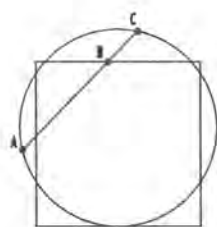


International
Cultural Centre
Cracow
June 1993 – May 1994



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BETWEEN UNIVERSAL CULTURE AND TRADITION

The International Cultural Centre, inaugurated in May 1991 during the CSCE Symposium on Cultural Heritage, fairly quickly became not only an important part of Cracow's intellectual and cultural landscape, but also a lasting element in the network of fellow institutions of our Continent. The period of creation, experiments and development of the Centre's projects came to a close and gave way to creative stabilization and the necessary specialization.

This was best expressed by the International Cultural Centre schedule during the last year. It was based on the work of four sub-centres operating as part of the Centre. They implement their programmes in a variety of ways: from research work, through education and promotion of art, to general information. All the forms of activity clearly focus around Central Europe's cultural heritage in its widest meaning. The interdisciplinary nature and the methodologically innovative character of the outlined problems can also be seen in the intense conference activity and in the publishing work of the Centre.

The international symposium on Stereotypes and Nations, organized in June 1993 on the initiative of Professor Jacek Woźniakowski and accompanied by an artistic festival, was an attempt to answer several crucial questions on the functioning of stereotypes in European culture and awareness. The conference, which brought together over a hundred eminent intellectuals from Europe and America, focused on the interrelations of Poles, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Russians, Ukrainians, Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, and Hungarians, and sought ways to overcome many complexes and prejudices. The Centre's intention was not only to accentuate its deep commitment to the dialogue on the multinational legacy of Europe, but also to continue in Cracow the tradition of international cultural events, started in June 1991 and 1992 by the successes of the CSCE Symposium and European Cultural Month.

From the very outset, an important part of the International Cultural Centre's work has been to take advantage of Cracow's special atmosphere and to interpret the cultural heritage accumulated at the foot of Wawel Hill in a wider European context. This was exemplified by two conferences organized in autumn 1993 to commemorate the centenary of the Juliusz Słowacki Theatre and the cen-

tenary of Jan Matejko's death. The former provided an opportunity to discuss at great length the role and place of theatre architecture as a symbol of the cultural changes that Europe witnessed at the turn of the century. It was also a splendid occasion to discuss the complex problems of conservation connected with the contemporary functions of historic theatre buildings and to present Cracow's achievements in this respect. The anniversary of Matejko's death was used by the Centre to set the great 19th-century Polish painter's work against European historical painting of his age on the one hand, and to popularize the Polish artist's work abroad on the other. The exhibition entitled *Within the Circle of Historicism*, specially organized in our Gallery, was a great success. For the first time, it allowed Polish viewers to set Matejko's work against the works of his contemporaries from France, Germany, Austria and Hungary and taken from major galleries in Paris, Munich, Vienna and Budapest.

In addition to other major conferences and numerous publications summarizing the output of the symposia organized in the Centre, research projects carried out by us also deserve mention. They aim to recognize, assess the value, document and seek ways to effectively protect the cultural space of Central Europe. The outcome of the studies and discussions was included by the Centre in the recently published books, *Managing Historic Cities and Heritage Landscape*. Methodologically important in this respect has also been our cooperation with the Foundation for Upper Silesian Region and a course of joint seminars entitled *Upper Silesia and Little Poland in Central Europe*. Special emphasis should also be laid on the several years' research project undertaken by a team under Professor Jan Ostrowski. It is devoted to the documentation of religious architecture in the eastern lands of the old Polish Republic. The first volume of materials published recently shows not only that Professor Ostrowski's project can inventory perishing buildings that often remain undocumented by scholars, but also broadens our knowledge of culture in these areas and not infrequently changes our accepted views. It also enables the scope of influence of Latin culture and Eastern culture in this part of Europe to be identified.

The question of multiculturalism also finds reflection in the developing educational programmes of the Centre conducted as part of the College for New Europe. Often underestimated, they are a significant part of our work. Thanks to the College, Cracow has already become a regular meeting place for the young people from many countries of Europe and from America. The classes run by some outstanding specialists, a chance to compare discordant opinions, the unique atmosphere of the Jagiellonian University Pulaski College in Przegorzały are all conducive to creating a new awareness among the younger generation of intellectuals. In time to come, many of them will presumably have an influence on the shape of uniting Europe. We do hope that our summer educational programmes will soon be followed up in the European Academy being set up at the Centre; its headquarters will be in the Decius Villa, neighbouring the College and currently under repair.

Along with research work and educational programmes, the third major field of the Centre's activity is the promotion of art. Our Gallery is specialized in familiarizing Polish viewers with important events from 20th-century European art, especially German and Austrian. Continuing this direction, we also

wish to expand the exhibitions of foreign art by displaying art from other countries of our region. The Centre attaches great weight to the presentation of Polish cultural heritage as exemplified by the exhibitions of architectural monuments in the borderlands of the old Polish Republic and the Lvov 1894 Exhibition on the one hand, and the showings of outstanding contemporary artists, including Zbigniew Dłubak and Jerzy Nowosielski on the other. They were also on show outside Cracow, including abroad.

The promotional activity of the Centre also means day-to-day contacts with an increasing number of foreign and home partners. Special attention should be paid to the tightening contacts with Central European countries. Being a link in the network of European cultural establishments, the Centre plays an informational and mediatorial, as well as an initiative and inspiring role, and contributes to the promotion of Poland and Cracow around the world. In implementing our programmes, we are at pains to turn Cracow as a venue of international activities on cultural heritage to better account, and to strengthen metropolitan functions of the former capital city of Poland.

The growing number of projects and increasing international cooperation have proved right the Polish government's decision to set up the International Cultural Centre in Cracow, also in the context of Polish efforts to join the European Union. The topicality of problems undertaken by the Centre is naturally verified also on the ground of economy; our projects are in a large part funded from a large number of foreign sources. Thus the effectiveness of the formula adopted by the Centre must be emphasized in the face of limited financial resources allocated for its projects.

The work of the International Cultural Centre so far has been undoubtedly instrumental in the creation of an open and universal model of culture which fosters integration of countries, with respect for their identity and regional and national individual character. The effectiveness of our work in this field often depends not only on us and the unflagging enthusiasm of the centre team and its partners, but also on the ever-changing external situation. Let us hope that after we have faced it, our past course of action will not only be continued, but will also bring about new and creative results.

[trans. Jerzy Pilawski]

CENTRAL EUROPE AS A CULTURAL AREA

The notion of Central Europe or Middle Europe had its ups and downs depending on the circumstances and political climate. It enjoyed the greatest popularity in the mid-eighties. In a Europe halved into two hostile blocs by the Iron Curtain, there was no place for the Middle. There was only the East and the West. When changes in the Soviet East began to foreshadow a relaxation of the empire's tissue, a new Central Europe emerged from it as a cultural area different from its eastern hinterland. A considerable number of publications on Central Europe appeared in the West at that time almost simultaneously. Their first authors were primarily opposition intellectuals from the countries overpowered by communism after the last war; they were promptly joined by West European authors.¹ The promotion of the slogan "Central Europe" had a political goal at that time. The hope was expressed that changes in the Kremlin might lead to greater freedom gained by those countries within the "Ostblock", because its disintegration could not even be dreamt of then. However, the political goal led to an anachronistic and instrumental treatment of the issue, which is perhaps best characterized by the definition that Central Europe is a part of the Latin West overcome by the Soviets or, to put it more bluntly, that it is the part of the Continent "which geographically lies in the middle, culturally in the West, and politically in the East".² The political climate of Central Europe conceived in such an ahistorical manner quickly gave way, along with the developments of *perestroika*, to the slogan "Europe – our common home".³ Today, when for five years now we have been misusing the chance to build a new Europe, we have to resume objectively and without emotion the question of Central Europe as a cultural area.

Europe may be seen through the eyes of a geographer, a historian, as well as a historian of culture. Long before now, geographers had divided our Continent into eastern and western Europe and stretched the dividing line from the Baltic to the Black Sea. On the basis of physical features of the Continent, from West Europe they later separated Central Europe whose natural borders were delimited by the flows of the Vistula, Danube and Rhine Rivers. Of like mind were historians who already before World War I quite unanimously called Central Europe the area of the Prussian and Austro-Hungarian Empires. It is not accidental that the views of a historian of culture and of a geographer concur. This is due to the relationship between the natural properties of an area and the works of art and architecture which arose in it. Throughout its history,

when geographical conditions were fairly stable, the cultural image of Europe underwent many changes.

Towards the close of antiquity, the line of the Roman *limes* divided Europe into the multinational Roman Empire, halved into Rome and Byzantium, and the German-Slavonic world of barbarian peoples. In the times of Charlemagne there was a clear tripartition. The flourishing Christian Byzantine Empire continued the Greco-Roman tradition in its oriental cloth. *Renovatio imperii romani*, together with the Carolingian Renaissance, caused the Latin-world areas to be extended by Germanic territories. The pagan Slavonic and Baltic peoples were beyond this *limes*. A second successive renaissance – the Romanesque Renaissance of the eleventh and twelfth centuries – found the picture of Europe altered. Already by the tenth century, three "new countries" consciously joined the Roman-Christian culture: Slavonic Bohemia and Poland, and Magyar-Slavonic Hungary, while Kievan Rus joined the Byzantine culture. It was then for the first time that a cultural boundary was delineated between the East and the West, which went along almost the whole of Europe and was soon broadened by the split of Christianity. Still beyond the Christian world were the northern Slavonic and Baltic tribes. The eastern boundary of Romanesque architecture went along the basin of the Vistula and the curve of the Carpathians, and it divided the areas of southern Slavs in the Balkans.

Major artistic movements of medieval Western Europe, Romanism and Gothic, proclaimed a universal, supranational, and suprastate art that is a common property of the Christian West. Great centres of this art – Italy, France, and Germany – all drawing from the culture of the Greco-Latin civilization, created this art together. The mobility of masters, potential founders, and the mobility of artists and artisans who penetrated the borders from the south into the north, and from the west into the east, without passports and visas, was conducive to the homogeneity of art. But despite this, the architecture and art of these great countries was different. Different natural conditions, building materials, traditions, cultural needs, and financial possibilities were decisive of these differences, although the boundary between the art of Italy and Germany, separated by the Alps, was clearer, and between the art of France and Germany blurred and open to discussion.

The three "new countries", Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary, became quickly Christianized and feudalized and identified themselves with the western world. They reached for the attributes of the western world's culture and became its artistic province in the East. They benefited from different artistic centres by importing builders and artists with whom, in the course of time, the local people cooperated to an increasingly greater extent. Medieval architecture of the "new countries" became a mosaic of different artistic influences that penetrated often in very intricate ways. It was a historic mission of Italy, France, and Germany to transfer, further into the east, their artistic experience, arising, because of their geographical location, directly or almost directly from ancient art. The most vital role, however, was played by Germany. An immediate neighbour of the "new countries" was the German Reich bearing the imperial crown, the symbol of the western world. Primarily directed towards it were the eyes of sovereigns and magnates of those countries that looked for ideological and artistic patterns for themselves. This was independent of changing political relations, whether bad or good.

The influence of German art and culture would not be so strong in the "new countries", were it not based on the demographic diffusion. It had already begun in the tenth century with blood ties within the ruling stratum. Sisters and daughters of governors of the "new countries" and of German lords were a regular "export item" in bilateral relations, and became mothers of kings and princes. Let us be reminded of this by the statue of Regelinda, daughter of Boleslaus the Brave and wife of Hermann, margrave of Meissen, the smiling Pole (*die lächelnde Polin*), from Naumburg cathedral. The princesses

were followed by a suite of ladies, knights, and priests. The courts became multilingual and multinational in character. Monasteries and bishopric chapters also were international church communities. But the cultural rapprochement, comprising broader circles of society, was not brought about until the German eastern colonization (*die deutsche Ostsiedlung*). Developing since the close of the twelfth century, this social and cultural phenomenon had no counterpart in the whole history of medieval Europe.⁴ This colonization did not mean expansion or infiltration, although at times it created social conflicts. It was the product of a conscious economic policy implemented by the rulers of the "new countries". Acting within the community of Christians, they opened their countries to newcomers from the West, from whom they expected not only labour in sparsely populated areas, but also the transfer of skills and experience, especially in the field of city life and its legal rules. Feudal oppression, overpopulation, and often hunger, meant that this opportunity was used extensively especially by the Germans from different regions of the Reich. In their new homelands they found better living conditions and prospects for social advancement, they maintained their laws, and quite often were conferred with privileges or autonomy. In medieval documents they were called respectfully, especially among the Slavs, "hospites" (guests). The cities of the "new countries" were becoming bilingual. The numerous intermarriages were the best school of language learning. But the German language had an advantage over local languages. Much in the same way as Latin was an international language of enlightened spheres in the whole West, German was the *lingua franca* of the community of merchants in the countries north of the Alps. Local townspeople had to master their language as a work tool if they wished to withstand competition from the newcomers. This was a paradox of history, given that in West-Slavonic languages the word "German" meant a mute uttering incomprehensible and inarticulate sounds. (It is fitting to recall in this context that the social and cultural interference in Europe was not limited to the Middle Ages only. It has lasted until today. Since the time of religious emigrations it was two-directional, but from the nineteenth century onwards the western direction gained the upper hand. The two great waves were of Poles searching for paid work, mainly from the Prussian sector of partitioned Poland to Berlin and the Ruhr, and of the postwar emigration from the communist state, which had a different motivation. Today, when a football match is played between Poland and Germany, it is not easy from the start to figure out which team is which by the players' names.)

In the field of architecture and art, colonization was of great significance. The ties of colonists with the countries of their origin facilitated the importation of builders and artists. This contributed, despite the existence of other artistic influences, to a certain unification of architectural landscape from Flanders to Transylvania. In this way a cultural area came into view in the Middle Ages. Its architectural landscape's common denominators were: first the Romanesque basilica with a tower front, and a single-nave church with tower and west gallery, then a Gothic hall church and northern brick architecture from that period (*Backsteingotik*).

The close of the Middle Ages made the cultures of the whole of Europe equal. In no way were the "new countries" neophytes in them. It also caused the Latin world to be extended into the north and the east. The Teutonic Order, expelled by the Hungarian king Andrew II from Transylvania, and inconsiderately invited by Conrad of Mazovia to convert the Prussia into Christianity, quickly created an architecture there of high standard. Lithuania, Christianized by Poland, became an area of western cultural influence combined with a demographic diffusion. This time this was – *toute proportion gardée* – the Polish historic mission to further transfer Central European art, acquired earlier and more firmly established. Further north, along the eastern coast of the Baltic, German and Polish interests and influences crossed. The north-eastern boundary of the

Gothic reached as far as Rewal. By the threshold of modernity, Hungary and Poland had managed to borrow inspiration from the pure architecture of Italian Renaissance earlier than Germany. But the second wave of Central European "northern" Renaissance and Mannerism once again demonstrated a certain artistic separateness and homogeneity of our area, whose political centre of gravity moved towards the east. It was the glamour and power of the Jagiellons that attracted Europe's attention at that time. The division of Western Christianity in the wake of the Reformation did not question the distinctiveness of Central Europe as a cultural area. Baroque residences in the same degree extolled both Catholic and Lutheran rulers. And Baroque churches of slender Gothic proportions and with bulbous domes of towers, so distinct from Rome's Baroque, covered much of its area. The churches, about which Czesław Miłosz, when recalling his family Wileńszczyzna wrote: "clouds look like Baroque architecture, and Baroque architecture recalls petrified clouds". The boundary of Baroque architecture, in the area of the multinational Commonwealth of the Two Nations, at that time extending up to the Black Sea, reached far into the east. Political changes in Central Europe, taking place from the close of the eighteenth century – unification of Germany under the Prussian rule, creation of Austria-Hungary, the Partitions of Poland, Napoleonic wars, and Franco-German wars – were the groundwork for the further formation of Central European architectural landscape, penetration of circulating forms or creation of own (Karl Friedrich Schinkel).

Old-time Europe was aware of its cultural and artistic community. Its art was created by artists and founders who did not ask themselves questions whether they created Italian, French, German, Czech, Hungarian, or Polish architecture. Their attitude was formed by local conditions and traditions, and by the awareness that they belonged to the same world of Western art and culture. We have been effectively destroying such a way of understanding the history and art of our Continent since the close of the eighteenth century. The awakening Romantic national awareness, which quickly led to nationalism, needed a cultural self-determination. It was of great significance for the development of the arts (literature, music, painting) and directed them towards national or folk themes. But it also meant that the history of culture, particularly medieval culture, was investigated in the anachronistic categories of national culture and art by assigning it tight perimeters, pitting the superiority of one "culture" against another, and dividing the indivisible. This was started by laying claim to great Europeans and by seriously posing abusive questions about them:

Charlemagne or Karl der Grosse, a French or German emperor?

Mikołaj Kopernik or Nicolaus Copernicus, a Polish or German astronomer?

Veit Stoss or Wit Stwos, a Nuremberg or Cracovian sculpturer?

Peter Parler, or Petr Parleř, a German or Czech architect?

František or Franz Kafka, a Czech, Jewish, German, or even Royal and Imperial Austro-Hungarian writer?

Mischief also tempts us to ask: Karl Dedecius or Karol Dedecjusz?

Works of architecture were given similar treatment. But it is often more difficult to determine their national status than the nationality of people living in a common milieu. Many factors have always composed the work of architecture, some of them often intricate and unclear or too little known. Our source base concerning the circumstances in which many monuments of architecture were created is not complete and is often quite random. Sometimes, written sources are lacking and then the only source is the monument itself. By analysing it we can see its stylistic correlations with particular regions or groups of buildings, but it will not disclose the name of the artist or founder. An architectural object was always associated with one specific place. It remained where it was created. In contrast with other works of art, it could not be moved from place to place (although rare exceptions are known). Only one item is certain in the architectural

monument's birth certificate: place of birth. This place has a geographical, cultural and political dimension. Location on a geographical map provides information about what local natural conditions the architectural object has been subject to and had to comply with. Location on a cultural map informs us about local conditions of material and spiritual culture and its traditions, to which an architectural object had to conform if it was to meet the functions foreseen for it. Finally, location of birthplace on a political map informs us about the borders of a country and the district the object was erected in.

The path from determining the architectural object's "national status" to defining its "nationality" is sometimes distant. The idea of a national state is new in the history of Europe. It was implemented in the previous century, and in this century too. Such an idea was never conceived before in the mind of any ruler or philosopher. On the contrary, the more nations lived under his rule, the more cause for glory the ruler had. Thus within states whole nations coexisted that often differed in culture, or national groups, especially the Jews.

Another item in the architectural object's birth certificate, "parents and ancestors", is also often hard to define, and the parenthood is putative. There were numerous parents: architect, and artists and artisans cooperating with him, a founder or patrons or sometimes group founders. Who and to what extent determined the form of the work is in each case an issue that requires thorough investigation, which not always leads to a decisive settlement. A proportion of architectural monuments (especially medieval) are orphans: neither the artist nor the founder is known. In the Middle Ages only the name of the latter was reckoned with. Contemporary opinion held that emperors, kings, lords and bishops who erected architectural works were their creators. The case was similar with works of art. For the title of his book, Jan Białostocki used the words engraved on a Romanesque reliquary, possibly belonging to Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester: *Ars auro gemmisque prior* – "Art is more valuable than gold and precious stones". He did not disclose, however, that this was only the first part of the maxim engraved on the reliquary by an anonymous artist. The whole reads: *Ars auro gemmisque prior, prior omnibus autor* – "Art is more valuable than gold and precious stones, but the author is the most valuable of all". But this author was not the artist, but the founder! Let us add that the founder was often of foreign nationality to the country where he built the architectural object. This concerned both individuals and foreign national groups (for example, the architecture of German colonists in Transylvania). Even more complex is the question of builders' nationality or origin. If they were foreigners in the country they worked in, were they migratory guests travelling in Europe, did they settle permanently and assimilate with the local people, or were they descendants of foreign newcomers who became rooted in the setting? Extreme views are also held that blood and sweat of the exploited villein, changed into ducats by a foreign founder to pay a foreign artist, is decisive of the affiliation of the object to the goods of local national culture. Would this be a new category of "group founder"?

All of these questions and problems demonstrate how complex and often unsound is the "national birth certificate" of works of architecture. It is easier to situate them within a cultural circle or within political boundaries of a country; it is much more difficult to define them in categories of a national status. This is a warning, but also an encouragement for extended research and methodological deliberations. Problems with the "national identification" emerge all over Europe, but they are especially severe and dangerous in Central Europe. Because of its middle geographical location this area was, on the one hand, most susceptible to the interpenetration and fusion of cultural and artistic influences and currents coming from borderland areas and, on the other, to the movability of political boundaries which meant that many architectural objects used to be or are located outside the political frontiers of the countries within whose area they

were created. On our Continent, Central Europe distinguishes itself by a higher "coefficient" than elsewhere of cultural landscape uniformity and a more frequent occurrence than elsewhere of bicultural or multicultural areas.

From among the scholars of three nations (Italy, France, and Germany) which had an undeniable right to point out that their architecture and art exerted an influence on extensive European areas the greatest activeness from the beginning had been shown by German historians of art, as if to take revenge for Johann Winckelmann, their fellow countryman who, by condemning nonclassical art also denigrated the art of his own nation. The eyes of German scholars, who strived to define their own artistic legacy (*Kunsterbe*), were directed to the West and the East, and depending on the political situation one of these directions predominated and sometimes clearly followed non-scholarly principles. Already young Goethe (1772) proved that the Strasbourg cathedral was "von deutscher Art und Kunst", by which he provoked a violent reaction from the French and a longstanding unresolved dispute. A lot of water must have flowed in the Rhine before Professor Roland Recht, conservator of Strasbourg monuments, sent me, a few years ago, an invitation to attend his lecture, symptomatically entitled *La Cathédrale de Strasbourg – symbole national et symbole européen, produit d'une double culture*.

This last notion, extended from reference to one object to the whole specific area, called "bicultural area" or, in special cases, "multicultural area", has in recent years permanently entered the lexicon of both European art historians and politicians. It has a special significance for Central Europe, both on account of the fact that such areas constitute a fair proportion of Europe, and because of the fact that they concern the countries which, in contrast to member-states of the European Community, still stand a remote chance or do not consider unification in the community. In building a common Central Europe it is indispensable to suppress longstanding resentment and ill-feeling, nationalism and chauvinism, and claims and pretensions to these areas.

It is advisable, following the newly-coined term "European cultural goods", to begin to disseminate the idea of common cultural heritage as "lex suprema" and to create a common policy for its recognition and protection. The notion of common cultural heritage does not solve all the existing problems. It also raises fears that national cultural values might be put into one common European bag and lose their individuality. The necessary course of action is to conduct joint studies and broaden the knowledge of Central European cultural heritage. This requires working out criteria for discussion and cooperation: a place and proportions of national components of culture must be found, and the notion of bicultural and multicultural areas and the limits of the notion of common heritage made precise. Bearing in mind that we are hard put or even cannot determine the "national birth certificate" for many cultural goods, the certificate cannot be disputed when it is unquestionable in the light of the sources and facts. We must render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's, and to both the things that are common and indivisible. Each party will have to show the will and moral courage to denounce the distorted history about "bicultural areas", to recognize and reject the falsities rooted in nationalism or instilled over decades into human minds by the official propaganda machine with quite an effect. If the Poles cannot nerve themselves to do this in relation to the western and northern lands annexed after the war, they will have no moral law to expect the same from their eastern neighbours in relation to the lands lost, nor can they expect full understanding from their western neighbour. Not only the distorted distant historical truth, but also the postwar period and cultural vandalism done at that time must be denounced. These necessities are difficult and painful, but unavoidable for the creation of a common Europe of tomorrow, where Middle Europe will find its place.

Today, ten years after the notion of Central Europe as a cultural area had first become politically fashionable, the first period of a new era of the Continent, free from antagonistic blocs and the Iron Curtain, is over. In this period this notion resurfaced in both the activities and aims of politicians and people of culture and science. In the opinion of politicians it is just as anachronistic as before. Especially in its "Visegrad" version, Central Europe again stands for countries that geographically lie in the centre, culturally in the west, and after liberation from the east they insist on finding themselves in the west politically and economically too, together or in competition. While ten years ago in the West the slogan of Central Europe was one of hope (incidentally, it as quickly as unexpectedly and undeservedly came true) today it arouses fear there admixed with cynical embarrassment. An invisible curtain, replacing the previous Iron Curtain of Helmstedt, seems to be descending along the Oder, Neisse and the curve of the Sudetes.

Such an ahistorical vision of Central Europe is counterbalanced by understanding it as a cultural area not in an opportunistic manner, but as one having genuine historical justification. In contrast to politicians, this is the Europe as perceived by people of culture and science. Perceived in such a way, it may become a plane of understanding and of longtime and far-reaching international cooperation unifying the Continent. Therefore all initiatives and activities on this plane require the special support and participation of people of goodwill and brave mind. Such reassuring initiatives and activities are undertaken by the Cracow International Cultural Centre.

¹ From among the prewar works the following can be mentioned: F. Naumann, *Mitteleuropa* (Berlin 1915); G. Wirsing, *Zwischen Europa und die deutsche Zukunft* (Jena 1932); from the early postwar years: H. C. Meyer, *Mitteleuropa in German Thought and Actions 1918-1945* (The Hague 1955); J. Rothschild, *East Central Europe between the two World Wars* (London 1974); from a series of works published in mid-1980s: R. Riembeck, *Mitteleuropa - Bilanz eines Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt/Main 1983); M. Kundera, *Un Occident kidnappé oder die Tragödie Zentraleuropas*, in: "Komune, Forum für Politik und Ökonomie" (VII 1984); G. Konrad, *Mitteleuropäische Meditationen* (Frankfurt/Main 1985); A. Heller and F. Fehér, *Osteuropa unter dem Schatten eines neuen Rapallo*, in: "Komune ...", op. cit. (VII 1985); K. Schlögel, *Die Mitte liegt ostwärts - Die Deutschen, der verlorene Osten und Mitteleuropa* (Berlin 1986); also quite numerous newspaper articles.

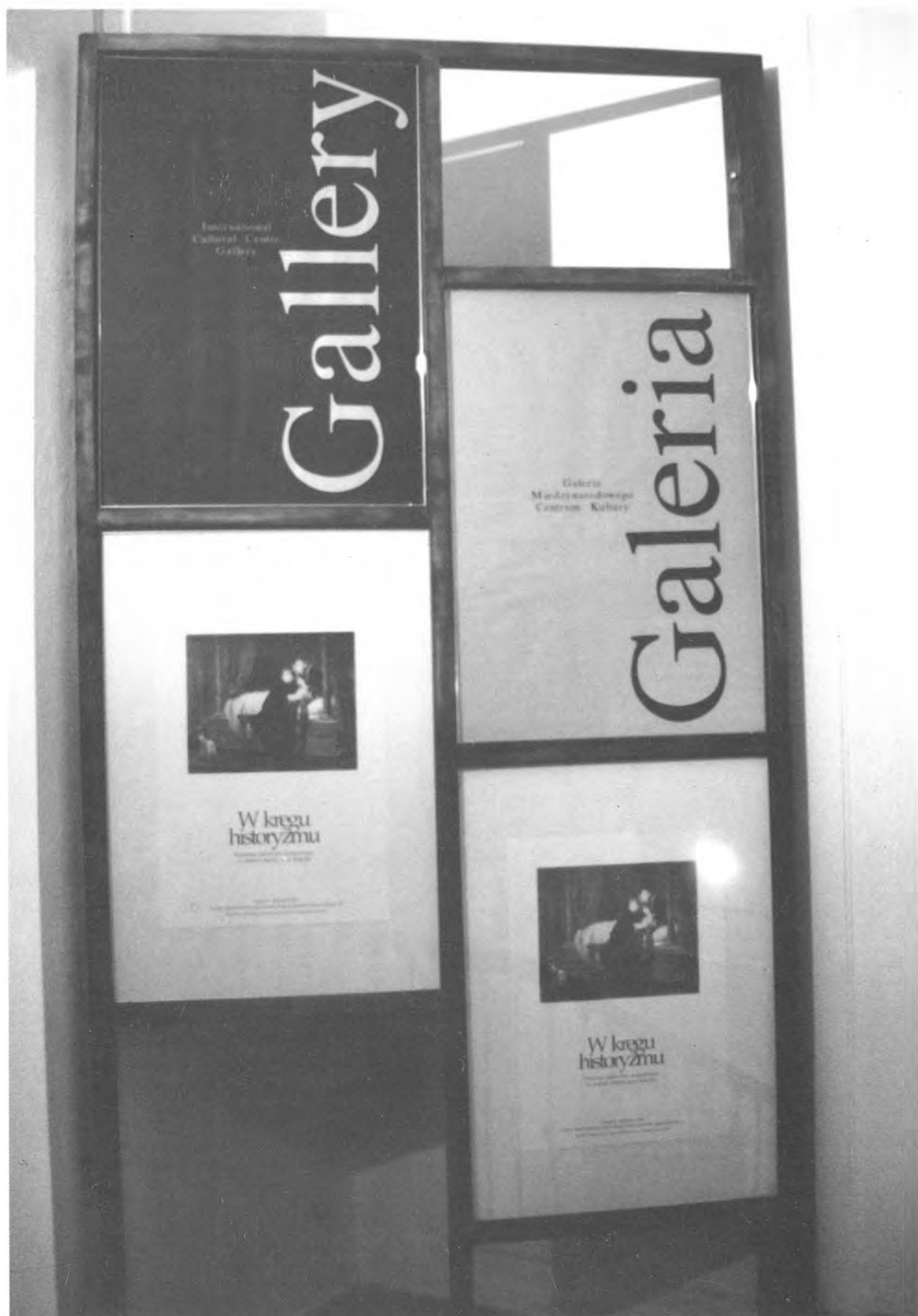
² M. Kundera, *Un Occident...*, op. cit., cf. K. Schlögel, *Die Mitte...*, op. cit.

