnius, seven years ago, we could always go to Užupis anytime and most likely there would be an unplanned event, exhibition or at least interesting street musicians. Now it is different. I know that it is an expensive place to live. I think nowadays the main visitors of Užupis are tourists.” -says Anton, young journalist from Klaipeda.⁴⁷

The modification of Užupis status is noticeable even in an outward appearance of Art Incubator. The largest travel guide book publisher in the world “Lonely planet” in 2012 published a new volume “Lonely planet Eastern Europe” and there Užupis Art Incubator is using as a landmark- “Find it [bar with a live music] next to the most colourful building in Užupis”.⁴⁸ Several internet sites included Užupis Art Incubator in the lists of “The most colourful houses around the world”.⁴⁹



Užupis Art Incubator before reconstruction (photo from <http://artifex.ru/>)⁵⁰

After reconstruction in 2011-2014 the graffiti were covered over and the walls were painted beige. On the site of company JSC “Irdavia” which accomplished the reconstruction explains that “The main attention was paid to the quality and preservation of history – in the

⁴⁷ Interview. Užupis. February, 2016

⁴⁸ Užupis. Lonely Planet Eastern Europe. Guide book. 1.03.2016. www.lonelyplanet.com/search/Užupis (6.05.2016)

⁴⁹ Eighteen of the Most Colorful Houses Around the World. Your Amazing Places. <http://www.youramazingplaces.com/18-colorful-houses-around-world/> (8.07.2016)

⁵⁰ Street Art. Užupis Republic. Artiflex. <http://artifex.ru/стрит-арт/республика-ужупис/>

second half of the seventeenth century this building was mentioned in historical sources for the first time.”⁵¹



Užupis Art Incubator after reconstruction, 2016

From the one side the reconstruction the conditions for work in Incubator became more comfortable, but at the same time Užupis lost an important sight and landmark.

The idea of the returning to the “history” is prevailing today in the building tendencies in Užupis. Partly it consist in preservation and restoration of old houses. The problem is that a considerable part of the buildings were in bad or very bad condition and some of them should be demolished. Some projects intend to combine reconstruction, preservation and rebuilding. For instance, project “Užupis vartai” of Lords LB Asset Management. This the project of a new housing building on Uzupio and Polocko streets in Užupis. The project is interesting, because classical elements of the facade will be preserved, one part will be saved and one part will be replaced with a new construction.⁵²

The main features of the new housing tendency is supposed to be the modern reinvention of Užupis traditional or historical housing style.

Sigita Survilaitė-Mekionienė, CRO of MG Valda, a company which realized project “Uzupio krantines” on Polocko street, 17 in 2014, in the description of the project says: “We

⁵¹ JSC “Irdaiiva“, experience. Official site. <http://www.irdaiva.lt/en/features-of-cultural-heritage-38/Užupis.en>

⁵² Lords LB Asset Management, news 23.10.2015. official site.

<http://lordslb.lt/new-residential-complex-with-historic-architectural-elements-to-be-built-in-Užupis>

were able to acquire a unique place, where we will be able to build a luxurious housing estate with architectural features typical for the Old Town and qualitative attributes necessary for contemporary living”.⁵³



New houses on Polocko street (February, 2016)

“This is a good idea,- said the owner of a bakery in Užuėpis. - Of course all these buildings could be charming, but it is necessary to understand that first of all, these are houses for living. People are living there. And in many of them now are very poor conditions.”⁵⁴

“The district definitely needs restoration or should be rebuilt in some parts. But what they are talking about the “traditional Užuėpis style” of the new houses is nonsense. This is just a very popular style today. You can find it in many other places around Vilnius.”-commented Anton T., a journalist from Vilnius.⁵⁵

Since the end of “squatting epoche” from 1991 to 2005, Artistic constituent of Užuėpis did not disappear, but took different form. The district became successful platform for creative industries. The public organization “Bendruomenių santykių konsultantai” (“Community Building Consultants” or CBC), which is providing support in development of communities, in 2010 published a report about creative industries in Baltic states. According to this report Užuėpis become one of the most successful platform for creative industries, not just in Vilnius or Lithuania, but in the whole region.

⁵³MG Valda, news 2.07.2014, Official site.

<http://mgvalda.lt/en/mg-valda-acquired-a-lot-for-the-prestigious-housing-estate-development-in-Užuėpis/>

⁵⁴ Interview. Užuėpis. 23.05.2016

⁵⁵ Interview. Užuėpis. 23.05.2016

- *Over 300 creative industry (CI) representatives work in Užupis;*
- *There are 50 businesses based on the commercialization of culture and creativity;*
- *Annual income from CI in Užupis amounts to EUR 6 million*
- *Užupis boasts approximately 10 000 m² of creative space;*
- *The Užupis Art Incubator was the first art incubator in the eastern Baltic countries, and is now already adding some 1 200 m² of new space;*
- *Vilnius Academy of Art, private art schools, galleries and exhibition spaces are all located in Užupis.*⁵⁶

Užupis, despite on gentrification and housing development, still keeps the artistic component as an important part of its image. It allows to all guide books from the end of 1990s till today to depict Užupis as a “bohemian district”: “Užupis is sometimes compared to Montmartre in Paris or Christiania in Copenhagen. Užupis is a “republic” of artists”⁵⁷, “Vilnius bohemian heart”⁵⁸, “has been compared to Montmartre in Paris due to its bohemian atmosphere”⁵⁹, “Favored by artists, musicians and free-spirited souls”⁶⁰.

The image of district is strongly connected with the Republic of Užupis, it made Užupis recognisable and attractive, at least for visitors and tourists.

The web site for travellers “In Search of Unusual Destinations” which offers interesting roots and sites for tourist, recommends to visit Užupis now because soon the district can repeat the destiny of other “bohemian” quarters and be gentrified : “It was only a matter of time before the area’s potential became apparent to young middle class Vilnians, not least because of its close proximity to the old and the new towns. Gentrification means that the area’s role as a haven for artists, hippies, squatters, new age travellers and drunks is slowly being undermined.

⁵⁶ Community Building Consultants, Good practices. LOOVESTI. 18.11.2010

<http://www.looveesti.ee/good-practices-3/>

⁵⁷ Užupis, Vilnius-tourism, Official site. <http://www.vilnius-tourism.lt/en/what-to-see/top-20/Užupis/>

⁵⁸ Stay in Užupis, Vilnius’s bohemian heart, The crowded planet. 22.01.2016

<http://www.thecrowdedplanet.com/stay-in-Užupis-vilnius-bohemian-heart/>

⁵⁹ Republic of Užupis, Visit Lithuania, Official site

<http://visitlithuania.net/index.php/places-to-visit/75-vilnius3/130-republic-of-uupis>

⁶⁰ Vilnius Walking Tour: Old Town, Užupis and Lithuanian Brewery, Lonely Planet.

<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/lithuania/vilnius/activities/guided-tours/vilnius-walking-tour-old-town-Užupis-lithuanian-brewery>

Alternative lifestyles are being marginalised, not only by improvements made to the area's housing stock, but also by the influx of more trendy shops, cafes, restaurants and art galleries.”⁶¹

The historic heritage of Užupis.

In 1991-1993 the majority of the former Soviet countries and countries of Eastern bloc joined UNESCO. In 1991 Baltic states: Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, became a members of UNESCO as well. In 1994 the Old town of Vilnius was included to the World Heritage List as an “an outstanding example of a medieval foundation which exercised a profound influence on architectural and cultural developments in a wide area of Eastern Europe over several centuries”.⁶² In 1997 Historic Center of Riga and Historic center (Old Town) of Tallinn were included in the list, as well. The main criteria of including the Historic Center of Riga was “the finest concentration of Art Nouveau architecture in the world”⁶³ and for Tallinn it was Hanseatic heritage and fortification system.⁶⁴

It was a very timely decision, because after the restoration of independency these countries faced with not just political, economical and social challenges, but with very quick and sometimes uncontrolled transformation of the cities.

After collapse of the USSR the situation with preservation and restoration of cultural heritage was complicated. Since 1977 to 1990 was acting a law of protection and preservation of cultural monument, and in 1990 was adopted another temporary law for the inspection and protection of cultural heritage. The complexity of the new law was in the division of responsibilities, where inspection was belonging to the Parliament and protection to the Government. It became very difficult to divide logically their activities and spheres of responsibilities. Another problem was connected with the new type of ownership. During Soviet era the houses were owned collectively. In 1990-s the apartments had been privatized but without giving the new owners the responsibility for their property. In a wide perspective it

⁶¹ Užupis, Vilnius, Lithuania. In Search Of Unusual Destinations. 31.12.2012

<https://insearchofunusualdestinations.wordpress.com/2012/12/31/404/>

⁶² The Old Town of Vilnius. World Heritage List. UNESCO. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/541/>

⁶³ Historic Center of Riga, World Heritage List. UNESCO <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/852>

⁶⁴ Historic center of Tallinn, World Heritage List. UNESCO <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/822>

meant that a person could take care about their house but did not have to. It created a situation in which many houses stayed unrestored or abandoned. For Užupis as a historic part of Vilnius, but with prevalence of a private housing it was a big problem as well.⁶⁵

In Soviet times there were realized to big reconstruction plans in Vilnius Historic Center. In 1956-1958 during the post-war reconstruction was adopted a plan of professor Seselgis. The goal of this plan was to prevent the destruction of the historical image of the city center. It was the first protection plan for the city center in the USSR. The second plan 1972-1974 was concentrated on the reconstruction of the ad damaged parts of the Old Town and also on the application of the buildings for the new purposes. In both of the plans the area of Užupis did not consider.

In the third plan of revitalization, which was worked out in 1988-1992 besides of all had been sounded the necessity of preservation and restoration of the historic suburbs as well. “The historic suburb of Užupis on the other side of the small river Vilnia, is for the most part perfectly authentic traditional housing area, and it is in immediate vicinity of the eastern part of the Old Town. Užupis thus certainly deserves to be protected for its own value as well as for its harmony with the historic center. The idea of a real estate company to develop Užupis as an area for hotels is not good and it will necessary destroy the authenticity.”⁶⁶ Also there was a point about preservation of wooden architecture in Vilnius and Užupis and about special and careful attitude to it.

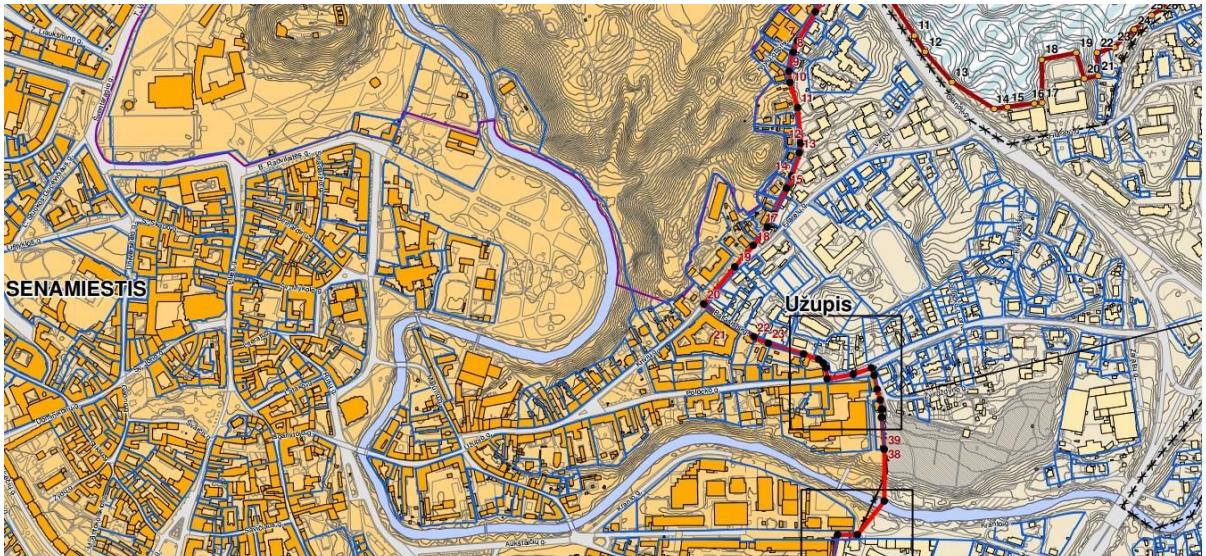
In January 1994, in Helsinki had been made the report of ICOMOS (The International Council on Monuments and Sites) on the state of conservation of the historic part of Vilnius. This report preceded the including the Old town of Vilnius into UNESCO list of the World Heritage in November 1994.

The all Old Town of Vilnius with the closest historical suburbs was included in the UNESCO World Heritage List. A part of Užupis had been included as well. This is the territory

⁶⁵ The state of conservation of the historic part of Vilnius. Report of the mission 20-25 January 1994 (#541). Helsinki. ICOMOS. p.2.

⁶⁶ The state of conservation of the historic part of Vilnius. Report of the mission 20-25 January 1994 (#541). Helsinki. ICOMOS. p.4.

of the district from the river to Baltasis skersgatvis (White side street) including a part of Bernardinu cemetery with chapel.



