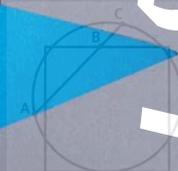




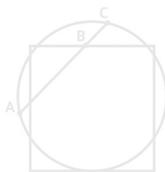
See Now, Kraków!

A Notebook of Reflections
on the 45th Anniversary of
the City's Inscription on
the UNESCO World Heritage List



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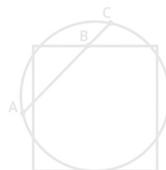
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with illustrations by
Urszula Palusińska

Kraków 2023

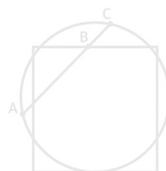


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Kraków is a different place today to what it was in 1978, when the city was inscribed on the original UNESCO World Heritage List, becoming the only European city to feature in that first selection. Its tangible heritage is regaining its former glory, and its intangible heritage has gained recognition and is being treated with appropriate care. When such anniversaries crop up, it is tempting to pat oneself on the back, and savour the successes. However, rather than giving ourselves a medal, we decided to create a kind of notebook of reflections on this world heritage city. Perhaps this will provide fertile material for discussion between experts, officials, and locals. It may also be a way of sharing Kraków's experience with other parties, both on the domestic front and in the wider world.

The notebook emerged from meetings and discussions, and the various voices involved were used to create the narrator of this volume. The voice could pass as that of the city itself, or as the collective voice of those who reside here or visit the city, yet are drawn into the metaphorical glass bead game of its heritage. The narrator is not infallible. Likewise, not all of the questions are furnished with answers. However, perhaps the notebook will be all the more credible for it.

We hope that Kraków emerges from this volume of reflections as a living, breathing entity. For this is indeed the nature of contemporary heritage. We are not dealing with a fossil, but a place that is teeming with life. Us, indeed!

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The World Heritage List

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Once Upon a Time in the East

Are we still able to picture what Kraków was like, just before it was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in September 1978? Some may remember the sculptures of the twelve apostles outside the Church of St Peter and St Paul, thoroughly rinsed by acid rain, while others may recall the tag of ‘neglected and polluted’ that the city was given abroad. This was the starting line for Kraków. It was neglected and polluted.

With the 1990s veering into view, Francis Fukuyama presented Kraków in his much-talked-about book *The End of History and the Last Man* as — alongside Chernobyl — one of the four worst tragedies (*sic!*) of the totalitarian system, and foreign tourist guidebooks warned against extended stays in the city. The scale of the catastrophe is still hard to comprehend today.

The reputation of Kraków’s cultural scene — it is enough to recall the Cricot 2 theatre and Tadeusz Kantor, the Piwnica pod Baranami cabaret, or the Kraków Group which brought together Polish avant-garde painters — was in stark contrast to the state of the city. That’s why no efforts were spared to save this priceless urban ensemble that had been brought to the brink of ruin. The inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List was of key importance for these endeavours.

Kraków miraculously survived the blaze of the Second World War, but over the following decades it suffered from Atlas syndrome: it didn’t need any help, as after all, it had not been destroyed. The shadow cast by the war was also fundamental for the founding of UNESCO, i.e. the global United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which was

established in London in 1945 as an entity that would strive to uphold the ‘intellectual and moral solidarity of humanity’. In the eyes of the intellectuals and politicians who set up the organization, the idea was to dissuade future generations from going down the path of war.

The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World’s Cultural and Natural Heritage which was adopted at the General Conference of UNESCO in Paris in 1972, gave rise to the celebrated List. UNESCO championed the notion of natural and cultural heritage on the international stage, characterising it as an asset of all humanity, responsibility for which transcended national borders. It not only drew attention to something that was essential for the world, above all, it encouraged the raising of funds (after all it was not a world bank, of course) to save heritage sites. This was the result of a long process within the community of the United Nations, which hitherto had been focused on such matters as a healthy environment, people’s rights to adequate food, housing that met certain sanitary requirements, and access to clean water. It was not until the 1970s that people began to think about collective responsibility for both natural heritage and heritage that was the fruit of human genius.

Polish experts can also be counted amongst the ‘midwives’ of the Convention, particularly professors Jan Zachwatowicz and Krzysztof K. Pawłowski, who played an important role in the forum of international heritage. If we look at another significant international document, the Venice Charter — a convention adopted in 1964 that defined the principles governing the conservation and restoration of architectural monuments — we likewise see Polish signatories alongside Italian and French ones. For example, we come across Professor Stanisław Lorentz and Professor Jan Zachwatowicz, who had a ‘conservation baby’ that was especially close to their hearts: Warsaw. Poles were present, active, and respected in the international forum of heritage protection, in spite of the hindrances created by the Cold War and the Iron Curtain. Although the communist authorities in Poland initially voted against the Convention (*sic!*), they ratified it relatively swiftly — albeit not without problems. It should come as no surprise then that this change occurred thanks to the Polish conservation community, which saw the Convention as an enormous opportunity that could open up all sorts of possibilities to make a difference — for themselves and for Polish heritage.

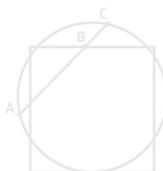
As it was, we continued to fight in postwar Poland. Above all to recover looted works of art. Veit Stoss's altarpiece and Leonardo da Vinci's *Lady with an Ermine* returned to Kraków in 1946. It was an important and highly vivid symbol of the restitution of cultural assets. In the late 1950s, a number of Wawel's treasures and national mementoes that had been sent away for safekeeping arrived in Poland from Canada (this was enabled by the Hague Convention of 1954). The reconstruction and restoration of the country and its monuments continued, which is why our experts were so involved in cooperation with UNESCO, which from the Polish perspective was not only an important forum for specialist debates, but also a body which could bring a degree of pressure to bear on politicians.

Six years after the Convention was introduced, work began on drawing up a list of the World's Natural and Cultural Heritage. It was to contain the sites and monuments that were the most precious for humanity as a whole, and Polish specialists put forward a substantively complete list of sites from their home country that they thought should be included. Five distinctive places — the urban ensemble of Kraków, the salt mine in Wieliczka, the former Nazi German death camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau, reconstructed Warsaw, and the Białowieża Forest — brought lively debate from the off. Ultimately, all of them would end up on the list, but only two were included in the twelve international sites chosen in 1978 — Kraków and Wieliczka. (It is worth noting that apart from these two, the only site in Europe to be inscribed on the List was the Carolingian cathedral in Aachen. So began the UNESCO World Heritage List, which today embraces over 1157 sites in 167 countries around the globe — sites that can boast 'outstanding universal value', as defined by precise and carefully considered criteria, upheld by the intergovernmental World Heritage Committee, along with specialist advisers — ICOMOS (The International Council on Monuments and Sites), IUCN (The International Union for Conservation of Nature), and ICCROM (The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property).

In Kraków, the entry encompassed the Old Town within the ring of the Planty Gardens, thereby including the Main Market Square — home of the Town Hall Tower, the Cloth Hall, and

On the 20th anniversary of the Convention, the then president of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Michel Parent said: ‘On the first List, we proposed picture postcards, but Pawłowski presented problems’. That was essentially my intention. Even the city of Kraków and Białowieża Forest, which might seem like completely obvious candidates, were not so in fact. The proposed listing of Kraków encompassed not only the traditional layout of the historic ensemble within the Planty Gardens, together with Wawel Hill, but also Stradom and Kazimierz. Seeking special recognition for Kazimierz as a world heritage site was a bold proposition, as it was in a very bad state at the time. However, it turned out to be crucial for the fate of the district.

Professor Krzysztof K. Pawłowski, vice-president (1977) and rapporteur (1978) of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee



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St Mary's Basilica — yet also the edifices of Poland's oldest university, and a great many churches, monasteries, mansions, and burgher houses. The listing likewise embraced Wawel Hill, which houses the Royal Castle and cathedral, and it also included the adjoining residential quarters, namely Stradom and Kazimierz. Thanks to the inscription, these three integral settlements were recognised — Kraków, Wawel, and Kazimierz — multicultural, boasting many architectural styles, and above all, authentic.

Wieliczka was proposed at the same time as Kraków, and the salt mine became the first industrial site on the List. The mine had long been regarded as one of the wonders of the world, perhaps not in the same league as the Egyptian pyramids, but still, the underground labyrinth made an enormous impression on people. Even Goethe made a special trip to Wieliczka to see the mine, treating Kraków as no more than a place to spend the night!

Applications for Auschwitz-Birkenau and Warsaw to be inscribed on the List were something of a test for UNESCO, right from the outset. They sent a clear signal that beautiful places are not the be all and end all, and that sites important for international memory should also be taken into account, something that we have come to recognize and appreciate after decades of thinking about the essence of heritage, and today, this quality is also key to the concept of intangible heritage.

Warsaw's case was far from straightforward. From the moment it was nominated by the Polish applicants, ICOMOS and the World Heritage Committee were divided, because the candidate did not indeed fulfil the criteria. As it turned out, the Polish capital was eventually added to the List in 1980, but the dilemmas have endured until today. Firstly, as an ensemble, Warsaw's pre-war Old Town had been like many others, secondly — it was rebuilt after the war, so it lacked its authentic historical substance. So why was it listed, when de facto it was a new creation? The answer is simple: this was indeed a large-scale creation, behind which was the will of the people to raise Warsaw from the ruins. Its universal value lay in the determination, consistency, and exactitude of Polish conservators and, more broadly, the devotion of the Polish people to the cause. There was hope at the time that large-scale, premeditated destruction of heritage had been consigned to the history books following the excesses of the Second World War. What wishful thinking!

The inscription of Auschwitz-Birkenau was however spectacular, as it marked the first step along the path of memory, and

moreover, memory of a difficult, tragic kind. The original intention of the List was to show the magnificence of humanity, yet Auschwitz was the polar opposite — here was its darkest, most traumatic incarnation. Today it is the world's clearest example of the heritage of hate, and planned, systematic extermination.

Last but not least: Białowieża Forest — an example of natural heritage. Formally, the forest became the fifth natural site to be entered on the List, following, among others, the Galapagos Islands and Yellowstone National Park.

The sites proposed by the Poles spoke for themselves, even though they were at odds with the picture-postcard approach to heritage that had originally been pushed by many signatories of the Convention. One thing is certain though — each of these proposals played a fundamental role in the discussion on what heritage is, what we should protect, and how we should go about doing it.

Thus, we can view 1978 as a triumph, not only for that generation of conservators, those great names — Lorentz, Zachwatowicz, Pawłowski — but also for the previous generation, which had rebuilt the destroyed country. If it had not been for the dedication of historians and heritage specialists, who had rebuilt Warsaw, Gdańsk, Szczecin, Wrocław and many other cities that had suffered heavy bombardment, there might not have been such a deep conviction that it was necessary to save what had survived. In the case of Kraków's entry, one might add that although the election of its archbishop as pope a month later was purely coincidental, the choice was of great significance. Kraków became visible the world over. This fortuitous year marked the beginning of Kraków's contemporary, international history.

Kraków as a Place of Universal Value

In the first postwar decades, heritage was a hazy notion — it needed pictures to illustrate it. Everyone understood what a monument was; there were even classes of monuments which ordered their value hierarchically: 'the most important', 'important', 'reasonably important'... Then, all of a sudden, someone started to talk about heritage — about something which connects humankind and concerns the whole world, which can be natural or cultural, and can be a single object or a group, or even an entire city! This was a revolution — like the discovery of

microorganisms that are not visible to the naked eye, yet without which it is impossible to function.

It was also a time when the mask came off, because in 1977, shortly before Kraków was inscribed on the List, the city accepted Krystian Seibert's spatial development plan, which envisaged an American-style city being laid out, with highways, several dozen transport junctions, and two linear cities: one actually already existed in the north, the other would be built to the south. Although the plan was accepted, it was illusory, because Poland was in the throes of an economic crisis. The entry of Kraków on the List completely changed the paradigm of how people thought about its spatial development — and this was the first moment when the idea even entered peoples' heads that the development of Kraków might not be dependent on Nowa Huta, the Socialist Realist settlement founded in 1949, alongside a sharp increase in both industrial production and the number of inhabitants. With the UNESCO listing, the idea began to dawn that the city could develop with the aid of other resources.

A new plan, which was ultimately prepared a decade after Seibert's concept, was on the one hand a consequence of the crisis, and on the other — of the inscription on the List.

Crucially, a shift in thinking had taken place with regards to heritage, leading to a new emphasis: it turned out that monuments that had hitherto been regarded as the assets of individual cultures also had supranational significance. Thereby, Kraków was not nominated as a national asset, but as an entity of universal value, which had reciprocal consequences: both for the city, and for the List. For on the one hand, as opposed to individual buildings, an urban ensemble had been listed, with everything related to it. In other words, the city as it was within the boundaries defined by the listing. On the other hand — when Kraków landed on the List, the initiators of the proposal still did not have a clear idea on what the city would look like in the future, so the arrival of a city on the List, a historic city, yet also a living one, was extremely far-sighted and innovative. It anticipated our current thinking about heritage as something dynamic — something that is subject to protection, and simultaneously something that we live with and in; we are responsible for it, and at the same time we benefit from it; it is also something that changes over time.

In this respect, Kraków was truly remarkable, because it had found a balance between variability on the one hand, and

integrity and durability on the other, a factor which was recognised and appreciated, leading to UNESCO status. It also offered one of the most outstanding examples of European urban planning — as stressed in UNESCO’s description of its ‘outstanding universal value’ — characterised by harmonious development, and showcasing all the major architectural styles from Early Romanesque to Modernism. Apart from the urban layout, the splendour of the city was exemplified by its extraordinary concentration of monuments from different epochs, preserved in their original form, and with authentic furnishings. Wawel Hill, the dominant feature of the city, where royals once resided and were laid to rest, is an enduring symbol of the political connections of Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Kraków’s rank as an important European cultural centre was also underlined by the presence of one of the continent’s oldest continuously functioning universities. Art and craftsmanship flourished in Kraków, and Eastern and Western culture intermingled. In turn, the historic city of Kazimierz, including the suburb of Stradom, was shaped by the Roman Catholic and Jewish religions, as well as their cultures and customs. These four zones: Wawel Hill, the Old Town, Kazimierz, and Stradom, form a cohesive complex, in which important tangible and intangible heritage have endured, and which continues to be cultivated today. It is a complex of exceptional quality, both in terms of the overall urban landscape, and individual monuments. In the opinion of the World Heritage Committee, Kraków perfectly illustrated the process of continuous development from the Medieval era until current times. Furthermore, it had not lost its authenticity.

What Does the Title do For Us?