³ The author of this sketch gave a public lecture in the spring of 1987: *Kulturraum Mitteleuropa* at the Johann Gutenberg University in Mainz. The following year, in a conversation with Ms Marion Gräfin Dönhoff, when he proposed to have his text published in "Die Zeit", he was informed that the theme had lost political topicality in the face of Gorbachev's new slogan.

⁴ See the monumetal collective work: *Deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters als Problem der europäischen Geschichte*, Verlag Sigmarignen 1975, for an extensive bibliography on this subject.



1. The International Cultural Centre in Kraków, Rynek Główny 25



2. In the vestibule of the International Cultural Centre Gallery

THE CENTRE
FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES

In a further year of activity, the Centre for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences continued previous themes on the one hand, and extended the scope of its activity into new areas on the other. As before, in our work we have primarily concentrated on organizing exhibitions in the International Cultural Centre Gallery, but we also paid much more attention to academic activity by organizing a major international conference to mark the centenary of Jan Matejko's death. We did not neglect various activities to promote interesting cultural events and popularize Polish culture abroad.

In June 1993, as part of the international symposium on *Stereotypes and Nations*, the Centre organized an exhibition of works by Zbigniew Dłubak, an outstanding painter, photographer and theoretician of art living in Paris, who created the concept of contextual art. Formally, the exhibition entitled *Against Stereotypes* was a follow-up to the artistic problems presented by us earlier (in December 1992) in the exhibition of Natalia LL who is associated with the circle of avant-garde conceptualists from Wrocław. Ideologically, Zbigniew Dłubak's photograms shown in the Gallery matched the theme of the session. They were the artist's original voice about the creation, functioning and way of perception of stereotypes in art. In the photographic series presented at the exhibition, but primarily in *Desymbolizations*, the artist, by employing various artistic techniques, made the recipient aware of a process we seldom realize when in contact with the work of art. This is the process of symbolization of the artistic object, the creation and functioning of a sign, symbol or convention in art. The exhibition was accompanied by a generously illustrated catalogue with texts by art critics Adam Sobota and Leszek Brogowski, a discussion about the artist's work, and his biography. Zbigniew Dłubak, absent on the opening day of his exhibition, visited the International Cultural Centre and saw the showing of his works in July 1993.

The autumn of 1993 was marked by the centenary celebrations of Jan Matejko's death. This important anniversary left its mark on the previous year's programme of the Centre for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences, whose team, as part of the all-Polish Matejko celebrations, early in the year already started to prepare a major symposium specially for the occasion accompanied by an exhibition of European historicist painting. Definitely our most important venture of 1993, it required a great organizational effort from everyone.



3. The pronouncement of minister Piotr Łukasiewicz during the opening ceremony of the conference *Matejko and Central European Painting*, (November 3 1993)

The international session on *Matejko and Central European Painting* was held on 3–5 November 1993 in the *Prussian Homage* Room of the Cloth Hall in Cracow amongst Matejko's paintings. It was attended by participants from Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Germany, and France. Texts of papers were sent by lecturers from Croatia and Israel. During the three days of the session, the Polish and foreign researchers delivered twenty-three papers, which shows the scale and intensiveness of the session. On the occasion of Matejko's celebrations in Cracow, in addition to lecturers, the International Cultural Centre invited a group of a dozen or so Polish and foreign researchers and experts in the subject as honorary guests of the conference. The session was also attended by honorary guests from Cracow, while the large audience in the *Prussian Homage* Room was made up of art historians and lovers of Matejko's work from Cracow and the whole of Poland.

Our general principle adopted beforehand was for participants to focus primarily on those aspects of Matejko's work that had been relatively poorly investigated and which used to be so controversial, in place of Matejko's iconography which has been analysed extensively in recent years. The intention of the session organizers was to present an objective picture of Matejko as a painter and to set his work, so far assessed from a Polish perspective, against the works of some artists from Central Europe in the second half of the 19th century. This is the reason why along with well-known Polish scholars a relatively large group of foreign lecturers took part in the conference. This enabled a presentation of Matejko's work within a wider European context without having to remain confined merely to the question of the "painted history" of Poland.

It is difficult to assess to what degree the conference on Matejko came up to expectations. Certainly some questions arising from the initial principles have remained unanswered. As with every scholarly forum of this kind, our conference too was above all a lively meeting of different temperaments, personalities and research orientations that cannot be "programmed" or limited to a prescribed framework. This is why the outcome of the session, despite the defined thematic range, remained an unknown quantity until the end. On the other hand, this element of the unknown, which

is the risk of every conference, may have a positive effect on the attractiveness of such meetings.

In evaluating the session results in retrospect, it can be said that we managed to deal with a portion of problems relating to the complex and controversial question of Matejko's paintings. This was mainly the task of the Polish scholars who discussed some new problems that remained unstressed before, starting from the provocatively titled presentation of M. Porebski *Was Matejko a Painter?*, through an attempt to study the relation of Matejko's work to academicism (M. Poprzęcka), to showing the proportion of artistic patterns in Matejko's work (T. Grzybkowska, J. Ostrowski). In this respect the session asked questions rather than answered them, and did not yet come to final conclusions. It must be clearly stressed that the session launched a new important stage in the studies of Jan Matejko's work. The anniversary meeting in Cracow expressed the need to conduct further research whose direction had been shown.

It is also fitting to consider to what extent the main objective of the session, contained in its title *Matejko and Central European Painting*, was fulfilled. Foreign scholars who came to Cracow primarily focused their attention on presenting the situation of historical painting in different countries and artistic circles, and only sporadically made reference to the work of Matejko himself. An undeniable value of these papers was the fact that Polish listeners were given their first opportunity to acquaint themselves with such a comprehensive picture of the 19th-century historical painting in Europe, starting from Russia, through Croatia, Hungary, Austria, the Czech Republic, and Germany, to France. Although the lecturers did not directly refer to the question formulated in the title, for a careful participant in the session the answer to the question about the position of Jan Matejko's work in the context of Central European painting clearly presented itself after hearing the whole session.

It seems that the session provided ample material for some final conclusions to be drawn. Such a recapitulation will find place in a publication, now being prepared for print, comprising the papers delivered at the session. This extensive publication in several languages, supplemented with illustrative material, will be a lasting academic effect of the conference.

On the first day of the conference on Matejko, an exhibition entitled *Within the Circle of Historicism* was opened at the ICC Gallery. For the first time in Poland selected examples were shown of the work of outstanding representatives of European historicist painting. The exhibition, on display from November 1993 to January 1994,

4. Final panel discussion
of the Matejko conference
(from left: Jarosław Krawczyk PhD,
Prof. Maria Poprzęcka,
Dr Marek Rostworowski,
Prof. Piotr Krakowski,
Jacek Purchla PhD)



was highly relevant to the session and was illustrative of the session's topic. It also provided an opportunity to confront Matejko's paintings, shown in Cracow at that time, with the work of the masters of European historicism contemporary with him.

The French circle, so important in 19th-century painting, was represented by Paul Delaroche who was active in the first half of the 19th century, the Munich school by Karl Theodor von Piloty, professor at the well-known Munich Academy of long standing; and Viennese art by an exceptionally popular *fin-de-siècle* artist, Hans Makart. The paintings by outstanding artistic personalities of European historicism were augmented by a collection of oil sketches by several Hungarian painters specializing in historical themes, such as Mihály Munkácsy, Sandor Liezen-Mayer, Bertalan Székely, Gyula Benczur, and Viktor Madarász.

This small exposition that merely touched on the issue of historicism through available and selected examples could in no sense exhaust this complex issue. Rather it should be treated as a starting-point for a further and more detailed comparison of the Polish variety of historical painting, so much dominated by Matejko's philosophy of history, with the historicism in the painting of other European countries. Even such a cursory review could open a discussion about the role of 19th-century historical painting and its varieties which depended on their place of origin. It seems an obvious conclusion, even for an ordinary recipient, that in the countries that lost their independence, such as Poland or Hungary, historical painting that made reference to events from the nation's past was different in character and higher in rank than in France, Germany, or Austria where, although just as popular, it most often concentrated on quite trivial sensational and anecdotal themes.

In many respects the exhibition was a pioneering work, including a purely organizational sense. For the first time we managed to obtain and present in our own Gallery – that is, in non-museum interiors – paintings from major European collections in Paris, Munich, Vienna, and Budapest (Musée du Louvre, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Österreichische Galerie, Magyar Nemzeti Galeria), and several domestic collections (National Museums in Cracow, Warsaw and Poznań, and the Czartoryski Museum). Additionally, to make the exposition more diverse and lively, period furniture, sculptures, cloths, and vessels were hired for the exhibition from Cracovian museums. The exhibition, which was open to the public for two months and provided a rare op-



5. *Within the Circle of Historicism*,
fragment of the exhibition
(ICC Gallery, November 3
– December 31, 1993)

portunity for direct contact with works previously unknown in Poland, enjoyed great popularity. It was eagerly frequented by groups of secondary school students, for whom it was an excellent object-lesson about historicism in art.

In November and December 1993, as part of the promotion of the exhibition *Within the Circle of Historicism*, we organized in the ICC Gallery a series of weekly open meetings under the same title. Invited lecturers discussed in turn the themes connected with historicism, starting from general characteristics of the movement (Prof. Piotr Krakowski), through historicism in architecture (Dr Wojciech Bałus) and in painting (Dr Marek Zgórniak) to close with some detailed problems of the works on display (Anna Zeńczak MA). By creating a natural ground for a discussion about the problems touched upon by the exhibition itself, this series undoubtedly did a great deal to popularize the problems of historicism which Polish art lovers are still considerably unfamiliar with. A fairly high turnout at the lectures also proved that the idea to complement the exhibitions organized by us with theoretical commentaries worked excellently in practice.

The Gallery started the year 1994 with two exhibitions connected with Polish borderlands. The first, entitled *Dziedzictwo kresów* [Heritage of the Eastern Borderlands], was a photographic exhibition aimed, according to the organizers' initial intention, at accompanying the promotion of the first volume of *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* [Materials for the History of Religious Art in the Eastern Borderlands of the Old Polish Republic], published at that time by the International Cultural Centre. It comprised about a hundred photographs that sometimes were a frightening record of the state of preservation, or rather of the destruction, of religious architecture in the former Province of Ruthenia. The photographs were selected from a huge documentation created during the cataloguing done in this area by a team of researchers led by Prof. Jan Ostrowski. In effect, this thematic rather than artistic exhibition proved very attractive and evidently satisfied some of public expectations owing to its great popularity, not only among visitors from the Eastern borderlands. The interest went far beyond Cracow. The exhibition was also shown in other Polish cities, starting from Silesia. In the future – through the offices of the Polish cultural or diplomatic posts – it may be shown abroad as well.

In March 1994, to mark the bicentennial of the Kościuszko Uprising, the Centre for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences recalled the sadly forgotten, yet so very interesting, General National Exhibition organized in Lvov in 1894. Being unable to present all the rich issues of the General National Exhibition demanding respect even today, we decided to present only some of its aspects and stress the artistic theme which was most interesting for us.

The Lvov Exhibition was made possible in our Gallery above all by the unique photographs documenting this unusual event. They were reproduced in Lvov specially for the needs of our exhibition. In selecting the photographs, the exhibition authors focused their attention mainly on the fanciful, rich and extremely diverse architecture of the exhibition pavilions. Some authentic period objects were shown as well: paintings and sculptures from the National Museum in Cracow, exhibited over a century ago in Lvov, and commemorative medals and catalogues accompanying the Lvov National Exhibition. In our Gallery they played the role of "quotations" from the Lvov Exhibition. Combined with sepia photography and a very careful artistic setting, it created the impression of an exhibition from the end of the century. It seems that not only the idea but the exceptional atmosphere at the exhibition ensured that it was very popular with the public.

The next two exhibitions of contemporary art, presented in our Gallery in the spring of 1994, concentrated above all on artistic themes. They were exhibitions of Margot Trierweiler and Teresa Seger, two artists of the middle-aged generation. Each of them in her own way represented significant trends in contemporary European art. Both

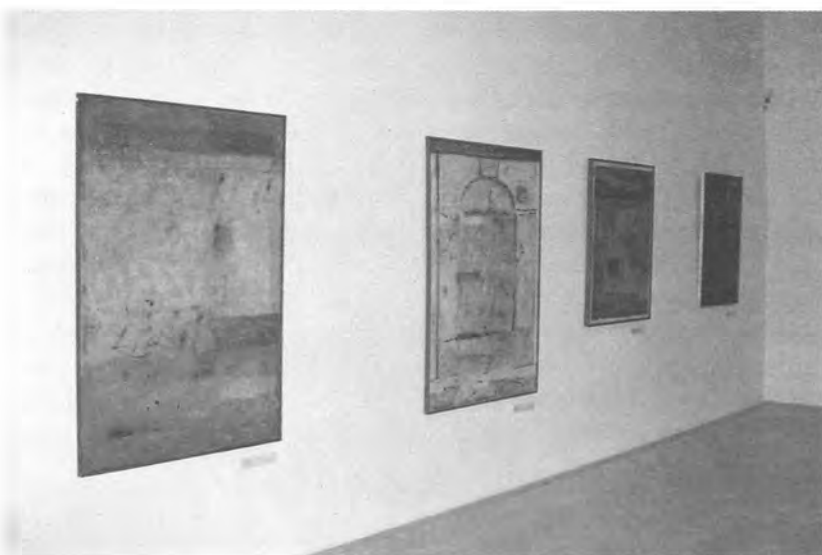


6. *Lwowska Wystawa Krajowa 1894* [Lvov National Exhibition 1894], the exhibition recalling the major Polish cultural exhibition in the 19th century (ICC Gallery, March 15 – April 4, 1994)

exhibitions combined some elegant aestheticism, which meant that independent of the essential themes of the exhibitions and the paintings' artistic value, the viewer also, or perhaps above all, felt pure pleasure at having contact with the paintings shown in the Gallery.

The second half of April and early May 1994 witnessed an exhibition of the paintings of Margot Trierweiler, a German artist from Berlin. The exhibition was as interesting as hard to define unambiguously. At the first moment her works on show in our Gallery bring to mind abstraction, *informel*, and sometimes – owing to a highlighted

7. The pictures of Margot Trierweiler (ICC Gallery, April 18 – May 10)



and unconventional underpainting – even the colouring of matter. After a while we can perceive some allusions to or quotations from reality which – combined into the abstract matter – assume the form of a sign or symbol. The art of Margot Trierweiler gradually unfolds hidden themes and discloses its extremely emotional character. In her painting the artist above all expresses her feelings and emotions, makes reference to past memories (mainly from the war period) and to connotations aroused by literary works. It is perhaps this artistic expressionism which causes Trierweiler's art, with all its studio maturity and setting in the European painterly tradition, to have such a strong effect on the recipient and to be perceived as a distinctive and independent phenomenon. The exhibition was supplemented by a Polish-English-German catalogue with several colour reproductions of the artist's paintings.

Quite similar in character was an exhibition of collages by Urszula Teresa Gogulska-Seger, an artist living and creating for twenty years in Sweden. She comes, though, from Cracow, where she studied at the Academy of Fine Arts, and then showed herself to be a gifted scenography designer. The latest work of Teresa Seger shown in the ICC Gallery may be considered a variety of geometric abstraction. In Cracow the artist showed lucid and elegant paintings which gave priority to aesthetic values. She does not limit herself, though, to formal questions. In the crystal clear and colourfully subtle collages a distinct emotional content is emphasized, while the moody effect at times brings to mind the compositions of Kandinsky.

Because of the atmosphere and character of its interior, the International Cultural Centre Gallery sometimes holds small-audience lectures or meetings unrelated to exhibitions. We organized such a formal meeting in December 1993 as part of the Cracovian celebrations of the sixtieth birthday of Krzysztof Penderecki. It was combined with awarding the celebrator a unique publication issued by the ICC to mark the occasion, written by Prof. Władysław Stróżewski and entitled *On Inspiration*. The exhibition *Within the Circle of Historicism* organized at that time in the Gallery was a natural setting befitting the jubilee.

In May 1994, our Gallery also held a promotion of the book *Sztuka Trzeciej Rzeszy* [Art of the Third Reich], written by the supervisor of our Centre, Prof. Piotr Krakowski and published by the International Cultural Centre and the IRSA publishers.

From time to time, the Centre for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences also organizes open meetings, talks and lectures intended for the public at large. The lectures held so far have concerned European problems in their widest meaning. Perhaps because of this theme, but also on account of the lecturers, they aroused great interest. Towards the end of 1993 the Centre was visited by Prof. Krzysztof Skubiszewski. In his



8. The collages of Urszula Teresa Gogulska-Seger from the series *Phases of the Moon*, (ICC Gallery, May 16 – June 6, 1994)



9. Professor Krzysztof Skubiszewski during the lecture in the International Cultural Centre

extensive presentation he discussed the problem of Poland's position in the future Europe. In early May 1994, Jan Nowak-Jeziorański delivered a lecture *W poszukiwaniu nadziei* [In Search of Hope], combined with a promotion of his books.

In February 1994 our Centre made the first attempt at the "export" activity. It joined a broader project, prepared by the Centre for Information and Polish Culture in Budapest, to present in Hungary some events from the cultural life of Cracow. As part of the month-long series of cultural and artistic events, our Centre, in collaboration with the Starmach Gallery, presented an exhibition of Jerzy Nowosielski's drawings at the Polish Centre's headquarters. This was supplemented by a special Polish-English catalogue to mark the occasion.

At a meeting in Budapest, Jacek Purchla, Director of the International Cultural Centre discussed the Centre's work and made a commentary to the film about the European Cultural Month in Cracow. This meeting (like the whole series of events in Cracow) concurred with the preparations for the European Cultural Month in Budapest (which was inaugurated on 11 March 1994) and certainly provided interesting comparative material for the organizers of the Month in Hungary. At the University of Budapest, Professor Piotr Krakowski met the circle of local historians of art and gave them a lecture entitled *Matejko and Munkácsy Versus Central European Historicism*. Taking up the theme initiated by the conference on Matejko and the exhibition *Within the Circle of Historicism*, the lecture confirmed certain analogies in the 19th-century treatment of history between the painting of both countries.

The successful cooperation with the Centre for Information and Polish Culture in Budapest has shown that the Centre for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences can, and should plan future such ventures to promote Polish culture abroad. The Budapest experiment has proved that we are capable not only of popularizing the activity of the Centre itself through meetings with its representatives, film showings, and promotion of books published by the International Cultural Centre, but also that, as part of a certain broad cultural repertoire, it is possible to organize exhibitions of Polish contemporary art abroad. In the first place, a natural partner in preparing this type of events should be Polish cultural posts abroad, and to them we direct our offer. This year's Cracovian month in Budapest seems to have made a good start to such an activity. But this is a question of the Centre's future plans.

[trans. Jerzy Pilawski]

KATARZYNA BRYKOWICZ

THE INSTITUTE
OF EUROPEAN CULTURES

In line with the statutory principles and programme of the Centre, Central Europe remains the focus of activity of the Institute of European Cultures. Problems such as cultural regions and national minorities, region-integrating space, borderlands with their complexity of problems, familiarization of other nations and societies with Polish culture, national and ethnic stereotypes, and preservation of cultural heritage, have always been present in the Institute's work. It is difficult to fix a clear boundary between particular themes, for they overlap and intermingle. Mention must also be made of the considerable documentary output of the Centre in the shape of five publications which include materials from symposia or begin new library editions.

In discussing fully the year-long work of the Institute, I will use a chronological and problem "key":

June 1993 (22–29) witnessed a very interesting conference on *Stereotypes and Nations* with the participation of representatives of the world of science and culture from almost every part of the world. The project was created by Prof. Jacek Woźniakowski and organized by the International Cultural Centre Foundation. In addition to an academic, seminar part, with the participation of such celebrities as Czesław Miłosz, Tomas Venclova, and Stanisław Barańczak, the conference comprised a comprehensive artistic programme complementary to the theme of the conference (presentation of films, poster exhibition, concerts, and stage plays). The conference centred on ethnic and national stereotypes and the role they play in promoting or impeding international cooperation. Stereotypes, or oversimplified generalizations, rooted in human consciousness are reflected not only in speech but also in artistic work and literature (in film, painting, graphic art, even in music). They are omnipresent in mass media: the press, radio, and television. It is essential not to be afraid to discuss touchy issues so that especially those neighbouring countries which have a long past record of mutual animosity and discord (for example the Hungarians and Rumanians, Poles and Ukrainians, Czechs and Slovaks, French and Germans) begin to overcome prejudice and are able to establish dialogue. This discussion about the cultural sources of conflicts – presentation of one's own arguments, as well as an opportunity to see oneself through the distorting mirror of your neighbour – proved to be a very interesting form of activity; it might also have become yet another integrating element in the reconstruction of Europe.



10. The building of the PWST [State College of Theatrical Arts] in Straszewski St where the international conference *Stereotypes and Nations*, took place in June 1993

It seems that the conference has realized its objective. It was certainly inspirational in the development of such themes as: multiculturalism versus multinationality, the limits of tolerance, universal values, relativity of valuation, education of future generations, racism and religion, etc. The most interesting papers and presentations during the discussions are being prepared for print. Because of the profound interest in the subject of stereotypes, both in Poland and abroad, the organizers intend to publish a book in two languages, Polish and English. It should appear by the end of 1994.

In the summer of 1993 the finishing touches were put to the publication of material from four conferences organized or co-organized by the Institute in 1992. All publications were printed between June and December 1993. In order of appearance, they were the following:

- * *Das 500jährige Jubiläum der Krakauer Studienzeit von Nicolaus Copernicus* (Science series, no. 3) – materials from the conference held during European Cultural Month in June 1992 to mark the quincentenary of Nicolaus Copernicus's studies at the Jagiellonian University.
- * *Cultural Policies* – this publication is a result of the conference organized in September 1992 by the Centre and the Goethe-Institut of Cracow. It dealt with the functioning of cultural policy in the changing political and economic systems of Central Europe, through the example of Poland and Germany. Writers, politicians, and representatives of the world of science and culture discussed the role and responsibility of the state for cultural policy at local and governmental levels, and the operation and efficiency of cultural organizations and institutions (creative associations and foundations).
- * *L'Université et la ville au Moyen Age et d'autres questions du passé universitaire* (Science series, no. 2). This volume contains material from a conference organized by the



11. The next day of the conference *Stereotypes and Nations*: the spontaneous response of the audience during the lecture of Krzysztof Zanussi

International Cultural Centre together with the Jagiellonian University and the French Institute in Cracow in May 1992. It discussed the links between the city and university in the Middle Ages with respect to different social and economic relationships.

- * *Régions, régionalismes et conscience régionale face à l'intégration européenne* (Science series, no. 4) was the title of the conference closing European Cultural Month. It dealt with the problems of regional awareness, the criteria enabling to see changes in it, and those historical factors that contributed to the creation of culturally mixed areas in Central Europe.

The regional theme was accented most in the Institute's activity. In cooperation with TEPSA (Trans-European Policy Studies Association) in Brussels, a seminar was held on 17–18 December 1993 in Luxembourg with the active participation of two delegates of the Institute, Prof. Jerzy Wyrozumski and Henryk Woźniakowski. The seminar (entitled *Towards a Definition of European Identity. Contribution of Central-Eastern and Western European Countries. A Comparative Study*) brought together representatives of the world of science and politics from Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, France, Belgium, and Luxembourg.

A research project, started in 1991, and concerning the cataloguing of monuments of religious art found in the area of the old Polish Republic (now belonging to the former USSR countries) was continued by a team led by Prof. Jan Ostrowski. It comprised field work, photographic documentation, text preparation and editing. Published in January 1994 by the International Cultural Centre was the long-expected first volume of the *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* [Materials for the History of Religious Art in the Eastern Borderlands of the Old Polish Republic], summarizing a certain stage of research.



12. Promotion of the publication of the Institute of European Cultures during the opening of the exhibition *Dziedzictwo kresów* [Heritage of the Eastern Borderlands] (ICC Gallery, February 10, 1994)

It is the first Polish attempt to catalogue monuments now found in the area of Lithuania, Byelorussia, and Ukraine. World War II and political and social changes that have occurred in these lands over the past half-century contributed to the obliteration of their cultural form that had been long in the making. Confiscation of estates brought about a decline of country residences. Movements of people led to the devastation of a huge number of monuments of religious art. The churches, even if they survived architecturally intact, almost as a rule lost their fittings, of which only a minor part found place in museums or was taken away by repatriates. Dangers are imminent even today, when the devotional functions of churches are being restored; these involve conveying Roman Catholic churches to other denominational communities, and restoration works carried out in an unprofessional manner. The extent of losses is known only in outline. For centuries the area of USSR was practically inaccessible to Polish researchers; although the publications published there were a source of sometimes invaluable information, they were not exhaustive and rarely met the scholarly criteria of reliability.

The first in a series of volumes is devoted to the former province of Ruthenia. Each volume will comprise descriptions of several or a dozen or so churches and monasteries. The first volume of *Materials...* was a specific testing ground, in respect of both the concept and the methodology of studies. Despite their diversity, the churches whose monographs comprise this volume (Buczacz, Hodowica, Lvov – St Anthony's Church, Nawaria, Olesko, Podhorce), are all easily accessible, of comparatively high artistic standards, and amply documented.



13. Professor Jan K. Ostrowski signs the first volume of *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* [Materials for the History of Religious Art on the Eastern Borderlands of the Old Polish Republic]

The second volume, edited by Jerzy Petrus and concerned with the churches and monasteries of Żółkiew, is also nearing completion. It will comprise monographs of the local collegiate church, the church and monastery of Dominicans, and the church and nunnery of Felicians. Work on the next volumes is being conducted concurrently. The third volume will comprise a study of churches from the borderland areas of the former Przemyśl diocese. It will consist of monographs of sanctuaries in Bruchnał, Dobromil, Drohobycz, Hussaków, Nowe Miasto, Stara Sól and others. Some of these valuable monuments will be introduced to scholarly literature for the first time. Work is also being carried out on the fourth volume which is to comprise the churches in Biały Kamień, Busko, Kulików, Mikulińce, Milatyn, Monasterzyska and Podhajce.

During the period under discussion preparatory work was conducted for the next enterprise: the Institute undertook to organize in October 1994 an international symposium on *The City and Folk Culture in the History of Byelorussia, Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine*, that is, in the history of countries whose fate was linked to a lesser or greater extent over the centuries. The session aims to answer some vital questions relating to the contemporary cultural reality of the mentioned countries today and in the past. The following problems are at issue:

- * the role of ethnically foreign and native elements in the creation of urban networks
- * the process of creating and transforming urban society through the centuries, with a special focus on ethnic and denominational transformations
- * the impact of urban culture on the folk culture throughout its historical development
- * folk culture as an element of national identity, and
- * folk culture, its future and the threats to it (a preserve or a catalyst?).

It turned out that the subject of the session aroused a huge interest. Many more papers were submitted than it will be possible to hear during just the two days of the conference. Thus it seems necessary to organize a similar meeting in 1995 as well.

Since January 1994, preparations have been well under way for an international conference on *Poland in Europe* to be held on June 1994. This is a joint initiative of the International Cultural Centre (implemented through the efforts of the Institute) and "The International Centre for Development of Democracy" Foundation. The main problems to be discussed: European identity and the integration of Poland into the European Union and other European structures. Eminent intellectuals and creative artists, politicians, economists, and representatives of circles involved in the integrating process from Poland and abroad were invited. The intention of the organizers is to show that Poland's full integration into Western supranational structures lies in the interest of our partners from the West, and that only a broad discussion and the overcoming of existing psychological barriers and stereotypes can facilitate and accelerate this process.

Just for the record, it is fitting to note an international conference on *Brentano's Heritage* devoted to the renowned philosopher Franz Brentano who contributed considerably to the development of the main currents of modern philosophy. The conference was held in November 1993 and was organized by the Institute of European Cultures, the Jagiellonian University Institute of Philosophy, and the Austrian Consulate General in Cracow.