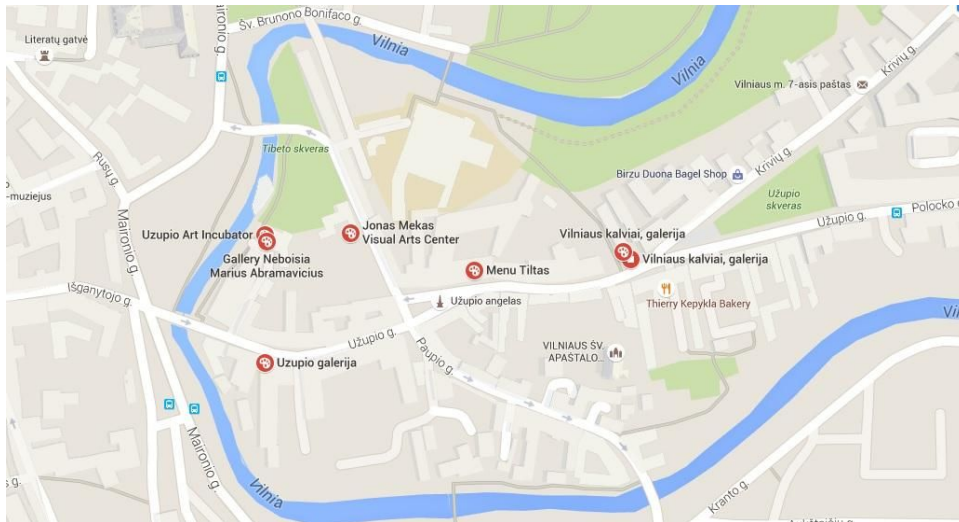
*Territory of the Vilnius Historic Old Town with the part of Užupis included in the UNESCO World Heritage List.*⁶⁷

The rest of Užupis territory is marked as a buffer zone of Vilnius Old Town. Blue lines on the map denote the plots of land registered as the real property, and this is the major part of the Užupis. Except the real property there are also green zones, part of Bernardinu cemetery, block houses and municipal buildings.

This division of the district reflects not just cultural heritage. The proximity to the Old Town influenced also on economic development of these two parts. In buffer zone, where the norms of building regulation are not so strict, is going an active building of new elite housing complexes. Nowadays exactly this part determines the high level of prices for apartments.

The part which had been included in the World Heritage List is closer to the Old Town and attracts many tourist and visitors. There is an absolute majority of galleries, shops, restaurants and cafes in Užupis.

⁶⁷ Vilnius Historic Centre. Maps. World Heritage Centre. UNESCO. Official site. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/541/multiple=1&unique_number=1929



Art galleries and museums in Užupis (Google maps, 2016)



Restaurants, bars, cafes in Užupis (Google maps, 2016)

In that way all cultural and social activities are concentrated in the one part, while the second, bigger part is residential. Of course, there are many residential houses in the historic part as well, but taking into account the limited number of available houses, opportunities for restoration and reconstruction, this part is not so well represented in the real estate market.

The difficulties of restoration and reconstruction of the old housing stock are due to several reasons. One of the main reasons is poor condition of its significant part. During the very long time, including the Soviet period Užupis used to be a neglected area, which was not taken into account in the restoration plans of the Old Town.

Image of Užupis in guide books and literature

There are some districts in the world which have a very particular image and reputation. Those districts are important parts of the image of the whole city, and often are mentioned not just in the guide books, but in literature, poems, songs and art. The most obvious examples of these kind of districts are the 1st Arrondissement in Paris, SoHo in New York, Kreuzberg-Friedrichshain in Berlin, Notting Hill in London and many other. The distinctive feature of those districts is that they have a recognizable style and atmosphere, different from the rest of the city. That is why it is so often used in art and literature, because the district itself makes a stage for narration and played in it an important role. For example when we read a book and the character lives on Montmartre, a reader will already have an image and notion about his environment and lifestyle. As the characters of Charles Aznavour's song *Le bohème* live not anywhere else in Paris, but on Montmartre *Montmartre en ce temps-là accrochait ses lilas Jusque sous nos fenêtres* [At that time, Montmartre hung its lilacs right up to our windows]. The same in the popular culture- when in the book *Girl with the dragon tattoo* Stieg Larsson settled his character Lisbeth Salander, in Södermalm neighborhood in Stockholm, he did it by purpose. Södermalm has a reputation of a bohemian district, famous by the number of vintage shops, galleries, nightlife and associates with a peculiar style of living.⁶⁸

Užupis is the second most mentioned part of Vilnius after the Old Town. One of the most prominent contemporary writer, poet, philologist and translator Tomas Venclova in his very personal book *Vilnius. A city in Europe* with a big love describes the city of his youth, University, cathedrals. About Užupis he wrote *If we go through the gorge of the Vilnia against the current, soon we will find ourselves in Užupis. During my childhood and youth, it was almost rustic district, there was blooming bird cherry, dog's bark, roosters were singing, in the lilac bushes were hidden wooden toilets, women rinsed the laundry in the river, men in the courtyards were sawing boards, girls went on the street in slippers, and even barefoot. [...] By the end of the Soviet regime it was a very impoverished area, plaster was crumbled from the houses, they began to fall apart; "kontrkulturschiki" (counterculture artists) who loved those abandoned*

⁶⁸Kimble Julian, The 50 most stylish neighborhoods in the world. 9.10.2012. Complex Style.
<http://www.complex.com/style/2012/10/the-50-most-stylish-neighborhoods-in-the-world/sodermalm>

places, proclaimed Užupis republic (in the constitution of the republic, it was announced: "Everyone has right to live close to Villnia and Vilnia has the right to flow next to a man"). On the one wall appeared an inscription "To the sky - 12 km."⁶⁹

It is interesting to compare the image of Užupis from the perspective of Lithuanian authors and foreigners. In 1993 and 2009 there were published two novels one is *Tuula* by Lithuanian author Jurgis Kunchinas, and *The republic of Užupis* by Hailji, from South Korea. These books presents not just perspectives from "inside" and "outside", but different periods of Užupis history. Jurgis Kuncinas lives in Užupis- poor neighborhood of Vilnius, at the end of Soviet epoch and Hailji is already arriving to the Užupis- Artistic Republic.

Jurgis Kuncinas is Lithuanian writer, poet and translator. He also had been mentioned in the book of Tomas Venclova in connection with Užupis *The late writer Jurgis Kunčinas, drunkard and bohemian person, with whom we were friends, managed to convey the spirit of Užupis in his novels about poverty, random relationships and heavy hand of the Communist government.*⁷⁰ Tomas Venclova wrote a preface for his book *Tuula*. In *Tuula* Užupis is an almost independent character. The novel is a story of love, of long relationships sometimes beautiful, sometimes poignant between author and a woman, whom he calls Tuula. This name is difficult to translate in English. It could be "the women" or "some women". Užupis is a stage for their story, background, decorations. Užupis is a shelter. There they met, fell in love, live, argued, drank a cheap wine, there live those whom in another his book Jurgis Kuncinas named *The Minstrels in Maxi Overcoats.*⁷¹

*...as I cut across the ghostly Olandų Street highway and through the damp little yards of Filaretų Street, emerging like a ghost on the Polocko straightway across from the Bernardine graveyard—all this disagreeable little world is linked only to you, Tūla, and the Bernardines, although they've been gone a long time now... who says they're gone?*⁷²

Užupis of Jurgis Kuncinas is dark, grim and drunk, but his love makes it charming and beautiful. River Vilnia there there serves as a boundary not just between Old Town and Užupis, but between real world and imaginary.

⁶⁹ Venclova Tomas, Vilnius. Gorod v Evrope [Vilnius. City in Europe] Издательство Ивана Лимбаха. Moscow. 2012. p. 14-15

⁷⁰ Venclova Tomas, Vilnius. Gorod v Evrope [Vilnius. City in Europe] Издательство Ивана Лимбаха. Moscow. 2012. p. 14

⁷¹ Kunčinas Jurgis. Minstrels in Maxi Overcoats. http://kuncinas.com/en/minstrels_en.htm

⁷² Kunčinas Jurgis. Tula. http://www.kuncinas.com/en/tula_en.htm

- I'm off to sunny Užupis! That's where I was planning to go anyway: my beloved is awaiting me there. Off to the Independent Republic of Užupis! Our Sorrento, Athens, our Monterey, Toremolina and Pamplona! Let me step across the border - the Vilnelė. Adios! Vale! Let me just take a little drink from the spring, sprouting on the shore of the brook. So my throat doesn't get dry.

The Minstrels in Maxi Overcoats

*Songs for a Viola d'Amore from Vilnius's Užupis Region from the Eighth Decade of the 20th Century*⁷³

The mood of *The Republic of Užupis* is different, but some aspects of his image of Užupis overlap with the books of Kuncinas.

Hailji is a very famous Korean author and probably the onliest contemporary Korean writer who writes and publish his books on foreign languages. He is also famous as a poet, and many of his novels had been made into movies and plays.

Mr. Hal - the main character of the book, is a quite attractive man from Hun, an Asian country. He arrived to Vilnius, one winter night and thought that he does not need long term Lithuanian visa, because the next day he was going to the Republic of Užupis. He is sure that actually he was born in Užupis, but his father had been sent to Hun as ambassador, after Užupis had been occupied and their family could not come back. In 1990-s many countries restored their independency and Hal hopped that Užupis as well.

In the book author always mix up truth and fiction. Mr. Hal met a minister of foreign affairs of Užupis Artistic Republic Tomas Savaitis, and he even looks like real minister of foreign affairs of Užupis- writer Tomas Cepaitis. They had met in Café Mano- the main meeting point of all characters, and this is obviously Uzupio kavine- the first private cafe in Užupis.

The majority of local people are either laughing at him or trying to explain that he is already in Užupis and there is no another one. But during his searching he met some people who know something about Užupis. Hal does not speak Lithuanian, but he can understand those people, because they speak Užupis language- the language of his childhood. Hal got to know that

⁷³ Kuncinas Jurgis, *Minstrels in Maxi Overcoats*. http://kuncinas.com/en/minstrels_en.htm

he is not the first person who was looking for Užupis, but all of them disappeared and no one had seen them again, or committed suicide.

The citizens of Užupis are special sort of people they really miss their gone country, because even soup there tastes like jasmine. For Hailji and his character Užupis is like a mysterious and losted fatherland, which people are trying to achieve. Užupis metaphorically is a beautiful country, almost lost paradise, does not matter where are you from, you can feel that you are from Užupis and make a try to get there. After all, when Hal had met a women who really lived there, when clue seemed to be so close, Hal committed suicide.

*He died mouth half open, eyes gazing into space, as if they had found his long sought fatherland.*⁷⁴

In fact Haiji developed an idea of Užupis Republic of Artists. For Hailji the Užupis of Jurgis Kuncinas also exists: grim landscape, poets and marginals drink *palinka*, but that Užupis is just a Vilnius neighborhood, he does not want to stay there, there is another one- The Republic of Užupis, beautiful and unattainable.

In 2015 *The Mighty Sieben* released their new album *Lietuva* inspired by Lithuania and Vilnius. There is a track *Užupis* which includes motto of the district *Don't win. Don't fight. Don't surrender.* That is how it had been announced in his official blog: “*My latest Sieben release is a digital EP entitled “Lietuva”, the old name for what we now know as Lithuania. The two main tracks have both taken inspiration from there.[...] Užupis, a district of Vilnius, draws inspiration from the constitution, motto, flag, and mainly the aesthetic of this self-proclaimed (Art) State.*”⁷⁵

The way how Užupis is depicted in the lyrics of the song is closer to the idealistic image of Užupis in the book of Haiji, then to the rather gloomy image in the Kuncinas's stories.