UNESCO is a forum of states, and it advances cooperation between them in the fields of education, science and culture. It does not impose anything as such, but instead encourages parties to find consensus and to collaborate for the protection of what is important for humanity and what is reflected in the World Heritage Convention.

What is the secret to the Convention’s success? It has a system that functions relatively smoothly: we have a governing body, namely the World Heritage Committee (currently consisting of representatives of twenty-one countries that signed

the Convention); the List, which is a selection of what countries choose to protect; and the World Heritage Fund.

What does the title World Heritage City do for us? It does as much as we want it to do, or in other words: as much as we can take from it. It's up to us how we take advantage of a situation in which the international community recognizes that what is precious to *us*, is equally precious to the whole of humanity. It's not so much a question of money as it is of motivation. Because world heritage also has a psychological dimension — it inspires specific ways of operating, evaluating, and the human motives behind them. Take the example of the inscription from 2019, which concerns Krzemionki as a historic region of mining and processing striped flint. This was the sixteenth Polish entry, yet the first archaeological one, thanks to which archaeology was recognised. Thus, it was not only the monument or site that was appreciated, but the accompanying knowledge, and the care given to it.

In Poland, one of the first consequences of the creation of the Convention and the List was the establishment of the Civic Committee for the Restoration of Kraków's Monuments (SKOZK), which was launched in December 1978 (just three months after the listing was finalised!). This was a first in Europe, as previously, people had not thought in categories of civic responsibility for heritage. Initially, SKOZK saved deteriorating buildings, by raising and distributing funds, and in 1985, parliament decided to establish the National Fund for the Restoration of Kraków's Monuments (NFRZK), thanks to which money was allotted from the state budget for conservation work in the city. The long tenure of Professor Tadeusz Chrzanowski as president of SKOZK (1991–2005) made an especially strong impact. It was during this period that the committee's *modus operandi* was finally developed, and a system created of social responsibility with regards to the process of investing public money in saving and maintaining landmarks. SKOZK has adhered to one key principle: money provided by the National Fund must go hand in hand with the provision of its own funds for the restoration of a given landmark.

The listing of Kraków was peculiar, as it evaded strict standards; it was a listing of a city that was constantly changing. The entry seemed to be a harbinger of new categories, as of yet unnamed, unexpressed, which crystallized over time. Interestingly though, as soon as a new tag was created — be it spiritual values, memory, intangible heritage, or the concept of the

creative city, it turned out that Kraków, as a World Heritage Site, already embodied or contained them...

Today, we talk more and more often about collective responsibility, about heritage treated consistently, without categorising or typologising. We discuss whether heritage is just brick and stone, or rather processes, life, contents, and meanings. Heritage is everywhere, only that not everyone is conscious of it, and not everyone is able to elucidate upon it... We talk about the role of the inhabitants. We consider what they can give, but also what they gain; how heritage functions and impacts, how people are involved in it, how they co-create and complement it. At the same time, it is thanks to the city's inhabitants that Kraków has not become a frozen, albeit unique relic.

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2023, or Forty-Five Years Later...

In 1978, Kraków's strength was recognised in its authenticity and the exceptional continuity of its character over successive epochs. Indeed, continuity which does not run counter to development is the essence of the city's character. Today, alongside 'outstanding universal value', Kraków can also add that it has gained forty-five years' experience in being a heritage city, and likewise in informing about what this heritage means for the world. Meanwhile, there has been a crucial change to the context of how the city functions. Examples? At the end of the 1970s, there was talk of limiting the number of cars in the centre — at that time there were roughly two million cars in Poland, while today there are about 25 million. In Kraków alone there are now over 500,000, and a further 250,000 come to the city daily. It is also hard to ignore the fact that almost fifty per cent of the city's residential buildings were erected after Kraków was inscribed on the List — today there could be problems in perceiving the authenticity of the city on this score. As it was, in 1978, 20,000 people lived the centre, the historic heart that was the essence of the UNESCO listing. And who are the inhabitants today? One may consider integrity at this juncture: to what extent is the centre of Kraków and the entire area encompassed by the listing *a part* of the city, and to what extent is it an area dominated by tourists, an area that is rarely visited by Cracovians. What exactly do the terms 'authenticity' and 'integrity' mean to us in 2023?

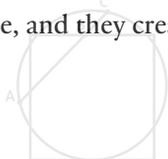
In 1978, Kraków — including the key industrial zone of Nowa Huta — was a city of 40,000 steelworkers. Today, it is a city of almost 100,000 corporate employees. Where do they actually spend their time: in the centre of Kraków or in shopping malls on the fringes of the city? What should be done then to make the city something important for them, so that they want to spend time there — so that they feel a part of this heritage site? This is one of the greatest civilisational challenges that Kraków is facing today.

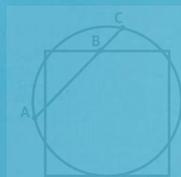
Luckily, the glass is half full: projects to endow the Main Market Square with more greenery have won editions of the citizens' budget programme, the fate of Kossakówka — the family villa and studio of three generations of painters from the Kossak family — sparked heated debate, and we're talking about a site whose chief merit is its 'story', as opposed to its architecture. It is said that Kraków is a city where a picture can be hung on the wall of a flat and remain on the same nail, undisturbed, for a hundred and fifty years. It's a city of many little stories. One only has to listen, and ensure that they are passed on. These simple tasks are equally important as the efforts of conservators to restore Veit Stoss's altarpiece in St Mary's Basilica to its former glory.

Those who care about Kraków also have a task to do: to inspire in the users of the city centre a sense of collective responsibility for its fragile resources.

There are whispers that UNESCO is a nuisance, an impediment to development and modernisation, that it's a burden. But are we not confusing development with growth? For years, we have been hearing that in order to develop, the old needs to be demolished; that this is essential if we want to move forwards. Yet is this really so? What are we actually striving for? If we give an honest answer, then we shouldn't have any problem with protecting heritage that we live in and around.

Specialists also have work cut out for them if they want all Cracovians to be custodians of heritage, and feel a duty to protect it. The role of experts is in explaining that development understood in terms of the category of growth is not necessarily what everyone should be focused on. Thus, in municipal politics, it is important to not treat inhabitants like supplicants, but rather as those who create the city. Because Kraków did not pop up by itself. It was created by people, and they created it for themselves.





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Heritage Protection in Kraków

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A Few Dates and Definitions

The foundations of the Polish system of heritage protection were laid just before independence was regained, following over a hundred years of foreign rule. The Regency Council's decree of 31 October 1918 was the first piece of legislation regulating and shaping a comprehensive system on the matter in reborn Poland. Cultural monuments and artworks entered in inventories by regional conservators were placed under protection. Ten years later, this overall inventory was replaced by a register of monuments.

The register of monuments (*rejestr zabytków*) is a list of objects on Polish soil that are subject to special protection. When the register was created, no clear definition was made of what qualified as a monument, and for almost a hundred years of the list's existence, the definition has evolved. One only needs to look at a basic criterium for historic value, namely age. At one point, Polish legislation unambiguously specified that a monument must be at least fifty years old, but in 1962 a law was passed that defined a cultural asset (*dobro kultury*), aka heritage asset, as opposed to a monument. This encompassed every movable or immovable object, old or contemporary, that was of significance for heritage and cultural development, on account of its historical, scientific, or artistic value. Thenceforth, cultural assets started to be listed in the register, and now that the wind was blowing in this direction, it was decided to include contemporary ones too. Thereby, even the rebuilt Orthodox Church of the Holy Mount of Grabarka was included, despite the fact that it was still unfinished at the moment it was entered on the list (*sic!*).

The youngest monument to be listed in Poland is the Votum Aleksa Chapel, located on the banks of the River Vistula. It was built in 2001 and entered on the register in 2022. For some young people, it might seem shocking that there are listed monuments that are younger than they themselves, and that is why defining a monument is important, as it enables one to verify the criteria of the heritage value of objects that feature in the register.

However, it is not a straightforward matter. In the 17th century, amidst the growing cult of Saint John Kanty, the professors of the Kraków Academy debated whether or not to demolish the old church on Świętej Anny Street, where he was buried. They ultimately decided to level the church at their own cost, and to erect a larger one in its place that would be able to accommodate the many pilgrims that visited the saint's grave. As it was, a Baroque house of worship was raised of outstanding architectural quality, and no one lamented that a 'modern' building had buried a 'monument'. Indeed, no one talked of monuments as such in those days, only of 'relics of the past'. Samuel Bogumił Linde finally provided a definition of monument (*zabytek*) in his Polish dictionary, published in 1807–1814, describing it as something 'that remains of former things'. Just how bygone it should be, the author did not specify, but one gets the sense from the description that he had all old things in mind, and that oldness was the most important quality of a monument.

Long, Long Ago...

...means when exactly? Sometimes, we think that the word monument embraces all that is old which has endured until the present day. The term monument has also changed in the legal sense. As noted already, the first piece of Polish legislation that protected monuments, passed in 1962, replaced the aforementioned term with 'cultural asset', and the definition of this completely abandoned the category of age in favour of various other qualities connected with a given object. Two years later, one could read in the Venice Charter that a monument could be not just a single work of architecture, but an entire urban or rural setting, sites which bear witness to civilisation, evolution of major importance, or historic events. Thereby, the concept applies 'not only to great works of art, but also to more modest works which have acquired cultural significance with the passing

of time'. The value and temporal context of the object were not described very precisely in the Charter though.

The Act Concerning the Protection of Monuments and Care for Monuments, which has been in force in Poland since 2003, defines monument as 'a property or movable entity, their parts or sets, being the work of a person or connected with their activity, and constituting a testimony to a past epoch or event, if the saving of such monument lies in the interests of society, on account of historical, artistic, or scientific significance'. Thus, here we have two clearly formulated criteria: 'work by human-kind testifying to past eras', so time, and 'historical values that inspire social interest'. Why do we need these boring definitions from legal documents? So as to know what makes a monument, and what doesn't.

The legislation from 2003 saw the return to the requirement of 'oldness' in relation to monuments. However, this differs for different monuments. After all, an old building means one thing, and an old car another, with the latter possibly being a technological monument. So, just as a stick has two ends, so the 'oldness' of monuments has two variants. On the one hand, we consider how *new* monuments can be, and on the other hand... how *old*. If, for argument's sake, we unearthed an Australopithecine archaeological site in Poland today, we would not be able to get it listed in the register of monuments, because a human is classified as *Homo sapiens*, not *Australopithecus*. And a monument must be connected with human activity. Why is it that today, one can no longer do what one could in the interwar years — when one could even get a dinosaur on the register! Thus, let us assume that a monument is something old, that bears witness to a past epoch. The act actually stresses that a monument is a relic of a 'past' epoch, which does not automatically mean 'old', although in practice, the cut-off point of fifty years still functions — and is doing fine.

'For Important Reasons'

Apart from the requirement that a monument bears witness to 'a past epoch', it is also expected to have artistic, historical, or scientific value. From the legislative perspective, protection of a monument lies in society's interest on account of its value. On this point, the legal and popular understanding of the concept

of the monument diverge. Take the example of Kraków's most heated heritage dispute in recent years, the railway viaduct that crosses Grzegórzecka Street (it once went over a branch of the River Vistula that was filled in in 1878–1880). This was one of the oldest Polish constructions of its kind. It was a testimony to human activity. It came from a past epoch. It undoubtedly had historical and scientific value. However, in 2021, it was removed from the register of monuments, despite having been on it since 1989. Thereby, it became permissible to dismantle and rebuild it from scratch. PKP Polish State Railways submitted an application to the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage with precisely this goal in mind, justifying the removal of the monument from the register as being 'in the interest of the state', while nevertheless not negating the value of the object. The application invoked a clause that enabled any decision to be nullified, so long as the listing was in conflict with state interests, including economic ones, although there was no doubt that the viaduct was a monument, because it had all the essential attributes to be classified as such.

Meanwhile, there are also monuments that do not feature on the register, even though they bear all the requisite characteristics. The reverse is also true, as there are objects that are on the register, even though they are not monuments. Let's return to the case of the Votum Aleks Chapel. It lies on a private plot in the village of Tarnów (not to be confused with the city), and it was built in just two weeks. The conservator justified the inscription on the basis of the structure being the first example of a change to the architectural form of churches since the Second World War. This concerns the way it was set in the landscape and the cultural space, specifically the way it harked back to the tradition of building with wood. However, the Votum Aleksa is not a monument by any means. It may be a testament to the times, but certainly not to times past, as it embodies the newest trends in architecture.

Back in Kraków, we also have examples of dubious listings. One might have reservations about the nunnery of the Daughters of Charity on Warszawska Street, listed on the register of monuments in 1931, or the Coat of Arms Gate halfway up Wawel Hill, designed by Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, inscribed as part of the castle complex in 1933. The latter had only been standing for twelve years when it was recognized as a monument.

Let us stress once again, it is not the state procedure of placing the entry on the register that transforms an object into a monument. Attributes determine the matter: value, social

significance, and being a testimony to a past or bygone epoch. Every object that bears these qualities is a monument, regardless of whether or not it has been entered on the register.

Conservational Cleansing

A new epoch can give an old building a new spirit, but restoring it, or worse, rebuilding it creates a completely new object. These radical judgements were made by the aesthete and art critic John Ruskin. It was this dilemma that the World Heritage Committee debated with regards to the rebuilding of Warsaw. In contrast to Warsaw, Kraków emerged from the war unscathed, although it actually lost many precious works in the postwar years, under communist rule.

Historicism was regarded negatively at that time, as it was seen as a symptom of cultural crisis. The façades of 19th-century public and residential buildings were got rid of in the name of modernity. This tendency had in fact emerged in the interwar years, when the monumental Neo-Renaissance edifice of the Main Post Office was reconstructed, as was the Janikowski mansion on Basztowa Street. After the war, the doctrine of ‘conservatorial cleansing’ of 19th-century accretions triumphed, and Kraków’s Historicist architecture received the additional tags of ‘bourgeois cosmopolitanism’ and symbol of ‘Austrian occupation’ (Kraków had been part of the Habsburg crownland of Galicia for part of the 19th century, and remained as such until 1918). Using such arguments, Karol Estreicher conducted a controversial reconstruction of Collegium Maius from 1949 to 1964. He removed all the 19th-century layers from the oldest part of the building, and dismantled almost an entire wing. He argued that this was necessary so as to restore the edifice to its original condition. If this wasn’t enough, the Neo-Gothic guardhouse that adjoined the former Town Hall Tower — then associated with the Austrian partition, was demolished, although today it could be seen as an iconic site of the regaining of independence, due to the bloodless takeover of the city guardhouse on 31 October 1918 by Polish soldiers who had hitherto served under the Austrians.