Another initiative of the Institute that is worth mentioning is a working discussion under the title *Synteza kulturowych wartości przestrzeni Państwa Polskiego* [Synthesis of Cultural Space Values of the Polish State] that was held on 14 April 1994. Research in this subject was carried out in 1990–1993 in the Regional Centres for the Research and Protection of Cultural Environment throughout Poland, in teams combining humanists of different fields: town-planners, geographers, ethnologists, and historians. The ultimate goal of the studies is to prepare an *Atlas wartości kulturowych przestrzeni Państwa Polskiego* [Atlas of Cultural Space Values of the Polish State], a pub-



14. The post-Cameldolite buildings on Wigry (presently the House for Creative Work of the Ministry of Culture and the Fine Arts) where the *Spotkanie na pograniczu* [Meeting at the Borderline] took place

lication that is very important for the new territorial division of the country. Basic principles include the following: (1) A cartographic presentation of proposals for a territorial division of Poland based on analytic studies supported by sociological studies. (2) Development and cartographic presentation of non-material values of spaces. (3) Separation of special areas, on the basis of detailed interdisciplinary studies into those with preserved traditions of spiritual life, those inhabited by little-transformed societies, etc.

An important objective of the Institute is to maintain and develop contacts with institutions and organizations closely concerned with problems of the multiculturalism of Europe, and of regions and regionalisms. One such organization based in Wrocław is the "Krzyżowa" Foundation for European Understanding. I participated in another in the series of conferences organized by the Foundation, this time devoted to the *Resistance of the Krzyżowa Circle – its Moral and Political Significance after 50 Years*. Held in Berlin on 24–25 September 1993, it was co-organized by the Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand, the Evangelische Akademie Berlin-Brandenburg, and the "Krzyżowa" Foundation counterparts in Berlin and Frankfurt am Main.

Taking as a starting-point the concepts of the Krzyżowa Circle – an anti-Hitlerism German resistance group which planned the future of Europe as a whole after the decline of the National Socialism – the conference discussed the questions of economic systems, relations between nations and countries, and European integration, with particular emphasis on the links between patriotism and nationalism in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Our contemporary aspirations for dialogue and cooperation between people having different views is nothing new; the creators of the Krzyżowa Circle already expressed them 50 years ago.

On 6–8 April 1994, on behalf of the Institute, I took part in the *Spotkanie na pograniczu* [Meeting at the Borderline] held in Sejny, and organized by the "Borderline" Foundation and the "Borderline of Arts, Cultures, and Nations" Centre. It was a debating forum devoted on this occasion to border communities and national minorities and the role of mass media in solving problems on the border: local community versus national minority. The meeting discussed problems of the Lithuanian minority in Poland, and of the Hungarian minority in Rumanian Transylvania. The meeting was accompanied by two exhibitions: of documentary photography *Granicami Polski* [Along the Polish Borders], and of archival photography *Cztery pociechy Izraela* [Four Consolations of Israel].

In the future we wish to lay a greater stress on the development of cooperation between similar centres in Poland and abroad, including the question of creating networks of regional institutions.

[trans. Jerzy Pilawski]

KRZYSZTOF BRÓŃSKI

THE INSTITUTE
FOR URBAN, ARCHITECTURAL,
AND MONUMENT PRESERVATION STUDIES

Several reflections on the Institute's course and forms of activity come to mind in an attempt to sum up its work so far. The primary objectives outlined during the organizational stage have been realized, but current needs prompted us to verify the scope of initiatives undertaken. Compared with the first year of activity, we can talk of a certain narrowing in the field of study and of specialization in the chosen themes, a necessary course of events considering the profusion of research problems related to the functioning of cities.

An important aspect of the Institute's activity is creating areas of understanding – by way of organizing conferences and workshops – between representatives and practitioners of different fields of science, facilitating an exchange of opinions, and working out interdisciplinary methods of research that would enable the achievements of science to be translated into practice.

Two basic and complementary themes, the historic and the contemporary, are dominant. The former comprises the problems of urban development in the past, not least in the last two centuries crucial for this development, the latter concentrates on the problems of managing historic cities in the conditions of transition to a market economy and of reviving local autonomy.

Of crucial importance is research in the integrated regeneration of historic cities; primarily this involves the development of the necessary instruments to oversee the transformation of the cultural environment and to use the advantage of possessing monuments for an economic stimulation of selected areas of historic cities. Already in the first year of its activity the Institute has organized an international symposium on *Managing Historic Cities*. It was a starting-point for multifaceted studies into the management of historic cities in a market economy. We have undertaken several research projects within this subject, both on our own and in conjunction with other institutions.

The project *City Marketing and Planning* was undertaken in 1992 in cooperation with the Institute of Urban Planning at Vienna Technical University. One of its elements was the organization by our Institute of the seminar on *City Marketing and Planning*. At present organizational work is under way for the congress on *Urban Marketing*. It will summarize the past experience of European experts, theoreticians and practitioners of the field alike. Originally planned for the spring of 1994, the congress has been rescheduled for 1995 for organizational reasons. Particular attention in the prepara-



15. The manor house in Radziejowice,
an example of the local architecture (reconstruction of the 70s)

tions for the congress is being paid to the analysis of selected problems of the city's promotion. The project is being coordinated by Dr Zbigniew Zuziak. As part of the project, one of the tasks has been the work "Marketing urbanistyczny a rozwój przestrzeni miejskiej" [Urban Marketing and the Development of the City Space]. It attempts to explain how to use marketing instruments for managing the city space. Particular attention has been paid by the authors to the role information plays in urban marketing.

Selected problems of managing historic cities were the theme of the workshops on *Urban Policies*, prepared by the Institute as part of the conference on *Privatization and Socioeconomic Policy in Central and Eastern Europe*. It was organized on 18–21 October 1993 by Boston College, the Jagiellonian University, the Academy of Economics, the International Cultural Centre, and the Agency for Development of the Cracow Region. The workshops were attended by town-planners and economists from Poland and the US, including Dr Władysław Brzeski, Dr Zbigniew Zuziak, Mr John Winters, and Jacek Purchla PhD.

The visible effects of research done on this group of problems are summarized in the publication *Managing Historic Cities*, which also contains recommendations for the future and is addressed at theoreticians and practitioners of urban management alike. The book is co-authored by eminent experts in town-planning, economics, and sociology, including Prof. Gregory Ashworth of Groningen, Prof. Giorgio Piccinato of Venice, Prof. François Denieul of Paris, and Prof. Tadeusz Markowski of Łódź.

The seminar on *Revitalization of Historic Urban Complexes. The Case of Cracow*, devoted to the problems of modernizing historic cities, was organized in May 1994 by the Department of Cultural Heritage of the Council of Europe in collaboration with the Centre for Urban Studies and the City of Cracow Office. The meeting recapitulated an international pilot project, initiated by the ICC in 1991, for the revitalization of the historic Lubicz Jurisdiction in Cracow. Benefiting from the participation in the seminar of West European experts, representatives of local governments and of the ministries concerned, the meeting endeavoured to thoroughly discuss the technical modernization and social problems associated with the old housing stock in Poland. The starting-point for the discussion was a report delivered by J. M. Ballester, director of the department.

Developing a network of contacts and experience-sharing play a vital role in the work of the Institute. Mention must be made here of the increasing cooperation with our southern and eastern neighbours. In November 1993 Jacek Purchla PhD took part in the international conference on *Riga Centre – the Monument of Town-Building* organized by the Latvian UNESCO Committee. This conference became an opportunity to establish contacts with experts in the architectural heritage of Eastern Europe. During his stay in Bratislava in January 1994, Leszek Jodliński, the Institute's coordinator of research projects in the history of 19th and 20th century architecture, met Prof. Janos Bakoš, director of the Art Institute at the Slovakian Academy of Sciences. Professor Bakoš accepted an invitation to give lectures during this year's conservation course to be organized by the Institute and the College for New Europe.

The visit to Bratislava also initiated the Institute's cooperation with Academia Istropolitana. Regeneration of historic cities, tourist marketing, preservation of cultural heritage and problems of urban planning are just a few study topics foreseen in the cooperation. Jaroslav Kilian, director of Academia Istropolitana, proposed an exchange of researchers and lectures on the above topics as part of the Academia programme.

During the conference on *Town Planning in Historic Cities*, organized by the Academia in March 1994, Dr Zbigniew Zuziak delivered a paper entitled *Revitalization of Historic Cities – Policies and Instruments*.



16. Meeting of the Committee of the UNESCO experts in Riga in November 1993 (in the middle Jacek Purchla PhD)

On 25–29 April 1994, President of Cracow Józef Lassota and Jacek Purchla PhD participated in The 4th World Conference of Historical Cities in Kyoto. In his paper entitled *Managing Historic City – Cracow's Experience*, director Purchla presented the essential problems relating to the protection of Cracow's cultural heritage. At the closing of the conference, the organization of the World Conference of Historical Cities in 1998 was bestowed, through the offices of the Cracow delegation, on Cracow.

In May 1994 the Institute's workers were especially active. On 4–8 May, Leszek Jodliński participated in a conference on regional architecture in Europe entitled *Architecture régionaliste: formes et valeurs. Essai d'approche comparative européenne*, organized in Paris by the French Ministry of Culture. He delivered a paper by J. Purchla and L. Jodliński entitled *Kraków and Zakopane at the Turn of the Century – in Search of a National Style*. On 19–21 May, Zbigniew Zuziak, Krzysztof Broński, and Leszek Jodliński took part in the first of the meetings as part of the *Górny Śląsk i Małopolska w Europie Środką* [Upper Silesia and Little Poland in Central Europe] project. These matters will be given more extensive treatment in the subsequent parts of the report. This period of intensive external contacts was concluded by the participation of Prof. Piotr Krakowski and Jacek Purchla PhD in the international conference on *Architecture in Galicia in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, organized by Lvov Technical University to mark its 150th anniversary (23–27 May).

Based on the experience of Western European historic cities that employ tourism as a vital element of revitalization, the Institute took up the subject of tourism in relation to Polish cities. Tourism may become a vital factor in strengthening the economic foundations and urban tissue of our historic cities. What decides this, is proper management of the tourist market, which involves not only stimulating tourism as a branch of the economy, but above all the choice of such forms and scope of tourism as are connected with the city's "tourist carrying capacity". These problems are discussed in the project *Marketing turystyczny dla historycznych dzielnic miast polskich* (*Tourist Marketing of Historic Districts of Polish Cities*) which is being prepared by us. This project consists

of two parts: general, involving the formulation of methodological principles for tourist marketing, and detailed, involving the application of the developed principles in selected historic areas. In 1993 the thematic conception of the project was developed, methodological principles were laid down, and a database for selected case studies compiled. The work will be completed in December 1994. The project team is led by Dr Zbigniew Zuziak.

The Institute has taken part in the work of an international team devising a strategy for the regeneration of the Cracow district of Kazimierz as part of a pilot project financed by the European City Cooperation System (ECOS). The idea was conceived at an international seminar on *Managing Historic Cities*. The aim of the project is to prepare, drawing on West European experience, the proper instruments of spatial planning policies; for inefficiency of the methods employed so far is the weakest point in the management of our historic cities. Dr Zbigniew Zuziak represents the Institute in the work of a team of experts. Representatives of municipal authorities in Edinburgh, Berlin, and Cracow are also involved in the realization of the project. The completion of work is planned for 1994. Seminars in Cracow in April, in Edinburgh in May, and in Berlin in September were held as part of the project. Within this problem area, Dr Zbigniew Zuziak prepared the work "Kultura, turystyka a rozwój ekonomiczny Kazimierza" [Culture and Tourism Versus Economic Growth of Kazimierz]. The author defined the possibilities and conditions for the development of culture and tourism in Kazimierz against the background of a general development strategy for this district. Such a formulation enables the specification of a series of questions important for the direction of spatial and economic development of historic districts.

Over and above research work, the Institute became involved in educational activity by preparing, in cooperation with the College for New Europe, a course on *Integrated Urban and Landscape Preservation and Restoration* (July 1994). This course is addressed to graduates of architecture, history of art, and conservation of monuments, professionally involved in the protection of cultural heritage. The programme includes: the role and place historical monuments play in contemporary culture; possibility of assigning new functions to historic buildings in a market economy; active management

17. The seat of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg;
the International Cultural Centre
is in cooperation with the Council
on the problems connected with the cultural heritage,
cultural policy etc.





18. In the Institute for Urban, Architectural and Monument Preservation Studies (Maria Bogdani-Czepita, Krzysztof Broński, Leszek Jodliński)

of historic buildings; seeking legal, institutional and financial tools for an effective conservation policy. As part of preparatory works, a publication entitled *Heritage Landscape. Integrated Urban and Landscape Preservation and Restoration* was published including the lectures delivered during a conservation course organized by the College for New Europe in 1992. The work is being coordinated by Maria Bogdani-Czepita on behalf of the Institute.

Another form of educational activity is the supervision, by the Institute workers, of the Academy of Economics students who have done their degree training at the ICC.

A vital place in the Institute studies is occupied by the historical aspect, which means the analysis of many-sided urbanizing processes over the centuries, with special emphasis on the turn of the century. The value of the heritage of that period was often misjudged, and in the course of time more and more problems seem related to the protection of this legacy. This concerns both the single buildings and whole urban complexes. One of the basic goals of the project *Wartościowanie przestrzeni kulturowej* (*Valuation of Cultural Space*), initiated by the Institute, is to define problems associated with economic aspects of valuating this space. It is made up of historic buildings, historic places and their surroundings, their people and the ideas connected with them (history, literature, anecdote). These areas should be protected not only for the sake of their cultural value, but also because of their tangible economic value. Deliberate protection of monuments consists in such incorporation of these buildings into the contemporary urban tissue as to maintain an equilibrium between their historic function and the needs of modernity, at the same time without disregarding the economic calculations. One of the elements of this project is the work by Maria Bogdani-Czepita entitled "Wartościowanie przestrzeni kulturowej a problemy zarządzania. Przykład Krakowa" [*Valuation of Urban Cultural Space and the Problems of Management. The Case of Cracow*], completed in 1993. The author attempts to assess the impact of changes in ownership and real estate value upon the city's pro-active policy.

The measure of interest in the problems of valuating cultural space has also been shown by the project *Górny Śląsk i Małopolska w Europie Środkowej* [*Upper Silesia and Little Poland in the Centre of Europe*], prepared in late 1993 by the Institute for Urban Studies and the Foundation for Upper Silesian Region. Within the project two academic meetings were held. The first, *Dziedzictwo kulturowe Górnego Śląska i Krakowa. Zarysowanie*

problemu [Cultural Heritage of Upper Silesia and Cracow. An Outline of the Problem], was organized on 19–21 May in Rudy Wielkie; the second, *Zarys tożsamości kulturowej Górnego Śląska. Przestrzenie komponowane* [An Outline of the Cultural Identity of Upper Silesia. The Composed Spaces], was held on 3–5 June 1994. The meetings comprised a plenary session and a tour presenting selected examples of Upper Silesia cultural heritage, discussed the methods of cultural space valuation and the possibilities to employ the results in managing the region. During the seminar in May, Dr Zuziak delivered a paper on *Przestrzeń kulturowa a produkt turystyczny* [Cultural Space and the Tourist Product].

October 1993 witnessed the celebrations of the centenary of Cracow's Municipal Theatre, organized by the Management of the Słowacki Theatre, the International Cultural Centre, the Provincial Office in Cracow, the Jagiellonian University, and the Consulate General of Austria in Cracow. To mark the occasion, the Institute for Urban Studies prepared an international symposium on *Theatre Architecture of the Late 19th Century*, a documentary film *Restoration of the Century* about the modernization of the Słowacki Theatre, and a monograph about the building written by Jacek Purchla PhD and entitled *Teatr i jego architekt / Das Theater und sein Architekt*. These undertakings were a manifold attempt to interpret the phenomenon of the Theatre and its position in the artistic and cultural life of Cracow. Leszek Jodliński organized and coordinated the work on behalf of the Institute. The essential aim of the conference was to present research problems associated with European theatre architecture in the 19th century, not least their ideological foundations, and the role of theatres in the formation of new town-planning principles or in influencing the already existing ones. The coming together of outstanding historians of art and architects from the countries of Central Europe was an occasion to throw additional light on the Cracow Theatre architecture in the context of its contemporary stylistic trends and functional solutions. The session materials will be published in the book *Theatre Architecture in Central Europe of the Late 19th Century. The Centenary of the Municipal Theatre in Cracow*.

The "theatrical" conference opened a series of seminars on *Building Types in Central Europe*. The architecture of town halls, schools, railway stations, treatment centres, barracks, etc., will be analysed against a wide political, social, economic, and cultural background. Discussions about architecture will hopefully become a starting-point for interdisciplinary analyses, will initiate an academic exchange between the centres participating in research, thus providing a rare opportunity to present the existing, but unrecognized literature on the subject and the archival resources relating to the architecture around 1900 in Poland and other Central European countries. Such a thematic scope



19. During the break of the international conference *Theatre Architecture of the late 19th century*, October 1993 (Ferenc Vadas and Vladimir Bedenko with Leszek Jodliński and Krzysztof Broński)

of seminars will enable the starting of work on documenting and cataloguing the preserved *fin-de-siècle* buildings and develop a strategy for protecting them.

One of the most important undertakings taken on by the Institute in 1994 is the international conference on *Art Around 1900 in Central Europe, Artistic Centres and Provinces*. The conference will focus on research problems associated with the interpretation of the many issues comprising the notion of Central European art of that period. The discussion about the complex picture of art of this period will be continued by annual monothematic conferences and seminars devoted to selected problems of art around 1900. In time to come, this will enable the creation of a European-wide academic network between centres conducting their studies on Art Nouveau in Central and Eastern Europe or those aiming to incorporate this region into their studies.

This rough outline of initiatives of The Institute for Urban, Architectural, and Monument Preservation Studies in its third year of operation – encompassing research projects, organization of conferences and seminars, educational and publishing activity – justifies drawing the conclusion that the research programme, accepted in the organizational phase, proved correct, while the experiences gained during its implementation will further the Institute's development. The restriction in the scope of thematic activity results partly from financial limitations. In accordance with a principle assumed by the Institute, every initiative undertaken, to save our own resources, is sponsored from the outside. It also appears that the Institute should play a more active part in the domestic and international projects with a special emphasis on the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. This would to a greater extent promote our own research activeness, enable us to gain new experience, and facilitate the extension of a network of contacts.

[trans. Jerzy Pilawski]

THE COLLEGE FOR NEW EUROPE

The summer programme of the College for New Europe in 1993 was slightly more modest than in previous years owing to many different circumstances. It comprised a three-week summer session called *Basic Political, Economic and Cultural Problems of New Europe* and administrative help connected with a course organized by the New School for Social Research of New York. Both courses were based in the Pulaski College of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków-Przegorzały. A conservation course on *Integrated Urban and Landscape Preservation and Restoration* planned for 1993 failed to take place for financial and organizational reasons. However, because of great interest in the problems raised during the previous session, a book entitled *Heritage Landscape* was published. It is a collection of the most important and interesting lectures delivered in 1992.

Many educational institutions, similar in character to the College, have been founded in Europe over the last few years. This particularly applies to academies involved in the problems of conservation which is of key importance for all Central and East European countries. Some of them offer year-long programmes concerned with conservation practice as well as with economic and legal issues relating to the protection of cultural possessions. In these circumstances the College programme of several weeks' duration may not be as interesting for potential participants as it was four years ago when we pioneered such activity.

Mention must also be made of the all-important financial questions connected with this course. The organization of practical classes in the field, even for a small group of participants, is associated with additional high costs and, as is known, practical classes are part and parcel of any theoretical conservation discussions.

It also seems that a certain "exoticism" of our situation, which had attracted students from Western European countries, simply ceased to exist. Political and social changes over the past years meant that a stay in Poland was no longer an adventure for young people from Western Europe, and it also became fairly expensive. In addition, the wave of interest in our problems, our separateness, and in our links with Europe receded in the wake of the economic and political crisis that seems to have spread throughout Europe.

Despite all the above conditions and a less numerous group of students, the year 1993 must be considered as exceptionally successful for perfect group integration of participants and exceptionally close and fruitful cooperation with the academic staff.

The course on *Basic Political, Economic and Cultural Problems of New Europe* was formally inaugurated on 12th July in Collegium Maius in the presence of the Jagiellonian University authorities, representatives of the International Cultural Centre, and invited guests. The inaugural lecture, entitled *Multiplicity of Sciences and Unity of Knowledge*, was delivered by the dean of the College, Professor Władysław Stróżewski.

In line with established programme principles, lectures and seminars concerned the new legal order in Europe, new principles for functioning in a changing economic system, and the role and functioning of cultural institutions in the current political and social conditions. The above issues were extended by the problem of protecting the democratic achievements of European civilization.

The series of classes (4 hours daily) comprised lectures, seminars, and workshops as well as less formal, spontaneous panel discussions which were of particular interest for the participants. As was earlier agreed with the organizers of the course *Democracy and Diversity* (New School for Social Research), the students could also participate in selected lectures of the course run by lecturers from the United States. Contrary to the organizers' expectations, interest in the lectures was very strong. Perhaps the decisive factor might have been the possibility to make further contacts with students from different parts of the world.

The teaching staff of the College was composed primarily of those people connected with the school from its very beginnings. They created an atmosphere of unrestrained understanding and an exchange of opinions that was not limited to the lecture rooms alone. This sense of community in such a small group of students prompted spontaneous meetings and discussions, despite a fairly large number of classes that were planned in the programme.

The course participants came from Austria, Germany, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine. Only 16 persons from the list of 23 confirmed applications actually came. Various circumstances did not allow the rest of the candidates to come to Cracow. This, however, did not greatly alter the principle of "East should meet West"; unfavourable above all was the too small diversity of the nations represented. It must be emphasized that there were several striking personalities among the students; they were fairly quick to dominate the group and in a way prompted great intellectual activity in the majority of participants. The permanent lecturers of the College all took the view that this group was the most active ever, both intellectually and socially. The many literary and musical soirees organized spontaneously by the students, and involving a great deal of work, will be remembered by the College for a long time. They were started by a group of students from Samara (Russia). Before they came to Poland, they prepared a programme based on the recitation of texts of well-known Russian poets in Russian and in English translation.

A course of lectures was started by Professor Jan Ostrowski (Jagiellonian University, Cracow). He introduced students to the problems of art history under the Jagiellons and to patriotic themes in Polish art of the 19th century. He also presented a study of Baroque art from the borders of south-eastern Poland. Such a choice of subjects was motivated by a desire to familiarize students with the history and art of Cracow, and to show the relationship of Poland's cultural heritage with Europe, coupled with pointing out the distinctive features of our national tradition. The classes were supplemented with visits to Wawel Hill and many historic churches and museums of Cracow.

Professor Frans A. M. Alting von Geusau (Tilburg University) familiarized students with the difficult questions of the legal order in Europe in its historical aspect, and with the evolution of this order from after World War II up until today, together with the ongoing process of European unification that accompanied it.



20. The session on *Basic Political, Economic and Cultural Problems of New Europe*; a lecture of professor Stefano Guzzini, July 1993

Professor Rod Fisher (Arts Council, London) presented different European structures that promote cultural cooperation. He did not neglect to mention organizational and financial difficulties associated with the operation of cultural institutions in Western Europe.

The above mentioned lectures were accompanied by the sessions of Professor Halina Nieć (Jagiellonian University, Cracow) on human rights in politics.

The second week of the course began with the lectures of Professor Stefano Guzzini (European University Institute, Florence). He presented political East-West relations in their historical aspect and emphasized the historical conditions that influence today's new reality.

Professor Alfred Sitz of Vienna (Institut für Volkswirtschaftstheorie und Politik) started a course of lectures on economic changes. He presented the respective stages in the already existing and expected economic integration of European countries together with the foreseeable positive and negative consequences of this process.

Group integration was greatly enhanced by the classes conducted by Professor Jean Horstman (Arts Council, London). Above all they taught mutual tolerance for different perceptions of the reality reflected in *objets d'art*.

This course of lectures was also accompanied by a debate on human rights, on this occasion on their social aspects.

The lectures of the final week were started by Professor Joël Hellier (Faculté de Sciences Economiques, Nantes). They concerned economic problems of the European Community countries, the structure of employment, remuneration for work, and unemployment.

A slightly different approach was employed in the lectures of Professor Helena Burlina (Samara University), for she gave them in the form of an illustrated discussion with students. They concerned different concepts of humanism in European culture.

The lectures of Professor Julia Hausermann on cultural and civil human rights held the participants' attention completely and resulted in many additional discussions.

On weekends the students went into the field, where they could study historic buildings (defensive castles in Ogródzieniec and Niedzica, the castle in Pieskowa Skała, wooden architecture of the Podhale region) and acquaint themselves with interesting geographical areas (Pieniny mountain range, Tatra Mountains). The programme also included the Museum of Martyrology in Oświęcim (Auschwitz) and Brzezinka.

The outcome of the questionnaires and interviews conducted forms the fifth issue of the "Newsletter" bulletin edited by Professor Stefano Guzzini. The staff's and participants' opinions of the programme and of the living conditions enable certain modifications to be made in the organization of future sessions so that they implement the educational principles of the College more fully.

The course concluded with an official presentation of certificates at the International Cultural Centre.

The summer session of the New School for Social Research of New York was started on 20th July and lasted until 10th August. The course was organized and supervised from the American side by Dr Elżbieta Matynia.

The session programme concerned social, political and cultural problems. The curriculum allowed for the students to compete for credits.

Professor Jose Casanova's lectures enjoyed highest attendance of students. They were a comparative study of religion's influence upon social structures. These classes were chosen by the "Cracow" group as complementary.

Great interest was also aroused by the lectures of Professor Ann Snitow. They discussed female emancipation against the background of social life in the United States and the influence of particular cultural traditions on the role of women in society.

The extremely intensive form of classes and the need to broaden the knowledge of the students trying for credits meant that the participants were not able to take much advantage of Cracow's proximity and the chance to acquaint themselves with the city's past, its historical monuments and cultural life.

Hopefully the rich summer programme prepared by the College for New Europe for 1994 will meet the expectations of the young people who decide to participate. It will offer great variety in the choice of subjects and lay particular stress on aspects of history, culture, and art. We are planning five courses: I *Integrated Urban and Landscape Preservation and Restoration*, II *Basic Social and Cultural Problems of New Europe*, III *Mitteleuropa im politischen und kulturellen Wandel*, IV *Democracy and Diversity*, V *Sommerakademie der Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes*.

[trans. Jerzy Pilawski]

REFLECTIONS • IMPRESSIONS • OPINIONS



21. St Mary's Church in Kraków



HISTORY AND NATIONAL STEREOTYPES*

The 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' expedition offered many opportunities to present stereotypes and to challenge them at the same time. No public attention, however, was given in that year, 1992, to the commemoration of another anniversary: the stereotype had been introduced as a scientific term seventy years earlier, when, in 1922, Walter Lipman used it in his famous book *Public Opinion* as a term describing "pictures in our head". It took more than half a century before the term was commonly accepted. We find, e.g., the terms of stereotype in the Brockhaus, the leading German encyclopedia, only as late as in the 1973 edition, defined as: "der eine Art der sozialen Einstellung einer Gruppe zu einer anderen und zu sich selbst beschreiben will".

Mankind appears to be in the same situation as Monsieur Jourdain in Moliere's comedy *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, who rejoices to be told that he has talked prose for forty years without being aware of doing so. For the phenomenon – prejudices, clichés, oversimplified preconceived images of people, of social groups or nations, emotionally loaded and adamant to empirical falsification – exists, ever since there has been social life among men; probably it is a fundamental anthropological fact of human social existence.

Today, there is no branch of the so called humanities which does not deal with stereotypes – sociology, political sciences, psychology, ethnology, philology and even history. For historians, research on stereotypes constitutes a specific branch of "histoire des mentalités". Its object are forms of collective self-perception as well as the perception of others in the past, and the ways how these perceptions influenced human behaviour and thinking. At the same time, they constitute a certain kind of outward relationship of a given society in communication and delimitation. It could be argued that in a certain sense historians have always been preoccupied with this aspect of the human world. However we are presently more conscious of the fundamental distinction which exists between the forms of perception and conceptualization of the world on the one hand, and the underlying reality on the other. The perception of the world is by no means identical with the world itself – but this perception still constitutes a historical reality, which may have a great impact on social and political developments.

These assumptions are in a certain way the starting points for dealing with stereotypes, not only for historians, but for other scientific disciplines as well. While

* The paper delivered during the conference *Stereotypes and Nations*, June 23 – 29, 1993, Kraków

discussing stereotypes and history, I could concentrate on the subject which has always been closest to the heart of every historian: the problem of sources. In their work historians depend on sources, usually on written ones. Although it is not easy to create complex pictures of past reality or ideas on the basis of written sources, the historical reconstruction and analysis of emotions is a much more complicated task. As most definitions of the stereotypes have rightly emphasized the fact that stereotypes are emotionally loaded, the problem of dealing with emotional aspects of the past constitutes the main difficulty for historical research on stereotypes.