*On the other side of the river,
the farthest bank from where we are.
Circled in our palm, see the future,
everyone may share what we possess.*

⁷⁴ Hailji. *The republic of Užupis*. Dalkey Archive Press. London 2014 p.149

⁷⁵ The Mighty Sieben. Official website. <http://matthowden.com/wordpress/tag/Užupis/> (23.08.2016)

Kalamaja - “the fish house”. Tallinn

History of Kalamaja in XV-XIX centuries

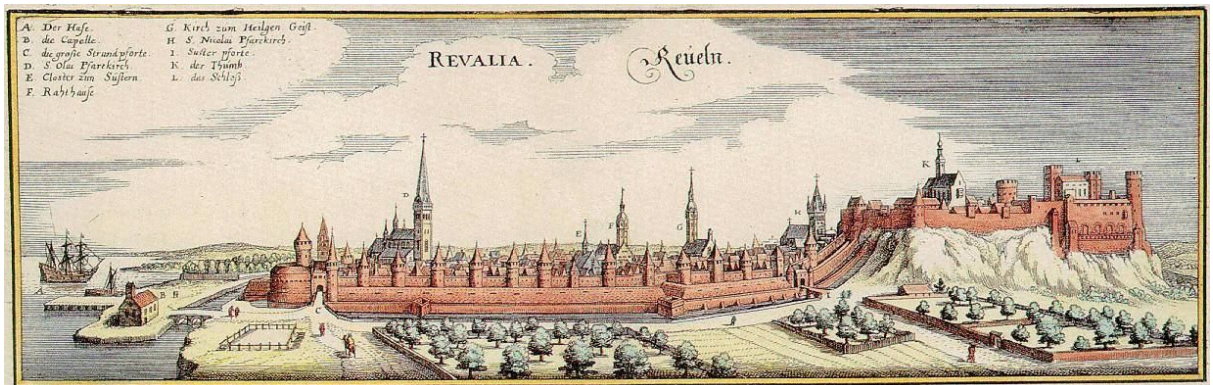
The first reliable information about Tallinn belongs to the beginning of the XIII century, it has a connection with German-Scandinavian colonization of Livonia and Estonia. The Danes established a stone castle at the Toompea hill. In the middle of the XIII century Tallinn had been granted with Lübeck city rights and became one of the towns in a German trade space. At the end of the century Tallinn joined Hanseatic League and for the next two centuries became one of the most influential towns in the Baltic region. Tallinn played an important role in trading between the Hanseatic League and Russian territories, for example Novgorod. This period of history determined the formation of the city. Today the Old city of Tallinn is in UNESCO Heritage List as “an exceptionally complete and well-preserved medieval northern European trading city on the coast of the Baltic Sea.”⁷⁷ Tallinn as a trading centre had to have a strong defence against invaders and since the 1256 when the first city wall was built, the fortification system was improving and reinforcing. By the XVI century the wall was 2.4 kilometres long, 14 to 16 metres high, and included 46 towers. Though there were settlements around Tallinn, behind the city wall. They were extremely vulnerable in case of an attack. The first written proof of existence of such a settlements is from 1421 and it is about Kalamaja.

The word “Kalamaja” consists of two words- “Kala” and “Maja” and means “Fish house” in Estonian language. The name completely corresponded to the role and functions of that neighborhood. Kalamaja is situated right between the city walls and the sea. The gate that leads from the Old town to the Kalamaja had been called “Suur Rannavärv”- “the Great Coastal Gate.”

⁷⁶The Mighty Sieben. Music. Official website. <https://sieben.bandcamp.com/track/u-upis> (23.08.2016)

⁷⁷ Historic Centre (Old Town) of Tallinn. UNESCO. Official website. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/822>

At that time the development of Kalamaja was connected with construction of fortifications and roads that led to Tallinn. During that period some streets like Vaike-Patarei, Vana-Kalamaja and part of Vabriku-Kopli took shape.⁷⁸



*Painted engraving of Revel, made by German scholar Adam Olearius in 1647. View of the town from the side of Kalamaja.*⁷⁹

For the further centuries Kalamaja was the main fishing harbour of Tallinn and was mainly inhabited by fishermen and boat dwellers. The fishermen were fishing and selling fish in Kalamaja and lived there as well. People who were coming from Estonian villages to Tallinn for seasonal work, often had no money. They were staying in Kalamaja using upturned boats, as a temporary home.⁸⁰

The oldest historical sight of Kalamaja was Kalamaja cemetery. It was one of the first cemeteries in Tallinn and had been in use since XV-XVI centuries. It contained thousands of graves of Estonian and Swedish residents of Tallinn. The cemetery was completely demolished by the Soviet authorities in 1964.

By the order of the Russian Emperor Nicholas I in 1840 in Kalamaja was built the fortress Patarei. The fortress had never been used by purpose and until the First World War was used as a barracks. During the XX century it was transformed into famous Patarei prison which worked until 2002.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Luiga Ele, *Managing Urban Change in Kalamaja. Tension between existing values and the potential towards new.* Tallinn Art Academy. Tallinn, 2012

⁷⁹ The Church of Oleviste, Architecture, sculpture. Tallinn
<http://www.mg.edu.ee/comenius/index.php?show=3&lang=ENG&page=tallinn>

⁸⁰ From the fish line to the fishing harbor: a new chance for Kalasadam. 21.03.2016. Tallinn Cold Time
<http://tallinn.cold-time.com/2016/03/21/>

⁸¹ Patarei Prison Museum. Official site. <http://patarei.org/en/>

In 1854 Kalamaja was almost entirely destroyed. That time Tallinn was one of the strategic fortresses of the Russian Empire, which participated in the Crimean War. In Kalamaja were built several defence constructions and Patarej fortress, also in the case of war it was not allowed to build on Kalamaja esplanade. Obviously there was a serious fear of foreign troops landing there. The Russian Empire lost war, international policy was changed and Tallinn was excluded from the list of strategic forts.⁸² Later all restrictions were cancelled and the houses were rebuilt using the existing structure.

Baltic Railway Station and Industrialization of Kalamaja in the XIX century

The function and role of Kalamaja dramatically changed in the middle of the XIX when the process of industrialization began in Estonia.

In 1858 the Russian emperor Alexander II signed the project of a big railway line to connect Saint-Petersburg and Warsaw. In the middle of the XIX century railroads still had not been very widespread in Russia, which made transportation of goods very complicated. Russian merchants sent the request to the emperor demanding to develop railway networks inside the country first. But Alexander II had another vision of priorities, he decided that it is more important to connect western part of Russian Empire with the capital. Earlier, in 1835 was built a line between Warsaw and Vienna⁸³, so that road connected Moscow not only with Warsaw, but with Western Europe, as well. The road was finished in 1862.

In 1862 was approved another project of a new 400 kilometers long railway line between Saint-Petersburg, Tallinn and Paldiski. Paldiski is a town and a port, in the Pakri peninsula the North West of Estonia. Paldiski became a Russian naval base in the XVII century, that is why it was important to have a good railway connection with Saint-Petersburg.

Saint-Petersburg- Warsaw and Saint-Petersburg-Tallinn-Paldiski were the first railway lines, which were built on the territory of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and became a powerful impulse for the development and industrialization of the region.

⁸²Juske Jaak, Petlemma ja Kalamaja üllatav seos. [Bathlehem and Kalamaja surprising connection] 21.11.2012
<http://jaakjuske.blogspot.cz/2012/12/petlemma-ja-kalamaja-ullatav-seos.html>

⁸³ Krótka historia kolei w Warszawie. [Short history of the railways in Warsaw] Warsaw 39.
http://www.warszawa1939.pl/strona_bez.php?kod=koleje

The industrialisation led to the very quick urbanization of the region. The landless peasants were heading to the city. The railway service itself demanded many new workers. Urban population in Estland and northern Livland from 1863 to 1914 increased almost in four times, from 64,000 to 253,000 people. The urban proportion raised from 9% to 22%. The urbanization also provoked Estonianization of the urban population. In 1867-1874 Estonians comprised half of urban population, but in 1897 their share increased up to 68%.⁸⁴



Baltischer Bahnhof (Baltic Railway Station) Reval. Postcard⁸⁵

In Tallinn the railway station was built northwest of the Old Town and on the border of Kalamaja.

This was the beginning of the active industrial building at the neighbouring areas. The industries always demands the infrastructure for transportation of goods. In the case of Tallinn the presence of a railway road provoked the fast industrialization of the area around it. Due to the transport infrastructure is very expensive, it was more effective and profitable to locate factories in the same area, in the close proximity to the railway station. The opening of that railway road increased Estonian trade tenfolds.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Thaden Edward C., *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855-1914*. Princeton University Press, 2014 p.209

⁸⁵ Postcard. Tallinn. Date is unknown. Eto retro. <http://www.etoretro.ru/data/media/4767/13898029258b4.jpg>

⁸⁶ Vaike Haas. *A Review of Urban Planning in Tallinn, Estonia: Post-Soviet Planning Initiatives in Historic and Cultural Context*
<https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/41228/VaikeHaasMLAThesis.pdf?sequence=2> p.19



Baltic Railway Station, Kalamaja neighbourhood. (Google maps, 2017)

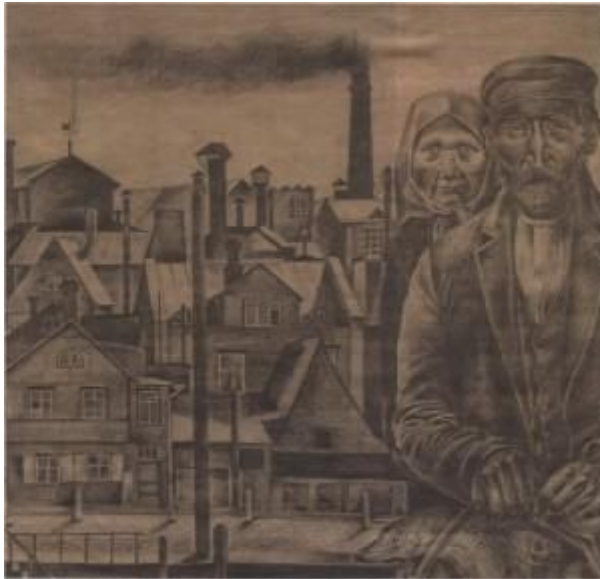
The first factory in Kalamaja on Telliskivi Street was built in 1868-1871. It was The Railway Baltic factory, which produced supplies for railway lines. In 1899 on Tööstuse Street was founded “Volta” factory, which produced engines and generators.

In 1893 the local administration received a letter from Kalamaja fishermen. They complained the closeness of railway lines could decrease the number of fish in the bay and make fishing harder. But industries were incomparably more profitable than fishing. In the summer of 1913 the city authorities decided to proceed with a large-scale reconstruction and modernization of the former fishing area. It was planned to be turned into a harbour for commercial coasters: to deepen the water area and replace the wooden bridges with modern concrete docks and breakwater piers.

The plan of modernisation was not accomplished, because of the First World War.

In 1918 the first tram line was opened. It went through the Kalamaja to the next neighbourhood- Kopli. During that period there were build some important objects as Elementary school on Vabriku street in 1914, Kalma baths in 1928 and two cinemas on Soo and Kopli streets.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Luiga Ele, *Managing urban change in Kalamaja : tension between existing values and the potential towards new* : Master of Arts in Urban Studies. Tallinn : Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, 2011



*Kalamaja in Tallinn, drawing of Natalya Rey, 1926*⁸⁸

The end of the XIX century and the first decades of the XX century was very interesting time for the architecture of Kalamaja.

The beginning of the active development of industries in Kalamaja, led to the tremendous increase of number of workers, what in its turn provoked a housing boom. In 1997 when Tallinn was nominated to the UNESCO List of World Heritage, the attention was paid also to the wooden architecture of Kalamaja, which was created at that period: “The authentic setting of the inscribed World Heritage property includes some significant architecture from the late 19th century and early 20th century including theatres and schools as well as a number of exceptional wooden suburbs which form an integral part of the historic, urban fabric round Tallinn Old Town.”⁸⁹

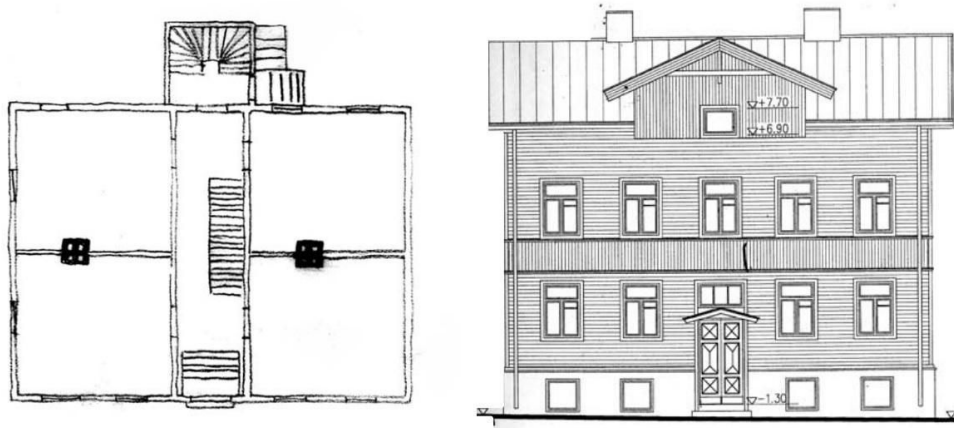
Lender House

In 1893 there was presented a new architectural solution for the workers in Kalamaja - Lender house. This type of houses got its name, because of the mayor of Tallinn in those days -

⁸⁸From a fish market to the Fish harbour. Tallinn Cold Time. TLN. 21.03.2016
<http://tallinn.cold-time.com/2016/03/21/%D0%BE%D1%82-%D1%80%D1%8B%D0%B1%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE-%D1%80%D1%8F%D0%B4%D0%B0-%D0%BA-%D1%80%D1%8B%D0%B1%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B9-%D0%B3%D0%B0%D0%B2%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%B8-%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%8B%D0%B9-%D1%88/#more-6285>

⁸⁹ Historic center of Tallinn, World Heritage List. UNESCO <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/822>

Voldemar Lender. He was born in Tallinn in 1876, studied in Tallinn Alexander Gymnasium and later in Saint-Petersburg State University at the department of physics and mathematics and in Saint-Petersburg Institute of Technology. He came back to Tallinn in 1902, one year later he founded construction and engineering bureau. In 1905 Voldemar Lender was the first Estonian in history, who became a mayor of Tallinn. He was a head of municipal building department, as well. Lender houses satisfied an increasing necessity in cheap and simple houses. It was a wooden house, but on a stone foundation, four one room apartments symmetrically located on the each floor. There were two doors- one lead to the street and the second one to the backyard, in case of a fire. These houses had basic facilities such as cold water and canalization.