Józef Edward Dutkiewicz, who served as municipal conservator of monuments as of 1946, shared these views. For example, he wanted to remove all of Tomasz Pryliński’s 19th-century alterations to the Cloth Hall, a building that in his eyes had

become a ‘monstrum palatium’, the fruit of a sick, bourgeois imagination. This case only accentuates the issue of oldness versus newness in monuments. Thankfully, Pryliński’s Cloth Hall remained unchanged, thanks to Józef Lepiarczyk, Dutkiewicz’s successor in the post of municipal conservator. This success can be regarded as the symbolic beginning of the protection of Kraków’s 19th-century heritage.

During the 1970s, the value of technological heritage gradually started to be appreciated. As a result, Teodor Talowski’s flyover that crosses Lubicz Street was added to the Register of Monuments, along with other works by the architect, the flyover being a work of engineering *par excellence*. However, this did not mean that all such structures were immediately given protected status. The Słowacki Theatre’s small power station was overlooked, even though both buildings were founded together, and were therefore inextricable. The 19th-century theatre joined the register in 1961, whereas the power station was only entered three decades later — when examples of industrial heritage had already been universally recognized as worthy of being classified as monuments.

The reflections of art historians on the creations of Teodor Talowski, an architect and visionary, and at the same time a resoundingly Cracovian figure, paved the way in the early 1970s for a re-evaluation of 19th-century heritage, as well as the protection of it. Today, we are at a similar juncture with regards to postwar architecture. Take Hotel Cracovia, for example, built from 1960 to 1965, according to a design by Witold Cęckiewicz. It is an icon of Kraków Modernism, and was one of the most luxurious hotels in the region at that time. Ultimately, after the hotel closed down, it was added to the register, due to protests that sought to protect the building, some of which took the form of artistic performances. At the time, it was the people of Kraków themselves who showed that it was in society’s interests to protect the former hotel. They guided officials on how to interpret the regulations, so that Cracovia could be recognized as a monument. Cracovians should take pride in such a stance.

Players in the Heritage Game

When Kraków was entered on the UNESCO List, Poland’s Register of Monuments was far from full. It did not yet feature the city’s Church of St Peter and St Paul, or the Camaldolese

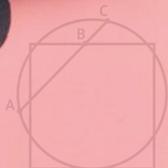


monastery in nearby Bielany, whereas the Słowacki Theatre and the main building of the University of Economics were included — the first two entries for Kraków. This might strike us as a peculiar state of affairs from today's perspective, but one has to remember that there was no local government during the communist era, and care for monuments was solely a state affair.

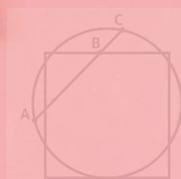
In 1989, the political transformation began which brought about the end of the communist era in Poland. Thanks to the reborn municipal government, which was reinstated in the free elections of 1990, Kraków regained agency, and Cracovians were provided with a mechanism for influencing the fate of the city. On the one hand, thanks to SKOZK and the special system for funding the renovation of Kraków's landmarks, restoration work advanced, yet on the other — the renovated structures stood in ever greater contrast to those that continued to deteriorate. Why was there so much dilapidation? Because the ownership of many buildings remained unclear, a factor which particularly hindered restoration in Kazimierz.

What kind of player is the local government in Kraków, and to what extent is it co-responsible for the UNESCO zone? The protection of monuments is a matter for both the state and local government. As far as the central government is concerned, two statutory organs deal with the protection of monuments: the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, which is represented in this field by the general conservator of monuments, and the voivodeship, represented by the voivodeship conservator of monuments. The former, among other duties, maintains a nationwide list of historic objects that have been stolen or illegally taken abroad. The second is responsible for most conservation-related tasks: it implements and monitors actions that involve renovation, conservation, and excavation in a given voivodeship, often as an intermediary between the owner of a monument and the official representing the public administration. The voivodeship conservator of monuments manages the Voivodeship Office for the Protection of Monuments, and is in charge of the voivodeship register of monuments.

Apart from the voivodeship offices for the protection of monuments, there are delegations of each voivodeship conservator of monuments, and the head implements the various tasks, on behalf of the voivodeship conservator, such



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as inspecting a site and issuing administrative decisions. The voivodeship conservator of monuments can transfer some of his duties to local government conservators, while simultaneously realizing other tasks via several units that are subordinate to him or her: the Voivodeship Office for the Protection of Monuments and the various local departments. In the case of Małopolska, which has Kraków as its capital, these are the delegations in Tarnów, Nowy Targ, and Nowy Sącz. In turn, the local government conservators, who are appointed by mayors, carry out their local governments' own tasks in the sphere of heritage protection, and they may assume some of the responsibilities of the voivodeship monument conservator, when transferred to them by an appropriate agreement. Thus, we have local government conservators in Kraków, Zakopane, and Olkusz, yet also a Conservator of Monuments for Wawel Hill, and a Conservator of the Salt Mine Museums, who operate under agreements that transfer some of the responsibilities of the voivodeship conservator of monuments to them.

So what can the local government in Kraków do? For example, it can create 'cultural parks', aimed at protecting the cityscape, and it can financially support conservation work on sites on the nationwide register of monuments or the municipal register of monuments. Thanks to the activities of the municipal conservator of monuments beyond the historic ensemble of the city of Kraków, which is listed as a monument of history (*pomnik historii*), it can protect the city's heritage in several ways, such as reviewing planning documents, issuing permits for work on monuments, monitoring the condition of sites under legal protection, or maintaining the municipal register of monuments. At the same time, the local government is obliged to take care of monuments on its inventory.

The year 2003 saw the clarification of a number of terminological issues. Along with the adopted Act on the Protection of Monuments and Care for Monuments, the term 'cultural asset' ceased to be used, and the local government received tools to protect monuments. This should certainly be regarded as a success. During the same year, the new Act on Planning and Spatial Development was passed, and several of the previous plans for spatial development were scrapped. This is the reason for the unequal struggle between order and chaos that has played out in Polish cities over the last two decades.

Alongside these two pieces of legislation, two other events proved to be highly significant for the centre of Kraków: Poland joining the European Union in 2004, and the abolition of rent control in private properties, the latter taking place a year later. The fact that owners could now freely dictate rates for rental spaces was terrible news for thousands of Kraków tenants, whereas it enabled the owners of houses to make fortunes. As a result of these four factors, Kraków started to change dramatically.

The Buffer Zone

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In 2010, a buffer zone was created in Kraków, surrounding the area included in the entry on the UNESCO List. It provides an additional ‘layer’ of protection for the world heritage site. Today, the creation of such buffer zones is obligatory, a situation that was surely influenced by the case of Cologne, where skyscrapers were erected on the banks of the Rhine, spoiling the view of the cathedral. Thus, in order for the site to remain on the List, a buffer zone had to be created, and any future planning decisions would thereby take into account the outstanding universal value and integrity of the world heritage site.

The decision to establish a protective zone in Kraków, thereby averting some of the problems that befell Cologne, was taken during the 34th session of the World Heritage Committee in Brazil. Kraków’s municipal conservator of monuments, in cooperation with the voivodeship conservator of monuments, set the boundaries within the 19th-century network of forts that had been built around the city during Habsburg times. It is a zone between the first and third ring-roads, and it encompasses Zabłocie, Grzegórzki, Dębniki, and Ludwinów. The buffer zone enables the area listed by UNESCO to be protected more effectively, with control being taken over new developments that are erected around the Old Town.

This was a big step, as the creation of a buffer zone translates into spatial planning, and in part into the establishment of ‘cultural parks’. In Kraków, the local government is responsible for the buffer zone, while conservators’ permits within it, including those for construction, are issued by the municipal conservator of monuments.

'Tourists, Go Home!'

Kraków has undergone a transformation in the 21st century, making heritage a product that attracts tourists, as well as a motor for the development of the city.

The first few years of the millennium marked a turning point that might even be more important than 1989 — everything started to gather pace, particularly tourism. Between the years 2000 and 2005, the number of tourists doubled: from 4 million to 8 million. Poland joined the European Union, and numerous budget airlines launched connections with Kraków. This coincided with the crystallisation of the conviction that as far as tourism was concerned, heritage is the most important resource for the development of the city, as reflected in research on tourist patterns: about 50 percent of visitors chose Kraków for its landmarks and the atmosphere of the city. There was an explosion in tourism, and it continued to grow, fed by new ideas. One of the greatest successes and investments that increased Kraków's appeal was the creation of an underground tourist route beneath the Main Market Square — the largest subterranean archaeological site in Poland. It contained remnants of late medieval buildings, as well as the remains of an older settlement, including a cemetery, from the period before Kraków received its municipal charter in 1257, following the destruction of the city by the Mongols. The Rynek Underground, as it is officially called, is a branch of the Museum of Kraków, and visitors explore the area on glass ramps and footbridges that span preserved medieval routes. Thanks to state-of-the-art multimedia installations, one can experience the atmosphere of Kraków as it was 700 years ago.

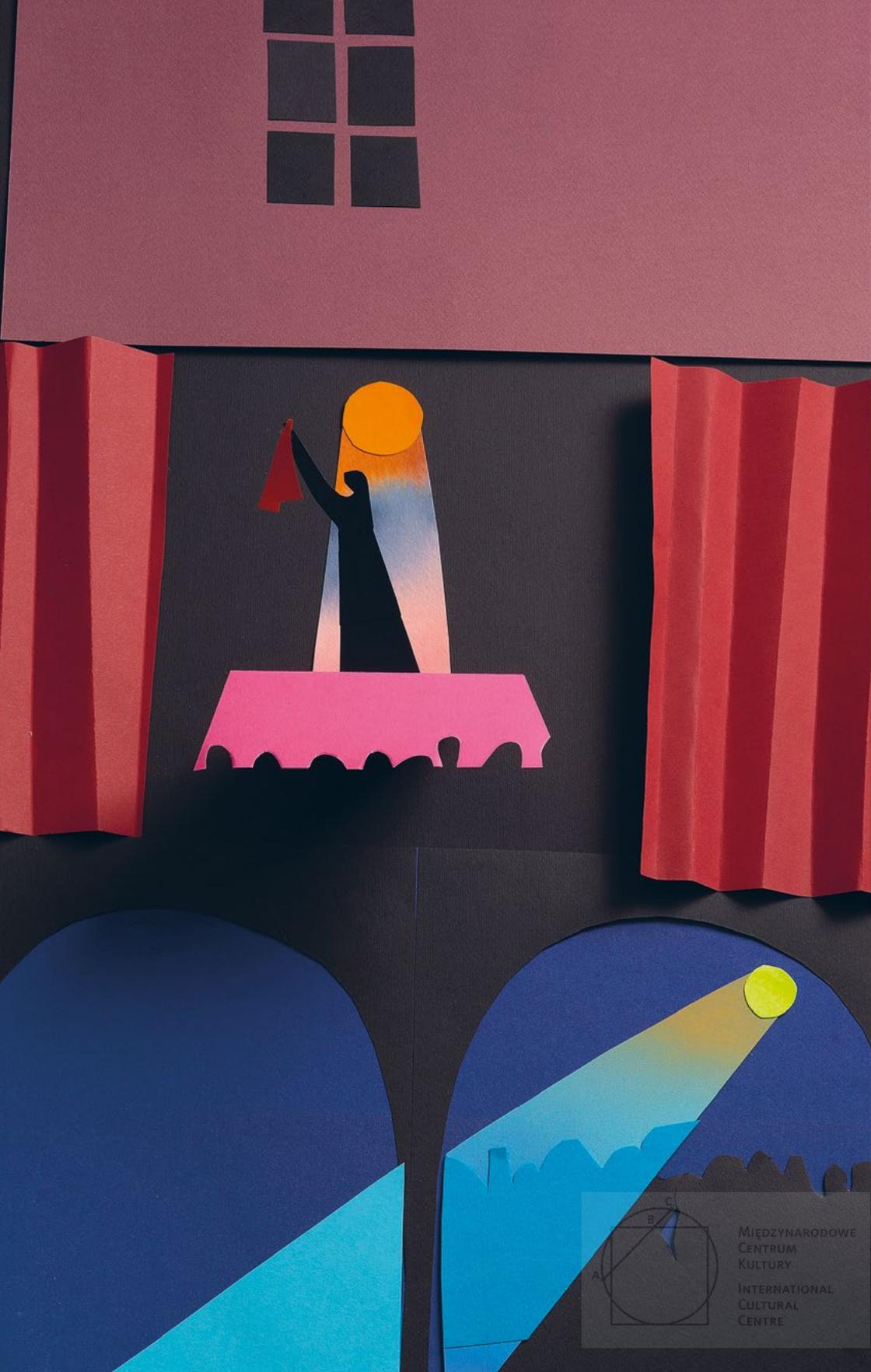
Tourism brought significant benefits: revenue to the city budget, stimulation for the development of services, and the creation of jobs. It led to aesthetic improvements in the city and changes in the arrangement of public spaces that were likewise welcomed by residents. It just happened. And it happened so quickly that there was no time to reflect on how tourism would actually affect the city. As it was, on the one hand, the strength of the UNESCO brand contributed to the enhanced visibility of the city, but on the other — it showed how fragile this resource is.

The flipside, namely touristification, shows that excessive tourism in a city creates a crisis, even in those sectors that seemingly are not connected with it, such as housing. This in turn results in a decline in the public services sector, as there starts to

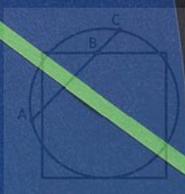
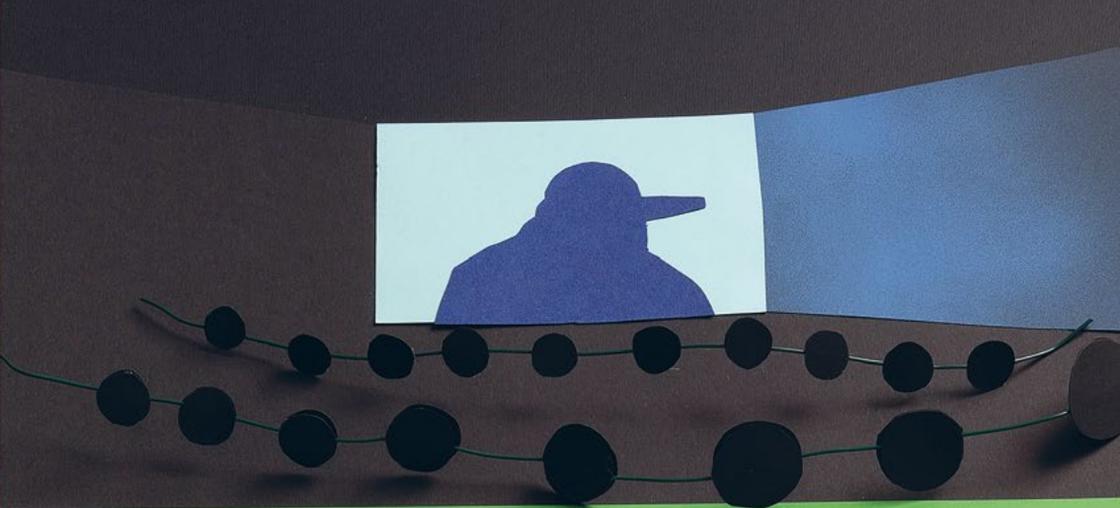
be a lack of workers, because due to the high prices of flats, these employees are unable to stay afloat on their wages, amid the general high cost of living in a very touristy city. Thus, the situation arises of multifamily residential houses where local residents are in the minority — or they are simply lacking altogether.