I do not intend either to raise a lamentation, pretending that the job of historians in analysing stereotypes is a harder one than that of our colleagues in other fields of inquiry, or to discuss the reasons for historians to tend to confine themselves to a purely descriptive treatment of stereotypes, often using superficial speculations without precise verification by means of sources. Here, I will concentrate on three topics: stereotypes in history, history in stereotypes, the correlation of history and stereotypes in social life.

1. Stereotypes in History

The study of stereotypes in history may concentrate on two aspects, which in reality often appear as one, but which should be differentiated for the sake of intellectual precision:

a) Stereotypes have got a double genesis. Talking about the genesis of stereotypes, social scientists and psychologists mean the individual genesis, that means the ways a person is made to use stereotypes or to have stereotyped opinions. Historical research on stereotypes should not content itself with stating that stereotypes exist, and establishing which ones occur. It should inquire into the historical genesis of stereotypes and their modification both in form and content. This includes questions like: when and why they came into being, which interests – open or hidden – they express, how and why they change. The issue is the history of the stereotype itself, of its substance, meaning and verbal form;

b) Stereotypes are communicated in public, they are a factor of public life, they influence politics. This second aspect emphasizes the history of the use of stereotypes – which media they are communicated by, how they are applied, in which situations we can observe a more frequent occurrence of stereotypes, when and how they are used intentionally as an instrument of manipulation, or in which moments we ascertain a more unconscious and involuntary use of stereotypes.

National stereotypes occur in different contexts. Generally ("idealtypisch") we may discern three levels (which may exist each for its own or one may be the precondition of the other):

1. National, regional or other stereotypes exist as something like a proverb, an unreflected "wisdom of the common people", which grows spontaneously, without any intellectual control in every society and "ghosts" through it, normally not causing too much harm. They often arise from a rather natural want of orientation, that means from the necessity to make a difference between "we" ("ours") and "them" ("theirs"); they quite often originate in religious or language differences which can become highly emotionally loaded.

2. Stereotypes are indispensable components, constituent parts of ideological systems, and the more total or totalitarian the claim brought forward for loyalty and belief in an ideology is, the more the ideology must work with stereotypes, because the more it needs true, believing partisans, or devotees. Thinking in stereotypes backs, to

a considerable degree, the defensive and protecting function of an ideology against any cognitive efforts to break open the closed schematic way of thinking inside an ideological world; ideological thinking simultaneously stimulates the genesis and fixation of stereotypes.

3. Stereotypes are a constantly used instrument in everyday political conflicts. Be it a state propaganda to assure the existence of a political system, be it during conflicts between different countries, be it even in a simple election campaign, public arguments supply us with plenty of material about the use of stereotypes: in a concrete situation of political conflict they serve as an instrument to protect, even to immunize one's own partisans, by the help of an apparatus of irrational, emotionally rooted convictions, against the inroads of an adversary, the political opponent, a hostile group. Stereotypes make it possible, or even facilitate, to secure the stability of one's own political basis, to address emotionally and to mobilize those people, which you wish to win over, or, if they have already become your partisans, you wish not to lose. Stereotypes are instruments of direct political manipulation.

These three levels are related and correlate, but they differ in intensity. In order to heat up a xenophobic atmosphere you need certain emotional sediments, an emotional residue as a precondition, that means dormant xenophobic stereotypes existing in the given society, which are to be mobilized or to be changed into readiness for action. Simultaneously they serve as an element to stabilize power or an existing political system and become in this way the component of a dominating ideology.

It may be an admissible hypothesis that collective experiences which are highly charged with emotions play an eminent role in the historical genesis of stereotypes. Conflicts between national (and social) groups, collective concurrence, menace of aggression, fear, war, occupation, repression – these are collective experiences which are accompanied by strong emotions, and which help to fix emotionally loaded stereotypes out of rather variable images of nations.

Epochs of radical change, like – for example – the crusades, or the reformation, are very often epochs of intensified public communication – and in such epochs we observe an increased occurrence and effectiveness of stereotypes. The still popular anti-British stereotype of "perfidious Albion", e.g., came into being during the crusades in the 12th century; the Hussite war, to mention another example, was very prolific in producing anti-German and anti-Czech stereotypes in Bohemia and the neighbouring countries, so that in Poland, for instance, in the 15th century the word "heretic" was equalled to "hussite" which equalled "Czech".

The further development of the stereotype of "heretics" in Poland is a very good example of the associative way of forming stereotypes: because the catholic anti-heretic propaganda of the counter-reformation depicted the "heretic" as a "devil", and since the 16th century "Lutheran" or "Calvinist" has nearly been a synonym of "German", the stereotype for the Germans was repeatedly related to the motif of the devil. In the 17th century, we can find pictorial representations of the devil in the so-called "German national costume", that is in wide breeches; this motif of the devil can even still be found in polemic articles of Polish newspapers in the Bismarckan era.

After the 1830s, we can discern an important change in the use and function of national stereotypes in public life. This leap in quality was caused by three different circumstances:

1. The development of a mass press, attempting to address large public, even pretending to be directed to everyone, in connection with the development of mass literacy, led to considerable intensification of public communication; this development created the precondition for the growing importance of stereotypes in public life. Since a mass press exists, politicians try to avail themselves of it; since politicians need the

masses to hold an eminent place in politics, they use stereotypes increasingly. We may say that the process of democratization of European societies has also risen – unfortunately – the public use of stereotypes.

2. A "nationalisation" of the collective and individual consciousness took place throughout the 19th century, that means the nation gradually became the dominant social group, claiming an exclusive role in regard of the identity and loyalty of its members. This "process of nationalisation" strengthens the importance and weight of national auto- and hetero-stereotypes.

3. In most European societies an image of international relations emerged after 1848. It was based on the assumption of an innate antagonism between nations or states, a permanent contest, even a natural inexorable struggle for existence. This perception of international relations as fundamentally agonistic, something like a misinterpreted Darwinism on the field of national and social politics, constituted an important precondition and attendant symptom for the increasing acceptance of national stereotypes in all European societies, both in regard to nations who lived in their own nation-state and to those whose elites were only striving to found their own nation-states.

The combination of these three processes – the intensification of communication, the dominant role of national identity and the agonistic notion of international relations – allows the conclusion that we should speak of a new role of national stereotypes in Europe since the 19th century. To what extent we may observe today, at the end of the 20th century, really weighty alternations within these three factors (or processes) should be a subject of discussion.

2. History in Stereotypes

Stereotypes are not neutral statements, but emotionally loaded valuations. The stereotype does not content itself with stating "we are different from the others", but it means "we are better than the others" or at least "we should be better than the others". The stereotype does not serve the simple purpose of orientation (for in that case it would be open to falsification by experience), but it constitutes an emotional argument, and as an argument it needs a motivation and a legitimation.

Although stereotypes mostly relate to the present time, they need and use history, and thus include the past into the stereotyped perception of the world. Many national stereotypes are explained, legitimized and justified in pointing out to history. "They (the others) are like this, because history proves that they have always been like this, behaved in this way", and "That's what sort of people we are, for history proves that we have always been like this or at least – according to our talents, dispositions and values – should have been this way".

History is used as huge reservoir of arguments to justify the auto-stereotypes and hetero-stereotypes, or in other words, history is used to justify the own actual emotional condition, fears and phobias or the arrogance and feeling of superiority. The well-know stereotype of "der deutsche Drang nach Osten", for example, came into being in the 19th century nearly simultaneously as a positively intentioned German auto-stereotype and as a negatively intentioned hetero-stereotype of some East European nations. Its pretended content relates to a history of thousand years of German-Slav relations. It uses and constructs this history for the purpose of an emotional argument in a very concrete historical situation of the 19th century, that is to say on the German side to justify the so-called "mission to the East" (Ostmission) of the German nation, and on the other side to express the fear of being seriously menaced, to define the enemy definitely and emotionally and to mobilize their own forces and energies. This stereotype pretends

to inform about a certain historical continuity and to announce a historical truth. In reality it uses history as an emotional (and emotionalising) argument, and we have to understand and interpret it as a specific expression of the perception of a situation at the moment of its genesis.

The fact that stereotypes are rather adamant to falsification by experience, and their a priori character, imply the claim to be forever valid, or eternally true. This is contrary to history, for it contradicts the very essence of history – constant change. With the help of the stereotype the emotion tries to gain eternity; thus in history, the past is extended to the future, and there seems to be no qualitative difference between past and future; with stereotypes a man overcomes easily the time and its irksome limitations. It is a paradox: history serves to legitimate stereotypes, at the same time the pretended content of a stereotype strives to leap out of the dimension of history, that is of time, by being declared eternal. The a priori character of stereotypes and their claim to eternal validity do not only contradict the factual historicity of the stereotype, but also its own schemes of legitimation. This paradox is suspended, or even cancelled, by the one who thinks in stereotypes by simply imputing into history the so-called historical laws (and we may say that thus the stereotype assumes the role of the legislator).

3. The Correlation of History and Stereotypes in Social Life

The relation of history and national stereotypes, however, cannot be confined to the catchphrases "stereotypes in history" and "history in stereotypes". There exists a very peculiar correlation of both these seemingly very different phenomena, and this correlation is to be discerned in their role in collective consciousness. I will try to elucidate this by discussing two points:

a) social scientists apparently agree that stereotypes have an integrating and at the same time a delimitating and thus excluding social function (and accordingly auto-stereotype and hetero-stereotype correspond with each other); that is why stereotypes are an important factor in the formation and the existence of social groups. Inside a social group something exists which we might call a stereotype consensus. Consequently, there can be no doubt about the function of stereotypes for nation-building processes.

At the same time we know that the commonly experienced past plays an eminent role in the nation-building processes, or to be more precise, the image of history is a significant part of national consciousness – the consciousness of national continuity, unity and solidarity. Myths of origin, known among various nations since ancient times, bear clear testimony of the important function of history for national identity. It is not by accident that, simultaneously with the intensification of nation-building processes in Europe since the end of the 18th century, we may observe a new understanding of history, or more precisely, of the meaning and significance of history and its leading forces. Although the insoluble tension between universal history and national history has not been since then and will never be suspended, the idea that nations are the leading forces and agents of history seems generally to be widely accepted; we all tend to think and speak of Polish history, German history, English history, or French history, even though numerous tendencies in modern historiography are strongly critical of such notions. The eminent role of historical myths, of the peculiar national re-interpretation of mediaeval history effected in the 19th century, and the intentional falsification of sources for the purpose of producing a certain national history – the role of such conscious or unconscious, intentional or unintentional manipulations of historical tradition in the his-

tory of European national movements and their national ideologies in the last two centuries is so well-known to us all.

Both phenomena – stereotypes and the image of history – have a similar integrating and delimitating function in national societies. They both seem to be indispensable for the producing and cultivating of a national identity. Hence follows a correlation between them, the consequences of which should not be underestimated.

b) The term "historical consciousness" of a society may be understood in different ways; it often means simply a general or collective "historical knowledge" of a society. But further questions may be posed, questions like: How does such a "historical knowledge" come into being? How does a "historical consciousness" find its expression? How do the images of history, which people have in their heads (I remind you of W. Lipman's "pictures in our head"), emerge? and what do they look like? Can we say there is something like the "historical experience" of a society? and if so, how is this "historical experience" transmitted to the following generations?

The term "images of history" already suggests an affinity to stereotypes – the conceptual distinction between "images of history" (fixed, settled, adamant to discussion or modification, highly emotionally loaded, with frequent personification and a strong identifying impact) and "consciousness of history", which is made by some authors, leads us directly to our subject.

As far as we understand "historical consciousness" as a closed compact "bonanza of experience", as something which we believe to know definitely, as definitive lesson, we think we will be able to learn from the past, we deal with fixed "images of history". They pretend to present objective knowledge of the past, how it is to be judged, which way it is to be valued; when the result of such "images of history" is an unequivocal identification, and learning from history is regarded as something closed and definite – such "images of history" turn to stereotypes. In consequence, the way the present time is perceived is heavily influenced by such "images of history". The images which people believe to be the true, "objective" history, have a strong impact on or even determine the perception of current events.

However, when we understand "historical experience" as a constant process, as a continuous acquiring of new experiences, which query and challenge old experiences, which modify or even overrule them, in such a case images of history are much less resistant and fixed, and then we may speak of real "consciousness of history"; that means, otherwise than in the case of "images of history", a "consciousness of history" assumes a knowledge about the historicity of human existence, and with that about the necessity of constant change. Every new experience constrains to a revision of the hitherto existing historical knowledge and of its images, compels to look for a new place in history, and to new discussion on one's situation in the flux of time. The perception of the present time is no more determined by already existing images of history, but on the contrary it changes the image of the past in each case.

So far a historical education has not been understood as a simple passing on of an established canon of historical knowledge and images of history, but has been conceived as something which is subject to a process of constant change, something which focuses on the fabrication of history in the minds of people and on the questionability of any definitive historical knowledge. Possibly such a historical education might be an effective antidote to the danger that our perception of the world and of men, and that means also our perception of history, will not be excessively determined by stereotypes (even if we know that we will never succeed in eliminating them completely).

ERICH MENDELSON'S EXPRESSIONIST THEORY OF ARCHITECTURE
(YEARS 1910–1923)¹

*On the margin of Hugo Häring's exhibition**

Unlike Erich Mendelsohn, Hugo Häring is not present at the photograph of the members of the Prussian Academy of Fine Arts taken in 1932. Mendelsohn – what may sound paradoxical at this moment – was a member of the Academy, while Häring was not. However, there is only an apparent difference between their artistic attitudes. In reality they had more in common than we can expect. Häring and Mendelsohn shared the same fate – being forgotten for several decades, and this similarity of their lot is also meaningful. Mendelsohn, active and adored in the 1920's, never regained his proper place in the history of architecture. Häring became better known thanks to the works of Hans Scharoun, which were close to his ideas. And for many he will always remain the architect of the barn in Garkau. Appreciation, posthumous and fragmentary, particularly in the case of H. Häring, does not cover even partly the essence of their achievements.

In the literature of the subject Häring and Mendelsohn are surprisingly often perceived as individuals independent of the prevailing conventions, and isolated from their environment. Comparing them to "lone wolves", which is close to Herman Hesse's literary tradition, although it is pertinent, has worn out and sounds trivial. It was enough for the public surprised by their uncommonness, however, to decline from more thorough study of the phenomenon which they were the authors of. Trying to understand Häring's importance for the 20th century architecture we should recall Mendelsohn. In practice and in theory they both referred to the category of organic architecture, the concept of great significance in the history of architecture of the period between-the-wars. Starting from different positions, rational and emotional – to apply the simplified interpretation offered by some scholars – they turned the idea of organic architecture into an essential and, at least for Häring, dominating element of searching for, and "inventing of" form in architecture. The tradition of German modernism and the contradictions inherent in it, the critical attitude towards the past, social and artistic revolutions of the epoch finished with the time of great totalitarianism of the 1930's are the determinants of the union between Mendelsohn and Häring. The exhibition of Hugo Häring in the Gallery of the International Cultural Centre is a chance to enrich the knowledge of the between-the-wars architecture with the l'oeuvre of Erich Mendelsohn. A sketch presenting Mendelsohn's theory of architecture and discussing the most essential issues

* The text is an expanded version of the paper presented at the meeting of the Committee of Art History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków in spring 1994

of early modernist architecture will allow us to see and appreciate Häring's output the more comprehensively.

Expressionist architecture by Mendelsohn, evaluated from the point of view of rational modernism, whose death has already been announced, was contempted and ridiculed by several generations of historians of architecture. It was as late as the 1960's and 1970's that more reliable and comprehensive works devoted to Mendelsohn were published. The anecdote about the brick and not reinforced concrete construction used in the Potsdam observatory, repeatedly told to students at university lectures, was substituted with works which emphasized the importance of Mendelsohn for the new architecture.

Contemporary history of Central-Europe had a strong impact on Erich Mendelsohn's biography, relating him to the places of whose closeness Polish art history did not take advantage. He was born on 21st March 1887 in Olsztyn (then: Allenstein). He often stressed the outstanding character of this date, referring it to J. S. Bach and music, his second passion. With fixed resolve he acquired his education of an architect in Berlin and Munich, and with the same resolve he tried to break free of the academic tradition, among others supporting the group "Der Blaue Reiter". On the Eastern front of the First World War he never parted with his sketch book which he filled, page after page, with his visionary designs of factories and assembly halls. Very early he became the leading figure of German architecture after 1918. Foreign to any "isms" – it is still disputed whether he considered himself an expressionist – he realized the architecture of his dreams and desires, the new constructions whose vision he drew in his program text for "Arbeitsrat für Kunst" in 1919.

It was Mendelsohn only who was called the pioneer of modern architecture by Frank L. Wright in his discussion of European architecture. During his visits to Holland in 1919 and 1923 he was received as an unquestioned guru of the expressionist movement. In 1920 the prestigious "Wendingen" published in Amsterdam devoted its monographic issue to E. Mendelsohn – only F. L. Wright and M. de Clerk were honoured in the same way. It was Mendelsohn who, in his numerous designs and realizations, created the modernist type of a department store. Two of such stores have luckily survived: one in Gliwice and the other in Wrocław. Racial laws (Mendelsohn was a Jew) induced him to leave Germany a year later, thus closing the undoubtedly most intensive period in his career as an architect. Dying in San Francisco in 1953, he was the author of numerous realizations in Great Britain, Palestine, Israel and the U.S.A. It is also significant, however, that in the first edition of S. Gideon's work *Space, Time and Architecture. The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cam., /Mass./ 1954) one cannot find Mendelsohn's name, and his most famous work, the observatory in Potsdam, was indirectly subjected to scathing criticism, as an ugly and constructionally irrational structure.

* * *

Attempting to discuss Erich Mendelsohn's theory of architecture in the period of his expressionist experiments, we face the necessity of drawing a general definition of the concept of expressionism, which essentially complements Mendelsohn's vision of modern architecture. I share Geoffrey Perkins's view that the theory of expressionist art was not merely an illusory theoretical-intellectual construction "Gedanken-gebäude", as some people believe, but, to a certain extent, it described a really existing phenomenon – and this was so with architecture. For the sake of this article we shall accept, being aware of all the shortcomings and limitations issuing from such a broad definition, that expressionism was a certain literary and artistic period.² The above definition partly coincides with the conception presented by Wolfgang Pehnt in *Expressionist Architecture*. Describing

the thematic range of his work he wrote: "The study concentrates on the architecture of the German-speaking countries, the area where art and literature between 1910 and 1923 bore the mark of Expressionism".³ Thus, expressionism would be a concept describing highly varied and often contradictory phenomena in culture and art in the years 1910–1923. The complexity of the concept of German expressionism is confirmed also in the texts by W. Wörringer, of which the most important for our considerations is *Formprobleme der Gotik*. The conception of expressionism presented by Wörringer is defined as the description of the artistic attitude directed at search for the universal, metaphysical truths in art.⁴

In the light of the above remarks we should consider expressionism as a system of values constituting the artistic and philosophical outlook, enclosed within comparatively broad frames. It is, however, erroneous to connect expressionism with a definite repertoire of formal means (which does not exclude their existence), easily recognizable in a work of art. The opinions of some scholars are close to such formal interpretation of expressionist architecture. Here we should mention B. Miller Lane, according to whom the categories "utopian architecture" or "fantastic architecture" describe the crazy, strange buildings erected in the years 1919–1921 much better than the term "expressionist architecture". Conceiving of expressionism as an intellectual movement emphasizes those of its elements which were to change or even to revolutionize 20th century art. Expressionism understood in this way assumed:

- a deeply humanistic protest and disbelief as regards civilization and, therefore, art of the 20th century
- creating of art which expressed the essence and the universal values of human existence (the conception of "Kunstwollen", "Weltgefühl")
- existence of art strongly connected with society, expressing its national and spiritual character
- rebuilding of the artist's links with the society
- acceptance of abstraction – the form of creating synthesis in art ("Ding an sich")
- transfer of the emphasis in the work of art from its content to its form (the expressionist formalism) or expanding of the meaningful element in the work of art to the content and its formal aspect
- treating of architecture as the most important of the fine arts in the task of reformation of the society.

The consequence of these assumptions of the expressionist theory in art was the postulate of the architecture's return to reality, to the requirements and capabilities of the material determining the function and form, and its taking up of the problem of interdependence between space and time. The new architecture was to reject the traditional understanding of statics and express itself in the ahistorical stylistic forms. The concept of rhythmized architecture introduced by Joachim Petsch aptly describes the character and scale of the changes that determined the development of architecture after 1910.⁵

Reading Mendelsohn's theoretical articles we must also remember about the different social and cultural conditions that accompanied the development of architecture in Germany (and German-speaking countries) in the first half of the 20th century.⁶ It is true that as regards their avant-garde character they cannot be compared with the futuristic conceptions of Sant'Elia (to which Mendelsohn's designs of the years 1911–1917 were closely related).⁷ However, while the great majority of the futuristic (and modernist in general) postulates remained in the sphere of ideas, German architecture, which was closely connected with industry and industrial design and, on the other hand, inspired by the so-called Velde's style and Jugendstil, was one of the most dynamically developing and was able to satisfy the societies that came into being after the First World

War.⁸ In the first two decades of the 20th century we can observe, on the one hand, referring to the tradition of historical styles in architecture, first of all neo-Gothic and neo-Baroque to mention just a few works by Paul Schulze-Naumburg (e.g. the tenant house in Köln from ca. 1910) or by Alfred Messel (Department Store Wertheim, Berlin, 1896–1904). At the other extreme we shall find the more formalistic, architecturally-sculptural designs by Paul Bonatz, Peter Behrens, Walter Gropius and Josef M. Olbrich. These were designs leading, in the way characteristic for early-modernist tendencies, to the new treatment of space in architecture and, what is probably most important, breaking out of the magical circle of historical styles.

Undoubtedly, after the war in Germany, the increased interest in modern architecture was additionally reinforced by the expressionist art theory. There was no other place where its revolutionary character and the anarchist opposition against the post-war social reality were so strongly articulated as in the post-Wilhelm Germany. Expressionism, the forerunner of such a spiritual revolution, was often identified with the socialist ideology and the extreme leftist movements.⁹

It is important for the considerations about the architecture in Germany after 1918 to realize that before 1914 the expressionist movement was, in the sphere of the formulated postulates, the artistic elites' hope of creating their own, German art, born in the opposition to the cosmopolitan – as it was considered – French art. In accord with the assumptions of expressionism, architecture was to be oriented at a search for new, fully avant-garde values and solutions which, at the same time, for the generation of architects educated by Wörringer's *Formprobleme der Gotik*, would be close to the national sensitivity and tradition.¹⁰

Preparing of the foundations for the "modern movement in architecture"¹¹ was undoubtedly influenced by the above mentioned revolutionary movements and social turbulences that encompassed Europe at the end of the First World War. Corbusier's alternative – "Architecture or revolution" – was the most expressive testimony of the role which the architects of the between-the-wars period designed for themselves, and of faith in the salutary power of architecture, which most of them manifested. For social transformations were to take place not by way of a revolution, but through creation of a new architecture creating new social reality ("neue Sachlichkeit"). This fact, though it is well known, is of great importance for full understanding of the history of early modernism in architecture, and it places Erich Mendelsohn's theory of architecture in its proper context.

Mendelsohn's writings devoted to architecture and art present a comparatively concise programme.¹² Yet, for its full reconstruction it is necessary to refer directly to the formal analysis of Mendelsohn's architecture. Only this kind of reconstruction of his theory will allow its possibly most comprehensive characterization. As a starting point I shall use the quotation from his work *Das Probleme einer neuen Baukunst*, from the early period of his activity: "architecture, being a space itself, is the only way of its expression".¹³ The dynamic conceiving of architecture, one of the leading problems of Mendelsohn's whole output, is unequivocal in this statement. It is also included in the current of early modernist architecture, which conceives space as one of the most important elements determining the plan of a building. At the beginning of the 1920's Mendelsohn stated: "Art creates reality only. It is the highest expression of life, it is life itself". Such distinct stress put on dynamism in architecture may be also perceived as a reflection of futurism, which was still artistically attractive. It may even be ascribed to Dadaism – a "neophyte" fascination with the movement of the street, the accelerated, technicized rhythm of life. In another place he wrote: "It is the limitedness of the laws of mechanics and unlimitedness of life that is the problem of contemporary architecture". Discovering the principles that govern "the active masses of architecture" was an attempt

to overcome this contradiction. In Mendelsohn's opinion they were: *dynamism*, the rhythm organizing it, and *statics* opposed to it.

The essence of dynamism was to consist in the movement of space, emphasized by the linear, contour character of architecture. Rhythm served to express dependencies and relations between particular parts of a building, as well as to expose space and not contribute to its limitation. On the other hand, statics was to control rhythm, revealed only as an element of construction; this result, however, was to be achieved through division of the building into units. It was to be a division reflecting the horizontal plane of the building, stressing the cubic diversity of the architectural masses. In consequence, these requirements led to designing of architecture with variable form, unique, disquieting, searching for the balance of the applied masses, vividly expressive.¹⁴ Light plays a role superior to the above mentioned principles. It is light (apart from dynamizing of the architectural structures) that is to soften the mathematical precision of the building, endowing architecture with marks of freedom, independence and totally spontaneous artistic creation. Unfortunately, in his writings Mendelsohn does not go beyond this general discussion.

Expressive architecture and art in general is a power capable of "organizing life anew". According to Mendelsohn, it should be created following the pattern of a machine whose dynamism, purposefulness and clarity of construction are a transposition of the finiteness of the structure of universe.¹⁵ Fascination with a machine was also rooted in the desire, characteristic for the artists of the beginnings of the 20th century, to realize the idea of the "unity of art and men". Machine, a guarantor of perfection and universality of the influence of ideas may and should be the means for materializing of an artistic vision.¹⁶ A great popularity of the idea (or, later, even a topos) of a machine in the 20th century art is striking. It is enough to mention the numerous conceptions from the beginning of the century, which compared the essence of various things to the mechanism and construction of a machine.¹⁷ The more so, the machine-phobia of the majority of expressionists, manifesting itself as a phenomenon singular in the modernist current, seems odd.

The discourse concerning Mendelsohn's theory of architecture would be incomplete if we neglected the influence exerted on its shape by F. L. Wright. The theoretical writings of the architect as well as F. L. Wright himself were perfectly well known to Mendelsohn. And, as I have already mentioned, Wright considered Erich Mendelsohn a pioneer of modern architecture.¹⁸ Mendelsohn's taking up of the conception and aesthetics of a machine was to a large extent inspired by the contemporary American architecture (the problem which is still underestimated in the literature of the subject). F. L. Wright's faith in a machine as a forerunner of broadly understood democracy,¹⁹ found an enthusiastic supporter and advocate in Mendelsohn. For him machine was an aesthetic and functional value which shaped new architecture reflecting the actual needs of a man and a society.²⁰ His stay in the U.S.A., a personal experience of something like Lange's vision of *Metropolis* confirmed this choice for him.²¹

Fascination with new forms and constructions evoked Mendelsohn's interest in new materials: iron, glass, concrete. He soon appreciated the capacity of supporting structures of reinforced concrete which allowed unrestricted shaping of the walls of a building.²² Independent of the requirements of statics, they underwent consistent dematerializing through introduction of windows and glass on a large scale.²³ I am inclined to see in this practice a greater influence of American architecture than of European one.²⁴

The interest in construction and structure of a building, which was so frequently manifested by Mendelsohn in his appreciation for M. Berg or J. Olbrich, was – apart from the necessity of facing the needs of function – an expressionist search for the

new means of expression and discovering of strength and beauty hidden in the material.²⁵ It was, as in the case of geometrized forms of architectural realizations after 1921,²⁶ an expressionist attempt at a synthesis of the contemporaneity, and at becoming visible – as in the case of advertising style²⁷ – in the landscape of the street, of new civilization. An excellent example of the functional structure's being dominated by a purely formal assumption is the "unreal" though expressively entrancing staircase of the no longer existing Schocken department store in Stuttgart.²⁸ The situation in which neither the outer nor inner walls perform the supporting function in the construction of the building directed Mendelsohn's attention to the possibility of their active participation in defining the unlimitedness of the outside space. Later, this problem was reflected in the department stores he designed. He defines the function of the outer wall in the following way: "The outer wall collects light in order to later let it fully penetrate the inside through its openings". An equally important role is ascribed to the inner walls of the building, which determine the gradation of divisions inside and fix the "gravitation centre" of the building.²⁹ In Mendelsohn's opinion, when the presence of inner walls is functionally justified, they are structurally indispensable. These views were reflected in the formally sparing composition of the interior of department stores, "the machines for trading".³⁰ In the light of these considerations over space in architecture, Mendelsohn's experiments in his own villa prove very interesting. There he installed, among others, facilities for moving parts of walls and windows, what brought him closer to the dynamic and variable picture of the interior and the outside in architecture.³¹ The idea of open or variable interior space had an equally important place in F. L. Wright's theory of architecture, what is another confirmation of strong and close connections between the two architects.