Scheme and facade of Lender house.

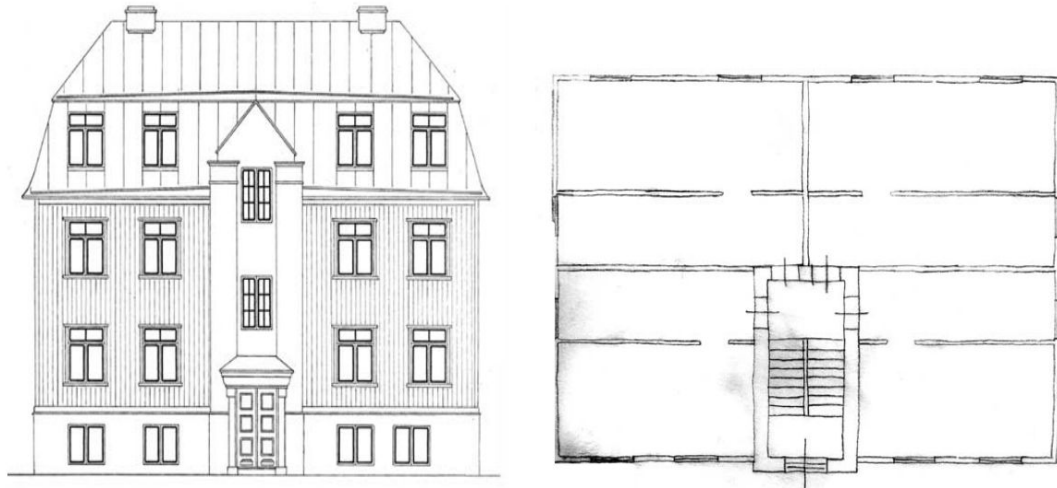
This type of houses became incredibly popular not only in Kalamaja, but in other neighbourhoods. Even today there are around one thousand Lender houses in Tallinn.⁹⁰ The risk of fire still existed in areas with mostly wooden houses, so due to reasons of safety it was not allowed to build wooden houses higher than two floors. Deprived of the opportunity to grow up, Lender houses often were becoming longer instead and stretched along the streets.

Tallinn house

The next stage in the development of wooden architecture in Tallinn suburbs were so called Tallinn houses. This type of houses had got its name, because beside a very few

⁹⁰ Juske Jaak, Lender - meer ja majad [Lender - Mayor and houses] 1.08.2014
<http://jaakjuske.blogspot.cz/2014/08/lender-meer-ja-majad.html>

exceptions, they were built only in Tallinn. The architect who designed the most well-known Tallinn houses is Karl Tarvas. He was born in Tallinn in 1885 and studied in Riga Polytechnic Institute. The lack of affordable houses for workers still existed and it was decided to permit the construction of three-floor wooden buildings. The new houses were similar to Lender houses, but had not only a stone foundation, but a stone staircase, as well. The basement could be used for shops and local businesses and apartments were bigger. The facades of Tallinn houses are usually more decorated.



Scheme and facade of Tallinn houses

There is a scheme that shows actual distribution of Lender and Tallinn houses in Kalamaja.



*Lender (blue) and Tallinn (orange) houses in Kalamaja*⁹¹

During the Second World War Tallinn was badly damaged by German and Soviet airstrikes. Wooden neighbourhoods suffered from fire. Many buildings in Kalamaja were burnt, but the structure of the streets remained.

The Soviet Period

The Soviet period for Kalamaja became a time of gradual decline. In 1934 there were 16884 inhabitants in Kalamaja, in 1967- 15700 and in 1985 only 12158 people. In 1964 regulations for fences around the houses were changed. Neeme M. who lived in Kalamaja at that time remembered, that it changed the attitude of people to their gardens. They felt that the territory around the houses did not belong them anymore and did not take care of it. It made Kalamaja look untended.⁹²

The biggest change of that period was the complete demolition of Kalamaja cemetery in 1964. The gravestones were used for making sidewalks. The territory of the cemetery was reorganized into park. In the same years were also demolished another two old cemeteries in the suburbs of Kopli and Moigu. In 1993 the Department of Historic Preservation created an initiative to turn the former cemetery into the Memorial park and it became a conservation zone.⁹³

In 1986 on Vana-Kalamaja street 20a, by architect Erkki Valdre was built the first panel house in Kalamaja. It has some rather unusual characters compare with standard panel houses and looks lighter and more individual.

⁹¹Pinte Anita, Laura Uibopuu, Kadri Vaher, Elo Liina Kaivo, Lender and Tallinn houses in Kalamaja. Typomorphology. Estonian Academy of Arts. Tallinn, 2006

http://www.taimsalu.com/kalamaja/Lender_and_Tallinn_house_types_in_Kalamaja.pdf

⁹² Interview with Neeme M. Kalamaja, Tallinn. March, 2017

⁹³ Memorial park in Kalamaja. Kalamaja info.

<http://kalamaja.info/en/blogi1-5/kalamaja-stories/121-memorial-park-in-kalamaja.html> (04.04.2017)



*Vana-Kalamaja street 20a*⁹⁴

There was another project by architects Irina Raud and Rein Hansberg to build several seven floors houses next Baltic Railways Station and Soo street. The project was not supported by local inhabitants, but still the construction of four floors houses were accomplished on Vana-Kalamaja and Kalju streets in 1990s.

The biggest project that had been realized in 1980s in Kalamaja without doubts was a construction of Linnahall - V.I Lenin Palace of Culture and Sport. In 1980 Moscow hosted the XXII Summer Olympic games, but several competitions took place in other cities as such Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk. Tallinn due to its location by the Baltic sea held sailing events. There were build Olympic sailing center, Tallinn TV tower, twenty eight storey hotel Olumpia, and Tallinn airport. All these objects except Linnahall are still in use.

⁹⁴ Google street view



*Linnahall, 1980s*⁹⁵

Linnahall became the most disputable construction of the Soviet times in Tallinn. It was designed by Raine Karp, as it had 4 200 seats it was the biggest indoor concert hall in the country. The territory of the complex is 27 215 square meters and Linnahall consists of concert halls, ice hockey rings and facilities for other activities. It also has its own harbour and helicopter landing pad.⁹⁶ After Estonia restored its independence in 1990, there was a big public discussion about the Soviet heritage, and Linnahall which was located in a decent proximity from the Old Town was especially ambiguous case. There was an opinion that Linnahall should be demolished, but this option was rejected, also it would very difficult to do so. Linnahall was included into the list of Estonian Cultural Heritage and now it is under protection. Since 2009 the complex is closed, while the various options of its usage and transformation are considered.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Estonian World. Linnahall. Illustration. <http://estonianworld.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Linnahall.jpg>

⁹⁶ Examples on Soviet architecture. Tallinn. The Baltic Initiative and Network. <http://coldwarsites.net/country/estonia/examples-on-soviet-achitecture-tallinn>

⁹⁷Linnahall. Estonian World. <http://estonianworld.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Linnahall.jpg>

Development of Kalamaja after 1991

“We lived in the Old town, but my grandma lived in Kalamaja, so my mother took me there for a walk. I remember there were very bad roads and very muddy. My grandma lived in the wooden house on the second floor. There was no bathroom in the house and she used to go to the public baths. She brought dirty clothes to our place once per month, because we had a washing machine”- remembers Andy about her childhood.⁹⁸

“It was not a great place to live those days- says Neeme,- I moved here simply because it was the only place I could afford. Fifteen years ago you could buy a flat here really cheap. Now I know that it was a very good investment.”⁹⁹

“I remember that when I was little, I did not feel unsafe in Kalamaja. But actually maybe it was. Now I understand that almost all our neighbours were drinking a lot, and even made a cheap alcohol. There were only few small corner shops where you could buy basic things like bread, milk, salt, matches and, of course, alcohol.”- telling M. who grew up in Kalamaja at 1990s.¹⁰⁰

In 2004 Ludek Sykora describing the Post-Soviet development in Tallinn wrote that despite some parts of the city shows the signs of revitalization, only one area going through gentrification was Kadriorg¹⁰¹. Kadriorg is a neighborhood in Tallinn which is, as Kalamaja, located by the Baltic Sea, but on the other side of the Old Town. The primarily conditions in Kadriorg were better than in Kalamaja: the condition of housing stock was much better, before Soviet era many of houses belonged to the intellectuals and elites, renovation began there in mid 1990s and the average size of apartment is bigger. Kadriorg became an area almost exclusively intended for wealthy people with high income within areas with mixed social population.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Interview Kalamaja, Tallinn. March, 2017

⁹⁹ Interview Kalamaja, Tallinn. March, 2017

¹⁰⁰ Interview Kalamaja, Tallinn. March, 2017

¹⁰¹ Sykora Ludek, *Gentrification in Post-communist Cities*, in: R. Atkinson and G. Bridge *Gentrification in a Global Context*, p. 97. New York: Routledge.

¹⁰² Sykora Ludek, *Gentrification in Post-communist Cities*, in: R. Atkinson and G. Bridge *Gentrification in a Global Context*, p. 97. New York: Routledge.

In the beginning of 2000s Kalamaja began to become popular place for students and young people, because of low prices. Historically the majority of houses in Kalamaja were built for working class people, so they were rather small - the average size of apartments is 20-35 square meters. It is not enough for a big family, but good for young people and couples. To improve quality of apartments in Lender houses there are conditions for the interior redevelopment: the separate rooms can be combined in a bigger apartment with private staircase.



An option for interior redevelopment in Lender house, on example of Salme street 49¹⁰³

Cultural projects in Kalamaja

Transformation of the image of Kalamaja began with the reconceptualization of the industrial heritage there and development of creative businesses. In 2006 the former power plant was decided to be reorganized into the first Cultural Hub. But the most important and flagship project was Telliskivi Creative City.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Pinte Anita, Laura Uibopuu, Kadri Vaher, Elo Liina Kaivo, Lender and Tallinn houses in Kalamaja. Typomorphology. Estonian Academy of Arts. Tallinn, 2006

http://www.taimsalu.com/kalamaja/Lender_and_Tallinn_house_types_in_Kalamaja.pdf

¹⁰⁴Pastak Ingmar and Anneli Kahrik, The Impacts of Culture-led Flagship Projects on Local Communities in the Context of Post-socialist Tallinn, University of Tartu,

http://sreview.soc.cas.cz/uploads/9f1e4282e3f884618fd30cdd7fb155c12058f4d4_16-6-08Pastak19-barva.indd.pdf

Table 1. Outline of the case-study flagship projects

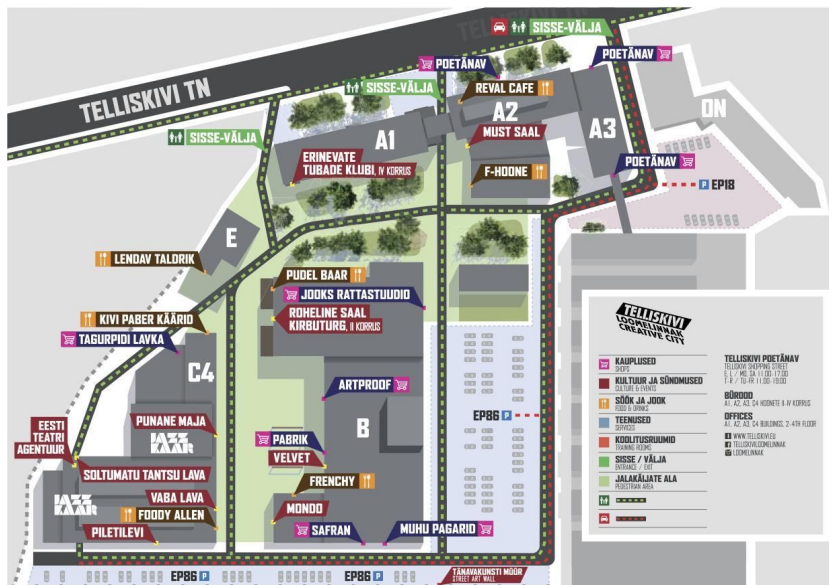
	Creative campus	Museum	Cultural hub
Main objectives	Inward looking To provide rental properties for creative entrepreneurs, public spaces (cafés, restaurants, etc.)	Outward looking To promote culture and creative activities, trainings	Outward looking To promote culture, provide a concert arena
Initiators	Private	Central government of Estonia	NGOs, soon taken over by the local government
Main target groups	Local 'gentrifiers': creative groups (artists, entrepreneurs, professionals), members of local neighbourhood associations	Tourists and visitors, maritime specialists, enthusiasts and hobbyists, marine experts, owners of small vessels and yachts	Creative groups (artists, entrepreneurs, professionals), persons related to education and science, local government cultural institutions
Project duration	2008–2015	2007–2015	2006–2015

Flagship projects in Kalamaja (table from The Impacts of Culture-led Flagship Projects on Local Communities in the Context of Post-socialist Tallinn by Ingmar Pastak and Anneli Kahrik)¹⁰⁵

Transformation of the image of Kalamaja began with the reconsidering of the industrial heritage there and development of creative businesses. The turning point was reorganizing the former Railway Factory into Telliskivi Creative City in 2008. This project was very successful and keeps developing even now. In 2007 there was a plan to demolish old industrial infrastructure and build new office buildings for commercial purposes instead. In 2008 because of economic crisis the project was cancelled. As an alternative option was proposed a strategy of space's revitalization, which already showed its efficiency in the Northern and Western European countries.