We eventually realised that Kraków was on the same path as cities like Barcelona, Venice, Dubrovnik, or Amsterdam, which at a certain juncture only perceived the negative effects of tourists. This dawned around 2018, when the annual number of tourists reached 13 million. The previous year, the city hosted the 41st session of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, followed by the Congress of the Organization of World Heritage Cities (OWHC), and the main subjects of discussion included tourism overload and flexible management of tourist traffic. It was then that the debate got underway about how to reconcile the needs of local inhabitants with those of tourists, and it was discussed if indeed the stage had already been reached when these were in conflict. Most Cracovians had started to feel growing irritation with tourists. We were just one step away from what had happened in Barcelona, where locals had hung banners with the words ‘Tourists, go home!’ Then the pandemic hit like a bucket of cold water. The influx of tourists ground to a halt, and Cracovians rediscovered their city (aided by initiatives such as Be a Tourist in Your Own City). It was then that a sustainable tourism policy was developed, which prioritised conflict management and sustainable management of heritage resources.

Going back a few years, it was also in the 2000s that the Kraków authorities realised the potential of heritage as a source of development and promotion of the city. In 2008, the Local Programme for the Revitalisation of the Old Town was established, which led to street surfaces being changed, new lights, benches, and bins being installed, and the appearance of new green or recreational spaces, among other things. Old tenements were transformed into flats, offices, cafés, or art galleries. The programme also supported the organization of cultural and tourist events in the Old Town; festivals, concerts, and exhibitions became the next heritage product designed to draw locals and tourists, with events such as the ULICA Street Theatre Festival, Kraków Summer Jazz Festival, Boska Komedia, the Film Music Festival, or Opera Rara. In 2010, the dormant world of folklore returned to Kraków in a new form — the Ethnographic Museum organised the festival



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Etnodizajn Festiwal, in which young designers entered into dialogue with the past, while one of Kraków's oldest festivals of world music, Crossroads, changed its name to EthnoKraków/Crossroads. The year 2011 saw the launch of the MOCAK Museum of Contemporary Art, while the new seat of Cricoteka opened its doors in Podgórze in 2014.

There were also investments in national institutions: Wawel Hill saw more and more changes, the Cloth Hall and the Gallery of 19th-Century Polish Art were renovated, along with the previously mentioned underground zone of the Main Market Square (2006), new museum branches were opened, such as the Erazm Ciołek Palace (2007), conceptual work began on the overhaul of the Czartoryski Museum, and the first ideas were born for the former Nazi German concentration camp KL Plasow.

Giving Heritage a Cultural Purpose

If we recognise Kraków as a tourist product, then it should be noted that at that time, it encompassed a great deal more than the UNESCO zone, as it is called. This is because for the product to be lucrative, it was crucial for tourists to go beyond the Planty Gardens and Kazimierz. It was also essential that the city's cultural scene was of an international calibre. The city's oldest festival could already lay claim to such a status: Music in Old Kraków, but above all there was the Jewish Culture Festival, organized since 1988, and famed around the world. In the present century, several more events emerged, mounted on an unprecedented scale: Misteria Paschalia, from 2004, or ArtBoom Festival, from 2009.

One cannot forget the moment when Kraków's culture found itself back in the thrust of the European scene for the first time after years of isolation — during the European Month of Culture, organized in 1992. When Warsaw was experiencing shocks connected with the post-communist transformation — there were three different prime ministers that June, and the country fell into a serious political crisis — Kraków was dancing to a completely different tune, with magnificent art, exceptional cultural events. and an incredible atmosphere which infected the inhabitants. This opening up to the world again was accompanied by a feeling that culture was not just for aesthetes who don't have their feet on the ground. The remarkable month

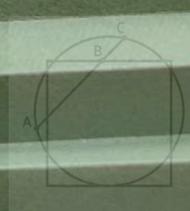
demonstrated that the emerging leisure industries, as well as a culture and festival scene developed along modern lines, could be the future of the city, and provide a way to transform it in a favourable manner, thanks to which the ‘neglected’ and ‘polluted’ city could change into one that was vibrant and carefully maintained. The decision of the European Commission to make Kraków, along with eight other cities, a European Capital of Culture, also contributed to this. Kraków 2000, the festival of festivals, helped the city to build its international brand, changing its image, and above all it made Kraków more visible.

Many festivals which have since become permanent fixtures in Kraków’s cultural landscape have their roots in Kraków 2000, to mention just the Ludwig van Beethoven Easter Festival, EthnoKraków/Crossroads, or the later Sacrum Profanum Festival. Others arose to meet the demand for new high-quality events, such as the Festival of Film Music, Unsound, and Boska Komedii. These are new generation festivals, with distinctive brands that are of ever greater significance internationally.

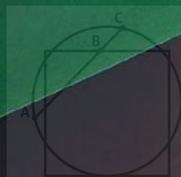
What Protective Measures do We Have in Kraków?

Contrary to public opinion, protection is not the same as care. The first is exercised by public administration organs, and it entails guaranteeing suitable conditions for the preservation, maintenance, and management of monuments, thus for example on the existence of good laws. Meanwhile, care is down to the owner of the monument, and it has an individual dimension. The Act on the Protection of Monuments and Care for Monuments from 2003 gave local governments powerful tools: the capacity to enter artefacts on the register of monuments, to recognize something as a monument, to open a ‘cultural park’, to inscribe an object on the List of Heritage Treasures, and to establish forms of protection within the local plan for spatial development. Kraków is the only place in the country where all the possible legal forms for the protection of monuments are applied!

Besides inscription on the Register of Monuments, the second statutory institutional tool to protect heritage is the cultural park. There are not many instruments in the Polish legal system that impinge on the laws of private ownership to the degree that such a park does. It is a zone in which not only specific



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monuments are protected, but also the entire surroundings. It includes both natural elements: landscape, plant life, and ecosystems, as well as cultural ones: monuments, buildings, historic sites, cultural traditions, and social practices. If a given cultural landscape is deemed especially precious, and thereby placed under such protection, a whole range of regulations is applied over a precisely defined area. This is done via a resolution by the municipal council, following consultation with the voivodeship conservator of monuments, whereby regulations are introduced concerning street trade, the placement of advertisements, outdoor seating spaces for bars, cafes, and restaurants, the arrangement of greenery, traffic flow, tourist transport and parking issues.

There are three cultural parks in Kraków: the Old Town (since 2010), Nowa Huta (since 2019), Kazimierz together with Stradom (since 2022), and we are keeping our fingers crossed that a further one will be established soon: Podgórze along with Krzemionki (planned for 2025). Currently, as is particularly evident in the centre of Kraków, the cultural park is the strongest and most effective tool for regulating what is happening in the historic area. For example, we decided that street vendors on the Main Market Square can only sell *obwarzanki* (a traditional type of bread that resembles a bagel), roasted chestnuts, and souvenirs. The park also regulates the form of adverts and shop signs, and determines the surrounding colours. Why was it considered necessary to implement such a stringent mechanism? Simply because previous solutions had not been sufficiently effective, such as the Directive of the Mayor of the City of Kraków on Regulations for the Use and Protection of the Public Space of the Historic Ensemble of the City of Kraków, which came into force in 2004. And there certainly was something to combat. During the first decade of the millennium, advertisements on houses on the Main Market Square were so ubiquitous that they sometimes covered entire elevations.

Some will say: we are firing a cannon at a fly, in other words, we are using legal means to sort out situations that should be resolved in a completely different manner. Hence, one might wonder what challenges such parks face. What is the next step, how do we use this tool, given that new ones have been introduced, such as the landscape act of 2020, which set the rules and conditions for street furniture, billboards and other advertising devices, as well as fencing. This act has the same material scope, but is a tool of a different kind.

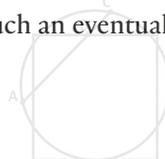
Each cultural park in Kraków is different, and the tools at the disposal of the local government are subject to constant pressure, chiefly from entrepreneurs who, for example, question the nocturnal rules for outdoor spaces in Kazimierz.

There is also no consensus on what specific districts should be like. Are they supposed to be tourist zones, or are they still, above all, residential areas? Kazimierz is still trying to fight for its status as a residential area. Interestingly enough, when Kraków was inscribed on the UNESCO List, a fifth of the city's population lived there, and now — barely 1.5 percent.

Another form of protection is the recognition of an immovable object with exceptional cultural significance for the country as a historic monument (*pomnik historii*). This entails a kind of ennoblement, as such a status is confirmed by the president of Poland in a special decree, on the request of the minister of culture and national heritage, although this act does not translate into a tool for protection. It is rather a symbolic title, the holders of which include: the historic ensemble of the city within the former core of the Kraków Fortress, the ensemble of the Tadeusz Kościuszko Mound, along with the chapel of Blessed Bronisława, Fort No. 2 'Kościuszko' and Jerzego Waszyn-gtona Avenue, and recently the architectural and urban ensemble of the Nowa Huta district.

However, the status of historic monument offers greater possibilities than it did in 1994, when the title was created. For example, it gives the object priority when it comes to seeking funds from SKOZK or key sources at the disposal of Polish ministries, or indeed from European funds.

Meanwhile, an inscription on the Representative List of Intangible Heritage of Humanity does not amount to a tool in itself, either. The preservation of intangible heritage is not a legal matter as such, but above all a practical action. The entry itself, as in the case of the World Heritage List, rather embodies our obligation towards the international community, having signed an international agreement. It is also an obligation with regards to the custodians of heritage. No one from UNESCO intervenes if, one year, the Lajkonik hobby horse does not prance its way to the Main Market Square, or if the city's traditional nativity scenes (*szopki*) are not displayed on the Main Market Square. But would Kraków still be Kraków in such an eventuality?





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Intangible Heritage

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Water or Jug – Heritage vs Monument

It's high time that we take a closer look at the difference between a monument and heritage. Professor Laurajane Smith voiced the seemingly shocking view that all heritage is essentially intangible, and that mainly *values* are important, while the substance – to use Professor Krzysztof Pomian's term – is a 'semiophor', i.e. a carrier of meanings. Yet if we talk about heritage, we should not be so completely focused on the carrier, but also on the meaning. The carrier is interesting in so far as it can be the jug that carries water, and it should not be the main or indeed only focus of interest. Among other factors, this is what distinguishes the paradigm of thinking about heritage, also intangible heritage, from the paradigm of thinking about a monument, where the jug is more important than what it contains. Although we understand that it can be filled with various substances, above all we have a jug! In turn, with regards to heritage, the contents of the jug are the main focus, rather than issues such as whether parts of the object have been glued together, or whether all elements are original.

In European culture though, the monument has traditionally been essential. It was treated as an entity that had come from another world. The material form of a monument, the surviving work of art, played the role of a medium – like a planchette in a séance, without which the spirit cannot exist, or we are not capable of communicating with it. This is how one might imagine the beginnings of thinking about monuments and the cult of the past, which occurred via the monument. Indeed, the monument served as a kind of trigger – without it, contact with the past was impossible.

Heritage, unlike a monument, enables us to talk about ourselves, about sociocultural development, and the importance

of history and the present in this process. It enables us to talk about the past and clarify why the past is important to the present, and why it should be preserved for the future. A monument does not entirely bear this content, and it does not entirely reveal continuity. As we have noted, a monument is a historical object that has survived — sometimes miraculously. In this sense, we return to what Smith said: the only heritage is intangible heritage. This deconstructs two myths in thinking about monuments, and generally about heritage in Europe. Firstly, it shows that even when we are talking about a monument, it seems that we are talking about a material object, which has to be preserved, de facto we are talking about the meanings we give to this material, about the contents it carries with it. Thus, we are talking about values that are inherently intangible. In this context, the classification of any relic of the past as a monument — an entity that is important for the present and worth preserving for future generations — always brings with it intangibility. Secondly, in European culture we are very attached to the practice of preserving tangible evidence of the past, in other words material. A whole system of knowledge, and the acquisition of certifiable expertise and skills, was created for this purpose: archaeology, the art of restoring architecture, the conservation of works of art. We are all taught how to respect this artistry. We have learnt how to appreciate and marvel at it. An example? Gothic cathedrals. Monumental, showcasing brilliant craftsmanship, deeply rooted in history. Gazing at them, we feel the spirit of past times that their (restored!) walls breathe. But the story of the Gothic cathedral, or of St Mary's Basilica in Kraków, only makes sense to the extent that we have been prepared to take it all in — to the extent that we enter the church with a trained eye to see the meanings in the altarpiece, to read them in the frescoes, the polychrome, and the architecture. During the first years of UNESCO's operations, it was an institution that upheld such a European way of thinking about monuments — material witnesses of the past.

We mention this in the context of Kraków as a very European city, which contains many classic tropes of thinking about heritage. However, becoming attuned to the intangible aspect of heritage is largely a lesson learned from non-European ways of thinking about the past, its value for the present, and its significance for the future. Europe has traditionally focused on the historical, material, and monumental traces of the past, but in this we have actually put confines on the spectrum of

heritage's incarnations, European too. Both the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage, which was passed by UNESCO in 2003, and The Representative List of the Intangible Heritage of Humanity, which was created on the basis of it two years later, were supposed to redress the balance. Obviously, this European tradition of thinking about heritage cannot be entirely rejected, which is why voices started to stress that materiality and immateriality are connected to each other, and that they are inextricable. Regardless of whether we are talking about a stone that has endured for centuries or a piece of wood that is part of a building, but which has to be replaced every few dozen years, the value of the structures built from them is in the meaning that people have ascribed to them, in the story that they carry with them, and not in the material which has survived for a longer or shorter period of time. In this respect, the recognition of intangible heritage turned out to be truly revolutionary, and UNESCO, which had been accused of championing an ossified narrative about the past, proved that it was a mature and pluralistic organisation, open to change.