Mendelsohn solved the problem of light, air and their supremacy over the other elements not only on the level of picturesque composition of a building mass through introducing of stripe systems of windows (leitmotif of his architecture), but also through emphasizing of the domination of horizontal arrangements, levels of masses and directions encompassing the space around the building.³² According to Mendelsohn, only the unending horizontal lines constituted the symbolic counterpoise to the speed of life of contemporary civilization and, as such, should be the basis for shaping of the new architectural and (in consequence) urbanistic space. A controversial interpretation of the aspect of the horizontal in Mendelsohn's architecture was presented by Wolfgang Pehnt. In his opinion, in horizontal structures Mendelsohn discovered values describing the new society emerging from the post-revolutionary chaos of the First World War. Justifying the horizontal element in his architecture Mendelsohn claimed that similar divisions existed also in all domains of politics, economy and culture. His conception, unfavourable for civilization, of "one-on-top of another" of social structures ("Übereinander") was transformed into "horizontal side-by-sidedness" ("Nebeneinander") of social elements. In the sphere of economy the vertical formations of trusts were contradictory to nature and, in Mendelsohn's opinion, in the future they were to be substituted by organizations formed by parallel structures. Mendelsohn did not doubt the necessity of equalizing administrative and technical forms of organization in enterprises – an enterprise based on a hierarchical structure would not be able to cope with the methods of production emerging from the conception of linear, "assembly belt" forms of production.³³ The socio-economical premisses in Mendelsohn's theoretical thought, connected with the communist, non-antagonistic vision of society, confirm the involvement in designing of architecture, characteristic for expressionist architects, that would reflect the changing picture of society and answer the need of what is human in man. The horizontal description of space, which we find in Mendelsohn's works, reflects broader tendencies of the epoch, and Nicolai Hartmann's ontology using spatial

metaphors (planes, spheres and layers) is strikingly close to Mendelsohn's analysis of reality.³⁴

A sketch discussing selected issues of Mendelsohn's theory of architecture would be incomplete if we did not mention his tackling the problem of function and connecting it with the category of time. At the beginning of the period between-the-wars the categories of function and functionalism were inseparably associated with the person of Hugo Häring, "the purest of functionalists".³⁵ Today, if we take into consideration the outworn terminology of late modernism, connecting Häring with functionalism may seem a somewhat complicated task. Yet, his "Leistungsform", almost mechanistic search for laws and forms reflecting life processes in architecture was an extreme attempt at founding of architecture on the criterion of function and going "from geometric architecture to functional building".³⁶ Functional architecture is a structure in which movement has been conceived as the plan determining agent of a building. Moreover, the adopted solutions should lead to natural, organic and, therefore, dynamic spatial solutions. The vision of functional architecture in which there is no conscious overuse caused by the precedence of form over function was very close to Mendelsohn.³⁷ Every time when asked about the Einstein's Tower in Potsdam, he answered that A. Einstein called this construction "organic". Describing his own conception of organic architecture and thus offering one of the possible definitions of function Mendelsohn stated: "you can't change or take away a part without destroying the whole".³⁸ The symbolic transferring of function onto the form was often achieved by way of neglecting of the postulate that true character of used materials should be preserved. The controversial case of the observatory in Potsdam and conscious application of covering layers (including early examples of the architecture of department stores) parallel to the modernist conception of curtain wall, confirm Mendelsohn's academic education and are a throwback to the 19th century tradition of stylistic costume.

The expressionist theory of architecture strongly determined the ways in which Mendelsohn overcame the contradictions between expression and function of a building. However, it would be an excessively far reaching oversimplification to perceive the expressionist phase of Mendelsohn's creativeness as a static period. The sketches of industrial buildings made in the trenches of the Eastern front of the First World War,³⁹ post-war works or the monumental realizations of German expressionism in Potsdam⁴⁰ and Luckenwalde, testify that Mendelsohn treated architecture in a sculptural and monumental way, in accord with the tradition inspired, among others, by the works of J. Olbrich and H. van de Velde.⁴¹ The dynamic and variable vision of space (the so called Raumvision) led to symbolic and romantic transformations of energy inherent in the material and masses of wall. Yet, these designs were still far from equal treatment of the internal and external space, one of the significant features of Mendelsohn's architecture. The designs of the optical instruments factory or car body production plant have grown to the status of fetishes, symbols of technique and technology of the beginning of the 20th century.

After 1920 Mendelsohn again faced the question of the nature of expression in architecture. Not burdened with the past to the same extent as other architects whose creative activity was broken by the war, he indirectly rejected remaining in the post-Jugendstil manner,⁴² departing from the idealism of his views presented as late as 1919 in *Das Problem einer neuen Baukunst*.⁴³ One of the most significant sources of his artistic transformation were his travels to Holland, which took place in 1919 and 1923.⁴⁴ The experience of the architecture of the Amsterdam School made him aware of the great danger inherent in the façade, functionally numb expressionism. This impression was intensified by the conflict of artistic claims between the expressionist Amsterdam and the functional Rotterdam.⁴⁵ The way of development of European architecture, an-

ticipated in 1915, in which "style has the goal in achieving absolute unity between utilitarian form and aesthetic form"⁴⁶ was Mendelsohn's architectural creed proclaimed in 1923: "die funktionale Dynamik ist das Postulat".⁴⁷ In his commentary to this pronouncement Norbert Huse rightly remarked that the criterion of expression and dynamism was still superior to function and, in consequence, did not signify rejection of expressionism.⁴⁸ It was, however, a decisive breach with Mendelsohn's architectural output connected with his wartime drawings which put much greater emphasis on searching for new artistic solutions than functional ones.

In Germany, the end of the 1920's was marked with search for cheap methods of popular housing and new town-planning conceptions. The expressionists also made their contribution offering, among others, Bruno Taut's utopian conception of "Die Stadtkrone".⁴⁹ The expressionists' involvement in social changes in Germany and Russia, and the later Dutch experiences made Mendelsohn aware of the necessity to include the town-planning problems, the integration of the street zone with building occupying it, in architectural design.⁵⁰ The influence of Dutch tradition on Mendelsohn's works regarded mostly its two major features: Dutch architecture, also in its expressionist version, was subordinated to the town-planning assumptions. As a result of this fact the street was considered an integrating and connecting element (also thanks to the use of the same material, for instance, different kinds of brick). The conception of style in Dutch architecture – elaborated by H. P. Berlage and concentrating on uncovering of qualities of the used materials and making functionality "the virtue of architecture"⁵¹ – could not fail to exert an influence on Mendelsohn's theory of architecture. His town-planning sensitivity was also influenced by getting to know the development of South Amsterdam which boldly responded to challenges of functionalism. The visit in Holland also resulted in direct adoption of formal ideas which, apart from the general "voluminous" shaping of buildings manifested themselves in architectural details or in the "aesthetics of brick" frequently applied by Mendelsohn.⁵²

Interpreting Mendelsohn's theoretical thought we should not fall to the other extreme: of overestimating of Dutch influence, particularly that – despite the apparent identification of Amsterdam architects with Mendelsohn – expressionism was a formula that disguised the essential differences between Berlin and Amsterdam.⁵³ In the case of Mendelsohn, his acceptance of the architecture's functionalism was accelerated by the kind of commissions he received at the beginning of the 1920's. According to N. Pevsner, commissions for designs of industrial buildings (Luckenwalde, Wüstegiersdorf) made it necessary to unite the requirements of function and aesthetics, intellect and imagination into one, inseparable whole. It was also reflected to a certain extent in Mendelsohn's techniques and his practice of design.⁵⁴

Our considerations on function cannot be left without recalling its Mendelsohnian understanding. Speaking of the façade of Mossehaus in Berlin (1923) Mendelsohn defined function as the necessity of symbolic presentation of tasks connected with the function of the building, and making it more obvious and formally visible. In the case of architecture of the department stores, including the network of Schocken Brothers' stores in Nuremberg, Stuttgart and Chemnitz, this principle was in accord with the conception of Reklamebau or advertising style. The department store was elevated to the status of a sign distinguished in the city landscape, additionally marked by large window displays, lighting and lettering of signboards.⁵⁵ In the case of department stores of the second half of the 1920's with distinct markings of Neues Bauen stylistics it is worth stressing how extremely expressive and "time-spatially" changeable they look, particularly in night lighting. In these cases there even occurred negative reversal of their structure and "building" of new spheres of space. Futuristic in its mood and expressionistically aggressive towards its surroundings, this form became an antithesis of the functionally

rational interiors of a shop. As a final result it created an architecture which was intentionally commercial⁵⁶ and did not avoid spectacular solutions. This architecture, skilfully "packed", like all other goods, was to be "sold" to customers, and incorporated in the picture of a modern street and the 20th-century town.⁵⁷ Besides, the expressionist-functional opposition that became visible at the end of the discussed period, remained a constant distinctive feature of later works by Erich Mendelsohn.

Endnotes:

¹ Since there are many controversies over the concept of the expressionist architecture and the period it regards, I give the dates after: W. Pehnt, *Expressionist Architecture*, London 1973, p. 7. Some remarks concerning the complexity of these issues can be found, e.g. in: B. Miller Lane, *Architektur und Politik in Deutschland 1918–1945*, Branschweig/Wiesbaden 1986, p. 64. These dates, disregarding the debate concerning the final date, are appropriate also in reference to Mendelsohn's work. The year 1910 is a symbolic date: it was then that, mostly in his letters to his wife, Mendelsohn makes first comments referring to the fine arts and architecture.

² G. Perkins, *Contemporary Theory of Expressionism*, "British and Irish Studies in German Language and Literature", Number 1, Bern, Frankfurt 1974; on page 125 Perkins calls this period "literary and art historical pigeon-hole"; there also the remaining sense "roles" of the concept of expressionism. Cf. also D. E. Gordon, *The Origin of the Word Expressionism*, "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes", XXIX, London 1966, pp. 368–385.

³ W. Pehnt, *Expressionist...*, op. cit., p. 7. A similar chronology is offered by D. E. Gordon, *The Origin...*, op. cit., p. 384.

⁴ "Der wahre Zeitexpressionismus lebt nicht in der neuen Optik unseres Auges sondern in der unseres Geistes" (Quoted after: G. Perkins, *Contemporary...*, op. cit., p. 62).

⁵ "Anschluß zur Wirklichkeit" – for remarks concerning this issue cf.: J. Petsch, *Architektur und Gesellschaft. Zur Geschichte der deutschen Architektur im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Köln, Wien 1973, p. 131 and further.

⁶ Cf. J. Posener, *From Schinkel to the Bauhaus. Five Lectures on the Growth of Modern German Architecture*, "Architectural Association Paper", Number 5, London 1972, p. 39/40. Among the most important factors that determined the break in German architecture he includes: the urbanization processes, the existence of Deutsche Werkbund and social "determinism" of architecture.

⁷ W. v. Eckard, *Eric Mendelsohn*, New York 1960, p. 20. As regards this issue the opinions of particular scholars are varied. W. Pehnt (*Expressionist...*, op. cit., p. 27) remarks on the spiritual union of the two architects, but he also points out formal differences (e.g. the perspective applied by them), topical differences ("Stadtästhetik" Sant'Elia – Mendelsohn's isolated "Lebensformen", mostly industrial constructions), questioning purposefulness of any analogies. At the same time he considers it unlikely that Mendelsohn could see Sant'Elia's drawings during his visit to Italy in 1911, when Sant'Elia was connected with Marinetti.

⁸ T. C. Benton, D. Sharp, *Form and Function. A Source Book for the History of the Architecture and Design 1890–1939*, London 1975, p. VII. In the introduction to the above-mentioned work the concept of "veldische Stil" was introduced by D. Sharp, who indicated H. van de Velde's architectural output as the factor which, apart from the tradition of Jugendstil, most strongly influenced German architecture in the first decade of the 20th century.

⁹ Cf. Herbert Kühn's statement of 1917: "Expressionism is like socialism – the same outcry against materialism, against antimind, against the machine, against centralization, for mind, for God, for human in man" (quoted after: W. Pehnt, *Expressionist...*, op. cit., p. 26).

¹⁰ G. Perkins, *Contemporary...*, op. cit., p. 47 and further. Cf. a fragment of E. Mendelsohn's letter to his wife, where he mentions reading of W. Wörringer: "is so much in every sentence and so wholly new" (quoted after: E. Mendelsohn, *Letters of an Architect*, London, New York, Toronto 1967, p. 32).

¹¹ Cf.: C. Jencks, *Ruch nowoczesny w architekturze* [Modern movement in architecture], Warszawa 1987.

¹² For complete list of publications and theoretical pronouncements of E. Mendelsohn see: B. Zevi, *Erich Mendelsohn, Opera completa*, Milano 1970, p. LXXXIX; W. v. Eckard, *Eric Mendelsohn*, op. cit., p. 119. Due to reasons independent of the author in some cases only fragments of Mendelsohn's writings and articles proved available. The only compact conception of the expressionist architecture (it would be more appropriate to call it an urbanist theory) was created by B. Taut (cf., e.g., his "Die Stadtkrone" of 1919). In the case of the other architects their theoretical pronouncements are fragmentary and – what can also be seen in Mendelsohn – not unequivocal. Some of them, like, for instance, M. de Klerk from the Amsterdam School, dealt with the theory of architecture only marginally.

¹³ *Das Probleme einer neuen Baukunst (1911–1917)*, in: T. C. Benton, D. Sharp, *Form and Function...*, op. cit., p. 74. Mendelsohn's pronouncements quoted or mentioned in the article come from the following works:

- T. C. Benton, D. Sharp, *Form and Function...*, op. cit.
- *Programmes and Manifestoes on 20th Century Architecture* (ed. U. Conrads), Cambridge (Mass.) 1975
- C. Aragan, *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte. Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts 1880–1940*, Berlin 1977
- E. Mendelsohn, *Letters...*, op. cit.

¹⁴ See remarks on this subject: S. Latour, A. Szymiski, *Rozwój współczesnej myśli architektonicznej* [The development of the contemporary architectural thought], Warszawa 1985.

¹⁵ See: N. Huse, "Neues Bauen" 1918 bis 1933, *Moderne Architektur in der Weimarer Republik*, München 1975, p. 30 and further. It should be stressed that such a view was not popular among the expressionists; cf. early declarations of H. Poelzig (W. Pehnt, *Expressionist...*, op. cit., p. 30) or W. Gropius, who, together with the Bauhaus school, was described by W. Pehnt as the "stronghold of Expressionism". In my opinion Mendelsohn's appreciation for the aesthetics of machine issues from his, deepening with the passage of time, appreciation for the significance of function in architecture.

¹⁶ The essence of this issue is reflected in F. L. Wright's words: "a machine is able to introduce the highest ideas into the art, higher than all those which the world has seen hitherto" (from the paper *The Art and Craft of the*

Machine, presented in March 1901 in Chicago, in: F. L. Wright, *Writings and Buildings* (ed. E. Kaufmann), New York 1963, pp. 55–73.

¹⁷ Cf.: "a machine for living" – Le Corbusier, "a machine for reading" – F. Leger about a book, or, relatively recently, U. Eco – "a novel – a machine for producing interpretations" (*Imię róży* [The name of the Rose], Warszawa 1988, p. 524). See also: T. Gryglewicz, *Obraz maszyny w sztuce XX wieku* [Image of a machine in 20th-century art], "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki", Vol. XLIII, 1981, No 3, pp. 309–324.

¹⁸ In 1924, during his first stay in the U. S. A., Mendelsohn visited F. L. Wright in his studio in Taliesin. Cf. the comment concerning the two architects' friendship: N. Pevsner, *Mendelsohn by Himself*, "Architectural Review", March 1962, pp. 161–163. This interest is the more significant that at the time Wright was not known to a broader circle of architects in the U. S. A. or in Europe. In fact, his architecture was known only in Holland (the conception of the "organic" architecture was interesting both for the Rotterdam school and for the expressionists of Amsterdam) and in Germany, where the monograph entitled *F. L. Wright, Ausgeführte Bauten*, published in the years 1910–1911 by Ernst Wasmuth, evoked great interest. Probably this was how Mendelsohn came in touch with Wright's architecture for the first time.

¹⁹ L. F. Wright, *Writings...*, op. cit.; there also extensive materials concerning this issue.

²⁰ Cf. Mendelsohn's relations with the radical group "Arbeitsrat für Kunst" (Berlin) as well as his contacts with "Der Blaue Reiter" or "Sturm und Drang" during his studies in Munich.

²¹ Cf. Mendelsohn's remarks on the subject of the influence exerted on his output by the architecture seen in 1924 in the U. S. A. (*Letters...*, op. cit., p. 163; *Russland, Europa, Amerika. Ein architektonischer Querschnitt. An Architectural Cross Section*, Basel, Berlin, Boston 1989 /reprint from 1929/).

²² In the early period of Mendelsohn's creative work the interest and appreciation for the functional and aesthetic qualities of new materials was not always connected with their appropriate application; the observatory in Potsdam is a brick construction, what was the subject of ridicule for long years; we have to do with an "apparently" ferro-concrete construction on a smaller scale in Seidenhaus Weichmann in Gliwice.

²³ Cf., for instance, the evolution of the walls of department stores in Gliwice (not very distinct yet), Nuremberg, Stuttgart (all staircase glazed), Wrocław, Chemnitz. Cf. also similar renouncement of walls as supporting structures in F. L. Wright's system of "post and beam".

²⁴ Even his contemporaries placed Mendelsohn's output between European and American traditions; cf.: J. F. Staal, O. Beyer, *Mendelsohn*, "Wendingen", Amsterdam X, 1920, p. 14.

²⁵ About the Tower of Wedding in Darmstadt Mendelsohn wrote: "it is wholly built" (*Letters...*, op. cit., p. 83). On M. Berg's influence on Mendelsohn cf.: R. Banham, *Mendelsohn*, op. cit., pp. 83–84; as regards Poelzig's in-

fluence: R. Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, London 1982, p. 167 – there the quotation used in the article.

²⁶ E.g., Seidenhaus Weichmann in Gliwice, 1922.

²⁷ This term was used in reference to Mendelsohn's architecture of the mid-1920's by R. Banham (*Mendelsohn*, op. cit., p. 91). For more information see: L. Jodliński, *Seidenhaus Weichmann w Gliwicach – nie znane dzieło Ericha Mendelsohna* [Seidenhaus Weichmann in Gliwice – an unknown work by Erich Mendelsohn], Monographic Series of the Museum in Gliwice, No. 4, 1994.

²⁸ A very interesting analysis of this department store can be found in: N. Huse, "Neues Bauen"..., op. cit., p. 113. The division of the staircase made by Mendelsohn suggests 50 floors, while, in fact, there are only 4.

²⁹ *The Inner and Outer Wall*, in: *Programmes and Manifestoes...*, op. cit., pp. 76 and 77.

³⁰ E. Mendelsohn, *Letters...*, op. cit., p. 168. While designing Schocken in Stuttgart he was guided by a vision of a diminished town-planning and design "organism" in the hat factory in Luckenwalde designed earlier. It would be more appropriate to call E. Mendelsohn's department stores "factories for trading".

³¹ Cf.: E. Mendelsohn, *Neues Haus – Neue Welt* (Introduction by A. Ozenfant), Berlin 1930.

³² Cf. *Dynamik und Funktion*, in: C. Aragon, *Propyläen...*, op. cit., p. 105.

³³ W. Pehnt, *Expressionist...*, op. cit., p. 119. Cf. T. C. Benton, D. Sharp, *Form and Function*, op. cit., p. 75.

³⁴ I wish to thank Prof. W. Stróżewski for his suggestions concerning this issue. Connections between philosophical views contemporary to E. Mendelsohn and his architecture deserve a deeper analysis; the above remarks merely signalize the problem. For N. Hartmann's philosophy see: H. Schnädelbach, *Filozofia w Niemczech 1831–1933* [Philosophy in Germany 1831–1933], Warszawa 1992, p. 331.

³⁵ J. Posener, *From Schinkel...*, op. cit., pp. 33 and further; there also a more comprehensive discussion of H. Häring's functionalism.

³⁶ J. Posener, *From Schinkel...*, op. cit., p. 3.

³⁷ It is a feature which the common understanding of functional architecture perceives as the essence of functionalism in building. J. Posener calls it the situation of contradiction, when "form precedes function" (*From Schinkel...*, op. cit., p. 38).

³⁸ E. Mendelsohn, *Letters...*, op. cit., p. 166.

³⁹ In his letter Mendelsohn explains the reasons why his designs in the years 1914–1917 were dominated by industrial buildings: "In time with the industrial needs of war they mostly ponder over industrial buildings" (*Letters...*, op. cit., p. 164).

⁴⁰ Cf. J. F. Staal, O. Beyer, *Mendelsohn*, op. cit., pp. 9 and further; J. F. Staal calls Einstein's Tower a monument

rather than a work place ("Werkstatt"); a similar opinion about this building as a work inspired by the avant-garde achievements of Jugendstil was expressed by W. Pehnt (*Expressionist...*, op. cit., p. 54 and p. 47).

⁴¹ This influence, so often mentioned by scholars, was also emphasized by E. Mendelsohn writing about the sources of his architecture in 1947; he mentioned H. van de Velde as the one who would "give my work a decisive impetus" (*Letters...*, op. cit., pp. 162 and further); Mendelsohn's remarks on J. Olbrich's Tower of Wedding in Darmstadt in his letters to his wife (ibid., pp. 55 and further)

⁴² Because of numerous controversies I accept the dates after: R. Banham, *Mendelsohn*, op. cit., p. 87; the debate on this subject is discussed in: L. Jodliński, *Seidenhaus Weichmann...*, op. cit., p. 61.

⁴³ "What happens is of value when it is born in an ecstasy of vision" (quoted after: W. Pehnt, *Expressionist...*, op. cit., p. 117).

⁴⁴ Both visits were due to the invitation from Theo van der Wijdeveld, the editor of the monthly "Wendingen", and the Association "Architectura et Amicitia" in Amsterdam. For those circles Mendelsohn, what will be discussed later, was (apart from H. Berlage and F. L. Wright) one of the three most eminent architects of the 20th century (in 1923 M. de Klerk was posthumously included in this group).

⁴⁵ E. Mendelsohn wrote about its major representative, M. de Klerk: "has a genuine spatial talent", cf.: N. Pevsner, *Mendelsohn...*, op. cit., p. 161–163; and R. Banham, *Mendelsohn*, op. cit., p. 87, where M. de Klerk's Post Office at Oostzaanstraat/Zaanstraat in Amsterdam of 1917 is discussed; ibid., p. 89: "The real division of Dutch architecture in 1919 was between »Wendingen's« tendency to put expressive aesthetics first and the tendency of the Oud-Rotterdam circle to put social and functional considerations first".

⁴⁶ From Mendelsohn's lecture *Dynamik und Funktion* presented in the Association "Architectura et Amicitia".

⁴⁷ N. Huse, "Neues Bauen"..., op. cit., p. 26 – one of Mendelsohn's most frequently quoted pronouncements, often abused in interpretation (undoubtedly, it indirectly contributed to the failure of the Amsterdam School).

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 26 ("Dynamik wäre danach der bestimmende, Funktionalität der spezifizierende faktor").

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 22 and 23; there also comprehensive description and analysis of B. Taut's town-planning conceptions.

⁵⁰ For more material on this subject see: N. Huse, "Neues Bauen"..., op. cit., pp. 113–120.

⁵¹ Cf.: P. Singelenberg, *Sempers Einfluss auf Berlage*, in: *Gottfried Semper und der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Basel 1976, pp. 303 and further.

⁵² Cf. the "Amsterdam" edition of windows in Seidenhaus Weichmann in Gliwice or Doppelville's "brutalized" brick facades at Karlingerplatz in Berlin, 1922.

⁵³ Cf. R. Banham, *Mendelsohn*, op. cit., p. 89. Banham strongly exaggerates the influence of "the Dutch", although he reduces the differences between Amsterdam and Mendelsohn to appropriate oppositions: asymmetry (A'dam) – symmetry (E. M.); anti-formalism (A'dam) – formalism (E. M.).

⁵⁴ In the Introduction to: E. Mendelsohn, *Letters...*, op. cit., p. 16, N. Pevsner states that at the beginning of the 1920's a transformation took place regarding, in its first phase, solution of technical and functional problems; then the second phase, "engaging imagination" and giving the whole an artistic expression, was to take place.

⁵⁵ This interesting issue was only slightly discussed in the literature of the subject; of Mendelsohn's contemporaries, K. Düssel paid attention to this aspect of his architecture, cf. K. Düssel, *Drei Kaufhäuser Schocken in Nürnberg, Stuttgart und Chemnitz von Erich Mendelsohn*, "Moderne Bauformen", Monatshefte für Architektur und Raumkunst 11, 1930, pp. 461–170.

⁵⁶ "a piece of publicity in itself" (quoted after: W. Pehnt, *Expressionist...*, op. cit., p. 18).

⁵⁷ Cf. the remarks of R. Banham (*Mendelsohn*, op. cit., pp. 91 and further) stating that the motive of stripe arrangements of windows applied by Mendelsohn mostly in department stores was inspired by streetcars in Detroit. No matter whether this thesis is right or not, it would emphasize Mendelsohn's exceptional striving for adjustment of architecture in the city landscape, its integration with the surroundings, or "urbanism", to use C. Jencks's term (*Architektura postmodernistyczna* [Post-modernist architecture], Warszawa 1987).

[trans. Ewa Klimontowicz]

ON GREATNESS*

*In Memory of
Witold Lutosławski*

1.

The concept of greatness is peculiar. The first thought that it evokes in us sends us to the realm of numbers. Great is that which is measured and requires great numbers to be described. And the number itself is great if it requires a long set of digits to write it down. Yet, after a while of reflection it appears that the concept of greatness occurs also in another meaning, impossible to capture in numbers, for it is essentially different. What is more, this meaning is by no means metaphorical.¹

In his dialogue *De quantitate animae*, St Augustine, starting to consider the problem of greatness of the soul, formulates the question: "In what sense do you ask about its greatness? For I do not understand whether you wish to know, as it were, the measure of its breadth, length or physical strength, or all three together, or you would like to know what the value of the soul is. For we usually ask how great Hercules was, meaning by it how tall he was. In the same way we shall ask how great a man he was, that is, how great were his power and his courage".²

Here the mind recalls the agnomen "the Great", which posterity gave to some of the rulers: Alexander, Charles or Casimir. It refers to the greatness of their deeds and their historical meaning, which surely cannot be expressed with numbers. Thus, there exists a measure of greatness that is different than number. And there exists greatness different than that which belongs to the category of quantity.

There is the greatness of a deed and the greatness of works. These make us speak of the greatness of their authors – therefore it is not strange when we call someone a great poet, a great composer or a great painter. There is the greatness of Nature and of its works. There is the greatness of an idea and the greatness of thought. There are great values – those which, for this reason, are called the highest:

Human reason is beautiful and invincible.
No bars, no barbed wire, no pulping of books,

* FROM THE AUTHOR. This text was to be delivered on the intended and – as I know – modest celebration of Witold Lutosławski's birthday on 23rd January, 1994, in Warsaw. The Composer's illness destroyed these plans. Yet, I decided to publish this speech, dedicating it: "To Witold Lutosławski, in tribute." Today, in deep sorrow, I must change the dedication. I also allowed myself to introduce a change in the text, which had not been intended before: at an appropriate place I decided to mention *IV Symphony*...

No sentence of banishment can prevail against it.
It establishes the universal ideas in language,
And guides our hand so we write Truth and Justice
With capital letters, lie and oppression with small.

...
Beautiful and very young are Philo-Sophia
And poetry, her ally in service to the good.
...³

There is also the greatness of Greatness Itself. And there is the greatness of the Absolute, the greatness of God.

I see that He is God not only of vermin
or of the creatures that slip on the ground.
He loves the roaring flight of giant birds,
and lets wild stallions go unbridled...
He is the fiery feather of proud helmets...
A great deed may convince Him, not a tear
shed in vain at the steps of the altar:
I fall to my face before Him – He is God.⁴

So, what does the essence of greatness consist in? What allows us to use the word *greatness* in so different or, at least, such parallel senses, and refer it to such different situations?

Let us try to have a closer look at the phenomenon of greatness.

Let us notice that it appears in at least three different domains: these are determined by number, being and value. Thus, we may speak about mathematical, metaphysical and axiological greatness. Moreover, the last will assume particular forms depending on the kinds of values with which it is connected.

2.