The existed space of the factory is 25 000m², which includes nine different buildings, several blocks connected with each other by passages, passes and open spaces provided a wide opportunities for usage.

¹⁰⁵Pastak Ingmar and Anneli Kahrik, The Impacts of Culture-led Flagship Projects on Local Communities in the Context of Post-socialist Tallinn, University of Tartu, http://sreview.soc.cas.cz/uploads/9f1e4282e3f884618fd30cdd7fb155c12058f4d4_16-6-08Pastak19-barva.indd.pdf



Territory of Telliskivi Creative City, map of properties and attractions, 2016¹⁰⁶

The open spaces between blocks are used for various activities, markets and summer cafes. Vacant inner premises were leased out for business, restaurants, cafes, markets, design workshops. Telliskivi has a policy to host primarily businesses and organisations whose activities are connected with culture and creativity. It obviously had been chosen concept to keep the atmosphere of the railway factory in details such as typical watches, and old couches that had been transformed into the bar. Telliskivi Creative City became a flagship project for the development and further gentrification of Kalamaja.¹⁰⁷ The big part of Telliskivi Creative City's success is in inclusion of the local community. Telliskivi Creative City chose the strategy not to limit its target group by creative class and provides activities, that could interest wider group of people, for example Kalamaja residents. That made Telliskivi popular place for spending weekend and leisure time among people who live in the neighbourhood including families with children, for whom are also organized activities and children's day care service. Through as notices "Divercities" (European urban examining program) the inclusiveness of Telliskivi is rather limited by Estonian community, without Russian minority. The activities and advertising are centered on the Estonian ethno-linguistic segment of population, what is

¹⁰⁶ Telliskivi map. All Tekst. http://www.alltekst.ee/jazzkaar/Telliskivi_kaart.jpg

¹⁰⁷ Telliskivi Creative City. Economic performance, Estonia. DIVERCITIES. 11.02.2015 <https://www.urbandivercities.eu/telliskivi-creative-city/>

rather the result not of purposeful selection, but of "safe ground" policy of tenants, who prefer to work with loyal customers rather than search for a new one.¹⁰⁸

At the territory of former heating plant, beside the Cultural Hub was also opened Contemporary Art Museum of Estonia. For not very long time there had been artistic squat, that had been recognized by authorities in 2006, together with the beginning of activities in the Cultural Hub. From 2007 to 2011 in the Contemporary Art Museum of Estonia took place temporary seasonal exhibitions (from April until November). In 2011 the Museum initiated Contemporary Art Prize- Koler Prize, which is accompanied by exhibitions for the nominees. In 2013 there had been opened bookstore Lagemik, Cafe and student's gallery ISFAG.¹⁰⁹

The third successful cultural project in Kalamaja is The Seaplane Harbour museum. It is a part of Estonian Maritime Museum and was opened in 2012. The harbour where the museum is located was built before the First World War as a part of Peter the Great's Naval Fortress- the complex of defence constructions aimed to strengthen Russian position on the Baltic Sea and protect the ways to Saint-Petersburg. The hangars were designed by the Danish engineering company Christiani & Nielsen in 1916-1917. The territory of the harbour is 8000 square meters. The main sight of the museum is submarine Lembit. This submarine was constructed in Tallinn for the United Kingdom in 1936. Beside Lembit there are exhibited replicas of seaplanes that were used during the First World War, wooden ship Maasilinn dated to the XVI century and icebreaker Suur Tõll, that had been given to Estonia by Finland in 1922 according to the Russian-Finnish Treaty. During Soviet Era the complex was out of use.

In 2009 the Estonian architect company Koko provided a plan of renovation for the Seaplane Harbour.¹¹⁰ The works began in 2010 and were finished in 2012. The fundings for renovation were mainly provided by the European Regional Development Fund and partly by Estonia. The total cost of work was 14 millions euro, 9,2 millions were provided by the European Regional Development Fund.¹¹¹ In 2013 the project of The Seaplane Harbour was awarded by the European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage, as a good example of heritage

¹⁰⁸ Telliskivi Creative City. Economic performance, Estonia. DIVERCITIES. 11.02.2015. <https://www.urbandivercities.eu/telliskivi-creative-city/>

¹⁰⁹ EKKM (Contemporary Art Museum of Estonia). About museum. Official web site. <http://www.ekkm.ee/en/muuseum/> [12.05.2017]

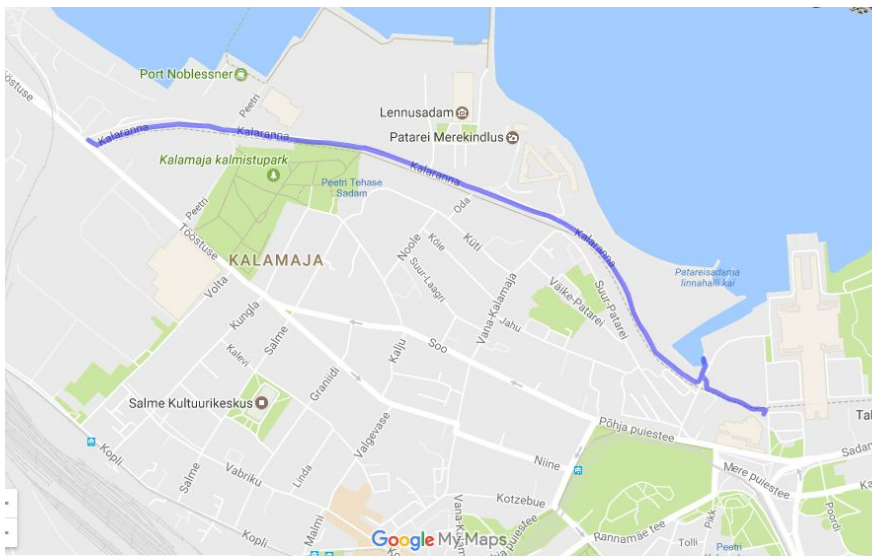
¹¹⁰ Seaplane Harbour. KOKO architects. <http://www.kokoarchitects.eu/en/project/121-seaplane-harbour> [12.05.2017]

¹¹¹ Cohesion Policy and Estonia. European Commission. June, 2014. http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/information/cohesion-policy-achievement-and-future-investment/factsheet/estonia_en.pdf

preservation, transformation of the object that “seemed beyond all hope of repair” into the popular maritime museum. Jury also mentioned that the renovation of the harbour “now plays a part in the regeneration of a hitherto run-down neighborhood of Tallinn”.¹¹²

The Seaplane Harbour museum, as a Telliskivi Creative city provides the space and attractions not only for visitors of the museum and tourist, but for the local residents as well. In front of the museum, was made a free big children's playground stylized according to the naval thematic. Also the territory of Seaplane Harbour museum is a part of a walking coastal route.

These cultural projects: Cultural Hub and The Seaplane Harbour were connected together with a walking route Kultuurikilomeeter. This route was created in 2011, when Tallinn was the Culture Capital of Europe. The Culture Kilometer was a pedestrian trail 2.5 kilometers long and it was based on a former railway embankment.



Kultuurikilomeeter, Tallinn, 2011¹¹³

Officially the Culture Kilometer’s starting point is located right after Linnahall, between Tallinn Creative Hub and the Contemporary Art Museum Estonia. The next point is Estonian Design House and Klaus caffe. After trial goes along the coast and there are two important sights: Patarei Prison and the Seaplane museum. Further is the Kalamaja Cemetery

¹¹² Tallinn Seaplane Harbor awarded EU prize. Postimees. 7.07.2013
<http://news.postimees.ee/1272762/tallinn-seaplane-harbor-awarded-eu-prize> [2.05.2017]

¹¹³ Kultuurikilomeeter, Tallinn, 2011. Google maps [3.05.2017]

Park.¹¹⁴ Soon after the summer season of 2011 the Culture Kilometer had been transformed into pedestrian and cycling friendly road, but opened for car traffic as well. Part of the path along the sea between Patarei Prison and Seaplane museum had been saved, but currently is under reconstruction.

Image and representation of Kalamaja

After Russian Empire fell apart Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia gained long-awaited independence. But after the Second World War they lost it again and were forced to join the USSR. Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics were widely known under the mutual name - *Pribaltika*. This term was often used in historiography and in everyday life, today is ineligible to use because it refers to the time of Russian and Soviet occupation of the region. Pribaltika had a peculiar status within other republics of the Soviet Union. As Saint-Petersburg was called in the XVIII century “window to Europe”, in the XX century window to Europe for Soviet citizens, who had not opportunity to visit capitalist countries, was Pribaltika. It was not only window, it was a shop window as well. Pribaltika had to demonstrate to the whole world successes and achievements of Socialism. People from all Soviet republics could visit Pribaltika and feel almost abroad. Indeed Tallinn looked very different from any other cities in the country, and it was probably one of the less Socialist-looking city in the USSR. For the tourists were written guide books in Russian and Estonian languages. Majority of guide books were published 1960-1970. Those guide books had a very specific content, because they not only recommended places to visit and gave an overview of the history, they had been used to shape the national identity. All events and places in those guide books were carefully chosen and showed age-long friendship and cooperation between Estonians and Russians.¹¹⁵

In guide books of Soviet period Kalamaja have not been mentioned. The last guide book that was published about Tallinn in the USSR was “Tallinn- the capital of Estonian SSR” by T. Tomberg was published in 1987 (the 5th edition). There author on 116 pages writes about the Old Town, the Castle and about some neighbourhoods as well. There had been mentioned

¹¹⁴ Tallinn Culture Kilometer. A Fascinating walk through the times. Ticket To Adventures.

<https://tickettoadventures.wordpress.com/2015/09/30/tallinn-culture-kilometer-a-fascinating-walk-through-times/>

¹¹⁵ Pild Lea, Estonian guide books in Russian and Estonian languages (1940-1970): composition and principles of choosing material <http://www.ruthenia.ru/vademecum/PILD.pdf>

Kadriorg - the most well-known gentrified area of Tallinn, before Kalamaja took this name. Under the promising title of the chapter “Here fishermen live” (Kalamaja means “fish house”) is a description of Fishing kolkhoz S.M Kirova (a collective farm), that used to work not far from Pirita area.¹¹⁶

In the guide book by Armult Reinsalu “Tallinn guide book” that was published in 1964 within the list of successful industries of Tallinn was mentioned “Volta” factory, famous Tallinn piano factory, but without any references to its location and Kalamaja.¹¹⁷

In 1958 there was published a big photo album with views of Tallinn under edition of three Estonian photographers: E. Ederberg, U. Kammal, and A. Risikok. It consists of more than one hundred fifty photos. The main focus obviously is on the Old Town, but other districts are not completely ignored: there are images of Kadriorg area and Pirita. Kalamaja or any of wooden suburbs of Tallinn were not presented.¹¹⁸

The analysis of the books about Tallinn published during the Soviet period showed that Kalamaja or other wooden suburbs were never or almost never presented or mentioned. In 1971 was published “Tallinn. Monuments XIII-XX centuries” by D. Bruns and R. Kangropool. The entire book dedicated to the architecture of the Old Town and the last chapter “Behind the walls of the Old Tallinn” describes monuments in Pirita, Kadriorg and several examples of the Soviet architecture as building of Polytechnic Institute and memorial complex “Russalka”.¹¹⁹

The book “Past of Old Tallinn” was written by Elena Rannu, this book “is kind of a guide book to Tallinn of the XV- XVII centuries. [...] A separate chapter dedicated to the description of the houses and architecture. Reader also will know more about the development of Tallinn streets.”¹²⁰ Kalamaja was not mentioned there, neither in a connection with streets nor with houses.