Meanwhile, in 2017, a small step towards important change was taken at the International Cultural Centre on Kraków's Main Market Square. This was during a seminar accompanying the 41st Session of the World Heritage Committee, and we cited Kraków's tradition of making nativity scenes (*szopki*), a craft that was still a candidate for being entered on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, and which indeed ultimately received this honour in November 2018. The custom of going from house to house with nativity scenes stretches back to the 19th century, although it started to peter out after the First World War. The first Kraków Nativity Scene Competition was held in 1937, and it was initiated by Jerzy Dobrzycki, director of the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków (today the Museum of Kraków). The idea was to preserve and strengthen this tradition for future generations. Since then, the museum has devoted itself to cultivating the tradition of making nativity scenes, and it organises an annual competition (currently within the framework of the Intangible Heritage Interpretation Centre of the Museum of Kraków). It is obvious to every Cracovian that there is an inextricable link between the city's Old Town and the tradition of making nativity scenes. One is reflected in the other, and one does not exist without the other. That is why placing the tradition of making nativity

scenes on a separate list, however ennobling it might have been, could not be allowed to obscure a holistic view of this phenomenon. For indeed, here we have a material artefact that is deeply intertwined with intangible craftsmanship and the story that the maker of the nativity scene weaves in his or her work, touching on themes about Kraków, Poland, and the wider world. The essence of our proposal was to look at both UNESCO lists together.

The Unique and the Everyday

One cannot fail to notice that the UNESCO World Heritage List is not a list that covers the world in a balanced way. Of the around 1,200 entries, almost half are directly or indirectly (colonialism) connected with Europe. Criticism of the Eurocentric nature of the List started to be audible as far back as the 1980s, and this heightened the need to create the List of Intangible Heritage, which was supposed to redress the balance as far as recognising heritage was concerned, and give other continents a chance. It didn't entirely work out that way though. Europe is still in pole position in terms of the number of entries on both lists. However, the paramount factor is that the Representative List of Intangible Heritage of Humanity is concerned with showing the importance of continuity, as set by tradition: customs and rituals, as well as practices, cultivated for generations and often crossing borders. This is the case, for example, with falconry, which is different in Saudi Arabia to how it is in Poland. However, in spite of that, hunting with birds is living heritage of humanity as a whole, cultivated in over twenty countries, and these states submitted a joint application, calling for the practice's recognition by UNESCO. The art of training birds of prey and hunting with them has indeed been passed down from generation to generation.

The everyday is also an important feature of intangible heritage. It can be the tradition of baking lavash, a type of bread popular in Iran and the Caucasus, or the tradition of brewing and serving tea, as in Turkey and the Arab world, or the construction of nativity scenes in a garage, an attic, or on the kitchen table, as is the case in many Kraków homes.

Professor Pomian reflects that there is no heritage without consciousness of heritage. Sometimes, we do not realise the value and significance of the place we live in. Then, all of a sudden,

an expert pops up and writes a passage in a book, and that passage, accompanied by an appropriate photograph, elevates the place. Thanks to some gesture — for example the description of an object or a tradition in a publication — our consciousness is taken to another level. That said, it's a similar situation to speaking in everyday language: even though we are aware that we are doing so, it does not change anything in our speech, we do not start speaking in exalted verse. The making of nativity scenes was and is the making of nativity scenes, regardless of the inscription on the Representative List in 2018.

Let's imagine that we enter mushroom picking on the List of Intangible Heritage. Does it change anything? No. If you pick mushrooms with your grandfather, grandmother or parents, you'll carry on doing so. The magic of intangible heritage is indeed in the fact that you can be part of a process or tradition without even being aware of it, all the while developing it, cultivating it, or adding something new to it.

If we state that something is heritage, it means that we recognise value in it that is worth continuing, passing on, preserving. After all, that's what this is all about: that something gets noticed. The desire to say: I see you, Kraków! We see you, Cracovians! We see what you are doing! Your efforts have meaning, they are of value! Giving intangible heritage value is connected with appreciation of the local. It is also an important factor used in tourism, trade, and services.

However, a sad conclusion seems unavoidable: the interest in intangible heritage is to an extent — and we are talking globally here — a consequence of helplessness. We are living in an era in which urbanisation, industrialisation, technological progress, and globalisation mean that traditions are disappearing. They are simply dying out. In a way, the general concept of intangible heritage emerged at a moment when we were becoming alarmed by globalisation, homogeneity, and touristification. The rise in interest in intangible heritage only became discernible in Poland over the last decade. At the beginning of the 2000s, there was a discussion in Kraków as to whether the city should continue to promote itself with the Lajkonik hobby horse and the making of nativity scenes. The question was raised with a scoff: perhaps it was high time to show Kraków as a more worldly place? Today, however, we have a different sensibility, although barely ten years have passed since those doubts emerged.

Unwanted, Forgotten, Difficult

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The entry of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Nazi German death camp on the World Heritage List in 1979 was, so to say, revolutionary and prophetic, as it immediately invoked the intangible sphere. After all, the architecture was not what the listing was about, but rather the desire to give a warning: never again! This was a kind of heritage that was not to be repeated. Today, we think in similar terms about KL Plaszow, hence the appeal to former inmates about their recollections, mementoes, and accounts. Heritage, even dissonant and unwanted, must be spoken about by someone. The idea of trying to engage people in sharing their own stories and heirlooms first emerged in Poland during the creation of the Warsaw Rising Museum, which opened in 2004. It turned out to be groundbreaking. In the light of grand words such as monument and heritage, items such as photographs, umbrellas, spoons, and guns, might seem like inessential trifles, yet the idea of the museum was almost entirely rooted in the appeal to bring in such mementoes, things which might seem banal, and it prompted a huge response from society.

The intangible aspect of heritage is conducive to integration, participation, inclusivity, which the monument itself is not able to cause. In the case of the traditional monument, we have experts who assess with their professional eye how the monument should be protected. In the case of intangible heritage, we have society, which values, appreciates or depreciates it. The attitude of people is particularly crucial in the case of dissonant heritage. It helps in facing up to and accepting the past — it requires involvement, explanation, and understanding, and therefore it can help to build a better future. We do not want to forget what happened at Auschwitz, and what led to it, in the same way that we want to remember what happened at Płaszów and to tell future generations about it. Meanwhile, the heritage of totalitarianism and hatred not only encompasses 20th-century buildings, but also the Kraków Fortress, which is increasingly accepted and better protected today, precisely on account of it being a witness to history, and not just a symbol of Austrian violence. This provides a fine illustration of the process of Cracovians' search for a mature understanding of heritage, even in its difficult and painful incarnations.

The UNESCO Brand

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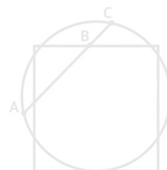
Kraków has been recognised by UNESCO four times. It features on the World Heritage List, the List of Representative Intangible Cultural Heritage, Copernicus' autograph *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* was inscribed in the Memory of the World Register, and Kraków was also designated as a UNESCO City of Literature. In addition, there are several other diverse entries near Kraków that cover all aspects of heritage — from the architectural and landscaped complex, to transcendent values, and even to unwanted, dissonant heritage, the heritage of hatred. Considering these various spheres, it is only apt to mention Wieliczka, Auschwitz, the wooden churches of Małopolska, and Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, or the Carpathian beech forest inscribed as a natural property entry on the World Heritage List. Kraków has so many dimensions of heritage, that it defies regulation. Perhaps this is an expression of the talent and inventiveness of the Kraków community, long sensitive to the value of heritage — these people are also Kraków's success story.

The people of Kraków are actively involved in UNESCO programmes. There is a certain risk of distraction in this, as well as the notion that everything should be branded as world heritage. One of the first questions after Nowa Huta was awarded historic monument status was: will we apply for Nowa Huta to be inscribed on the UNESCO List? We wonder: when for example will the medieval bugle call from St Mary's Basilica be inscribed on the List of Representative Intangible Cultural Heritage?

This is why visitors entering the city limits are greeted by signs bearing the city's coat of arms and the tagline: 'Kraków. A UNESCO World Heritage City'. They signal a change in thinking: you are entering a world heritage site. The energy of the city centre emanates out to Kraków's various districts and there is no need to mark everything. A more important need should be to capitalise on what we already have. And we have a lot. Let's focus on nurturing the traditions or phenomena of intangible heritage that are yet to emerge. In the near future, new intangible heritage will emerge, for example, thanks to minorities who settle in Kraków and continue to cultivate their customs. Are we leaving space for other kinds of heritage? And which kinds?

I am convinced that it is impossible to protect monuments effectively without civil society, without the people, without the awareness of local communities and their direct involvement. Especially since we are not only talking about places like Versailles, but also about rural areas, about cities and towns. That is, first of all. Secondly, the Convention is an agreement with countries, hence the responsibility for protection also lies with the government. Thus, there are two streams that should meet. And the question is where that meeting point is. I am proud to say that the meeting place was in Kraków at the 41st Session of the World Heritage Committee.

Professor Jacek Purchla, Chairman of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, 2016–2017



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A Creative Approach to the Past

In 2017, Kraków became the centre of a global debate on the state of conservation and the future of world heritage with the 41st Session of the World Heritage Committee, chaired by Professor Jacek Purchla, the director of the International Cultural Centre and the Chairman of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee. The discussions during the session oriented conservation thinking towards the future, i.e. the creative city, which can be interpreted as a departure from looking back at the past to looking towards the future.

Heritage is proof of our ancestors' inventiveness and a testament to their creativity — they built, they added on, they altered, they demolished. The title of creative city means, above all, achieving sustainable development goals through culture and the creative fields that define the city. In fact, it has little to do with heritage as such — while it certainly has to do with interpreting heritage or multiplying it. It is true that there is no heritage without creativity. Simply put, heritage is a creative approach to the past.

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Heritage Belongs to Everyone

The 41st Session of the World Heritage Committee in Kraków was groundbreaking in many respects. For example, in finding common ground between the international nature of the Convention and civil society. It is important to understand that UNESCO is an airtight system and it is almost impossible to enter this sphere in a way that allows one to influence change. And yet, in Kraków, this has been possible, thanks to Professor Purchla. At the Kraków session, for the first time, all the registered NGOs from all over the world were given a voice. It was also here in Kraków that the World Heritage Committee met for the first time with representatives of the largest NGOs involved in both ecology and conservation. We gave the impetus for the balance between the governmental and civil parts to be maintained at future sessions — after all, heritage belongs to all of us.

Another Polish initiative at the session was the World Heritage Site Managers' Forum, where administrators of Listed Sites exchanged information on their management and protection. This meeting was revolutionary because until now, even

though young people had been invited to participate in the Young Professionals' Forum, even though there had been discussion of management plans and the involvement of managers or some unspecified group in the protection of World Heritage Sites, no one was in touch with them on a systemic level. It was possible for someone to have been in charge of a World Heritage Site for thirty years and to have never attended a Committee session; they were supposed to feel that they were part of the system, yet they did not truly belong to it. The meeting of people who often find themselves without support, tilting at windmills in their own countries, took place for the first time in Kraków. That is one thing. The other: the Site Managers' Forum became part of the structure of the session as such, allowing people who are in charge of World Heritage Sites to participate. Thus, UNESCO allowed Kraków to unseal its own system by organising the Site Managers' Forum, probably without even realising how much this forum was needed: the stewards of World Heritage Sites have since felt that they are part of the system and are not alone, and for the Committee members the sessions are the best opportunity to meet the people who are actually on the ground.

Let's remark on another event that took place as part of the 'unsealing of the system' during the Kraków session: one year after it — the decision was taken in Kraków — the International Indigenous Peoples' Forum on World Heritage was established. This is groundbreaking, precisely because those groups that do not have state representation, and are often the original owners of sites today recognised as world heritage, had been excluded from the decision-making process and, as a consequence of the sites' inscription on the List, pushed out of the sites of their heritage. The creation of the forum is a great success of the Kraków session, as it allows for a 'de-expertisation', a 'de-governmentisation' of the heritage dialogue.

For the city, this was an extraordinary time. Intra-city teams began to form. Kraków and Katowice organised the UNESCO Creative Cities Conference in 2018, showing that it is possible for neighbours and competitors to unite for one purpose as, in fact, the two cities have for many years formed complementary economic, cultural, and academic bodies. In 2019, the Congress of the Organisation of World Heritage Cities (OWHC) was held in Kraków under the theme of Heritage and Tourism. City mayors discussed actual issues in governance and learned from each

other. The OWHC Congress also aimed to connect with residents — hence the slogans raising awareness of what heritage is. Buses and trams were branded with such slogans as ‘you carry heritage, *you*, resident of Kraków’. The change of viewpoint that we are the bearers of heritage, its custodians, and its depositaries, only came about after our Kraków session.



TAXI



Heritage in Everyday Life

Protect, Live, Use

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Kraków exploits its heritage for its development, although in many cases it shoots itself in the foot. The profits generated by this resource do not always return to the city. Put another way, if tourism or other industries that benefit from heritage do not contribute, directly or indirectly, to its preservation, expansion, interpretation, and care, they may exhaust the very resource that they depend on, since it is not renewable. The heritage paradigm opens up possibilities that need to be appreciated, but it should not just be exploited, treated as a tourism resource — economic or political exploitation are the worst examples of what can be done with heritage.

There is a threefold interaction between monuments, heritage, the city, and us. Firstly: we protect both the monuments and the heritage as such. Second: we live in the city and with the heritage; sometimes we live and work in the monuments, they are thus not abandoned, we maintain their substance. Thirdly, we use heritage — we endow it with functions, we create new values for heritage sites. This third activity relates only to heritage, not only to the monument itself: you cannot take any object from a museum display case and use it. So we protect and live with heritage, because Kraków is not the ruins of an ancient city, but a living and growing city. We can also do something new with it, without contradicting any of its valued features.

Not every monument is heritage and not everything that is heritage is a monument. As a monument, Wawel is a complex of buildings constructed from the 10th to the 20th century, artistically superb, but considered in heritage terms, it becomes the 'holy mount of the Poles', which is in addition exceptionally attractive to the tourism, cultural, and heritage industries. On

top of all that, it is a place of political manifestations. So one site can be one thing when viewed as a monument and something else from a heritage perspective. If we approached the Main Market Square solely as a monument, we would not be able to hold a single event there, no Easter markets, concerts, or parades. In general, it would be best if nobody went there and trampled on the monument. If, on the other hand, we approached the market only as a heritage site, the festivities could go on there all year round.