Mathematical greatness is therefore often treated as synonymous to *measure*. In *Phaedo*, Plato wonders whether in this understanding it is something absolute or relative, that is, whether a definite greatness is such in itself or if it depends on another greatness to which it is referred. In the latter case, a person might be tall in comparison with someone comparatively short, but, at the same time, short as compared to a man of stately appearance. However, Plato tends to conclude that a definite greatness is an absolute value and it owes its measure to some objective scale or, maybe, to participation in some objective idea. In this perspective nothing can be large and small at the same time, though it may assume one of these features as relative when compared with an object of different dimensions.⁵

Greatness expressed in numbers may be finite or infinite. The latter, considered in itself, renders comparisons impossible, though, obviously, it can be referred to various objects. At the same time, it is infinity that comes to our mind when we search for something absolutely the greatest. And we speak not only about the infinitely great, but also about the infinitely small. In every case we know what we mean, but we can imagine neither of these two infinities. When we try to interpret them in the categories of our normal experience, we are awestruck. No one experienced it more deeply than Pascal:

"We know that there is an infinite, and are ignorant of its nature. As we know it to be false that numbers are finite, it is therefore true that there is an infinity in number. But we do not know what it is. It is false that it is even, it is false that it is odd..."⁶

Further, mathematical infinity gains its cosmological and anthropocentric interpretation: "For, in fact, what is man in nature? A Nothing in comparison with the Infinite, an All in comparison with the Nothing, a mean between nothing and everything. Since he is infinitely removed from comprehending the extremes, the end of things and their beginning are hopelessly hidden from him in an impenetrable secret; he is equally incapable of seeing the Nothing from which he was made, and the Infinite in which he is swallowed up".⁷ And, finally, the most famous sentence: "The eternal silence of these infinite spaces frightens me".⁸

Yet, paradoxically, in this extension between the infinities, man's greatness also manifests itself. Compared to a reed, the most frail thing in Nature, he surpasses all the universe thanks to the power of his thought. "It is not from space that I must seek my dignity, but from the government of my thought. I shall have no more if I possess worlds. By space the universe encompasses and swallows me up like an atom; by thought I comprehend the world".⁹

However, the problem does not close on the greatness of man and infinity of the universe. Pascal orders us to think of God. Another philosopher of the same epoch, Benedictus de Spinoza, who accepted God as the *a priori* starting point of his philosophy, defines Him making a reference to the very concept of infinity: "By God I understand a being absolutely infinite, i.e., a substance consisting of infinity of attributes, of which each one expresses an eternal and infinite essence".¹⁰ In Proposition XI he adds: "God or a substance consisting of infinite attributes, each of which expresses eternal and infinite essence, necessarily exists".¹¹ Thus we are approaching the boundaries of all imaginable greatness. And at the same time we approach the intuitions, which, in reference to God, appeared much earlier, for in the formulations of *Proslogion* by St Anselmus: "And thus, Lord, you are not only this, above which nothing greater may be thought, but you are also something greater than might have been thought. For were it possible to think that there is something like it, then if you are not this something, it would mean that something greater than you may be thought of, and this is impossible".¹² The concept of greatness that occurs here belongs fully to metaphysics. And, at the same time it seems to transcend even its boundaries. God's greatness cannot be expressed with any positive description. What helps is the so-called negative theology, whose highest achievement can be found in the works of a mysterious author living at the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries – Pseudo-Dionisius Areopagite. In his *Mystical Theology* we read: "Getting higher and higher we say that this Cause is neither the soul nor the mind, it possesses neither imagination nor views, neither understanding nor intellect, it cannot be described with a language or grasped by thought; it is not a number or an order or greatness, or smallness, or equality, or similarity, or dissimilarity;...it is not darkness or light, false or truth, nothing about it can be negated and nothing certain can be stated.... This perfect and only Cause of everything is above all statements and goes beyond all negations, independent of everything and transcending everything".¹³

These testimonies were quoted here not only for their autonomous value and beauty, but, first of all, to throw light on the main subject of our considerations. The thesis regarding the necessity of the multidimensional conception of greatness is confirmed. And, at the same time, the properties which can accompany greatness and which are able to modify and enrich its nature are manifested: infinity, perfection, dignity. The last transfers us to the area of the axiological dimension of greatness.

Let us start with greatness that we can meet in the domain of morality. In Book IV of *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle carries out a perfect, even phenomenological analysis of the personal value which in Greek is called *megalopsychia*. It is not easy to find equivalents of this name in modern languages. It surely is not "generosity"; "greatness of soul" or "spiritual greatness" would probably have a closer meaning. The authoress of the Polish translation of *Nicomachean Ethics*, Prof. D. Gromska, suggests "justified pride", interpreting it as "the feeling of one's own value". In the Oxford translation of Aristotle's works, Sir David Ross uses the word "pride". Latin translates *megalopsychia* as *magnanimitas*; Thomas Aquinas defines it as a specific extension of the spirit towards great things: "*magnanimitas ex suo nomine importat quandam extensionem animi ad magna*".¹⁴

According to Aristotle's definition, "Now the man is thought to be proud who thinks himself worthy of great things, being worthy of them".¹⁵ Thus, justified pride is connected with greatness, which, in turn, refers to the highest values leading to the fact that the man who truly realizes them also deserves reverence. "Now, the proud man, since he deserves most, must be good in the highest degree; for the better man always deserves more, and the best man most.... Pride, then, seems to be a sort of crown of the virtues; for it makes them greater, and it is not found without them. Therefore, it is hard to be truly proud, for it is impossible without nobility and goodness of character (*kalokagathia*)".¹⁶

Kalokagathia takes us to the area of aesthetics, the domain of beauty and sublimity. Aristotle recognized greatness as one of the conditions constituting beauty: "for pride implies greatness, as beauty implies a good-sized body, and little people may be neat and well-proportioned but cannot be beautiful".¹⁷ However, in *De Poetica* he modified his view somehow: he no longer speaks of greatness "as such", but of appropriate greatness (size): "Beauty is a matter of size and order, and therefore impossible either (1) in a very minute creature, since our perception becomes indistinct as it approaches instantaneity; or (2) in a creature of vast size – one, say, 1000 miles long – as in that case, instead of the object being seen all at once, the unity and wholeness of it is lost to the beholder".¹⁸ Greatness understood in this way will be accepted as one of the conditions of beauty – both of the beauty itself and of its experience – by numerous aesthetic theories, particularly in the Middle Ages; it was taken into account by, among others, Thomas Aquinas and Witelo. Yet, it will never appear as the most important, primary condition: these, in the classical Medieval theories of beauty, remain *consonantia et claritas*.

On the other hand, greatness becomes the most important constituent of another aesthetic value – sublimity. Its theories appear much later, namely, as late as the 18th century. Their authors are Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant.

In accord with his subjectivist axiological orientation, Burke conceives sublimity not as an objective phenomenon but as a feeling or a specific state of the soul. On the other hand, he lists and describes subtly the factors that evoke this feeling: mystery, darkness, infinity, splendour, light, uncertainty, suddenness, difficulty, pain, and finally power and greatness, of which at least some belong to the extrasubjective reality. Obviously, they too must be given not in themselves but in appropriate images.

At the beginning of the considerations devoted to sublimity we read: "The passion caused by the great and sublime in *nature*, when those causes operate most powerfully, is Astonishment; and astonishment is that state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror. In this case the mind is so entirely filled with its object, that it cannot entertain any other, nor by consequence reason on that object which employs it. Hence arises the great power of the sublime, that far from

being produced by them, it anticipates our reasonings, and hurries us on by an irresistible force. Astonishment, as I have said, is the effect of the sublime in its highest degree; the inferior effects are admiration, reverence and respect".¹⁹

The images of power and greatness are particularly important factors, evoking the feeling of sublimity. The former is always connected with a kind of distress caused by the experience of necessity of submitting to this power against one's will, but also with alarm and an experience of fear. These last feelings achieve their highest form in the face of God. Greatness can be conceived spatially in all three dimensions: length, height and depth. However, height and depth evoke the impression of greater magnificence than length or width: "an hundred yards of even ground will never work such an effect as a tower an hundred yards high or a rock or mountain of that altitude".²⁰

The theory of sublimity as presented by I. Kant is an integral part of his whole philosophy. Sublimity – together with beauty – constitutes the object of the power of judgement (or, maybe better: evaluation – *Urteilkraft*). In the analysis of sublimity, however, Kant's genius overcame the limitations of his own system: it showed its certain essential features in such an apt way that we accept them without objections even when we do not agree with all the assumptions he adopted.

"Sublime is the name given to what is *absolutely great*".²¹ Absolute greatness excludes comparison: "It is a greatness comparable to itself alone".²² This statement is particularly important for us: we shall confirm it in the course of our further considerations. Yet, Kant goes further, arguing that sublimity understood in this way cannot be found in the objects of nature, but only in our ideas. Thus, he takes us from the domain of sensual experience and from the domain of intellect to the level of pure reason: "But precisely because there is a striving in our imagination towards progress *ad infinitum*, while reason demands absolute totality, as a real idea, that some inability on the part of our faculty for the estimation of the magnitude of things of the world of sense to attain this idea, is awakening of a feeling of a supersensible faculty within us, and it is the use to which judgement naturally puts particular objects on behalf of this latter feeling, and not the object of sense, that is absolutely great and every other contrasted employment small. Consequently, it is the disposition of soul evoked by a particular representation engaging the attention of the reflective judgement and not the object, that is to be called sublime".²³

Greatness understood in this way obviously does not fit numerical categories that require comparisons and thus operate exclusively with relative qualities. However, it can be found in the severe nature, particularly when it evokes in us the idea of infinity. "Who would apply the term sublime even to shapeless mountain masses towering one above the other in wild disorder, with their pyramids of ice, or to the dark, tempestuous ocean, or such like things? But in the contemplation of them, without any regard to their form, the mind abandons itself to the imagination and to a reason placed, though quite apart from any definite end, in conjunction therewith, and merely broadening its view, and it feels itself elevated in its own estimate of itself on finding all the might of imagination still unequal to its ideas".²⁴ And finally, the sentences that show the special dialectics of our experience of sublimity are stated: "The feeling of sublime is, therefore, at once a feeling of displeasure, arising from the inadequacy of imagination in the aesthetic estimation of magnitude to attain to its estimation by reason, and a simultaneously awakened pleasure, arising from this very judgement of the inadequacy of the greatest faculty of sense being in accord with ideas of reason, so far as the effort to attain to these is for us a law. It is, in other words, for us a law (of reason), which goes to make us what we are, that we should esteem as small in comparison with ideas of reason everything which for us is great in nature as an object of sense; and that which makes us alive to the feeling of this supersensible side of our being harmonizes with that law".²⁵

True greatness is the greatness of reason, the greatness of spirit. Thanks to it we are superior to nature, which, on the other hand, surpasses us with its power. How close we are here again to Pascal's thought. But also to the deepest sense of the maxim by Kant himself: "The starry heaven above me and the moral law within me."

4.

Thus, what is greatness? Its name is obviously not unequivocal, and its concept will have to be accepted as analogical (in an Aristotelian-scholastic sense) or family-term (in a Wittgensteinian sense). One of its major analogues is undoubtedly numerical value, yet, the one that is referred to the greatness of man is equally important. This and only this concept of greatness is to become the subject of our further analysis. And here we mean not only greatness of "man in general", but greatness as a feature ascribed to a particular person, that is, a person who, for this or another reason, has been accepted as a great man.

We shall first consider the fundamental conditions of greatness.

1. The first refers to the greatness of that which man's greatness is subordinated to. Here we mean the object of vocation or even the object of service. It may be easiest to indicate it in the domain of science or art, where it is identified with the values of truth and beauty. For certain ones it may be the ideal of holiness. For others – motherland or another person. Yet, the basic thing is to notice genuine value in this object. Service to motherland has sense only when the motherland is perceived as true *Res-Publica*, a common good deserving the highest sacrifice. Service to a fellow man has sense only when one sees in him the infinite dignity of his humanity, or even – as the Gospel puts it – God hidden in him.

What one has been called for often transcends the value of the one called. This is what the possibility of transcendence of man, which is also the condition of his greatness, is based upon. One must see more. And must know that service to small and trivial things is of no sense from the point of view of our vocation and the essence of humanity. Collecting of match boxes may evoke admiration, but it will not be admiration evoked by true greatness.

2. Another necessary condition is the existence of subjective dispositions, which that perceived as great requires of its essence. It is not enough to dream about service to truth or beauty, or invent plans how to achieve them, if one has no appropriate ability to learning or artistic creativity. Otherwise, Kant's sarcastic words, "Designing of plans is often a luxurious and vainglorious intellectual activity, thanks to which one assumes an appearance of creative genius, demanding what he himself cannot attain, criticizing what he cannot do better, and projecting what he does not know himself where to find it",²⁶ will come true.

Man's greatness requires making integral use of all possessed dispositions. Looking at great people we notice, not without astonishment, how they can get fully engaged in the actions they undertake, and that they are able to subordinate everything that leads to the intended goal, to achieve it. Also: to sacrifice everything that interferes with achieving it in any way. The word that describes this situation most appropriately is *passion*. Passion is a dynamic concentration of all powers: of intellect, will and even feelings, in striving for an intended goal. Joined with genius or, at least, a talent in some domain, it cannot fail to lead to greatness: it is its forerunner and its mark.

There is no greatness without a power able to "discharge itself" in action, and without its specific "tension" signifying readiness to undertake new tasks that one

usually finds himself and imposes on himself. Laziness, putting everything off "to be done later", block the way to greatness from its very beginning.

3. Greatness is expressed in action and deed: dispositions are a condition that is necessary but not sufficient to make the fulfillment of genuine greatness possible. This is why greatness is most clearly noticable in the domain of all creativity: where one starts great enterprises and realizes them in the most perfect way. This, obviously, regards also scientific and artistic creativity, whose results are works constituting the measure of man's achievements. Yet, in an equally authentic and, maybe, even more magnificent way, greatness may reveal itself in actions aimed at direct help to another man, particularly in the works of charity.

Taking into account the classical distinction regarding man's activity, we must add that creativity may be not only of a transitive character, that is, "transfer itself" to the work marking it with the author's personality, but also of an intransitive character, which, as it were, is retained in the subject itself shaping it and enriching it with the currently realized values.²⁷ Each good deed multiplies the goodness of the person that performs it, every good work causes the artist to become even more an artist. This kind of creativity is usually less noticable, but it is of the utmost importance to the problems of greatness: it is in this way that one achieves integral greatness that, including also moral values, is decisive for the greatness of not only a scholar, an artist, and a politician, but simply of a man.

5.

Let us try to reach the most important features of greatness. At the beginning we must distinguish its two aspects: material and formal. This distinction is important even if, in the course of considerations on greatness, we shall not always be able to make it precise. The material aspect determines the "quality" of greatness, is the basis for an answer to the question what one is great at or with; i.e. whether it is his knowledge, wisdom, art, political talents, strategic abilities, courage or holiness that decides about it. A composer's greatness is obviously qualitatively different than the greatness of a politician, a poet's greatness differs from that of a scholar – even when they regard the same person.

The formal aspect characterizes greatness with respect to its realization. We can foresee in advance that apart from certain common properties that will occur here (which are probably common to all varieties of greatness, for the principle of "family" seems to be in force here too), every greatness will be realized in its own way, constituting properties that belong to it only, as its own and, at the same time, primary features. This multiplicity in which greatness constitutes itself, coming out of its essence, also belongs to its "form". Yet, there is another, at least as important element that belongs to it: valuation. Greatness is a value, and this, which ultimately determines its worth seems to have its source not in the matter but in the form. The form of greatness is dynamic, it consists in continuous actualization of what it includes (i.e., matter) and what it contains. And it contains constituent moments of greatness as greatness, including also its worth.

We have already emphasized the objective character of greatness. This feature also belongs to its form. Greatness constitutes itself through reference to objective values of the highest order. Independent of subjective evaluations, it manifests itself when it is already established, stable, when it need not develop further even if further development were to consolidate it more. Once it has come into existence, it perseveres. A consequence of this one of its properties is a kind of "static character" that, among others, distinguishes it from the dynamics of sublimity. Sublimity really "goes up", car-

rying away, if we can say so, in ecstasy those who are able to experience it. Greatness reveals itself as a distinguished, objectively established reality, in the face of which we stand in silent admiration and intimidation. Its being, anchored in real being, causes us to recognize with no difficulty what it is and what has merely its appearance. The reality of greatness is as obvious as all authentic reality: in all the glamour of manifestation excluding all doubt.

Greatness is an integral value. It appears where definite selections of values have been brought to the highest possible level and achieved the state to which nothing higher can be thought of in the given order. Greatness is a synonym of fullness, or better still, to use Norwid's words, of "perfect fulfillment".²⁸ It does not consist in "surpassing", but in fulfilling.

This is why, in accord with Kant's remark, greatness is incomparable. True greatness, as it were, constitutes itself and itself draws the borders of its domain. Therefore, there is no sense in asking who is greater: Beethoven or Mozart, Leonardo da Vinci or Michelangelo, Plato or Aristotle (how perfectly aware of it Raphael was, placing both philosophers posed alike in his famous wall-painting!). This point in our considerations is particularly important.

And greatness of evil? Evil that has been fulfilled, whose ruthlessness and terrifying enormity we have so often experienced in our days. Don't we speak of a "great criminal", a "great sinner", a "great scoundrel"? Let us neglect the second of the examples mentioned above, for – because of its reference to the sphere of *sacrum* – it would require a separate analysis. In the other two, after some thought, we discover a specific modification of the concept of greatness. Firstly, it loses here its positive axiological sense. Although from the point of view of experience the moment of astonishment, sometimes even of terrifying astonishment ("so it's that bad?" "could something that terrible have happened?") remains, but it is an experience completely different from an experience of something axiologically positive, e.g., some uncommon beauty. Yet, according to R. M. Rilke's testimony – "...das Schöne ist nichts als des Schrecklichen Anfang".²⁹ Secondly, in this context, greatness seems to lose its axiological sense in general: it is conceived rather in quantitative categories of some unimaginable burden or enormity surpassing all measure. Obviously, it does not mean that in this way the axiologically negative category of evil disappears or transforms into a neutral category of quantity. The meaning of the word "great", however, gets radically changed.

Let us come back to our search for the essence of greatness. The reference to evil allows us to decide that greatness excludes – on the basis of being the opposite – not only all littleness, shallowness, vanity, and all ulterior motives for action (meanness, envy, baseness), but also everything that is related to evil. This being so, the more clearly the truth, which had already made itself visible in our previous considerations, is revealed that greatness must be essentially connected with good. Although it can be understood in various ways, yet, it must always constitute a criterion of the hierarchy of values that ultimately justifies greatness. The confusion in this hierarchy is caused by the proverbial "throwing away one's life on little things", which, in a simple way, excludes greatness.

The essence of greatness includes the realization of various orders of values. Each of them, starting with the moral order, requires its "completion" through optimum actualization of the vocations, talents and abilities lying at its base. The ways that lead to these fulfillments are the ways that, as it were, make one fated to greatness. However, this, in turn, requires their reciprocal harmonization, and, first of all, their union with the fundamental greatness: the greatness of humanity.

It is not always so. It sometimes happens that the greatness of talent is not accompanied by the greatness of character. It sometimes seems that a great talent, even

a genius, as if on purpose, chose a seat in a person not distinguished by outstanding personality. Can we, however, completely neglect the connections between talent and character, creative personality and moral personality, genius in a given area and this set of features that make up the value of humanity? Zygmunt Krasiński wrote: "I am not jealous of their fame, since for me a poet who is merely an artist and does not possess anything human is a doubtful creature, suspended between heaven and earth, doubtful like a fog, a perfect servant to all shapes and mistress of none; a creature who, in a certain aspect, lacks life, who stays in philosophical rather than poetic domain – a word, an abstract, anything you wish, but not an organism containing God's full visage in itself".³⁰

But surely, it may be even worse. For doesn't it happen that a great talent is realized in a man who is not only morally weak, but even devoid of any moral scruples? A situation of this kind evokes specific anxiety and disgust. What unpleasant emotions are evoked by statements like: "he is a great artist but a worthless man", or the famous but still painful: "A Pole is a giant, but the man within a Pole is a dwarf".³¹ There is some special *a priori* within us, which searches for, or, better still demands "pure" greatness, i.e., such that it is proportionally realized in all aspects of human endeavour.

We know that full harmony of realization of talents and morality is not always easy. There may also occur the strange dialectics of a difficult to describe balance of one and the other. We are likely to forgive a genius more than an average man. Yet, where is the limit that must not be crossed?

The greatness of a genius, as it were, obscures flaws in his character. Even if it does not justify them, it removes them to the background, minimalizes them and even "invalidates" them in a specific way. Sometimes it seems that, maybe, in this mysterious dialectics of the inner life, these flaws play some positive role, though (despite the efforts of various theories, theory of positive disintegration included) we are not able to say what it consists of. This is why all attempts at unscrupled penetration into great men's private lives or "taking the guilt off" the accepted great names fill us with deep disgust. Greatness requires sacrifice. Maybe in this or that case it is the sacrifice of values that otherwise should not be violated?

No matter how it is, greatness loses its integral character here, though it does not cease to be an autonomous greatness. What is more, its autonomy reveals itself, so to say, to a larger extent: as if it were independent not only of external circumstances, but also of internal ones, mysterious in its genesis and in its mode of existence.

However, it is another matter that is more important. Experiencing a conflict of values becomes, in an inevitable way, the source of internal tragedy. Sensitivity to value is indivisible, and therefore the awareness of achieving of some values and simultaneously throwing away others that should absolutely be realized, cannot fail to evoke the deepest pain. The words of Ecclesiastes: "For with much wisdom comes much sorrow; The more knowledge, the more grief".³² have probably their most appropriate reference here. The depth of the internal tragedy becomes, as it were, a component or even a constituent of this variety of greatness. We cannot neglect it even if we do not view it as the optimum form of greatness. For the latter is completed through harmoniously bringing to the zenith the multitude of various values, even those which, at first glance, seem to be difficult to fit. Their harmony is no longer the Heraclitean harmony of fight, but one of peace accessible above the tops of human possibilities. *Über allen Gipfeln / Ist Ruh....*³³ Apart from greatness magnified with the internal tragedy, apart from greatness that is autonomous but not integral, there exists greatness that is most magnificent and most difficult: autonomous and integral.

Is it, however, possible to maintain – in spite of everything – the thesis of the integral character of authentic greatness? Is it a reliable statement or just a postulate

of which we know in advance that it will never be fully realized? We spoke about the greatness of humanity and greatness of character. How, in fact, are they related to each other? Can this, what we call humanity, be fulfilled in the case of dramatic flaws in one's character? And finally, as we have already suggested, must or should the greatness of genius or, at least, of talent in some area go together with the greatness of personality?

And yet, it seems that the thesis proclaiming the integral character of greatness is right. However, its being right is decided not so much, or, at least, not only, by life as by the greatness of creativity. It is through creativity that we look at life, and not the other way round. Yet, we not only look at it. Creativity – and this process gets deeper with the passage of time – somehow constitutes its subject. It is analogous to what we call "the lyrical subject" of a poem. This analogy is not complete, however, because, in our case, it regards creativity as a whole, and, as we shall soon see, it does not constitute anything exclusively intentional, but a fully real thing. Creativity, art, proves to be more important than life. This is the true sense of the saying *Ars longa, vita brevis*.

A creative personality is made up by the output and not by transitory life events or flaws in character. Life is merely an opportunity to form a personality whose proper constructive element is in creativity. With the passage of time everything that is incidental falls apart, and what is both essential and necessary comes into prominence. The error of biographism consists in this, that it tries to explain creativity through life, through coincidence of not necessary, in fact, events, while life should actually be reconstructed through creativity. "By their fruit you will recognize them". This, however, requires not only a radical change of the perspective, but also the ability to reach to the deepest strata of man's personality. It has already been mentioned that – in opposition to the lyrical subject – the creative subject is not an intentional, but a deeply real thing. Deeply, because it essentially remains hidden and reveals itself only through that which is truly the most important. It is like *arché*, which acts according to its own necessity, leaving the incidental to other factors. The problem consists in the ability to notice it.

Here, time is an ally of the researcher. He who can experience the drama of *Eroica* or the metaphysical depth of the last Quartets by Beethoven will have no difficulty in seeing the artist's personality not through the biographers' gossipy reconstructions, but through these works: He will see the **man** who captured and revealed to us the secrets of another world or of the depth of reality that we had not been aware of before. This "sense" of Beethoven, his participation in things surpassing everyday dimensions, comes to the foreground and outshines everything else. This is the **true** Beethoven, an artist and a man, not the one composed of trivial anecdotes and gossip, even if they were confirmed in his everyday life. For one reality is not equal to another. There are things that are important and less important, essential and nonessential. If we do not distinguish between them, we shall never get to the secret of the integral greatness.

6.

We have already said that greatness may be expressed only in action, in a deed.

On the side of the product, a counterpart of the greatness of art understood as creative disposition or activity is a masterpiece. Different languages refer to various intuitions in order to express the essence of this issue in the most appropriate way. Latin speaks of *opus magnum*, French, which in its meaning is the closest to Latin, uses *chef d'oeuvre*. English and German use the terms *masterpiece* and *Meisterwerk*.

The Latin formulation grasps most precisely the phenomenon of greatness of the work. It seems, however, that it does not signify the absolute value, but rather its value relativized to the whole output of the given artist: in this output the *opus magnum*

distinguishes something, whose significance is the greatest and in which the most typical features and values of all his work were expressed in the most perfect way. On the other hand, the greatness of a work need not be compared to the greatness of works by other artists. Anchored in the meaning and value of the work, it accentuates, first of all, its uniqueness and originality, i.e. this which makes it incomparable. This confirms also our earlier intuitions that greatness does not require comparisons and it not only can, but even must be recognized as something unique.

Other languages emphasize the moment of mastery, that is, first of all, the mode of execution. Here it is to be elevated to the limits of possibility, the highest of the possible. Mastery goes together with perfection. Flawlessness is merely a basic condition; true mastery must also show invention and originality of solutions. This may, though does not have to, lead to attainment of the condition that the *opus magnum* must satisfy: taking the most important place in the whole output of the artist. This is endangered by an opposite hazard: efficiency in execution may cause a routine, enabling the artist to produce works which would be very good, but devoid of greatness.... Mastery is just one, though, at the same time, one of the most important aspects of creativity. It is not sufficient, however, to express the full richness of the expression *opus magnum*: it engages not only efficiency, but also inspiration; not only knowledge, but also intuition requires them in the highest degree.

Art is a way of expressing the inexpressible. The highest degree of inexpressibility is identified with transcendence. We have stated that greatness presupposes experience of something that transcends us, and the need to assume an attitude towards the transcending. Thus, in its essence and genesis art would be religious – it only we agreed to understand the concept of religiousness as our deepest relation to the Absolute, the archic relation to the highest Arché. This, however, requires not only the greatest effort, but also taking into consideration that which is most precious and greatest both in ourselves and in the world around us. Wasn't this the way in which both the semantic and the aesthetic functions of art were born? And isn't it so that the reference to Transcendence, to the ideal world, and, at the limit, to Sacrum, the reference that is most genuine and, at the same time, most successful, is the measure of the ideal and the measure of the masterpiece?

One point comes to the foreground here: purity. Sincerity of expression, authenticity and the like are merely its derivatives. Purity is both the sign and the requirement of greatness of art – like purification is the condition for mystical experience. Paying tribute to the Absolute through art, satisfying in it and through it the need of recognition of Greatness and paying homage to it, one reaches the zenith of its possibilities. Then art truly becomes "the highest of the apostle's trades" and "the humblest prayer of an angel".³⁴ Beauty is incorporated in this purity of art, and remains in it until it yields to the temptation of false autonomy and transforms into a purely aesthetic value.

Purity prepares the place for a gift. One cannot create a masterpiece depending exclusively on his efficiency. An artist merely prepares conditions necessary for a value to manifest itself in his work. The value of a masterpiece participates in the autonomous value, being, at the same time, the only way of its manifestation in the world. Let us make things completely clear. A masterpiece, in accord with its name, reaches the deepest principles and conditions of the essence of art. It participates in the greatness which surpasses it, and, at the same time, it is the fruit of greatness of the artist himself. Thus, a masterpiece is, as it were, founded in two greatnesses: in the absolute, transcendental value, and in the genius of the artist who, through his art, has managed to reveal it. And finally, the existence of a masterpiece itself is a value. It is experienced as a transcendental value, most deeply connected with the mystery of Being.

We are now getting to the last issue of our considerations.

How does the experiencing of greatness proceed? In order to answer this question as adequately as possible, we would have to relate both the internal experiencing of greatness by the person who is endowed with it, and the experiencing of it by an outside observer. Having no direct insight in the former situation, we can only suspect certain properties occurring here, which, to some extent, we can infer even on the basis of external observation. We notice here a particular coincidence of features which, in fact, exclude each other: humility and self-confidence. The latter is either the same or something closely related to what Aristotle described as *megalopsychia*, while the former issues from the awareness of the infinite value of what one serves. "Justified pride" grows not so much, or, at least, not only, from the awareness of one's own achievements as from the conviction that they were attained as the result of proper choices of definite values. On the other hand, the awareness of unattainability of these values and the hard experience of their merely fragmentary realization (Norwid: "Always – you'll be revenged on by: I a c k !..."³⁵) do not allow the occurrence of shallow self-satisfaction, or, the more so, conceit, which is nothing but putting oneself above the greatness one should serve.