In the two volumes of “History of Tallinn before 60s of the XIX century” and “History of Tallinn from 60s of the XIX century till 1970” by Raimo Pullat, which were published in 1983 and 1970 respectively, Kalamaja had been mentioned several times but indirectly. There is information about military importance of that area, about industries which were located there

¹¹⁶ Tomberg T., Tallinn- a capital of the Estonian SSR, Tallinn Periodica, 1987

¹¹⁷ Reinsalu A., Tallinn guide book, Estonskoe Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo, Tallinn, 1964 p.14 p.18

¹¹⁸ Ederberg E., Kammal U., Risikok A., Tallinn. Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus, Tallinn, 1958

¹¹⁹ Bruns D., Kangropool R., Tallinn. Monuments XIII-XX centuries. Iskousstvo, Leningrad-Moscow, 1971

¹²⁰ Rannu E., Past of Old Tallinn. Periodika, Tallinn, 1983

as “Volta” and “Dvigatel” factories, but author usually uses the name of the whole peninsula-Kopli, than the name of particular districts there.¹²¹

Estonia during the 1970-1980s had a special place within other republics of the Soviet Union. Estonia supposed to be the less “Soviet” of them. The censorship existed there, but was weaker than in other places. It attracted many journalists and writers of that time, because there their books had a chance to be published. The most famous writer, who moved to Estonia from Saint-Petersburg, was probably Sergei Dovlatov. He lived in Tallinn from 1972 to 1975, worked as a correspondent of "Sovetskaja Estonia" and was trying to publish his book, which was rejected in Saint-Petersburg. During these years he lived with his lover in Kalamaja, on Vabriku street, 41. He loved Tallinn and wrote about it a lot. In 1981 in New York was published Dovlatov’s book “The Compromise” about his work in Tallinn. In his books or letters he does not mention “Kalamaja” as a name of the district directly, but it is probably because the name was not popular or widely used those days. About Tallinn Dovlatov wrote: “Some consider it too tiny, confectionery, cloying. But I know that these cakes – with stuffing. Tallinn – the city is vertical, introverted. You look at the Gothic tower, but you think about yourself. This is the least Soviet Baltic city. Penalty transfer between East and West.”¹²² But in the memoirs of his civil wife Tamara Zibunova, with whom they shared a flat in Kalamaja, the picture is different. In their wooden Tallinn house in 1970 still were not heating system and hot water, they had to go to the public sauna and bring clothes to wash to the friends who lived in the new block houses. In the basement was a wine shop, and their neighbours produced moonshine. “During the summer days under our men were drinking [...] if you give them a glass they won’t return it empty. [...] Despite the age and uncle Sasha’s permanent drunkenness, as I remember, they were always trusted by neighbours and always had been asked to look after their children. They gladly nursed their neighbours’ children for free.”¹²³ In 2003 on the house where he used to live was installed a memorial desk. The territorial marketing expert Oliver Loode says: “Dovlatov, who united Estonians and Russians, offers a nice possibility to make Tallinn which is known for its Middle Age beauty more attractive specifically for the Russian-speaking world. The funny and memorable “Compromise” by Dovlatov is major literary work for Tallinn. No other Russian writer has ever brought the

¹²¹ Pullat Raimo, History of Tallinn from 60s of the XIX century till 1970. Eesti Raamat, Tallinn 1972

¹²² Dovlatov Sergei, Remeslo [Craft]. Azbuka-Classica, 2006

¹²³ Zibunova Tamara, Dovlatov in Tallinn. <http://zibunova.narod.ru/zibmd1.htm>

Estonian capital to the forestage of a literary work which has been read, discussed and re-printed for many years. Dovlatov is likely the best storyteller about Tallinn. It is the reason why the city has no right to forget the writer whose works made it unforgettable.”¹²⁴ When Tallinn held events as an European Cultural Capital-2011, Dovlatov’s days were included in the program.



Memorial plaque to Sergei Dovlatov on the house in Vabriku street, 41¹²⁵

In 1977 famous Russian film director Andrei Tarkovsky came to Tallinn to shoot one of his best films - “Stalker”. According to the plot of the story based on book of Arkady and Boris Strugatsky the action of the film takes place in the mysterious “zona”. Twenty years ago in that place crashed a meteorite and since then unexplainable things began to happen there and the territory was closed. For shooting scenes of abandoned industrial area was chosen Kultuurikatel - the former Tallinn power plant. That power plant was opened on Pohja street in Kalamaja in 1913 and had been completely closed in 1979. Tarkovsky was attracted by its stern industrial beauty and rustic limestone walls.

¹²⁴ Agranovskaya Ella, Estonian Tunes by Sergei Dovlatov. Amber Bridge. International News Magazine. <http://ambbr.artinfo.ru:8008/userfiles/file/amberjournal/issue2/eng/dovlatov.pdf> [25.05.2017]

¹²⁵ Florensky Aleksandr, Drawings to Dovlatov <http://avelev.ru/graphic-art-gallery/florensky-aleksandr-drawings-dovlatov-sergey/>



*Kultuurikatel*¹²⁶

It stayed abandoned for 37 years till 2007 when former power plant was included in the Tallinn cultural heritage list and in 2010 began its reconstruction. In 2015 there was opened Tallinn Creative Hub- the second major creative area in Kalamaja after Telliskivi.¹²⁷ In a memory of “Stalker” there takes place Tarkovsky film festival.¹²⁸

In the guide book published in 2008 “Baltic Cities” by Neil Taylor, Kalamaja still was not recommended within the main touristic attractions of Tallinn.

Attractiveness of the district is gradually increasing since 2008. The major attention to Kalamaja began after 2011 when the district held many events of Tallinn European Cultural Capital year. Since 2011 guide books mention Culture Kilometer, Seaplane harbour and Patarei prison. Now Kalamaja is listed as one of the major tourist attraction: “After you’ve seen the sights of the Old Town and explored Vene Street, why not venture beyond its medieval walls and check out the green spaces of Kadriorg, the bohemian neighbourhood of Kalamaja [...]”¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Yeo Edmund, Kultuurikatel- the place where Andrei Tarkovsky shot Stalker. 29.11.2011
<http://www.edmundyeo.com/2011/12/kultuurikatel-place-where-andrei.html>

¹²⁷ Tallinn Creative Hub. History. Kultuurikatel
<http://kultuurikatel.ee/en/tallinn-creative-hub/kultuurikatla-maja-ajalugu/>

¹²⁸ Semiofest 2016 venue is a reminder of the spirit of Tarkovsky’s “Stalker”. 21.01.2016. Semiofest 2016.
<http://2016.semiofest.com/2016/01/21/semiofest-2016-venue-is-a-reminder-of-the-spirit-of-tarkovskys-stalker/>

¹²⁹ Tallinn in your pocket 2017. Overview. <https://www.inyourpocket.com/tallinn>

Uzupis and Kalamaja. Life in the bohemian neighbourhoods.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, began the intense transition period which had been characterized by important changes in literally all spheres of the States and societies, including the urban development. The end of the Post-Soviet transition period of the Eastern and Central European countries is usually symbolically marked by their joining of the European Union.¹³⁰ All three Baltic States: Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia joined the European Union on 1st of May, 2004. It does not necessary mean that at this year countries did solve all contradictions of the transition period. Some consequences and problems of the Socialist periods still were not completely resolved even nowadays. In the cases of Tallinn and Vilnius these are, first of all, monuments, objects of industrial and cultural heritage, that had not been neither destroyed nor reused. The main reasons for this were the lack of fundings in 1990s and disputable attitude to the Soviet heritage, as well.

The Soviet urban planning system left a footprint on all republics of the Soviet Union, more or less significant depending on the conditions in particular country. The Baltic capitals, especially the old towns were not influenced and changed as much as, for example, republics of Central Asia. In 1955-1958 during the post-war reconstruction in Vilnius was adopted a plan which aimed to protect the historic centre of Vilnius. It was the first plan in the USSR, that put preservation of the historical heritage as a priority. In 1966 the Old Town of Tallinn received the status of conservation area, which became the first conservation area in the Soviet Union, as well. The reason was in a special representative status of the Baltic Republics, which had to demonstrate to the rest of the world successes and achievements of the Socialist regime. The attitude to the historical heritage, though, was very selective and determined by ideology. As we saw, in the guide books from the Soviet times, the areas such as Uzupis and Kalamaja, were not included into the list of recommended touristic attractions, despite the fact that they are the oldest suburbs of Vilnius and Tallinn. Instead of it, beside the Old Town, tourist were offered to visit the memorial places connected to the Russian Revolution and its leaders or to appreciate the eminent Soviet industrial achievements and architecture. The small wooden suburbs consisted mainly of shared and private houses were intended to rebuild up with block

¹³⁰ Stanilov Kirill, Taking stock of post-socialist urban development: A recapitulation. School of Planning, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio, 2007

buildings. That happened with areas around Kalamaja and Uzupis and, without doubts, after some time there would be their turn. Nowadays there are only a few block buildings in Kalamaja and Uzupis that were build during the Soviet times. Probably this intention was one of the reasons why these areas were not included in the preservation and reconstruction plans.

In the interviews which had been taken during this research, with people who used to live in Uzupis and Kalamaja in Soviet times and in 1990s is clear that these areas used to be rather marginal and undesirable places to live despite the closeness to the city centre. Especially it was clear in the beginning of the transition period in early 1990s. After 1990 the Russian families left Uzupis and their houses stayed abandoned, “Vilija” textile factory began to reduce production and finally went out of business, it is still staying abandoned nowadays. In both areas interviewees were mentioning cases of deliberate arsons because of poor conditions of houses and unclear property rights. In the book “Architectural Conservation in Europe and the Americas” by John H. Stubbs, Emily G. Makaš, arsons in Kalamaja are also mentioned as common way of redevelopment in 1990s.¹³¹

Local community

One of the things, that makes Kalamaja and Uzupis attractive for living and put them aside of the majority of districts in Tallinn and Vilnius is active local community. Unlike some European countries with a continuous tradition of local communities, local initiative community is can be found in the smaller towns and villages, but uncommon for the post-Soviet cities. It is still possible to live in Uzupis or Kalamaja without being a part of the local community, but there are some activities that encourage people to get involved. Inclusion of residents to the local community is increasing comfort, feeling of safety and neighbouring ties.

In Uzupis the old community bonds were destroyed in 1990s when many people left Uzupis and the core of the local community consists mostly of people who take the active part in the project of Independent Artistic Republic. They organize events which attract all categories of people including the local old residents and local newcomers. Often the new residents take even more active participation in the events, because their choice of Uzupis, in a

¹³¹ Stubbs John H., Emily G. Makaš, Architectural Conservation in Europe and the Americas. John Wiley & Sons. 2011 p.201

different degree, was already influenced by the image of the district and its artistic community. Interviewees who lived in Uzupis since the Soviet times were usually more contained about the new community life.

The peak of Uzupis events is spring and summer. From 2012 Uzupis with the rest of Europe celebrates Saint Patrick's day. On March 17 every year Vilnia river, that divides Uzupis from the Old Town, becomes green. Saint Patrick's day is not a local festival, this is Vilnius festival that takes place in Uzupis.

Uzupis celebrates New Year's Eve on March 21st. This is the day of Spring equinox and the Day of Traps in Uzupis. The meaning of this day is to collect old diaries, letters, to write notes about everything you would like to leave at the last year and burn it by the river, in order to begin New Year with a blank page. This is a small and symbolic celebration.

The oldest and the main tradition of Uzupis is celebration of Uzupis Independence day on April 1st. The tradition to celebrate Uzupis day on the Fool's day, began in 1997 when Independence had been proclaimed. This day the biggest number of tourists visit Uzupis annually. For visitors are prepared many activities: the passport control on a border of Uzupis, where people can get a passport stamp; the visitors should exchange money and get special Uzupio tokens- each token is worth of a glass of beer and can be spend in the bar; there are many invited bands on the streets and in galleries and the artists also prepare some performances. The main people at this festival are president of Uzupis, prime minister and ambassadors from different countries and other members- those people, who twenty years ago created the image of artistic and bohemian Uzupis, that is still very vivid. The Independence Day is one of the biggest festivals in Vilnius.¹³²

The next day after Easter Uzupis celebrates the White tablecloth day. The meaning of this day is to share all food that was left after Easter dinner with the neighbours and people in need. This day Uzupio kavine - the oldest cafe in Uzupis and the parliament of the Artistic Republic, do not work and people can use the tables outside.