A Never-ending Story

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Kraków as a city of memory? This year marks the centenary of the workers' protests in Kraków in November 1923, bloodily suppressed by the government of Wincenty Witos. Fifteen striking workers and three civilians not involved in the riots were killed. There were two plaques in the city commemorating this event, but both have been removed, while at the same time one of the most commemorated figures in Kraków is Colonel Ryszard Kukliński, who defected from communist Poland to the us: he has two monuments and an avenue. What he had to do with the city and what the city owes him might be debatable.

There are also examples of never-ending stories in Kraków, that is double or triple commemorations. Take, for example, the WWII underground force that was loyal to the Polish government-in-exile, the Home Army: there is the Armii Krajowej Avenue, the monument by Bronisław Chromy near Wawel Hill, and the Home Army Museum, which is a monument to monuments. Where does the need for yet another commemoration come from? Does not every repeated commemoration lead to a kind of inflation of memory? Does it not weaken or invalidate the previous one?

The politics of commemoration are a challenge for Kraków. In 2018, a procedure was introduced, one of the aims of which is to put the brakes on various initiatives to fund more monuments. It is understandable that the space of a heritage city is filled with meanings and visible references to figures or events that different communities consider important. The monument procedure is an attempt to manage an uneasy process. Warsaw has blazed a trail in this regard. There, decisions on such objects were delegated to a non-official, interdisciplinary team of experts, which

is merely coordinated by the city council. In Kraków, on the other hand, decisions on new commemorations are taken primarily by members of the Kraków City Council and not by experts. The City Council hears the experts' voice, but does not necessarily listen to it.

Thanks to the monuments procedure, the initiative to erect new statues of the Wawel Dragon was put on hold for a few years, until someone finally discovered that they could be submitted in the civic budget, and this puts the city under obligation. With this case, we return to the difficulty of managing a historic city — there is always a loophole to be found, be it in the law or in the management of a structure as full of discrepancies as a city. Sometimes emotions and the story one builds around the initiative being promoted are the deciding factors. Protecting our space is not easy, but a corset of regulations is not always the solution.

Why Do We Need a Management Plan?

The UNESCO World Heritage Site Management Plan for the Historic Centre of Kraków, which has been in development since 2021, is a pretext for integrating the fragmented world in which we live around shared values. It is about understanding that inscription on the List is more than a land survey and marking a UNESCO area on a map, an entry in a registry; that it is a multi-level, complex world in which we need reference points to orient ourselves. The plan is therefore, on the one hand, a collection of values and, on the other — negotiation with World Heritage Site managers, so that actions implemented by the sites are not mutually exclusive or in competition with each other.

It is enough to recall the heated discussion around the proposition of building stands in the Main Market Square in connection with preparations for the European Games 2023, hosted by Kraków and Małopolska. In spite of the unanimous opinion of almost twenty representatives of various City Hall departments that they should not be erected next to the Cloth Hall, the stands were built because the argument of promotional value prevailed — the broadcast of events from the city's most prestigious location would make Kraków even more famous around the world. The documents worked out in the management process are therefore an attempt to raise awareness that every move of

this kind has consequences, it affects the world heritage asset. And even if we sometimes make decisions from the point of view of heritage rather than the monument, at least we should have a set of values to which we can relate as a city.

A management plan was not a requirement when Kraków was inscribed on the List, but custodians of World Heritage Sites are obliged to work out an effective management system and the plan certainly helps with this. Most important, however, is the concept that the effectiveness of conservation and management builds value; for this mysterious-sounding ‘outstanding universal value’ rests on three pillars. There are the criteria that we justify in the procedure of comparison with other sites, i.e. what values our area carries in the context of other areas, and how transnationally significant it is. There are the conditions of integrity and authenticity in the case of cultural areas, and finally there is the effectiveness of management, which guarantees survival. Viewed from the perspective of these three pillars, we should take care of what we have influence over, i.e. a management system that simultaneously takes care of the other two important pillars that shape outstanding universal value. We are the ones who have to agree on how to function, on how to operate in a given space.

There is nothing unusual about mistakes sometimes being made in a city, in a living space which may, or may not, be eliminated in the future. Will the trail of dragons realised from the civic budget survive, or will someone simply remove them in time as something banal? The installation of the dragon sculpture at the foot of Wawel Castle five decades ago also stirred emotions. Today, we no longer wonder whether it belongs there.

In a city like Kraków, cultural policy is in close synergy with heritage. Departments such as the Department of Culture and National Heritage, strive on the one hand to define certain phenomena as the heritage of the future, and on the other hand to restore the memory of heritage that is difficult or repressed. They grapple with issues such as the question of the *Festung Krakau* (the Kraków Fortress built by the Austrians during the Partitions of Poland), which some Cracovians say ‘is not our heritage’.

What emerges from the workshops that the City Hall organised with dozens of different stakeholders and representatives of various city departments and administrative bodies, in conjunction with the development of the management plan, is that the values of the world heritage assets are deeply worked

out and engrained at many levels of the city. However, they also reveal that there is a lack of a sense of agency among officials whose decisions or expertise are not always respected or taken into account because social, economic, tourist or other interests are more important, or because they do not have a reservoir of concepts, definitions, and principles to which they could refer in the day-to-day management of the World Heritage Site, or even that there is no space or formula in which they could meet. Nevertheless, the officials believe that the process of implementing the plan they are involved in will come to fruition and the document they are creating will not end up gathering dust. Now, they must enter the phase of everyday urban practice. They have to, on the one hand, get everything together, agree, negotiate, and identify those responsible for the various areas, because it is not at all clear who is responsible for what. It is not the municipal landscape architecture consultant or the conservator who decides if there are going to be any stalls at the foot of Wawel Castle, but the traffic regulations. It suddenly turns out that if it is within the competency of the Road Authority of the City of Kraków, it is he or she who has to make a decision on the basis of the grounds that arise from the law. It's difficult, and that's why the Integrated Kraków Heritage Management Centre was created — to establish values in one place, on a 'one-stop shopping' basis: whether such a fair in terms of technical, road, statutory, artistic, conservation, assortment of cultural parks is acceptable or not in a given place. This is a starting point, because every issue — whether it be monuments or façade colours, air conditioners on rooftops or antennas — requires an interdisciplinary approach and reference to the set of values we have collectively produced. A management plan will not cure the whole world, but it is an important tool for everyday administration.

What Does the Municipal Police Have to Do with Heritage?

The municipal police may have something to do with a badly parked car, but what does it have to do with heritage? Compared to the rest of the country, the municipal police in Kraków is the best trained in the provisions of the Heritage Act and the Cultural Park Resolution, as it is one of the services that enforces their provisions. It reacts in cases of irregularities, noise, or illegal signage; it makes sure that a drone does not smash

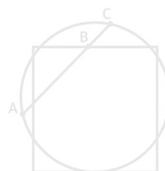
a medieval stained glass window. It notices minor, thoughtless, incidental, unintentional acts of vandalism, which in a place like Kraków rise to the rank of crimes against Polish heritage.

However, it is not possible to manage a historic city without a local community. In Dubrovnik, we observed the 'Respect Dubrovnik' scheme and a programme to engage city employees, whose job it is to communicate with disruptive tourists who break the rules of hospitality. A similar programme was set up in Kraków. A team of nearly thirty city employees, called city helpers, went out on the streets to provide information, first aid, and react to irregularities and undesirable behaviour. It quickly became apparent that these city helpers do not and will not have the legal powers or tools to respond effectively. At most, they can admonish someone, enter into a conversation, and explain the rules. They are stepping into a role that every resident should play — residents should communicate their house rules. It is important for this community team to be able to operate on a year-round basis and to raise awareness that residents are the masters of the city. The municipal police should step in as a last resort where social intervention is not enough.

It is often said that Kraków should have a night mayor — a concept that has been implemented in many cities including Toulouse and Amsterdam. A night mayor is a person who manages the wider night-time economy. He or she would be expected to focus on safety issues in busy places, maintaining cleanliness, regulating the sale of alcohol, making sure that there is a compromise between residents and the tourist and restaurant industry, and resolving disputes between residents and businesses, tracking down abuses to the status of cultural park, providing information to tourists, and so on. However, this office is more of a dream of an unspecified mayor who, like a good sheriff, would solve the city's nocturnal problems. Formally, the idea is not feasible. So we go back to the beginning: without public involvement, it is not possible to solve all the problems of historic cities.

It is not easy to bring order to the dynamic world of the Old Town and Kazimierz. It can't be turned into a museum and subordinated entirely to a single taste. The length of the lease of premises on Grodzka Street is three years on average, so when we teach one tenant given values, it does not necessarily follow that the next one will respect them. The same is true of the aesthetics of the city's outdoor markets — there are claims

that Stary Kleparz is no longer a market, but merely a shadow of one, as its renovation has stripped it of its authenticity. But for many people it is still one of the most dynamic and popular marketplaces in Kraków. Furthermore, markets deprived of new impulses die: the number of sellers at Grzegórzki and on the Na Stawach Square is decreasing; on the other hand, marketplaces in buzzing local enclaves such as Dębniki and Nowy Kleparz are doing well. Discussions revolve around the flower stands in the Main Market Square. Every change arouses controversy and resistance and provokes opposition. And this opposition to change is also part of management.



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Who Has the Right to Kraków?

In Kraków there are three words to describe the inhabitants. A *Krakus* is someone who was born in Kraków, a *Krakowiak* is someone who grew up in the city, while every resident is a *Krakowianin*. One can also add *Krakauer*, whose family traditions reach back to the times of His Imperial Majesty Emperor Franz Joseph I, and who can easily be recognised because, when he speaks to a woman he says, ‘I kiss your hands’, and when he addresses someone with a title he will say, ‘if the Most Honourable Professor will allow’.

The city council must ask itself, for whom it manages and whose perspective it will take into consideration: the *Krakuses*, *Krakowiaks*, or *Krakowianins*? The numbers of the last group is increasing, also because Kraków’s heritage attracts people.

Kraków’s situation is unusual compared to other cities, because if we consider who has the right to Kraków, it is not only Cracovians — be it those lucky, or unlucky, enough to live in the city centre, or those who feel a connection with the centre, but live outside it. All Poles have as much of a right to Kraków as its inhabitants, because of the special role Kraków assumed in the 1800s, when Poland was not on the map — the role of the imagined heart of the homeland.

Kraków found its own way to function. In the 19th century it couldn’t compete with Upper Silesia, which was going through an industrial revolution, nor could it compete with Lwów (now Lviv), the capital of Galicia. So it cashed in on its symbolic power, which turned out to be more powerful than other development factors, since eras ended, political and economic factors in these cities ran out, but the power of Kraków — imagined, intangible, spiritual — propelled, and

continue to propel this city forward in spite of various political and economic circumstances.

Using the blanket category of ‘inhabitants’ is therefore inaccurate. These are not only people with stronger or weaker Kraków roots because they aspire to be Cracovians because the city has something to offer, because life and work here are good. In recent years, a large group of corporate employees has emerged who in no way aspire to becoming Cracovians but are dependent on their employer. We are talking about a hundred thousand people, usually graduates of Kraków’s universities. It is difficult to say whether they will stay or leave if someone offers them a better job, but today they are part of Kraków and it is worth knowing what their needs are.

And so cultural heritage has a role to play – it can be the thing that will stitch the social fabric together. The role of the city is to make sure that the corporate employees, too, feel comfortable here, want to live here, and spend money here. The city should belong to them, too. Often in the early morning, one passes British tourists who have come to Kraków neither to eat a doughnut nor to bow their heads at the sarcophagus of Marshal Piłsudski, but with completely different aims.

Perhaps we don’t talk enough about the people who live in Kraków and who should enjoy the city, and about what could make them want to visit the centre, the Market Square.

Kraków Celebrates Easter Twice

There are dozens of nationalities living in Kraków, which shows how multicultural the city has become once again. These people pay their taxes here, spend their money here, start families here. The question arises to what extent this beautiful city of ours, which is the product of the contributions of the various nationalities that have lived here in the past, is open to highlighting the chiefly intangible heritage of people of different nationalities who have chosen to call Kraków home. After all, we celebrate Easter in Kraków twice: in the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox traditions.

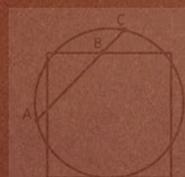
Ukrainians make up nineteen percent of the population of Kraków, as shown in the report by the Centre for Analysis and Research of the Union of Polish Metropolises (2022); of course, some of them have lived in Kraków for a long time, they are not

all refugees who came here because of Russian aggression. When we are talking about one fifth of the total population, it is difficult to speak of a minority, because this is a significant group that has an impact on how the city functions and will function, in terms of heritage, too, especially intangible heritage, and the way in which tangible heritage is used. Years ago, the International Cultural Centre started to refer to some of its audiences as ‘Ukrainian-speaking Cracovians’ instead of constantly referring to them as ‘Ukrainians in Kraków’ and thus isolating them, emphasising their temporariness and foreignness. Kraków institutions in particular have long been used to the fact that Polish is not the only language in which they can communicate with their audiences.

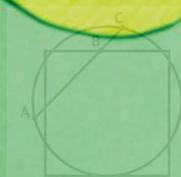
A demographic forecast for Kraków for 2020–2050 was prepared for the Strategy, Planning, and Investment Monitoring Department of the City of Kraków. In terms of demographic growth, the capital of Małopolska is already in second place, just behind Warsaw. The city has had a positive birth rate and migration balance since 2007 and therefore needs to grow to keep up with demand. It is possible that there will be a need to build large new districts or even a new city. But before we build those, it would be worth our while to consider the development of the centres in those neighbourhoods that already exist. Let’s look at Prądnik Biały, home to seventy thousand people, nearly one tenth of the total population of Kraków. What constitutes the centre of Prądnik Biały? No one knows. What is the centre of Bronowice, the district that inspired Stanisław Wyspiański to write his celebrated play *The Wedding*? What became of the Krowoderski Market — the vision of the new centre of the Krowodrza neighbourhood? How is it that we are building up a culturally valuable area with common architecture? El-jasz-Radzikowskiego, Chełmońskiego, or Łokietka Streets are routes whose history dates back to the 13th century. There are courtyard layouts, cemeteries, forts, various types of buildings from the 19th and 20th centuries, which could be the beginning of the creation of common spaces for Kraków’s districts.

How Can We Get Rid of Plastic Flowers?

In 2011, the UNESCO General Conference adopted the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) after six years of best practice analysis. This is the first doctrinal document to



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frame a new approach to the preservation of historic cities, as the traditional approach of preserving unchanged the buildings and land of historic complexes is no longer possible under modern conditions. Old town complexes need to modernise and transform themselves, adapting to new functions, standards, and needs.