Greatness reveals itself neither as a result of striving to attain it nor – when it seems to have been attained already – as a result of taking care to retain it. It emerges on its own and it seems never to be accepted without disbelief, which in any event, has nothing to do with false humility. And when it is to defend itself against littleness or usurpation, it never does this directly, but always through the defending of absolute values that constitute it. We cannot say more from the side of the subject of greatness. For its observer, however, the most important thing seems to be what we have already emphasized: the almost apodeictic experience of its reality. True greatness is encountered so rarely that we cannot be mistaken when we really face it. We stop abashed, sometimes even petrified, and yet we do not feel belittled by it. Just the contrary, greatness elevates and enriches us by its mere presence. We feel that we have been given a particular grace of participation in something out of the ordinary, unusual, which will leave its mark in us forever.

The need to pay homage, to adore it, is born within us. It is amazing that we experience it not only in the face of great people, but – at least sometimes – in the presence of great works. If we did not experience this feeling towards Michelangelo's *Pietà*, or Rembrandt's late self-portraits, Beethoven's last quartets or the *IV Symphony* by Lutosławski..., it means that we have never experienced a true encounter with a masterpiece. Then, and only then, there inevitably occurs the culmination and the deepest consequence of the experience of greatness: gratitude.³⁶

Gratitude is a feeling that allows for a specific reduction of the distance between greatness and us. We have an opportunity to experience it as something that is also close. Let us recall a fragment of Władysław Tatarkiewicz's considerations on this subject: "In this or that way, greatness and closeness are for a man, in the course of his life, categories of his perception, understanding and experiencing of the world. They are categories in not as strict a sense of this word as Kant had it, but in a similar one. They are not, like substance and causality or space and time, forms in which we conceive the whole world, both material and human; they are specific categories of the human world, of human history. And they are measures with which we measure this world.

These two – greatness and closeness – do not exclude each other, but neither do they cause each other: one can be, at the same time, great and close, but also great and distant, or close to somebody though not possessing greatness.

When I believe a man to be great, or an idea to be great, I mean that this is greatness not only for me, but for everyone who understands this man or this idea. On the other hand, closeness is obviously a relative term: one can be close to somebody and distant to another person; only few people and few theories, ideas or intellectual trends can be described as close to the whole epoch, the whole generation, the whole social group or the whole nation. We ascribe greatness to people or ideas, being convinced that it is objectively vested in them. It often appears, however, that our judgement was not less subjective than the sense of closeness. It was enough that the epoch ended and the new generation came, and both people and ideas lost their greatness while other people and other ideas acquired it. And yet: though greatness fluctuated variously in the course of history, there still are great people and great ideas that have stood the test of time".³⁷

Gratitude is not a transitory feeling, but an existential attitude grown from the experience of *owing* something to somebody, and this means: from the awareness of being completed with something that we would not be able to achieve ourselves. Gratitude is the response to a gift, particularly one that we are not able to requite: the fruit of someone else's effort, the ability to see and do more. We are grateful for scientific discoveries, works of art, pertinent political solutions. We are grateful for, but even more are we grateful *to somebody*. The feeling of gratitude transfers from the work to its author thanks to whom we were able to transcend the limits of our own capability of experiencing the world, or to become better. The most beautiful example here is the gratitude of a disciple to his master. Its range may surely extend not only to direct relations, but also to relations through thought and beauty contained in the works.

True greatness is a gift from heaven – so to heaven we must direct our gratitude for the existence of those to whom we may be grateful. Gratitude for greatness has metaphysical dimension.

Endnotes:

- ¹ The Oxford English Dictionary (Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1933, vol. IV) distinguishes the following meanings of the adjective great: I. Thick, coarse, massive, big...; II. Having a high position in a scale of measurement or quantitative estimation...; III. In figurative extensions of branch II: important, elevated, distinguished; 11. Of things, actions, events: Of more than ordinary importance, weight or distinction; important, weighty, prominent, famous, renowned; 12. Of persons: Eminent by reason of birth, rank, wealth, power, or position; 13. Of things: Pertaining to or occupied by persons of high place or rank; 14. Distinguished in appearance: of lofty or imposing aspect; "of elevated mien"; 15. Of persons: Extraordinary in ability, genius or achievement....
- ² St. Augustine *On Greatness of Soul* III, 4. Quote translated from: St. Augustine, *Pisma filozoficzne* [Philosophical Writings], Warszawa 1953, v. 2, p. 111.
- ³ C. Miłosz, *Incantation*, translated by C. Miłosz and R. Pinsky, in: C. Miłosz, *The Collected Poems, 1931–1987*, The Ecco Press, New York 1988.
- ⁴ J. Słowacki, *Beniowski*, *Song V*, v. 469–476. Quote translated from: J. Słowacki, *Dzieła* [Works], Wrocław 1943, pp. 202–203.
- ⁵ Plato, *Phaedo*, 102 d–e, W. Stróżewski, *Wykłady o Platonie. Ontologia* [Lectures on Plato, Ontology], Kraków 1993.
- ⁶ B. Pascal, *Pensées*, translated by T. M'Crie, in: *Great Books of the Western World*, vol. 33, Pascal, William Benthon (Publisher), Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., Chicago, London, Toronto, Geneva, 1952. 233, p. 214.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, 72, p. 182.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 206, p. 211.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 348, p. 234.
- ¹⁰ B. Spinoza, *Ethics Demonstrated in Geometric Order and Divided into Five Parts*, in: *The Collected Works of Spinoza*, edited and translated by E. Curey, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1985, Vol. I, Part I, Definition VI, p. 409.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, Proposition XI, p. 417.
- ¹² Quote translated from: Anselmus of Canterbury, *Monologion. Proslogion*, Warszawa 1992, p. 160.
- ¹³ Pseudo-Dionisius Areopagite, *O teologii mistycznej* [On Mystical Theology], "Znak" 2 (441) 1992, p. 9.
- ¹⁴ *Summa theologiae*, II–II, 129, 1c.
- ¹⁵ Aristotle, *Etica Nicomachea*, in: *Works of Aristotle*, translated into English under the editorship of W. D. Ross, Oxford University Press, 1954, 1123 b, 1–2.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1123 b, 26–29 and 1123 b, 36 – 1124 a, 4.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1123 b, 6–7.
- ¹⁸ Aristotle, *De Poetica*, translated by I. Bywater, in: *Works of Aristotle*, translated into English under the editorship of W. D. Ross, Oxford University Press, 1954, 1450 b, 35 – 1451 a, 2.
- ¹⁹ E. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, edited with an introduction and notes by J. T. Boulton, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London; Columbia University Press, New York 1958, p. 57.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 72.
- ²¹ I. Kant, *The Critique of Judgement*, in: *Great Books of the Western World*, Robert Maynard Hutchins (ed.), Vol. 42: Kant, William Benton (Publisher), Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., Chicago, London, Toronto, Geneva, 1952, p. 497.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 498.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, p. 498.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 501.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 501.
- ²⁶ Quote translated from: I. Kant, *Prolegomena do wszelkiej przyszłej metafizyki*, [Prolegomena to all future metaphysics], Warszawa 1960, p. 15.
- ²⁷ Quote translated from: K. Wojtyła, *Osoba i czyn* [Person and Act], Kraków 1985.
- ²⁸ C. K. Norwid, *Fortepian Szopena* [Chopin's Piano]
"Oh! You – perfect – fulfillment,
Whatever is, and where?... Your mark...
In Phidias? David? or in Chopin?
Or in Aeschylus' scene?..."
Quote translated from: C. K. Norwid, *Pisma Wszystkie* [Complete Writings], selected and elaborated by J. W. Gomulicki, Warszawa 1971, v. 2, p. 185.
- ²⁹ R. M. Rilke, *Duineser Elegien, Die erste Elegie*. Cit. after: R. M. Rilke, *Poezje / Gedichte*, Kraków 1987, p. 185.
- ³⁰ Quote translated from: Z. Kasiński, from a letter to K. Gaszyński, 1837. Cit. after: M. Bizan "Poezja znaczy tworzenie" (*O Zygmuncie Kasińskim*) [Poetry means creation (On Zygmunt Kasiński)], in: Z. Kasiński, *Wiersze, poematy, dramaty*, selected and elaborated by M. Bizan, Warszawa 1980, p. 551.
- ³¹ Quote translated from: C. K. Norwid, A letter to Michalina of Dziekoński Zaleska, 14th November 1862, cit. after: op. cit., Vol. 9, p. 63.
- ³² *Ecclesiastes*, 1:18, New International Version.

³³ J. W. Goethe, *Wandrer's Nachlied (Ein Gleiches)*, cit. after: *Goethes Werke*, B. I. München 1989, p. 142.

³⁴ C. K. Norwid, *Promethidion*:
And this is how I see the future art in Poland,
That's like a banner on the human works'
tower,]
Not as a toy, nor even as a science,
but as the highest of apostle's trades,
and as the humblest prayer of an angel.
Quote translated from: C. K. Norwid, op. cit.,
pp. 445–446.

³⁵ C. K. Norwid, *Fortepian Szopena [Chopin's Piano]*, op. cit., p. 145.

³⁶ It requires an extraordinary collection of character traits, resentiments and complexes to evoke, in such a situation, a feeling which, unfortunately, cannot be neglected here, as an example of negative response to greatness: envy. We shall not, however, consider it further.

³⁷ Quote translated from: W. Tatarkiewicz, *Parerga*, Warszawa 1978. pp. 130–131, chapter entitled *Wielcy i bliscy* [The great and the close].

[trans. Ewa Klimontowicz]

DIARY

DIARY
June 1993 – May 1994

June

15 June

Brussels: Director Jacek Purchla presents a report on the European Cultural Month to the Committee of the European Communities

15–19 June

Sofia: Director Anna Gawron participates in a seminar on *Culture in Countries Under Transition* organized by the Council of Europe

23–29 June

International symposium *Stereotypes and Nations* organized on the initiative of Professor Jacek Woźniakowski and accompanied by an artistic festival of the same title



22. "Against the Stereotypes"?
Preparing the promotion of the conference and festival
Stereotypes and Nations in the centre of the city

23 June

Visit of Czesław Miłosz and Tomas Venclova who were invited to take part in the conference *Stereotypes and Nations*. In the next days, the Centre was visited by many of the conference guests and participants, including Aleksander Antypienka, Stanisław Barańczak, Smaranda Enache, Jacek Fedorowicz, Hans Henning Hahn, Tomasz Jastrun, Oleg Łojka, Ladislav Volko and Krzysztof Zanussi



23. Krzysztof Zanussi and Ladislav Volko
visiting the exhibition *The Role of the National Stereotypes in Advertisement*
which was one of the complementary enterprises
of the conference *Stereotypes and Nations*

24 June

A business meeting of Director Anna Gawron with Mr Rafał Wiśniewski, Director of the Centre for Information and Polish Culture in Budapest

24 June – 20 July

Exhibition of Zbigniew Dłubak, an outstanding painter, photographer and theoretician of

contextual art, at the International Cultural Centre Gallery (the artist visited the Gallery on 12 July)



24. Zbigniew Dlubak
visiting the International Cultural Centre

25 June

Meeting of the ICC management concerning cooperation with Mr Ivan Dziuba (Minister of Culture of the Ukraine), Mr Alexander Fedoruk (Ukrainian Cultural Attaché), and Professor Jarosław Isajewicz (Director of the Institute for Ukrainian Studies in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Lvov)

27 June

First session of the "Decius Villa" European Academy International Committee. Professor Karl Dedecius and Professor Jacek Woźniakowski were appointed chairmen of the Committee

27-30 June

Utrecht: Mrs Iwona Guzik participates in the *First International AAAE Conference in Europe on Arts Management Education* concerning educational programmes for managers of culture

29 June

Visit of Prince Charles Louis de Merode (Europa Nostra), Duchess Charlotte von Croy (Christie's Auction House), and Professor Stanisław Mossakowski (Patria Polonorum) to discuss the plans for further cooperation between the ICC and Europa Nostra, and the

organization of the Europa Nostra Congress in Cracow in 1995

30 June

Meeting of the ICC management with Ms Emma Guillaumin representing the Cultural Centre in Lisbon to discuss the possibility of cooperation

July

2 July

Meeting of Director Jacek Purchla with Mr Jonathan Webber from the Wolfson College of Oxford concerning the possibility of cooperation

8-9 July

Ludwigsburg: Meeting of Director Jacek Purchla with Professor Robert Picht, Vice-President of the European Culture Foundation in Amsterdam to discuss plans for further cooperation

9 July

Stuttgart: Director Jacek Purchla meets Dr Rüdiger Stephan to discuss the co-financing of the Executive Secretariat of the *Decius Villa* project by Robert Bosch Stiftung

11-12 July

Darmstadt: Director Jacek Purchla meets Dr Karl Dedecius and Dr Albrecht Lempp at the Deutsches-Polen Institut to discuss the realization of the *Decius Villa* project

12-31 July

The course on *Basic Political, Economic, and Cultural Problems of New Europe* organized as part of the College for New Europe summer classes



25. The participants of the session Basic Political...
during the raft-ride on the Dunajec river

20 July – 10 August

The course on *Democracy and Diversity* organized under the patronage of the College for New Europe by the New School for Social Research of New York

26 July

A business meeting of the ICC management with Ms Ewa Łabno-Falecka, cultural attaché of the Republic of Poland to Cologne

27 July – 20 August

Exhibition of paintings by Andrzej Niedoba, a painter from Cracow, organized at the ICC Gallery by the Cracow House of Culture

28 July

Visit of senator David Brownhill from Australia and Mr Andrew Serdy, secretary of the Australian Embassy to Warsaw

29 July

Meeting of Director Jacek Purchla with Dr Jerzy Brzozowski, Consul of the Republic of Poland to Curitiba

August

22–28 August

Lvov: Director Jacek Purchla takes part in the 2nd Congress of Ukrainian Scholars and gives a lecture on *Lvov and the Architecture of Central Europe in the 19th Century*

September

2–5 September

Amsterdam: Director Anna Gawron takes part in a working seminar organized by the Felix Meritis Foundation and the Amsterdam Summer University

9–11 September

Berlin: Director Jacek Purchla and Dr Zbigniew Zuziak (Institute for Urban, Architectural and Monument Preservation Studies) participate in another working meeting (as part of the European City Cooperation System (ECOS) project) on the revitalization of the Cracow Kazimierz district; the participants acquainted themselves with practical solutions in the rehabilitation of housing complexes

13 September

Director Anna Gawron and Ms Katarzyna Brykowicz (Institute of European Cultures) take part in the first in a series of courses of instruction, prepared by the Office for European Integration and devoted to the realization of the consecutive stages in the "Integrating Project for Poland and the European Communities"

15–19 September

Lisbon: Director Jacek Purchla takes part in the 4th Forum *Beyond Sponsorship*, organized by the Gulbenkian Foundation and AIDEC (Association Internationale Décloisennement Economie-Culture)

15–19 September

Bucharest-Sinaia: Director Anna Gawron takes part in the 6th Forum of European Cultural Networks discussing current affairs and the state of culture in Romania

24–25 September

Potsdam: Director Jacek Purchla and Professor Jacek Woźniakowski take part in a symposium on *Cities of Central Europe: Between the Past and the Future* organized by the Centre Européen de la Culture of Geneva to commemorate Potsdam's millennium



26. The participants of the symposium
Cities of Central Europe in Potsdam

24–25 September

Berlin: Ms Katarzyna Brykowicz (Institute of European Cultures) takes part in a conference on *Resistance of the Krzyżowa Circle – its Moral and Political Significance after 50 Years*, organized by the "Krzyżowa" Foundation for European Understanding in Wrocław and by its counterparts from Berlin and Frankfurt am Main, the Gedenkstätte Deutscher Wider-

stand, and the Evangelische Akademie Berlin-Brandenburg

28 September

Business meeting of Director Anna Gawron with Ms Ursula Fischer-Schwanhäusser and Mr Gebhard Schönfelder, representatives of the Deutsch-Polnische Gesellschaft in Franken, from Nuremberg

29 September

Visit of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka to the International Cultural Centre to acquaint herself with the projects and current work of the Centre



27. During the visit of Hanna Suchocka in the Centre (from left: professor Jacek Woźniakowski, Jan M. Rokita, Bogdan Trepiński, Jacek Purchla, Hanna Suchocka, Tadeusz Syryjczyk)

30 September

Meeting of Director Anna Gawron with Ms Ritva Mitchell from the Cultural Policy and Action Division of the Council of Europe to inform her about the Centre's activities

October

6-11 October

Frankfurt: ICC Participation in the International Book Fair

7-8 October

International conference on *Theatre Architecture of the Late 19th Century*, organized by the ICC Institute for Urban, Architectural and Monument Preservation Studies as part of the celebrations to mark the centenary of the Juliusz Słowacki Theatre, formerly the Municipal Theatre



28. The conference *Theatre Architecture of the late 19th century*: professor Adam Mitobędzki and Tomasz Grygiel

7-9 October

Prague: Director Anna Gawron takes part in a seminar on *Culture in Towns* organized by the Council of Europe

8-10 October

Publications of the International Cultural Centre presented at the periodic Good Book Fair in Cracow (held in Wrocław in December 1993 and in Katowice in March 1994)

11 October

Warsaw: Management of the ICC participates in a meeting with the authorities of the Ministry of Culture and the Fine Arts to discuss the work and prospects for the development of the International Cultural Centre in Cracow

15 October

Business meeting of the ICC management with the Rectors of the Jagiellonian University (Professors Aleksander Koj, Stanisław Hodorowicz, Marek Szymoński, and Franciszek Ziejka), concerning further cooperation between the University and the Centre

18 October

Consultative meeting of the ICC management with Ms Agnieszka Drop, Cultural Attaché of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland to Brussels

20 October

Workshop *Urban Policies* prepared by the Institute for Urban, Architectural and Monument Preservation Studies as part of the conference *Privatization and Socioeconomic Policy in Central and Eastern Europe* organized on 18th to 21st of October by Boston College, Jagiellonian University, Academy of Economics,

Agency for the Development of the Cracow Region, and the ICC

24 October

Session of the Board of Directors of the Foundation for the Development of Polish Agriculture and a meeting of representatives of American foundations interested in cooperating with Poland, organized by the ICC

November

3 November

Opening of an exhibition *Within the Circle of Historicism* at the International Cultural Centre Gallery. The display, prepared to mark the centenary of Jan Matejko's death, presented canvasses by P. Delaroche, K. Piloty, H. Makart, M. Munkácsy and other painters; open in November and December 1993



29. The opening ceremony of the exhibition *Within the Circle of Historicism* (director Anna Gawron in conversation with the Austrian Consul Dr Emil Brix)

3-5 November

International conference on *Matejko and Central European Painting*, organized by the ICC's Centre for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences as part of the all-Polish celebrations for the centenary of the artist's death

4 November

Meeting of Director Anna Gawron with representatives of the Deutsche Gesellschaft from Berlin to discuss the possibility of cooperation

6 November

Third annual session of the International Cultural Centre Programme Council chaired by



30. The Prussian Homage room: full assembly during a conference day of the *Matejko* conference

Professor Andrzej Rottermund; the Council members also took part in the conference on *Matejko*

6 November

Dr Krzysztof Broński and Dr Zbigniew Zuziak (Institute for Urban, Architectural and Monument Preservation Studies) take part in a meeting, organized by the Governor's Office, with representatives from the management of the OUVERTURE project, which aims at diverse aid by Western European countries for the countries of our region

6-9 November

Prague: Mrs Iwona Guzik participates in a conference on *Building Civil Society* organized by the European Foundation Centre

7 November

Warsaw: Director Jacek Purchla takes part in a conference on *Self-government of a Civil State - Structural Position of Local Government in Poland and in the Countries of the European Communities* and gives a lecture on *Poland Against the Background of the European Tradition of Self-government*

11 November

Meeting with Ms Myriam Pronguè from the Pro Helvetia Foundation to prepare the official opening of the Foundation's Bureau in Cracow; Ms Pronguè expressed her thanks to the International Cultural Centre for help during the whole year, particularly for providing temporary office facilities

11–13 November

International conference on *Brentano's Heritage* organized by the International Cultural Centre, the Jagiellonian University Institute of Philosophy and the Austrian Consulate General in Cracow

24 November

Lecture of Professor Piotr Krakowski entitled *Some General Remarks on Historicism* to inaugurate the Wednesday series of meetings organized by the Centre for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences in connection with the exhibition *Within the Circle of Historicism* presented at the ICC Gallery

25–28 November

Riga: Director Jacek Purchla takes part in a session of the UNESCO committee of experts organized under the title *Riga Centre – the Monument of Town-Building* in connection with the plans to include Riga in the UNESCO World Heritage List

December

1 December

Dr Wojciech Bałus gives a lecture on *Historicism in Architecture*, the second in a series of Wednesday meetings at the ICC Gallery

2 December

Meeting of Director Jacek Purchla with Mr Brian Martin, Director of Cultural Managers' Training Programme at Edinburgh University, to present the Centre's activity

2 December

Visit of Mr Thomas Landsberg, Mayor of Freiburg am Breisgau, and Dr Ludwig Krapf to discuss the organizing in Cracow of TRIALOG, a literary seminar with the participation of Polish, German, and French writers

2–4 December

Dr Krzysztof Broński and Dr Zbigniew Zuziak take part in another in the series of conferences organized by the Municipal Office in Cracow as part of the ECOS project on the revitalization of the Kazimierz district

3–6 December

Participation in the 2nd Historical Book Fair in Warsaw

8 December

Working meeting of Director Jacek Purchla with Professor Adam Miłobędzki and Tadeusz Zieliński, General Conservator of Historic Monuments, to discuss the organization of the College for New Europe conservation course in 1994

8 December

Dr Marek Zgórniak gives a lecture on *Historicism in Painting*, the third in a series of Wednesday lectures at the ICC Gallery

9–11 December

Berlin: Dr Krzysztof Broński takes part in a conference on the exchange of experience in the management of culture in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, organized by the Stiftung für Kulturelle Weiterbildung und Kulturberatung

12 December

Official meeting with Professor Krzysztof Penderecki, organized at the ICC headquarters by the International Cultural Centre on the occasion of the Composer's 60th birthday, with the participation of Minister Piotr Łukasiewicz



31. Professor Krzysztof Penderecki and his wife Elżbieta during the meeting in the International Cultural Centre

12–15 December

Visit of Mr Lester Borley, Secretary General of Europa Nostra, in preparation for the congress of this organization in Cracow in 1995

14–15 December

Warsaw: Director Jacek Purchla and Dr

Krzysztof Broński take part in a conference on *Comparative Aspects of Sociotopography and Town-Planning in Poland and the Ukraine* organized by the Committee of Urban History of the Polish Academy of Sciences. J. Purchla gives a lecture entitled *Remarks on the Cracow Gentry in the 19th Century*, and K. Broński *Remarks on the Spatial and Sociotopographical Transformations of Stanisławów in the 19th Century*

15 December

Anna Zeńczak MA gives a lecture entitled *Looking at the Paintings... (Remarks on the Exhibition)* to close the series of Wednesday lectures at the ICC Gallery



32. The lecture of Anna Zeńczak in the ICC Gallery

28 December

Professor Krzysztof Skubiszewski delivers a lecture on *Poland's Position in Europe: The Present and the Future*

28 December

Meeting of the Board of Founders of the International Cultural Centre Foundation



January

4 January

Session of the Committee on Culture and Monument Protection of Cracow City Council is held at the Centre's headquarters; Director Jacek Purchla informs the councillors of the efforts to procure the building for the use of the International Cultural Centre

9 January

Showing of the documentary film *Restoration of the Century* on "Polonia" satellite television, produced by the ICC as part of the jubilee celebrations of the Juliusz Słowacki Theatre, preceded by a talk by Director Jacek Purchla and Mr Leszek Jodliński on the ICC's activity

9 January

Munich: Director Jacek Purchla takes part in the conference *Hauptstadt: Historische Perspektiven eines deutschen Themas*, organized in memory of Professor Hubert Glaser; Director Jacek Purchla delivers a paper *Die Hauptstadtproblematik: das polnische Beispiel*

14 January

Vienna: Meeting of Director Jacek Purchla with Dr Erhard Busek, Vice-Chancellor of Austria, to discuss the *Decius Villa* project

18 January

Working meeting of the ICC management with Mr John A. Matel, Consul of the United States of America for Culture and the Press

19 January

Visit of Ms Jill Emery and Mr Charles R. Ritcheson (The Fund for Arts and Culture in Central and Eastern Europe) to discuss the possibility of cooperation with the ICC, particularly a joint organization of a seminar for museum directors from Central Europe in the summer of 1995

20 and 27 January

Meetings of Director Jacek Purchla with Dr Reinhold Hohengartner and Dr Emil Brix, Consul General of Austria in Cracow, concerning the summer course of the College for

33. Before a meeting of the Board of Founders of the Foundation "International Cultural Centre" (Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Jacek Woźniakowski, Jacek Purchla, Izabella Cywińska)

New Europe organized by the Mitteleuropazentrum in Krems and the International Cultural Centre

26 January

Visit of Professor Peter Ludwig of Aachen for meetings with Director Jacek Purchla and Professor Piotr Krakowski to discuss the possibility of organizing, in Cracow, exhibitions of European art from the collections of the Ludwig Forum

27–30 January

Bratislava: Consultative visit by Mr Leszek Jodliński concerning the possibility of cooperation by the ICC with the Slovakian Academy of Sciences and Academia Istropolitana. Preliminary talks with directors of Bratislavian museums and galleries in connection with the seminar for directors of such institutions from Central Europe, planned for 1995

February

8 February

Visit of Mr Italo Gomez, representative of Comitato Lombardia Europa Musica, concerning the possibility of cooperation with the ICC

8–9 February

Budapest: Visit of Director Jacek Purchla concerning a series of presentations, in Hungary, of selected cultural events in Cracow, prepared by the Centre for Information and Polish Culture in Budapest. During a meeting with Dr Miklos Marschall, the Deputy Mayor, and representatives of the world of culture, director Jacek Purchla discussed the Centre's work and presented a film about the International Cultural Centre in Cracow (June 1992)

8 February

Budapest: Opening of an exhibition of drawings by Jerzy Nowosielski at the Centre for Information and Polish Culture, prepared by the ICC Centre for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences in cooperation with the Starmach Gallery

10 February – 3 March

Exhibition *Heritage of the Eastern Borderlands* presenting selected iconographic material collected during the editorial work on Volume I of the *Materials for the History of Religious Art*



34. The vignette of the exhibition *Dziedzictwo kresów* [Heritage of the Borderlands] on the frontal of the seat of the Centre

in the *Eastern Borderlands of the Old Polish Republic* that were not included in the publication (ICC Gallery)

21–22 February

Budapest: Visit of Professor Piotr Krakowski at the invitation of the Centre for Information and Polish Culture in Budapest to continue the presentation of the ICC's work. Professor Krakowski delivered a lecture on *Matejko and Munkácsy Versus Central European Historicism* at the University of Budapest and elsewhere

23 February

Meeting of the rector of the Jagiellonian University, the rector of the Academy of Economics, and director Jacek Purchla with H.E. Alexander Dijckmeester, ambassador to the EC, to discuss the establishing of the Centre for European Studies in Cracow

March

1 March

Working meeting with the authorities of the Jagiellonian University concerning the organization of this year's summer courses of the College for New Europe

2 March

Meeting of the ICC management with Mr Patrice Champion, new director of the French Institute in Cracow

3-4 March

Bratislava: Dr Zbigniew Zuziak participates in the seminar *Town Planning in Historic Areas* organized by Academia Istropolitana. Z. Zuziak delivered a paper on *Revitalization of Historic Cities – Policies and Instruments*

15 March – 4 April

Lvov National Exhibition 1894 – Exhibition recalling the major Polish cultural exhibition organized in Lvov a century ago (ICC Gallery)

16 March

Director Jacek Purchla gives a lecture at the Polish Architects' Association entitled *The Słowacki Theatre and its Restoration*, combined with a showing of the film *Restoration of the Century*

17-20 March

Leipzig: Publications of the International Cultural Centre presented at the International Book Fair

22-28 March

Easter Festival organized by the Mozart Academy in organizational cooperation with the International Cultural Centre and the ICC Foundation. From 1995 the Mozart Academy will begin permanent activity also in Cracow

April

6-8 April

Ms Katarzyna Brykowicz participates in *The Meeting at the Borderline* organized in Sejny by the "Borderline" Foundation and the "Borderline of Arts, Cultures, and Nations" Centre, devoted to the problems of national minorities living in borderland areas

6-16 April

London – York – Newcastle upon Tyne – Edinburgh: Visit of Ms Maria Bogdani-Czepita at the invitation of Europa Nostra, to establish contacts with the British institutions involved in the preservation of historic cities and cultural landscape (The National Trust, The Civic Trust, English Heritage, Centre for Conservation Studies – University of York)

9-11 April

Budapest: Director Jacek Purchla takes part in the formal closing of the European Cultural Month 1994 held in Budapest from 11 March; J. Purchla also participated in a two-day conference of the "network" of organizers of European Cities of Culture and European Cultural Months

12-14 April

Aachen: Director Anna Gawron takes part in the conference on *European Culture and Regional Identity*, organized by Regio Aachen/Euregio Maas-Rhein under the auspices of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe

13 April

Visit of a Russian Ministry of Culture delegation

18 April – 10 May

Exhibition of paintings by Margot Trierweiler, a painter from Berlin, from the years 1984-1994 (ICC Gallery)



35. Margot Trierweiler during the opening of the exhibition of her works

18 April

Formal visit of H.E. Sjoerd I. H. Gosses, ambassador of the Kingdom of the Netherlands

18 April

Meeting of director Jacek Purchla with representatives, headed by Ms Iris Lauterbach, of the Munich Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte regarding the establishment of cooperation with the Institute for Urban, Architectural and Monument Preservation Studies

25-29 April

Kyoto: Mr Józef Lassota, President of Cracow,

and director Jacek Purchla take part in The 4th World Conference of Historical Cities. In his paper *Managing an Historic City – Cracow's Experience*, J. Purchla discussed the most important problems of cultural heritage protection in Cracow. During the session, the organization of the next World Conference of Historical Cities was conferred upon Cracow

27 April

Visit of Dr Hanna Nogossek and Dr Karen Lambrecht, representing Förderungsgesellschaft wissenschaftliche Neuvorhaben GmbH of Berlin, to discuss the prospects of cooperation with the Institute for Urban Studies and the Institute of European Cultures of the ICC

28–30 April

Strasbourg: Professor Jerzy Wyrozumski, supervisor of the Research Institute of European Cultures of the ICC, takes part in the seminar *Cultural Landscape of River Valleys* organized by Europa Nostra

29 April

Meeting with students of Cracow's Higher School of Marketing and Management to provide information about the ICC's work

May

4 May

Lecture by Mr Jan Nowak-Jeziorański entitled *In Search of Hope*, together with a promotion of his latest books



36. The lecture of Jan Nowak-Jeziorański in the International Cultural Centre

4–8 May

Paris: Mr Leszek Jodliński takes part in an international conference on regional architec-

ture in Europe; L. Jodliński presented a paper on *Kraków and Zakopane at the Turn of the Century – in Search of a National Style*, prepared jointly with J. Purchla PhD

10 May

Working visit of Ms Elisabeth Clegg, art historian from Great Britain concerning cooperation with the ICC as part of research on turn-of-the-century art

11–12 May

Bratislava: Mr Leszek Jodliński takes part in a seminar on *Cultural Tourism*, organized by Academia Istropolitana; L. Jodliński presented a paper on *Tourism Marketing Strategies in Historic Cities: The Case of Cracow*

12 May

Working visit of Mr Wacław Janas, Deputy Minister of Culture and the Fine Arts, at the ICC

13 May

Meeting with Professor Piotr Krakowski devoted to his latest book entitled *Sztuka Trzeciej Rzeszy* [Art of the Third Reich], published by the ICC and IRSA publishers



37. Professor Piotr Krakowski during the promotion of *Sztuka Trzeciej Rzeszy* [Art of the Third Reich]

16–19 May

Mr Leszek Jodliński takes part in the seminar on *Historic Preservation: Issues Confronting Eastern Europe and Russia*, organized by The Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies in Radziejowice near Warsaw

16 May – 6 June

Exhibition of paintings by Urszula Teresa Gogulska-Seger at the ICC Gallery

17 May

Meeting of director Jacek Purchla with Professor Berry Bergdoll of Columbia University to investigate the possibility of presenting Polish historic cities at a conference in New York

18–23 May

Presentation of the publishing output of the ICC at the 39th International Book Fair in Warsaw

19–21 May

Mr Krzysztof Broński, Mr Zbigniew Zuziak, and Mr Leszek Jodliński take part in the seminar on *Cultural Heritage of Upper Silesia and Cracow*, organized by the Foundation for the Upper Silesia Region with the cooperation of the Provincial Architect of Katowice and the International Cultural Centre; Z. Zuziak presented a paper entitled *Cultural Space and the Tourist Product*

19–21 May

Visit of Mr Lester Borley, Secretary General of Europa Nostra, to discuss the preparations for



38. Opening of the exhibition of painting of Urszula Teresa Gogulska-Seger with the participation of the artist (on the right)

next year's congress of this organization in Poland (the part in Cracow is coordinated by the ICC)

23–27 May

Lvov: Professor Piotr Krakowski and Jacek Purchla PhD participate in the international conference on *Architecture of Galicia in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, organized by Lvov Technical University to mark its 150th anniversary

[trans. Jerzy Pilawski]

APPENDIX

PUBLICATIONS
of the International Cultural Centre

Cracow – Dialogue of Traditions (1991)

A volume of essays published together with "Znak" Publishers on the occasion of the CSCE Symposium. It presents Cracow's tradition as still living and thought-provoking rather than sacred. The authors include A. Vincenz, K. Dedecius, E. Brix, J. Woźniakowski, J. Turowicz, T. Kantor, and J. Purchla (156 pp., 31 black-and-white illustrations, Polish and English version).

Wojciech GAŁĄZKA

Oswajanie skorpionów

[*Taming the Scorpions*] (1992)

A volume of studies and sketches concerning Bulgarian culture and its dramatic dilemma between native and foreign, on transcending its limits and taming the other cultural spaces that are the metaphorical scorpions of the title (127 pp.).

Jan K. OSTROWSKI

Cracow (1992)

A modern artistic guide to Cracow, co-published with WAiF Publishers, and a monograph of the city, presenting Cracow's urban layout, its monuments, and the major historic sites (both church and secular) in its vicinity (388 pp., 198 black-and-white photographs, 16 colour photographs, English version).

Jacek PURCHLA

Europejski Miesiąc Kultury w Krakowie – czerwiec 1992 / European Cultural Month in Cracow – June 1992 (1993)

A generously illustrated book (190 photographs) documenting the organizational and thematic preparations, financial principles, and the course and reception of the European Cultural Month, supplemented with interesting archival materials to demonstrate the scale of this unique festival of European culture (Polish-English version).

Jacek PURCHLA

Teatr i jego architekt

/ *Das Theater und sein Architekt* (1993)

This book, published in connection with the centenary of the Juliusz Słowacki Theatre, discusses the complex origins of the new building of the Municipal Theatre, and its place in the work of Jan Zawiejski who designed the building. It attempts to place this Cracow theatre in the history of Polish and European theatre architecture (127 pp. + appendix 12 pp., 92 illustrations, Polish-German version).

Piotr KRAKOWSKI

Sztuka Trzeciej Rzeszy [Art of the Third Reich] (1994)

The first Polish book to present a reasonably comprehensive and expert characterisation of German art after Hitler's coup (architecture, sculpture, painting, and political posters). In his foreword and afterword the author explains the need to write such a book, to see German art of that period through the eyes of a Pole, and to treat it as a special warning precisely because of great similarities to what happened to art in the countries of the socialist camp. (254 pp., 216 colour and black-and-white illustrations).

Jan Vermeer van Delft.
St. Praxedis (1991)

This remarkable publication confronts two paintings of St. Praxedis, by the Italian artist, Felice Ficherelli, with a painting by the Dutch master, Jan Vermeer (from the collection of Barbara Piasecka-Johnson). Text written by: Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.; Józef Grabski, IRSA, Vienna; Jacek Purchla, ICC, Cracow; and Lionel Koenig, CEDART, Florence.

Alfons Mucha.

Plakaty ze zbiorów lwowskich

[Posters from the Lvov Collection] (1992)

This catalogue, published on the occasion of an exhibition of a collection of posters by A. Mucha, one of the most popular creators of Art Nouveau style, contains numerous reproductions of the artist's works and a note about him and his work.

EGO.

Dudziński w Krakowie / in Cracow (1992)

EGO was published for a retrospective of Andrzej Dudziński organized by the ICC in Cracow. It consists of works that are a survey of the artist's output over 15 years, including newspaper graphics, featuring the "Pokrak" (freak) bird, published in American and Western European media, and the artist's latest works devoted to human birds in courtship. In addition to a documentation of exhibited works, this publication contains sketches, interviews, and critiques written by well-known scholars, critics, and fellow artists (Polish-English version).

Graphik des deutschen Expressionismus (1992)

Max Beckmann, Otto Dix, Lyonel Feininger, Erich Heckel, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Otto Mueller, Emil Nolde, Max Pechstein, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff are the most outstanding representatives of German Expressionism. The album contains biographical notes and 187 reproductions of graphic art by these artists. Foreword by Jacek Purchla. Introduction by Serge Sabarsky (German version + an insert in Polish).

Gustav Klimt (1992)

This album contains 134 reproductions of paintings, drawings, and watercolours by Gustav

Klimt, "the king of Wiener Sezession". Foreword written by Jacek Purchla. Artist's profile by Serge Sabarsky.

Natalia LL (1992)

This catalogue was published in connection with an exhibition of works by Natalia Lach-Lachowicz, a representative of conceptualism in Polish art. It contains a text about the artist and her work written by Piotr Krakowski and 26 colour and black-and-white reproductions (Polish-English version).

Tadeusz Brzozowski.

Malarstwo, rysunek.

Paintings, Drawings (1992)

This album contains 24 reproductions of paintings and drawings by Tadeusz Brzozowski, one of the classics of the Cracow Group. Also: a diary, selection of major publications about the artist, selected bibliography, major interviews with Brzozowski, filmography, and exhibitions (Polish-English version).

Dłubak.

Przeciw stereotypom.

Against Stereotypes (1993)

This publication contains 23 works of Zbigniew Dłubak from different periods of his career, as well as a biography, works, exhibitions, and a selected bibliography (Polish-English version).

Nowosielski.

Rysunki / Drawings (1994)

A minicatalogue published in connection with an exhibition of Jerzy Nowosielski's drawings in Budapest, organized by the Centre for Information and Polish Culture. It contains reproductions of drawings from the collections of the ICC and the Starmach Gallery, and a note about this outstanding artist (Polish-English version).

Margot Trierweiler.

Malarstwo / Malerei / Painting (1994)

This publication, accompanying the exhibition of paintings by the contemporary German artist, contains reproductions of her paintings, a note about her work, and opinions of critics (Polish-German-English version).

*Final Document and Proposals Submitted
by the Delegations of the Participating States*
(1991)

Materials from the CSCE symposium on cultural heritage held in Cracow in June 1991 (English version).

*Gothic Architectures in Poland,
Bohemia, Slovakia, and Hungary* (1992)

Volume VII of the Niedzica Seminars. The seminars are held every other year and each time are devoted to a different period of art and artistic links between Poland, Bohemia, Slovakia, and Hungary. Art historians, architects, and historians take part in the seminars. The VII Seminar was on Gothic art (80 pp. + 86 sketches and illustrations, texts in English and German).

*The Jagiellonian University
in the Evolution of European Culture* (1992)

The CSCE Conference on Cultural Heritage was held in Cracow between 28th May and 7th June 1991. This publication is the result of a session organized by the ICC and University as part of the CSCE Conference and contains papers delivered at that time (95 pp., texts in English and German).

*Managing Tourism
in Historic Cities* (1992)

Authors of this book – experts in urban economy, management, and planning – deal with the problem of tourism in the situation of a market economy. Special emphasis has been laid on the question of tourism as a means of revitalizing European historic cities (272 pp., English version)

Cultural Policies (1993)

The new political reality in Central Europe at the threshold of the nineties placed artistic circles and the whole culture in post-Communist countries in a wholly new, and for many unexpected, situation. The past model of artistic patronage, based on state monopoly, broke down. Our part of Europe struggles with a multitude of new problems. Some eminent representatives of culture from Poland and Germany make comments on Polish and German experiences. These may serve as advice to others (104 pp., English version).

*Das 500jährige Jubiläum
der Krakauer Studienzeit
von Nicolaus Copernicus* (1993)

Nicolaus Copernicus enrolled in Cracow University in the winter term of 1491–92 and studied at the Department of Liberal Arts until 1495. The extent to which Copernicus' four-year studies influenced his creative personality is the dominant, although not the only, goal of this book (164 pp., German version).

Managing Historic Cities (1993)

This book presents various aspects of the regeneration of historic cities, with special focus on problems that are caused for the cultural space of the city centre by the rules of a market economy. The many different examples of inner city regeneration in countries with advanced market economies provoke questions about the feasibility of using their experiences in the cities of Eastern and Central Europe, which are only now entering that road (290 pp., English version).

*Régions, régionalismes
et conscience régionale face
à l'intégration européenne* (1993)

The session, whose results are contained in this publication, was organized to close the European Cultural Month and attempted to answer the question of how, in the face of European integration, to preserve the wealth of regional cultures with their diversity of languages, denominations, customs, etc. The session aimed to distinguish those elements which contributed to the creation in Central Europe of culturally mixed areas, and to make us realize the benefits and dangers arising from the inevitable integrating process (208 pp. + 16 illustrations, texts in French and German).

*L'Université et la ville au Moyen Age
et d'autres questions du passé universitaire* (1993)

This volume contains material from a symposium organized by the International Cultural Centre together with the Jagiellonian University, the University of Bordeaux III, and the French Institute in Cracow. The topic "City and University in the Middle Ages" was considered wide-ranging because both the municipal borough in its established form and the university fraternity in its dynamism and expansiveness were products of the Middle Ages, and

their coexistence added vigour to both, so important, structures (168 pp., 39 illustrations, French version).

Heritage Landscape (1994)

This publication contains a series of lectures delivered by world-famous experts as part of a conservation course of The College for New Europe, 1992. It is intended for professionals involved in the protection of cultural heritage (118 pp., English version).

Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej
[Materials for the History of Religious Art in the Eastern Borderlands of the Old Polish Republic]

vol. I/1: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego*
[Roman Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Former Province of Ruthenia]
edited by J. K. Ostrowski (1994)

This is the first attempt to catalogue monuments of religious art found in the area of the old Polish Republic (now belonging to Lithuania, Byelorussia and Ukraine) and, after almost half a century, to inventory movable monuments now scattered primarily in the west of Poland. The first volume is concerned with the churches in Buczacz, Hodowica, Lvov, Nawaria, Olesko, and Podhorce. (125 pp. + 196 illustrations).

* * *

"International Cultural Centre,
Cracow (May 1991 – May 1992)",
Yearly No. 1 (1992)

The volume discusses the work of the ICC and its subcentres during its first year of operation, and explains the origin of the Centre, its statutory aims and objectives. The section *Reflections • Impressions • Opinions* contains commentaries from the national and foreign press about ventures especially interesting for the ICC in this period (Polish and English versions, in separate volumes).

"International Cultural Centre,
Cracow (June 1992 – May 1993)",
Yearly No. 2 (1993)

Another volume of the yearly containing information about research programmes realized in particular subcentres of the ICC, about seminars and conferences organized by the Centre and the exhibition work of the ICC Gallery in its second year of operation. The volume is supplemented by a *Diary* and interesting photographic material (Polish and English versions, in separate volumes).

[trans. Jerzy Pilawski]

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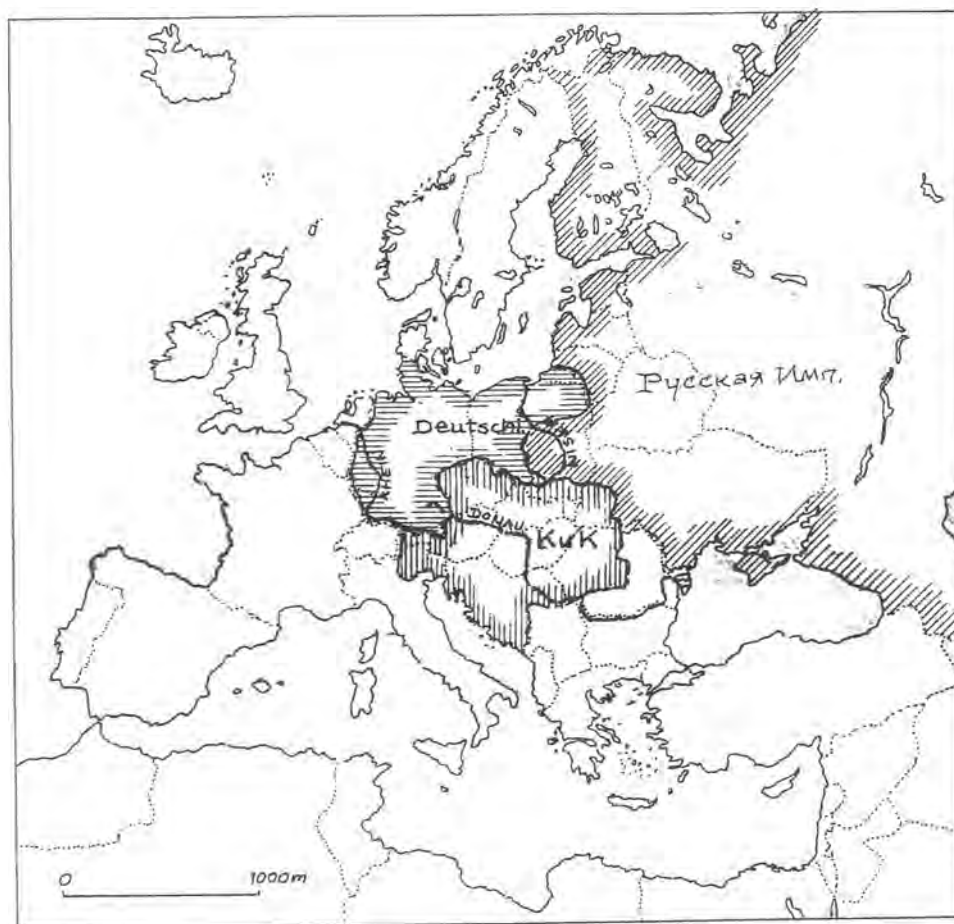
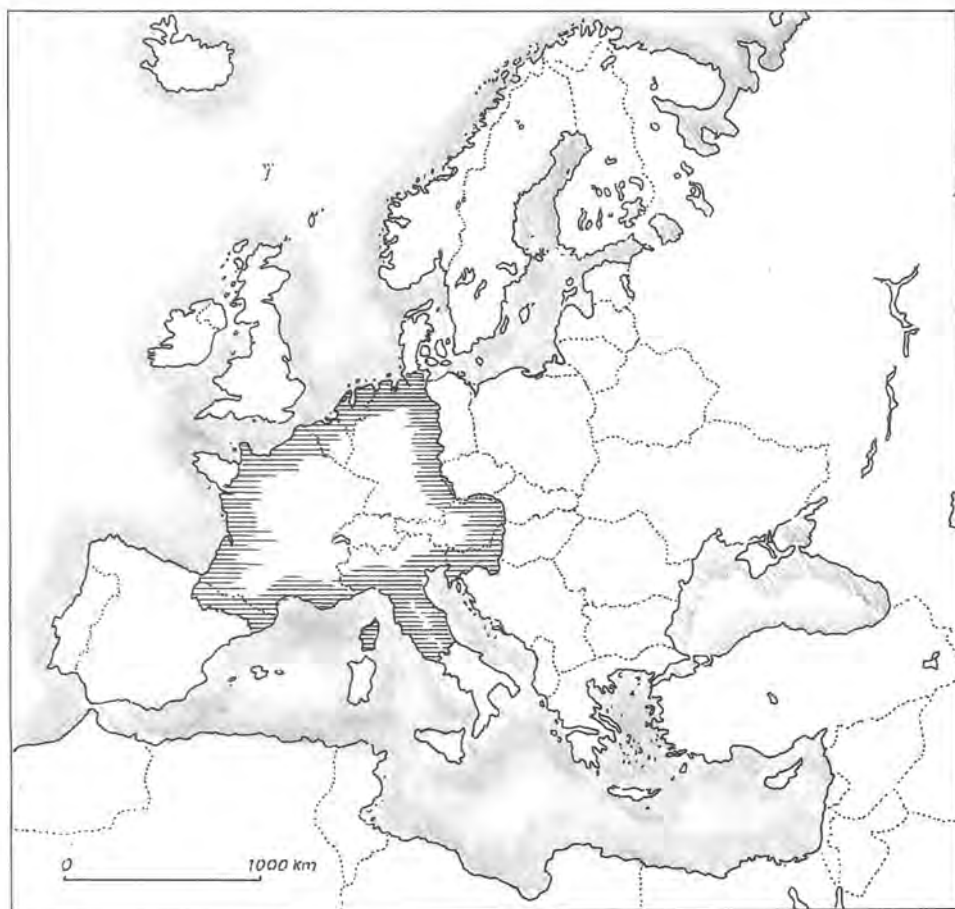
CENTRAL EUROPE AS A CULTURAL AREA
maps to A. Tomaszewski's essay

The Roman Empire in the 4th century AD. Thick line indicates the LIMES.
(with present-day boundaries of countries indicated)

The Charlemagne Empire – the Franconian monarchy in the early 9th century
(with present-day boundaries of countries indicated)

Europe around 1900 – three empires and three rivers: the Rhine, the Danube and the Vistula
(with present-day boundaries of countries indicated)



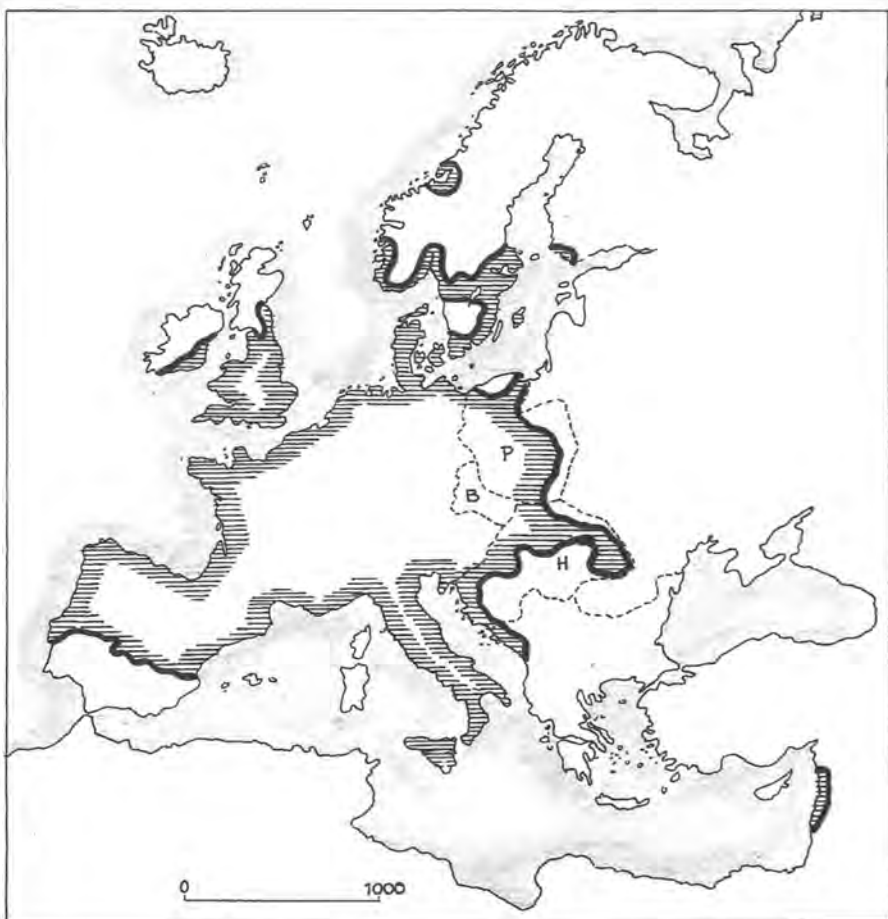


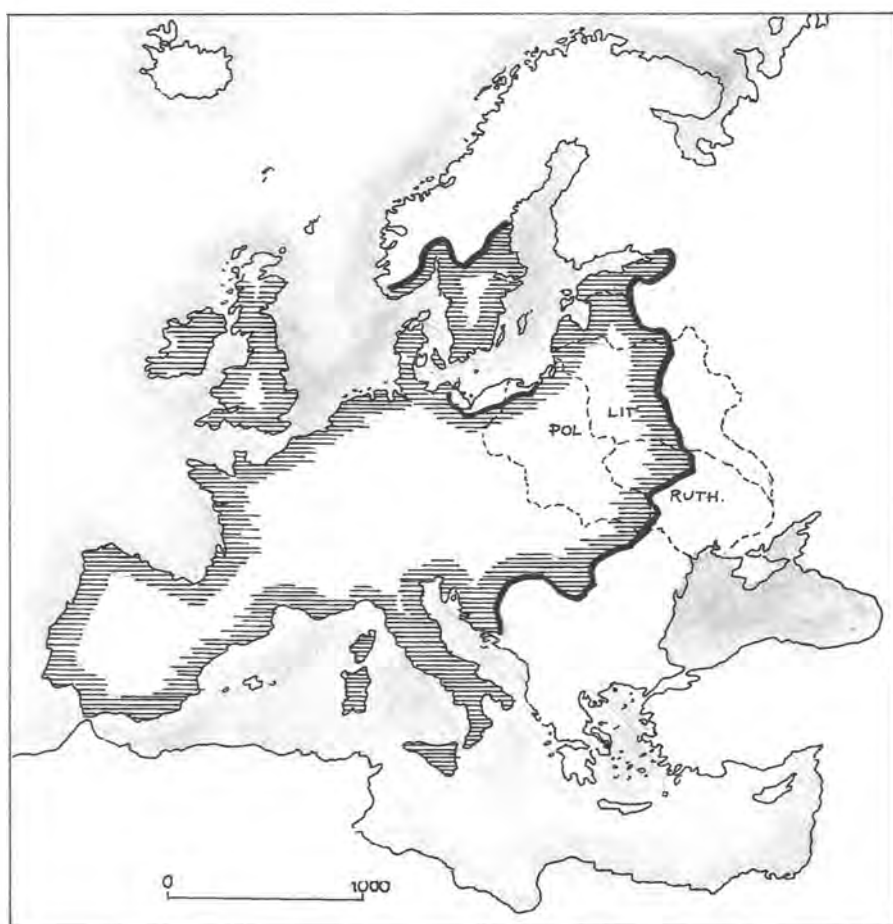
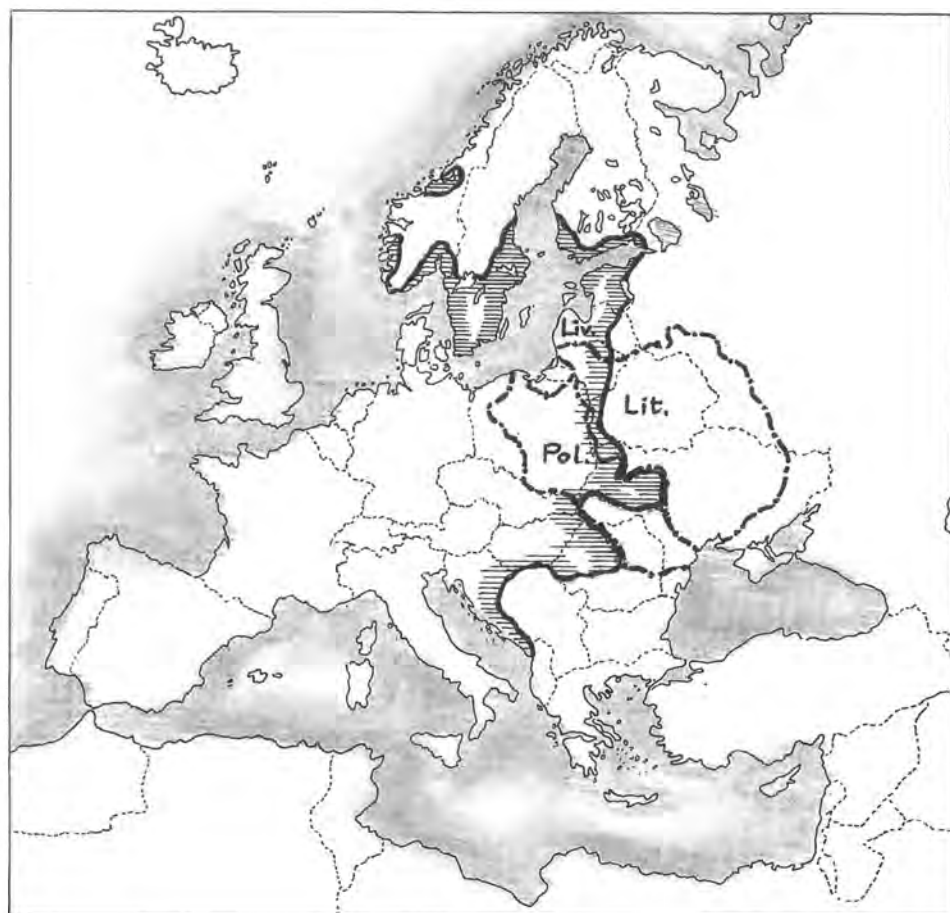
Extent of Romanesque architecture in Europe
(with boundaries of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary in the 12th century indicated)

Extent of Gothic architecture in the north and east of Europe
(with boundaries of Poland and Lithuania in the 15th century and present-day boundaries of countries indicated)

Extent of Baroque architecture in the north and east of Europe
(with boundaries of the Polish Republic in the 17th century indicated)

The maps drawn by Robert Kunkel





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