In Kalamaja the main local festival is Kalamaja Days which had been organized for the first time in 2008. Kalamaja days is festival that takes place every year in May 20-21st. These days many streets, including the Cultural Kilometre, became pedestrian only. All local cafes,

¹³² Myhre Aage, 1 April is Užupis' Independence Day! VilNews. March, 2011
<http://vilnews.com/2011-03-1-april-is-uzupis%E2%80%99-independence-day>

galleries, restaurants and municipal organizations do participate. The peculiarity of Kalamaja Days is an active involving of the residents, many of whom organize workshops, street food cafes or different performances in their own gardens and open them for the visitors. The biggest cultural spaces as Telliskivi creative space, Kalamaja library and Sea Harbour museum also offer special programs. In the former industrial properties as Volta factory are located stages for the free concerts. Most of the activities are appropriate for families with children, some are organized in cooperation with Kalamaja school and kindergarten. The number of visitors at Kalamaja days festival is increasing and the program is getting more comprehensive. The company who are interested in the development of the district invest money in Kalamaja days, because such a festival creates a good and positive image to the area and makes the brand “Kalamaja” popular and recognisable.¹³³



Kalamaja days, Tallinn 2014¹³⁴

The largest events’ organiser in Kalamaja is Telliskivi Creative city. Telliskivi brings together representatives of various creative industries as design, fashion, visual arts, food and entertainment. This allows them to run diverse activities all year round. Telliskivi not only participates in Kalamaja days, but from 2013 organizes its own Street Food Festival which

¹³³ Kalamaja Days 2017. Archive of events. Kultuur.ee. <http://www.kultuur.info/event/kalamaja-days-2017/>

¹³⁴Photo-Delfi, photo gallery of Kalamaja days festival. May, 2014

<http://publik.delfi.ee/news/culture/foto-delfi-smotrite-kak-v-tallinne-nachalis-dni-kalamaya?id=68695663>

accompanies with TaDaa! -international street performance festival. These festivals, besides displaying street culture, also promote environmentally friendly and healthy lifestyle.¹³⁵

The local communities in Uzupis and Kalamaja exist also in the social networks and they are very active. We used Facebook groups of Uzupis and Kalamaja for searching interviewees and members of these groups were very responsive and helpful. The search of the similar Facebook groups in other areas in Vilnius and Tallinn showed that they either do not exist or are very small and not active. The Facebook community is an effective tool for enforcement of neighbouring ties, for organizing events and discussing relevant questions and problems. In these groups new residents can greet other members of community, ask an advice or ask for help and usually such posts have a good feedback. Local Facebook pages are also useful in case if person wants to buy or to sell things, lost or found something, searching for a lost pet and in many other occasions. The Facebook community of Kalamaja is more active than of Uzupis, but Uzupis has the second group - "Uzupio TV", where active members from the Artistic Republic post videos about the last local news, events and interviews with interesting people. This group is also popular within other inhabitants of Vilnius and tourists. It shows how the new technology replaced many traditional ways of communication and may be effectively used in order to solve common community's problems. This way of communication is more widespread among young people and new residents of the districts: firstly, because for most of them social networks are an accustomed way of communication and problems' solving, secondly, the old residents, most likely, have already established long term connections with their neighbors. The new residents are also more active participants of the events and festivals, because the image of the districts and cultural activities for some of them were one of the reasons to move there or at least they were considering this image and accepted it. The old residents often have a different lifestyle, they signified nostalgic feelings and have a bent to see a negative side in the district's development.

Negative aspects: prices, transport and infrastructure

Kalamaja and Uzupis have a very positive image as places comfortable to live in, that offer various activities and good balance between closeness to the city centre and privacy. The guide books and medias often idealise them and developers understandably always stress the

¹³⁵ Tallinn Street Food Festival. Telliskivi Creative city. Official website. <http://tallinnstreetfoodfest.ee/en/>

advantages. These are some examples of typical description of the districts for those who are interested in buying property there: "Kalamaja is a fast-growing and highly rated area in Tallinn, close to the schools, kindergartens, shops, public transportation, museums, cultural institutions, jogging trails, fitness centers, and a number of trendy eateries, such as..."¹³⁶, "...very private and tranquil territory surrounded by bohemian aura of Užupis. [...] authentic restored park elements, [...] paths along the Vilnele River is, indeed, the pinnacle of luxurious, tranquil, secure and convenient project in Vilnius."¹³⁷ Both paragraphs emphasize comfort and cultural or bohemian element of the areas. In fact both districts have some important disadvantages and hardly solvable problems, which slow down and limit development and reduce comfort.

The most conspicuous problems are the property state, heritage protection restrictions and infrastructure. Due to the proximity of Užupis and Kalamaja to the Old Towns of Vilnius and Tallinn these areas are also protected by UNESCO - Kalamaja as a part of buffer zone and Užupis as a part of the Old Town. Also there are various State restrictions and heritage acts. After reconsidering the Tallinn Masterplan in 2006 and 2009 Kalamaja became milieu area - the coherent historic area under protection, while its development needs to be supervised by experts.¹³⁸ Užupis area, as integral part of historic centre of Vilnius, is controlled by Vilnius Old Town Preservation Regulations which were approved 2003 as part of wider strategy of revitalization of the Old Town.¹³⁹ Renovation of existed properties or building of the new houses according these standards makes the first cost very high and the prestigious location makes the market value even higher. The same regulations applied to the Old Towns, but the primary conditions there are usually much better and do not demand such a big investments. Vilnius real estate agencies point out that such a high level of prices seriously limits the group of potential buyers and other areas often propose better options.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Description of apartments in Kalamaja, SPB Real Estate Agenc.

https://www.spb-estate.com/en/estony_flats/261128/

¹³⁷ Description of studio apartment in Užupis. Sotheby's Realty.

<http://www.sothebysrealty.com/eng/sales/detail/180-l-2543-vh427j/studio-apartment-overlooking-old-town-uzupis-vilnius-vi#>

¹³⁸ Northern Tallinn: Between 'potential' and the everyday. Research studio of Urban Studies Program Estonian Academy of Arts. 4.03.2014

¹³⁹ Raugaliene Jurate, The Revitalization of Vilnius Old Town, 1995 - 2005. Global Urban Development Magazine. August, 2008 <http://www.globalurban.org/GUDMag08Vol4Iss1/Raugaliene.htm>

¹⁴⁰ Conference on real estate issues, Vilnius. January, 2016

district price for m2 in 2008 price for m2 in 20 16 %

Район	Цена за м ² в июле 2009	Цена за м ² в июле 2016	Процентные изменения
Пыхья-Таллинн	518€	1676€	+224%
Хааберсти	634€	1452€	+129%
Ласнамяэ	607€	1336€	+120%
Кристиине	832€	1775€	+113%
Нымме	797€	1679€	+111%
Кесклинн	1073€	2096€	+95%
Мустамяэ	707€	1354€	+92%
Пирита	1211€	1564€	+29%

Prices for m2 in 2009 and 2016 in Tallinn¹⁴¹

Area	Prices for m2 in 1996	Prices for m2 In 2003	Prices for m2 In 2014	%
Užupis	370 €	634 €	1 450-1800 €	<400%

Prices for m2 in 1996, 2003 and 2014 in Užupis, Vilnius¹⁴²¹⁴³

The property prices increased in all parts of Vilnius and Tallinn what is connected with improvement of the economic situation in general and high demand for real estate. But prices

¹⁴¹ Statistic: Prices for real estate in Tallinn doubled. Rus.Postimees.ee. August, 2016 <http://rus.postimees.ee/3803253/statistika-ceny-na-nedvizhimost-v-tallinne-udvoilis>

¹⁴² Standl Harald and Dovile Krupickaite, Gentrification in Vilnius (Lithuania) – the example of Užupis. EUROPA REGIONAL 12, 2004. p. 46

¹⁴³ Real Estate Market Report 2015, Baltic States Capitals: Vilnius, Riga, Tallinn. Ober-Haus Real Estate Advisor, 2015. http://www.sorainen.com/legal/Real_Estate_Market_Report_2009.pdf

in Uzupis and Kalamaja demonstrated the most dramatic growth- from the lowest within the city to the highest only in several years.

Popularity of the districts and growing number of inhabitants seriously increased the burden on infrastructure. Uzupis and Kalamaja are the oldest suburbs of Vilnius and Tallinn and despite some modernization, the core system of the streets was shaped in the XV-XVI centuries.

One of the most attractive aspects for residents in Kalamaja and Uzupis is opportunity to live in the green and cozy area, in the private or shared low-rise house, but close to the city centre. Such a lifestyle usually demands to have at least one car in the family. Before 2016 there were two bus routes in Kalamaja - number 3 and 52, which connect the city centre and Kopli peninsula and run daily at intervals of 10-20 minutes. In 2016 there was opened a new bus route number 73 that will bring visitors to the Sea Harbour museums. In Uzupis there is only one bus route number 11 which runs every 30 minutes. Except the route number 73 in Kalamaja other routes run through the centre of the district and even weak public transport traffic in the conditions of narrow streets, can lead to a certain discomfort.

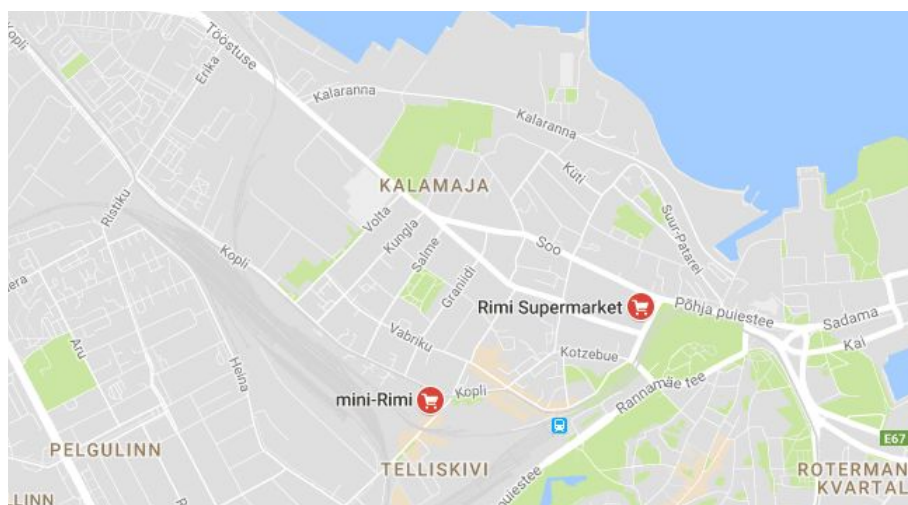


Soo street in Kalamaja, bus route number 3. Google street view



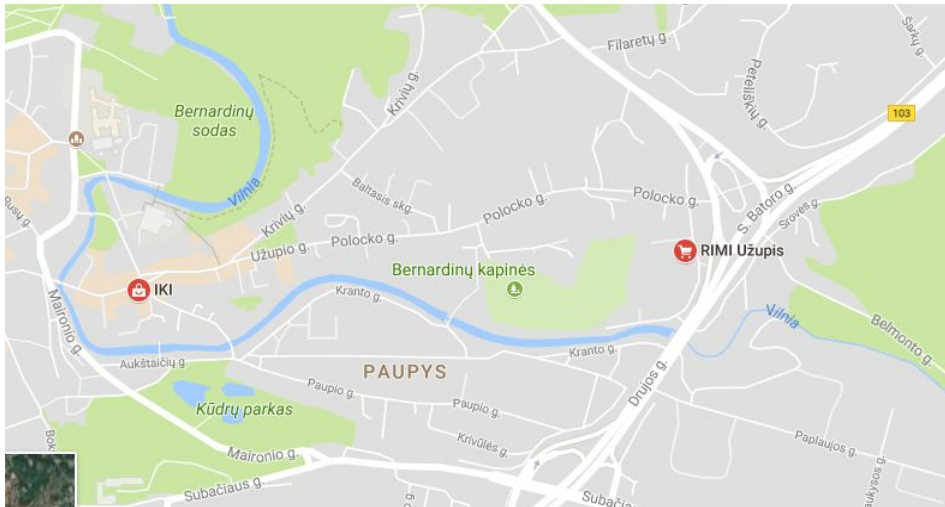
Uzupio street in Uzupis, bus route number 11. Google street view

Every year in Uzupis and especially in Kalamaja numerous new cafes and restaurants open, but the local residents, in a different degree, face a lack of shops and supermarkets. In Kalamaja there are only one medium size supermarket on Põhja Street and mini-shop close to Telliskivi Creative city. There are two other supermarkets in the neighbouring districts Sitsi and Kopli.



Supermarkets in Kalamaja. Google maps, 2017

The same loss of shops is in Uzupis. RIMI Uzupis is medium size supermarket located at the end of the district, beyond the historic part and UNESCO protection zone. IKI is a small shop with a very basic selection of products oriented for tourists.