In the case of the historic urban landscape, inscription on the List means recognition of its ‘outstanding universal value’ and significance to world heritage, a commitment to protect, preserve, and appropriately manage the site. The List comprises the monuments, the structures, while the ‘historic urban landscape’ encompasses something more, it is the *genius loci*, the atmosphere of the place, everything that happens in the city. Let’s go beyond the narrow architectural thinking that landscape ‘is something that a person perceives’. After all, at night or when it’s foggy in Kraków, you can’t see the landscape, so you ‘don’t perceive’ it, but it is there...

We speak of a historic urban landscape (HUL) when there are connections on many levels, interconnections between natural, cultural, intangible, local, and international values. Above all, HUL stands for a multidimensional, holistic approach, i.e. one that integrates heritage conservation with social and economic objectives, maintaining the harmony between contemporary urban planning activities and heritage in the historic setting. Such an integration of perspectives: heritage, the aesthetic perspective, the sonosphere, the event space, the function of the buildings, the function of the former workshops or shops is what we aim for, because all of them in their interrelationships and exchanges create a living, authentic, and representative city.

It all began a few years earlier. In 2005, a conference on contemporary buildings in the historic urban landscape was held in Vienna. The Vienna Memorandum presented at the conference, proposed the introduction of a new category to the List, the ‘historic urban landscape’. The Memorandum was intended as a response to the problem of modern, contemporary architecture that was not in keeping with its surroundings, which had begun to emerge in historic cities. There was much discussion about high-rise buildings in the centres and in the buffer zone, such as those being built in the Austrian capital.

Vienna was inscribed on the List in 2001, and the inscription, let’s not forget, represents the ‘outstanding universal value’

of a place, and if someone comes along who wants to deplete or destroy this value, and does so — and the Vienna authorities have agreed to a major investment between the Stadtpark and the Wiener Konzerthaus — they are in breach of the rules adopted for the World Heritage List. Therefore, at the 41st session of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in Kraków it was decided to inscribe the Austrian capital on the List of World Heritage in Danger. This was a very important signal, and not only to the Austrian authorities, but also to all the administrators of World Heritage Sites.

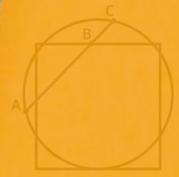
The recommendations of the HUL are more about an approach to the management of urban spaces than they are a set of tools for a particular type of heritage. Translating the recommendations into concrete action is a more difficult matter, as we are working within 'living' heritage space that is constantly changing. We implement the recommendations through instruments such as cultural parks or the Integrated Management Centre for Kraków's Cultural Heritage.

We are balancing, searching for equilibrium, looking for gaps in the system. For the city lacks a structure that would see Kraków in all its economic, tourist, conservation, planning, architectural, cultural, aesthetic, functional, and ecological aspects. Awareness needs to be continually raised in the various city departments that if ten pubs or eight liquor stores appear on one street, this affects the functioning of the city, how it's perceived, and who uses it. Historic cities are trying to cope in every way with mutually exclusive perspectives — and these are mutually exclusive because of how ownership is structured within a World Heritage property, and also because of discrepancies in legislation, and because in fact the city has few options to control the economic freedom of business.

On Sienna Street a woman is attaching plastic flowers to a fence. This is the key line of vision to the Adam Mickiewicz monument and the Market Square. The decoration clearly does not correspond to the principle of the decorum (appropriateness) of the place, but city officials have no real power to make her remove them. We feel that this decoration is a disgrace, that it is harmful, that it spoils the view, but the woman appeals to the regulations on occupying a lane in the road and relevant agreements with the Road Authority of the City of Kraków, the manager of the area. So that leaves community work: raising awareness of heritage value. Because even if we



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try to restrict something unfavourable, sooner or later a way around the restriction will be found.

Which city is authentic in this respect? The one full of carnivalesque, plastic flowers on a stand — after all, cities have always been lively, diverse, and chaotic, peppered with a good dose of kitsch and spontaneity? Or is the authentic city one that strives for refined aesthetics, emphasises spatial, architectural, qualitative values? The search for a healthy balance between these outlooks is the subject of the HUL approach. However, the local community is always present and must be involved in co-management. Steering the city solely from the perspective of regulations, from the perspective of authority, dooms it to failure. You have to start with the locals: they define the desired values, the character for a given space, and in justified cases, they also defend places which, due to market or tourism pressures, are endangered, as in the case of the Apollo cinema on Świętego Tomasza Street or the Rio Café on Świętego Jana Street.

What Has Not Worked in Kraków?

In 2003, the urban development plan for the Old Town, and indeed the whole city, expired and it has taken seven years for a local development plan for the city centre to be drawn up. We have had crises as a result, such as a superstructure built atop one of the hotels on Szczepańska Street, where the intervention of the provincial conservator led to the demolition of an illegally erected storey in the very centre of the city. Kazimierz waited fifteen years — until 2017 — for a local plan. In the buffer zone, there are still gaps in the valuable parts of the city with 19th-century architecture, for example between the Planty Gardens and the Aleje Trzech Wieszczów there is no plan, but intensive construction work goes on nevertheless. Apartment houses are being added to, and some buildings are basically being rebuilt from scratch. However, local plans are a big challenge. It is therefore worth noting that Kraków is one of the Polish cities with the highest percentage of plan coverage in relation to the total area of the city.

The city's service economy has also changed in recent years. A detriment to historic cities are shopping malls built next to railway stations. They have sucked people out of historic urban areas. In the pandemic, however, the large shopping malls

were closed but individual shops in the streets could stay open. This situation shows where the ways forward lie. This is a good time to reorganise the way city centres operate.

The Jagiellonian University has actually already moved out of the city centre, despite the fact that several dozen of its buildings are part of the fabric of the Old Town. Soon, the Main Post Office will be transformed into a hotel. Two banks have also changed addresses, and the historic buildings from the inter-war period that they once occupied are waiting to be turned into hotels. This is basically happening in passing: suddenly an investor comes in and buys, usually from a public institution, a large building. Wielopole Street will soon become the site of three hotels. The area is already clogged with traffic today, one shudders to think what the future will bring...

There are things in Kraków that could be improved, because we have the tools or instruments. By declaring the city centre a cultural park, for example, one could say 'no fast food establishments in the park area' or 'only one branch of McDonalds'. Local plans are even adopted for a single parcel of land, which could have saved the Ars Cinema. Therefore, the time has come for a responsible mapping of those areas required for the full spectrum of urban functions in the UNESCO inscription area, all the while providing a reasonable compromise for those investors or owners of historic buildings who at considerable expense restore their former splendour in consultation with the conservation services.

Let's enjoy our grumpy complaints a little while longer. The last time the number of people living in the centre of Kraków was as small as it is now, was after the Mongol invasions of the 13th century. With all our economic, promotional, and marketing successes, it must be stressed that the city centre is not somewhere Cracovians come or want to spend their time. What, then, is this 'historic urban landscape'? To what extent is it just about preserving the city like an architectural model and, if so, from what period do we want to preserve the mock-up? And to what extent should it be instead a mechanism for creating a living organism with inhabitants, both those who still live here and those who could move here?

Cracovians spend their afternoons and weekends in shopping malls or on trampolines at Gojump. We don't come to the Market Square, but to Centralna Street, and although it's not

that easy to get there, this is an important point on the mental map of Kraków. The question arises: what are we protecting and how? It is enough to take a walk down Krupnicza Street, where we are surrounded by large, massive building projects, which for the majority of the inhabitants are illegible, because the facades have remained unchanged, but in the courtyards completely ahistorical changes that have nothing to do with these buildings have been made. The former Barcelona milk bar has been replaced by a development of negligible architectural value — perhaps not entirely bad, but certainly bland. It is surprising that we are not able to strike out for something unique. In the buffer zone, near the Podwawelskie neighbourhood, a tall residential development is being built next to a 17th-century church. In the context of such goings-on, we ask to what extent the stipulations in the UNESCO recommendations really are a demand on us, and to what extent they are beyond our reach and there is no possibility of implementing such concepts into thinking about world heritage in Kraków.

The fact that we perceive certain cities as authentic or inauthentic is determined by whether people actually live in their centres. It is true that a few hundred people live within the Old Town, but thousands more who live *extra muros* — outside the city walls — identify with what is happening there. They have moved out, displaced by companies offering so-called short-term rentals, often global players who have contributed to the abandonment of many historic cities not only in Europe. Others are moving out, tired of the restrictions, parking problems, or have simply given up living in their flats, enticed by the temptation of additional income from renting flats in an attractive UNESCO zone.

Specific measures can be introduced to at least curb this trend in some locations, for example investing in the renovation of public housing, as many buildings with council flats in Kazimierz are in urgent need of repair. Some of them are on the open housing market, others are managed by the Municipal Housing Administration and the Housing Authority. This requires considerable expenditure, clarification of the ownership status of many properties in this district, where there are currently at least several hundred inheritance proceedings and the city is sometimes a minority shareholder. There is still some interest in living in the centre; suffice it to cite the example of the Kraków bard Andrzej Sikorowski, who returned to the Old Town

with relief. For some reason, he found that the house in Rząska was no longer what he needed. The experience of the pandemic also made it evident that one could not rely solely on tourism, with its ebb and flow. Many townhouses in the city centre have been re-inhabited by locals or expats who have decided to live in interesting places with atmosphere.

The city is faced with a difficult task: to identify places that matter to Cracovians, to support them, to improve their lot. The Rio Café was saved, although the premises are rented by a large chain. It is to its credit that it decided to preserve the character of the place, and today we see in Rio the same clientele as before. Apparently, the company understood that the atmosphere of the place is promotional capital, that the café in its unchanged form can appear in tourist guides as a cult Cracovian meeting spot. Tourists will be attracted by the atmosphere of the café, which is still frequented by locals, even if they live *extra muros*.

Perhaps it is the Rio Café just off the Main Market Square and the Witamina shop on Szpitalna Street that make up this historic cityscape that we are trying to capture and define... and preserve.

What Does Heritage Gain from Horse-drawn Carriages?

One could call Kraków a testing ground for the transformation of city use. In the pandemic, it proved capable of surviving without tourists. Suddenly the whole 'landscape' was transformed. Some places fall, others emerge. Then the tourist evolves. A family comes to Kraków, but only for an ice cream and a doughnut, and then goes to Zakopane. And so, within a few months, Grodzka Street was flooded with doughnut shops. The popularity of the dragon-shaped teddy bear made in China has been superseded in recent days by the plush TikTok goose. The city reacts quickly to economic opportunities, which are global, and there has probably never been a time when there was a perfect management scheme for a city like Kraków.

The city certainly succeeded with the Potocki Palace at 20 Main Market Square, which was to become a museum of wax figures after the Goethe Institute moved out of the building. An enormous amount of energy was put into renting the building from private hands and using it for the cultural sector. Some councillors consider the investment to be unjustified, and yet

over a thousand events are held here every year, gathering nearly eight thousand people.

The question is, however, valid: should the city take responsibility for every element of the massive and extensive historical fabric, if it is unable to renovate all its historic residential buildings, fortresses, post-industrial buildings, modernist buildings, and even all the headquarters of its own institutions?

The huge applause and outpouring of support for the purchase of the Modrzejówka villa, which had belonged to the celebrated actress Helena Modrzejewska (known as Modjeska abroad), is an example of the awareness of how important it is. It is wonderful that people have come together under the slogan ‘Save Modrzejówka!’ But who is supposed to save it? The owner of the historic villa could have applied to SKOZK for funding for the site long ago. The expectation arises: let the city buy it, find an institution, finance it, renovate it! Firstly, this is not possible if the owner does not want to sell. Secondly, how to buy back without a renewable heritage fund, without a wise fiscal approach concerning all these heritage areas.

Heritage has neither the financial support nor systemic solutions that the nature conservation sector has in its environmental fund and the film industry in PISF (Polish Film Institute). What does Wawel Castle get from being on T-shirts sold *en masse* in souvenir shops? What percentage of the revenue from the sale of the image goes back into maintaining this priceless monument? There are industries that live off heritage, a whole range of services that use the city’s scenery, its symbols, its spaces. Heritage as such receives nothing from Kraków’s horse-drawn carriages. There is a need for a financial mechanism which, in accordance with the Local Government Act and the Local Fees Act, will be a tax for the maintenance of the heritage resource on the one hand, and for its development on the other. It is very important that UNESCO talks to the World Tourism Organisation and the Minister of Culture and National Heritage talks to the Minister of Tourism. Work on the tourism tax was being prepared in 2019, but due to the COVID crisis it was put on hold and people started to say: ‘a tourism tax — yes, but to promote tourism’, that is to further bolster what is already doing quite well.

So until there is a mechanism in place that allows for fees to be collected by tax offices across the country and redistributed in some even-handed fashion, other cities will reproach us with the National Fund for the Restoration of Kraków’s



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Monuments, and Kraków will not be able to afford to regenerate public space in a controlled way.

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There are post-industrial buildings that the city has upgraded at its own expense or with the support of various funds. Among them are the Museum of Engineering and Technology, the former arsenal turned into the Museum of Photography, and some aircraft hangars in Czyżyny that house the Polish Aviation Museum. Sometimes the initiative comes from the people, sometimes directly from the city. Each of these spaces requires, firstly, financing lasting several years and, secondly, the creation of an institution so that the facility can then function and survive. Obviously, the city needs to recognise all of these elements, to see them in cross-section, to identify what is valuable and what is important to the local community. At the same time, we are aware that for ownership reasons, and on top of that with the current finances of the local government and the current system of heritage funding in the country, we will not be able to save every piece of wooden architecture or every post-industrial space.

We have another problem: the grey market in businesses that rely on heritage. Companies doing business in Kraków don't pay tax here, but, say, in Wielka Wieś or Zabierzów, because they are registered there. So what does Kraków get out of it? The smell of fried food. And rubbish to take away.

Not everything works in Kraków. For example, we haven't succeeded with loft conversions. We can envy Vienna, where practically every apartment house has a superstructure, and each is an example of good, ambitious architecture. In Kraków, there are stipulations that a townhouse can only have dormer windows in the façade. It is enough to take a walk down Lea Street, where a dozen or so townhouses have been adapted and each one was an attempt to squeeze as much as possible out of these dormer windows. Not a single one can be called good architecture. Perhaps Kraków is programmatically too conservative in these places, where a certain amount of evolution is nevertheless permitted which prevents the creation of new signs of the times, but only mediocrity results. It is clear that the Old Town should not be a place of far-reaching change, but the buffer zone could already rise to a higher level of creativity or innovation.