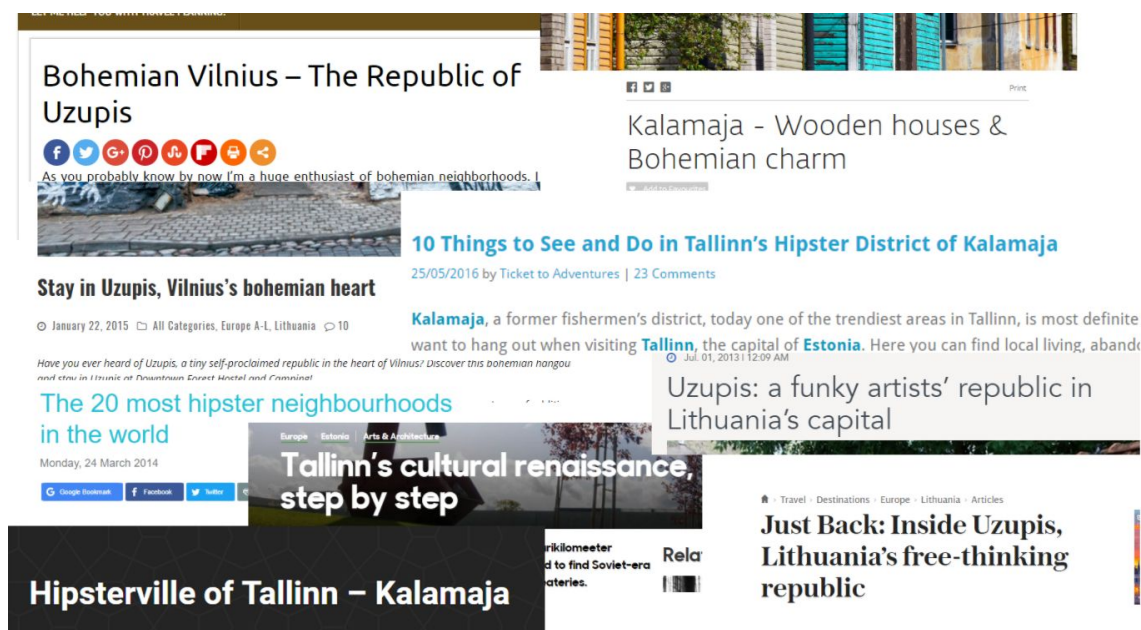


Supermarkets in Uzupis, Google maps 2017

This is clear that two supermarkets are not enough for the districts with the population of ten thousand in Kalamaja and seven thousand in Uzupis. It forces people to go for shopping to other districts, what also increases the need for a car. This brings us to the problem, that had been mentioned in almost every interview - the problem of parking. In the Old Towns of Vilnius in Tallinn the parking is very limited and very expensive. In Kalamaja parking is free and people use Kalamaja to leave their cars and walk to the Old Town. The Kalamaja streets, especially closer to the city centre, are very narrow and easily become overloaded. The local residents complain that often they cannot find a parking place close to their home. In Uzupis situation is similar. The new houses were usually constructed together with the parking place, but the owners of the old apartments have to leave the cars on the streets or in the inner yards, what can be even more problematic if family has got more than one car.

Image and perception of Uzupis and Kalamaja

Uzupis and Kalamaja are two districts, which beside the Old Towns of Vilnius and Tallinn, have got widely recognisable images. They are represented as “artistic”, “bohemian”, “hipster” and “cultural” parts of the cities. But the perception of the district can be different for visitors and for the local residents.



Titles of the articles about Uzupis and Kalamaja, that represent these districts as “bohemian” and “artistics” parts of the cities

The positive image of an area has got a very beneficial impact to its development. Recognizable image of the city or the district gives it advantages as attractiveness for tourists and visitors, the name of the district can be used as brand for locally produced goods and increase sales, it attracts new residents, companies and developers. The positively shaped image of the district is working in two directions: inward and outward. Outward impact is attractiveness for visitors and investors and inward impact influence on identity building, give to the residents feeling of unity, pride and maintain residents and businesses.¹⁴⁴

The images of Kalamaja and Uzupis have got similar association with cultural activities, but with cultural activities of different types. The big part in Uzupis popularity belongs to the Independent Artistic Republic, that was founded by artists and poets, and surrounded by myths and romanticized stories. This gave to Uzupis still existing image of “old fashioned bohemian” district, despite some very modern and innovative projects there. Kalamaja has not got such a romantic history at its background. The transformation of the working area into the cultural district happened through the consistent implementation of the projects and increasing number of the artistic industries there. Due to this the image of

¹⁴⁴ Jansson Johan, Dominic Power. Image of the City. Urban Branding as Constructed Capabilities in Nordic City Regions. Nordic Innovation Centre, 2006

Kalamaja is more modern and can be described as “hipster”. The difference between these areas is also that they are currently passing through different stages of development. The transformation of Uzupis began earlier in 1997 and already passed its peak before 2015, while Kalamaja the active development began in 2006-2008 and in 2017 it still progresses. That explains the difference in the perception of Uzupis and Kalamaja within the local people.

For this research we took interviewees with three different categories of people in Vilnius and Tallinn: people who lived or worked there in Soviet times or before the beginning of transformation; people who moved to Uzupis/Kalamaja or began to work there recently; people who live in other parts of the cities and visitors. Beside the factual information, the goal of the interviews was to compare the perception of the districts within these categories.

The results of interviews showed, that:

-people who lived in Uzupis and Kalamaja before transformation often have nostalgic feeling, rather negative to the new architecture, sometimes disturbed by increased number of visitors and tourists, and do not like the prices boost. Through they mention some positive aspects as improvement of living conditions and elements of infrastructure. These people often do not participate in the local events and activities and also not very interested in establishing links with new neighbours. The exception are the active members of art community connected with the project of Uzupis Republic. They organize events, invite people and are rather positive about the changes.

-people who moved to Uzupis or began to work there recently, took into consideration the image and the lifestyle of the district, but for them it was not the crucial factor. They rather appreciate the comfort location and comfort atmosphere. They participate in some local activities, but mainly spent leisure time in the Old Town. Some of them told that in their point of view the image of Uzupis Artistic Republic is exaggerated and not relevant anymore, but they appreciate the district anyway. In Kalamaja the number of activities is bigger and respondents felt more enthusiastic about them.

- In Uzupis the main category of visitors are tourists, because for people from Vilnius other areas offer more activities nowadays, except the special occasions and festivals. Tourists often expect more from the Artistic Republic, because of the image of Uzupis in articles and guide books. Kalamaja is equally popular among tourist and compare with other areas of

Tallinn. Museums and creative spaces offer various activities for all categories of people, while the Old Town traditionally offers rather touristic attractions.

Transformation from “above” and “below”

The primary difference within Uzupis and Kalamaja is also in the impulse that provoked the process of transformation. Uzupis became the first area in the Baltic States where the successful process of the Post-Soviet transformation began with the initiative local community. The action of the young artists from the Vilnius Academy of Arts attracted attention to Uzupis. In 1990s artists were staying in abandoned buildings with unclear property status. The presence of squatters right in the city of Vilnius forced the authorities to pay attention to this problem and start the dialog with inhabitants in order to solve the problem. The interviewees from Uzupis and property agents agree that sooner or later it would happen anyway, because of a great location of Uzupis and recreational potential, but artistic community accelerated this process and created recognisable image. Without the artistic image Uzupis most likely had an opportunity to become a middle class villa district, what would not attract as many tourists as Independent Artistic Republic. It would change the number and specialisation of local businesses and social composition.

Despite the strong impulse from above actions of local administration play the key role in the process. Firstly, because they were ready to have a dialog with Uzupis initiative group and with some doubts and hesitation allowed their activities there. Secondly, because they agreed to leave the properties after artists in the form of Art Incubator and galleries. Also, after joining the European Union and preparations of the Vilnius being the European Capital of Culture, in 2008-2009 Uzupis Art incubator received necessary funding and opportunity to realize study programs and projects.

The administrative support and impact was crucial for Uzupis. Though Uzupis Republic is often compared with Christiania in Copenhagen, it never had any level of any administrative independence, what makes it absolutely dependent on Vilnius Administration.

The type of development in Kalamaja can be called “from above”. The development began from one particular projects and it had predicted influence on the area around. It changed the district’s image and influenced the social composition. The big part of the local population supported changes, took part in activities and welcomed new businesses. As Uzupis Kalamaja

also received fundings during the preparation of Tallinn as a Cultural Capital of Europe in 2012. The concept of that year in Tallinn was focused on alternative and original productions and Kalamaja was the perfect place for numerous contemporary activities.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Karasz Pablo, Tallinn Reaps benefits from former status as Culture Capital. The New York Times, 8.05.2014<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/09/arts/international/tallinn-reaps-benefits-from-former-status-as-culture-capital.html>

Conclusion

In the beginning of our research dedicated to the Post-Soviet Urban transformation in Baltic States, we set the next goals:

- to consider the influence of cultural activities on the process of district's revitalization
- to distinguish peculiarities of this process in the conditions of the Post-Soviet period
- to examine negative and positive aspects of transformation
- to consider the use of cultural and industrial heritage
- to compare the images of the district in media, literature and guide books during the different periods

The aim was to show the complexity and different sides of the processes that took place in Uzupis and Kalamaja. Despite the time framework from 1991-2015 it would not be possible to understand and to explain many aspects of transformation without paying a significant attention to the history of the districts and to the primary conditions there. Uzupis and Kalamaja are one of the oldest districts of Vilnius and Tallinn and since the XIV-XV centuries they developed as very special parts of the cities. The name *Uzupis* in Lithuanian or *Zarzecze* in Polish, means "the other side of the river". Uzupis due to its location is divided from Vilnius with the river and forest, what was especially important during the early period of its history, it also had a major Jewish population and big number of artisans and workshops. In the Soviet times the main inhabitants were workers and their families. With the gradual decline of industries the area was marginalizing. Uzupis never was prestigious place to live, but in the last Soviet decades it also became criminal. The Soviet authorities did not include Uzupis in the restoration plans and it was not mentioned in the guide books. The small area with a small private houses and wooden architecture did not fit into the vision of a perfect Soviet city. In the farthest from the Old Town part of Uzupis had been built some block houses for workers. The

conditions in private houses were different from house to house, but generally were rather poor. After collapse of the USSR the industries had to reduce production or had been closed. Those who could afford to move did it and left numerous properties abandoned or with unclear property status. Since that time we can talk about the beginning of a brand new period in Uzupis history.

Kalamaja is located behind the city walls of Tallinn and was developing under different condition than the rest of the city. The main activities in Kalamaja until the XVIII-XIX century were connected with fishing or distribution of fish, what is also reflected in its name *Kalamaja*-“fish house”. The most important shift in the district’s development had happened in 1870 when there was build railway line and railway station. It created necessary conditions for the quick industrial development in Tallinn in general and particularly in Kalamaja, where beside factories were built many houses to accommodate quickly increasing number of workers. As in case of Uzupis the decline of industries led to marginalization of the area, during the late Soviet era.

After the restoration of Estonian independence the conditions and problems in Kalamaja were pretty much similar to Uzupis.

In 2015 Uzupis and Kalamaja were already the most expensive areas of Vilnius and Tallinn, with a very strong reputation of artistic, bohemian and cultural places. But the processes which were going on during these twenty five years in the districts were different. Tentatively we can say that the impulse for the similar processes with similar effect came from different directions- from “below” in Uzupis and from “above” in Kalamaja. According to the opinion of property agents and developers Uzupis has already passed the peak of its development and the process is going to slow down. This is connected with unaffordable prices, limited amount of space and strict heritage protection requirements. The development in Kalamaja began much later than in Uzupis, but was much more intensive and fast. Today Kalamaja still has a big potential for further development, including creative and cultural spheres. But as Uzupis, Kalamaja is already too expensive for many artists and business owners.

Our research showed that the cultural activities have a really positive impact in the district’s development. They helped to create positive and attractive image, brought out new businesses, creative industries and active residents. The artistic and bohemian image of Uzupis and Kalamaja is very attractive for tourists. Since this image was shaped, Uzupis and Kalamaja

take the key place in guide books and were listed within the main tourist attractions of Vilnius and Tallinn. The recognizable image of the neighbourhoods strengthened the feeling of identity and helped to shape the active local community, what is rather uncommon for other areas of the capitals. The active core of local communities take an active part in the organization of local events and festival. The neighbourly ties give to the inhabitants feeling of security and comfort. This is another positive aspect that makes Uzupis and Kalamaja attractive for a new residents. Despite the big number of artistic industries the majority of inhabitants has got no connection with creative sphere, that does not prevent them from participating in local events: the activities in Kalamaja are often family and children friendly and as festivals in Uzupis, are visited by many tourists.

The people who used to live in the areas during the Soviet times and 1990s often have mixed feelings about the consequences of transformation. From the one side, they mention poor conditions, lack of basic facilities and criminal situation. From the other side, many of them have a strong feeling of nostalgia, feeling that the original and unique atmosphere of the district had been spoiled by newcomers and modern architecture. Though most of the interviewees admitted some positive changes as improved living conditions and restoration of dilapidated buildings. The respondents who moved to Uzupis and Kalamaja or working there are much more positive about the results of transformation. They considered recognizability of the districts and cultural activities as one of the reasons to move. They usually mention such disadvantages of the neighbourhoods as lack of parking places and supermarkets.

The problem of heritage preservation and restoration is very for important for Uzupis and Kalamaja. Both of the districts were not included in the restorations plans during the Soviet period which led to a gradual deterioration in the conditions of the buildings. It was especially crucial for the old wooden buildings. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, in 1990s the Old Towns of Vilnius and Tallinn were included into the UNESCO World Heritage List. Uzupis and Kalamaja became protected areas, as a part of the Old Town of Vilnius and a buffer zone of the Old Town in Vilnius. The heritage protection requirements made the process of renovation very complicated, what increased prices, but helped to save the atmosphere of the wooden neighbourhood.

During our work on this research, I had visited Vilnius and Tallinn multiple times. The main reasons were work in libraries, archives and interviews with the local people. But for me it also was very important to create my own opinion about Uzupis and Kalamaja and the

processes which are taking place there. Uzupis and Kalamaja are very unique areas and stand out among the other districts of Vilnius and Tallinn. Despite the complicated history or maybe due to it, these areas still keep their special appearance. The cultural activities attracted public attention to Uzupis and Kalamaja and brought out new people, whose energy and fresh ideas helped to save its beautiful atmosphere.

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