We could learn from the Vital'Quartier programme in Paris. There, a company was set up with a fund to buy up premises designated for particular types of business in various neighbourhoods. For example in the Latin Quarter, a university neighbourhood, premises were bought for bookshops and then rented out on preferential terms.

In Vienna, it would be worth our while to not only observe how loft conversions are done, but also to borrow the idea of a voucher for residents for artisanal services. We pay for shoe repairs and the city reimburses the shoemaker for part of the cost. The initiative is ready to be copied and lies in the Kraków Department of Entrepreneurship and Innovation's Idea Bank. Unfortunately, there is no funding to implement it.

However, all these inspirations require public money. Where do we get the money to subsidise craftspeople, to bring back the Wanda cinema, to rent the Potocki Palace, to save the Rio Café? Someone may soon hatch the idea to sell the Jama Michalika, a café where the Young Poland bohemians used to meet, and turn it into something completely different inside, even if the décor is protected by conservation laws. Where do you get the people who will create a new professional category in the field of heritage, who will see the city horizontally, cross-sectionally, and not necessarily only from the perspective of their scope of authority? It is, on the one hand, the team that is in charge of urban regeneration that should define the places that are important to the community, for the atmosphere of the area, and for the functioning of the centre. On the other hand, it is also the resident who shops at Witaminka; it is the owner of the building who dictates the rental cost of his premises. It is the owner, in this case the Church, who has decided to irretrievably destroy a place of exceptional value for Polish culture and art — the chapel with frescoes by Jerzy Nowosielski on Kanonicza Street — and the city can do nothing.

The city cannot be changed with the wave of a magic wand; each element needs a tailor-made solution. The essential need is to have a benefit stream or part of the benefit stream in order to be able to maintain the authenticity of the city. Otherwise, it is just exploiting the resource. If no part of the profits that heritage generates return to the resource to enhance and strengthen it, it is an exhaustive system that will end badly sooner or later. That is to say, all that will be left is a dummy city and a few places that will retain the old atmosphere, if, of course, the city can afford to pay for them.

Sometimes, however, miracles can be achieved in our city and negative trends can be stopped. One example is relieving building façades of excessive advertising. This is a miracle that gives hope that many things can be reversed despite their present advanced state. Although the Landscape Act, which came into force in July 2022, has various shortcomings, it has forced entrepreneurs to remove signs, banners, and flashy billboards from buildings and along the the street, which were disfiguring the space.

We were the first city in Poland to introduce cultural parks. Today three districts are designated as such. Regulations have largely contributed to the aesthetic transformation of protected areas. We were also the first in the country to have a mural policy setting standards for supporting the development of new murals and caring for the most valuable ones in the city space. The mural policy was developed in a collaborative process with dozens of artists, curators and mural scholars, as well as neighbourhood representatives.

Cracovians' fight for air quality and cleanliness, which affects both the inhabitants and the condition of the historic fabric, has achieved some undeniable successes. We are consistently implementing our climate policy, although in spite of the improvement in air quality, we still have a long way to go to be free of smog.

New Stories

We talk a lot about industrial heritage today, even though we have been consistently getting rid of it over the last twenty years. Just think of the municipal slaughterhouse in Grzegórzki, which was first removed from the register of monuments so that a shopping centre could be built in its place. The same thing happened with the Solvay sodium carbonate plant. In Kazimierz, a power station was replaced by flats.

The Nowa Huta steel plant has been in a state of suspended animation for many years. In a way, it is surprising that cities such as Ruda Śląska have just started the process of comprehensively revitalising the blast furnace and creating a new large steelworks centre; in addition, and interestingly, this is being done by architects from Kraków. The owner of the Kraków plant is the multinational corporation ArcelorMittal, which has yet to propose, 'let's do something together or think about the future of these areas'.

Today, the Kraków City Council is considering adopting directional resolutions on the future use of the steelworks site, above all the halls, rolling mills, tinning plant, and all these facilities, which represent a huge cost for anyone wishing to use the site for purposes other than production. On the one hand, it is difficult to imagine the city taking financial responsibility for finding a use for it, for revitalising it, and for detoxifying the badly contaminated site. On the other hand, it is impossible not to see in this facility the potential for development in various, as yet undefined, ways. In this sense, we have been given a lesson to work through in Kraków, one that similar cities, such as Ostrava or Zollverein in Essen, have already completed, adapting typical factories and coking plants to new uses.

In Kraków, this is no simple matter, not only because of the size of the facility, the costs involved, and an idea for what to do with it. In Ostrava and Essen there is a consensus on the value or importance of the industrial sites in defining the identity of the city. There would be no Ostrava without industry, just as there is no Chorzów, for example, without the steelworks — although it has already been closed down. In Kraków, on the other hand, the acceptance of Nowa Huta with the baggage of its being a city built in contradiction of another city extends beyond purely technical issues, posing the question of how to deal with a site that has lost its function. We are in the process of uniting Kraków and Nowa Huta.

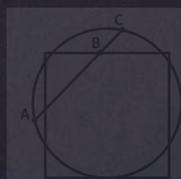
There is a lack of discussion in our country about the importance of industrial heritage. After all, many elements of this industry were important in the development not only of Poland, but of Europe as a whole. Industry is also important from the point of view of the development of the city as a structure, a certain fabric, a certain environment — without understanding technology, the development of technology, we cannot understand the city.

The industrial paradigm is different from the paradigm which formed the basis for Kraków's inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List. One wonders how much new heritage — new in terms of age, but also new because we are only now starting to recognise it as such — there is. How relevant is this heritage to what is the accepted heritage and value of Kraków? Won't the proportions be knocked off balance if we talk about development based on different paradigms than those accepted so far?

Cracovians live somewhat outside the accepted heritage. They are rather holiday users of it and therefore interpret it differently. Because of this, pressure is exerted to protect sites outside the cardinal list — those that are close by and in which we live. Kraków today is Nowa Huta, Ruczaj, Prądnik Biały, Płaszów and so on. There, attention is paid to different aspects of heritage than in the centre. The issue of the reinterpretation of heritage by the Cracovians themselves is, in turn, overlaid by two other forces: the need for tourism and the need for residential development, but not, alas, development that responds to the real needs of the community, but the drive to build, build, and build up every last space in Kraków. In turn, for these two forces, a petrified Kraków heritage is very important — Kraków as a picture-postcard, a landmark for those who will pay more for the opportunity to live near ‘something so nice’.

The scale of the problem is the most important reason why we should approach it seriously. If we don't change our approach and make a narrow selection, then in thirty years' time all these buildings and sites will have passed into collective memory, we won't know how to judge their value and we will start preserving middling buildings simply because they are old enough. And if we start preserving middling buildings, we will collapse under the scale of new heritage, because each such object will form a precedent for another similar one. For this reason, we need a dense sieve and — while sites and buildings that are most representative of certain phenomena in the city space still exist — a strategic approach, otherwise we will wake up in a situation like we have now with the architecture of the late 19th century. Apartment houses from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries make up almost seventy per cent of the register of monuments in Poland, which is a gross imbalance. Their mass presence in the register is the result of entries that made it because by the time the register was started, the most outstanding ones had already disappeared — and an ersatz rendition of what had been lost was entered.

Let's look beyond our national borders once again. The Barcelona Museum has chosen one example of a housing estate from the 1920s. It is currently engaged in archaeological work there and intends to create a small branch of the museum in a selected area that will present the story of the city, how it began to grow, how large numbers of people suddenly began to arrive, how the population doubled or tripled. It is precisely the question



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of choice. This approach comes down to the level of awareness of the institution, which, in consultation with the city, makes choices and takes steps to construct a full and complete story of how Barcelona functioned, developed in the past, not only in Roman times, not only in medieval times, not only in the time of Ildefonso Cerda, Gaudi, but also during and after the civil war.

Is there a danger that Kraków's story will be modified? For it is one thing to add something, quite another to make visible what has been invisible within the framework of the story so far, and suddenly show Kraków as an industrial city. Are we prepared to accept that Kraków's medieval heritage will only be part of its heritage message? There was a plaque 'Welcome to the City of Polish Kings', which was changed to 'Welcome to the UNESCO World Heritage City'. Perhaps the next step will be to say: this world heritage is also about its important industrial and technological dimension, because after the pandemic it turned out that industry, manufacturing, and services are the main fields creating new heritage.

What Happened to the Misters?

In Kraków, all it takes is for something to happen twice for it to be called a 'tradition', and yet the momentousness of centuries-old walls makes it difficult to accept relatively recent architecture as heritage. What happens today to all the 'Misters of Kraków', that is buildings selected each year in a poll for the best new architecture? The Plaza shopping centre, the Mister of 2000, has recently been lost. The canteen of the AGH University of Science and Technology may not have been the most beautiful building in the world, but half a century ago it was voted the best building of the year. Now it, too, has been demolished, sparking no discussion at all about its disappearance. It's difficult to judge whether it's good or bad that an architectural resource is being depleted, but it's certainly worth noting.

It's not that the city has to buy up every historic building and take care of it — the city authorities can't be blamed for everything, because they are not the only player. It's about creating a vision of the direction urban planning should take, of how the city should develop. The issue of spatial order and maintaining it seems to escape us.

Industrial heritage exposes our helplessness in the face of these large sites, that we often don't know what to do with. And in a situation where there is a lack of urban planning, where local plans are not prepared, where there are no legal mechanisms, because the study of conditions and directions of spatial development of municipalities does not guarantee that spatial order will be seen to, we end up with situations like those we have had in Kraków. We don't know what will be built on the site of the AGH canteen, because the university has yet to announce it. Likewise, we don't know what will be built on the site of Plaza.

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'We Want Our Voice to Be Heard'

There are eighty-two museums and museum branches in Kraków. Finding an area of heritage that is not cared for is much more difficult here than anywhere else in Poland. The issue of memorials or memory associated with the heritage of traumatic moments — this is a process we are going through and it must take time. Simultaneously, we're in a race against time — the thought process has to be completed before the urban fabric disappears, before we irretrievably lose many places. This is not about us doing ourselves a disservice. Heritage conservation should help us to go through processes that are relevant to us.

For example, Jewish heritage has institutions that care for it, universities, publishers, Diaspora communities that work together to reconstruct the life of the community. There are also new generations of Jews who are beginning to enter the heritage game and say, 'now we want to interpret all this; we want our voice to be heard', because they felt underrepresented in the story. Today, they are also writing the story of various places for the people of Kraków. Despite the huge number of institutions dealing with Jewish heritage, there are voices saying that Kraków lacks a Museum of Polish Jews, which shows a completely different history — not of the Holocaust, but for example of film, the cosmetics industry, and of Jewish communities. We have not yet written this part of Kraków's history.

Intriguing discussions resonated around KL Płaszów (Płaszów Concentration Camp). An experienced institution, the Museum of Kraków, entered into various potentially divisive situations during the process of creating the KL Płaszów Museum. An initiative that should bring different communities

together, creates barriers and divides. It was an interesting case to work through from a methodological and communications perspective. It showed that a generation of descendants of Holocaust survivors also wants to confront a difficult history. They consciously decide to return to Poland, to create a cultural space here. Surely this is a challenge: how to give space, how to be in the process, how not to be afraid of conversations, how not to react too emotionally... Have we not thus reached the core of heritage? It might seem that heritage is affirming, but in fact heritage is conflicting.

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The City's DNA

The essence of Kraków lies, it seems, in the tension between what was and what is. The history of the city is a bit of a dialectic — one could say that King Casimir III the Great wanted to establish a counterweight to Kraków and founded Kazimierz, then the Austrians did the same thing and created Podgórze; the same logic was used by the communists when they built Nowa Huta. A bit of the functioning of the city seems to lie in just such a boxing match, in this tension, in this pair of opposites. The history of Kraków's literary life is similar. We have a group holding power, immersed in history and the cult of the past, and we have the Futurists' one-day publication *Nuż w bżuhu* [Naif in the belee], which turns everything upside down and mocks Poland's bards. Both are Kraków.

Kraków's heritage can also be observed in the practice of commemoration, not only in the reburials at Wawel, but even in today's need to commemorate every historical figure, in every place, with a plaque. It is part of the DNA of this city. All these little rooms of remembrance, Kantor's flat, Miłosz's flat, the Czapski Pavilion, the Kossakówka — we have over eighty such capsules of the past. And this, too, is a mark of Kraków, although it may be worth considering a form of commemoration more appropriate to the present.

Today, we have a spruced-up city, a tourist-oriented city, we are restoring buildings, we are renewing a heritage that some time ago was dissonant, because it was controversial, contentious. However, we still do not have mechanisms that would allow us to regulate the use of this space. Of course, cultural parks help

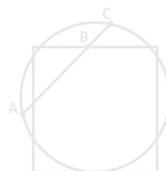
somewhat, but they don't define the way of doing business. We don't have a statutory hook to protect places with particular functions, so we are happy if we can put an antique shop in a former pharmacy, so that at least the historic furnishings can be saved. Historic cities should have special legislative tools to preserve historically-defined activities or those that the local community deems important.

We are constantly on the lookout for loopholes in the system because, while protecting the fabric of the city, at the same time we wonder how to protect the atmosphere, how to protect small businesses. The contemporary discourse on protection operates within the concept of the historic townscape. It is a tool for managing the historic resources of cities under conditions of rapid civilisational change, and unfortunately it is not anchored in law, in legislation. And this is a problem.

This makes it all the more important to focus on spatial planning, on saving and protecting what exists, on strengthening the powers of cultural and landscape parks, and on protecting places such as the Bielańsko-Tyniecki park, thanks to which a beautiful piece of Kraków has survived on the city's west side. The city must also grow, it must welcome newcomers, it must offer high quality housing and residential development. It must also take into account the paradigm that development is building heritage for the future.

There are as many areas of heritage as there are areas of human interest, passion, and activity. It is possible to talk about Kraków through its culinary traditions, through the prism of gastronomic history, the history of arts and crafts, women's history. It is time for stories to fill in the blanks, such as those of national, religious, ethnic, and sexual minorities.

We talk of bagels and *obwarzanki* (proto-bagels), but it might be worth turning our attention to cholent, because hardly anyone makes this Kraków dish nowadays, whereas once upon a time, before the Second World War, all of Kazimierz smelled of cholent. In general, cholent could be a metaphor for Kraków — we seem to know all the ingredients, what it is made of, what the layers are, but each time we make it, it tastes and smells different. And that is Kraków!





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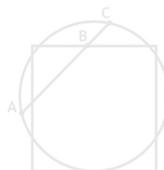
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