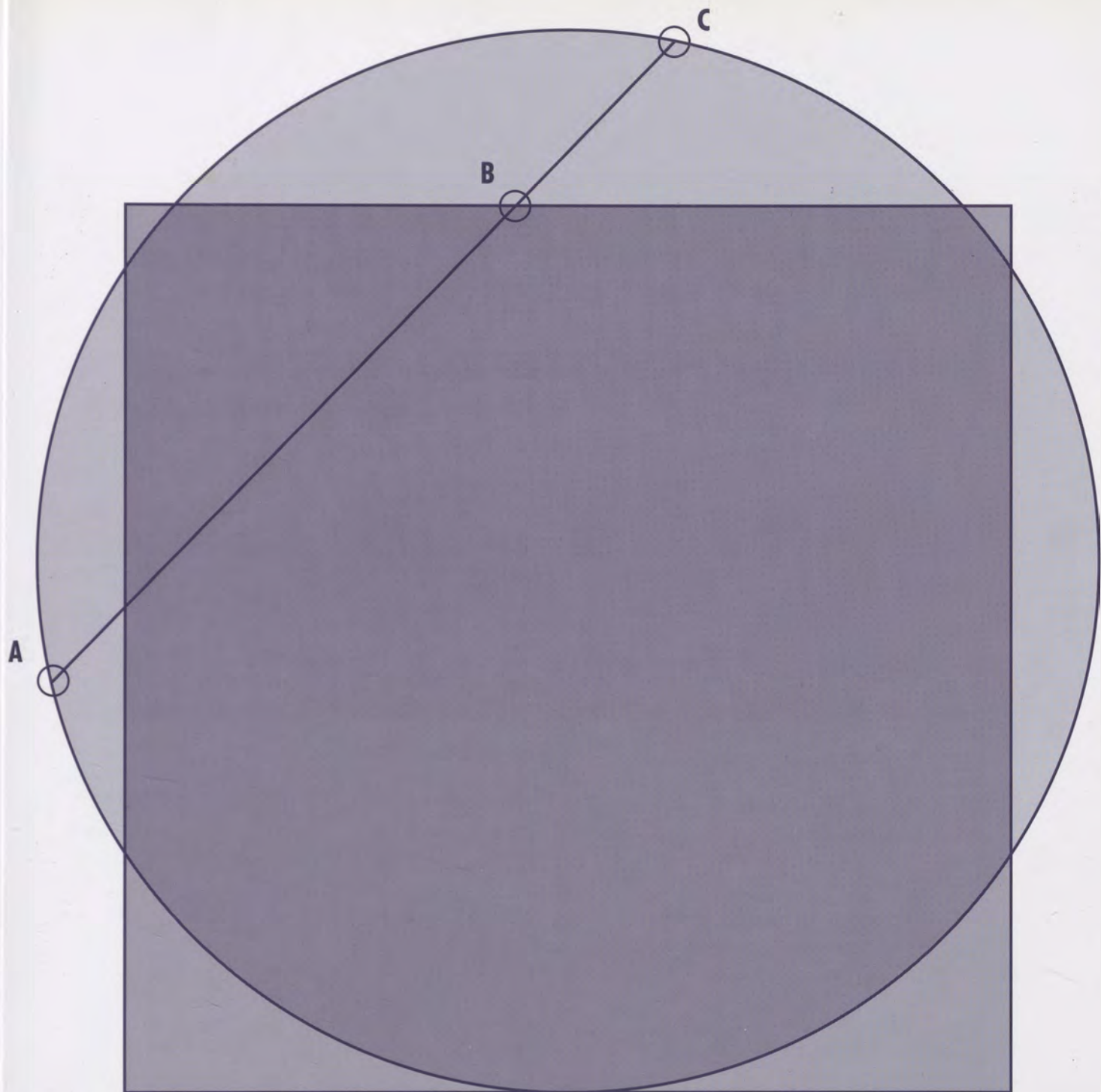


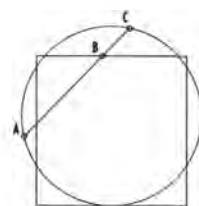


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The year 2004 – the year of the European Union's enlargement to include the states of Central Europe – will surely go down in history as the time of the final closure of the chapter on the division of our continent that began in Yalta. 1st May 2004 is also a caesura in the history of Poland's transformations. Did this year also bring significant change in the activities of the International Cultural Centre?

1st May 2004 was for the Centre above all confirmation that the road it selected at the beginning of the 1990s was the right one. It was thanks to the Centre's efforts in organising the European Cultural Month, the first big EU culture project, as early as in June 1992, that the flags of the United Europe first flew over Cracow's Main Square. It would be no exaggeration, then, to say that the ICC has long been prepared for partnership and co-operation within Europe.

In this sense the last year for the International Cultural Centre has been above all a year in which it furthered its long-term strategy: of dialogue with Poland's neighbours, co-operation in the Central Europe region, and support for Poland's work towards integration. The wealth and variety of the projects we have undertaken in direct co-operation with our Central European neighbours and partners – in Austria, Belarus, Germany, Slovakia, Ukraine and Hungary – has provided confirmation not only of the stability of our long established contacts but also of the fact that the dialogue of cultures continues to unfold independently of political processes, and in many instances even ahead of them.

Worthy of special mention is the constant deepening of our regional co-operation. In 2004 we hosted at the ICC the ministers of culture of the Visegrad States. We are also developing our own initiatives in this area. Thanks to the organisation – with the assistance of our partners from the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary – of the internet service AHICE (Art Historian Information from Central Europe), the Centre has recently become a key information hub, a tool for the presentation of both current events in cultural life and the historical experience and contemporary identity of the nations of Central Europe in their relations with the West. Our work also confirms the position of Cracow as the natural centre of Polish initiatives for Central Europe. I am firmly convinced that through our educational and research activities (the idea of creating a Central Europe Institute at the ICC is still current) the years ahead will continue to reinforce the role of the International Cultural Centre in this respect.

Has the last year been solely one of continuation and confirmation of our path chosen so many years ago, then? I think it will also be possible to consider it a year of new openings within the

short history of the International Cultural Centre. It was a year in which the Centre made positive strides beyond the European cultural horizon. Of note here is the ICC's reception into RIHA – a world network of institutions conducting research into art. Our foremost opportunity for broadening the geographical horizons of our activities, however, was our nomination as Poland's representative in the nascent Anna Lindh Euromediterranean Foundation for Cultural Dialogue. This new initiative by the European Commission is an important element of the Barcelona Process in terms of co-operation with the countries of the Mediterranean Basin, but also provides an opportunity for dialogue between the countries of the EU, including Poland, and the world of Islam. The idea of Europe and the idea of European solidarity were born centuries ago in the face of the threat to the countries in our region from Turkish expansion. Today, rooted in Christian values, the uniting Europe faces an entirely new challenge. Dialogue between cultures, dialogue between different religious traditions is a challenge that we cannot omit to take up.

[Translated by Jessica Taylor-Kucia]



- Reflections
- Impressions
- Opinions

The Heritage Preservation – an Interdisciplinary Challenge

Over thirty years have now elapsed since November 1972, when UNESCO adopted the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage and since it was made accessible to all strata of society. At present, its protection is extended to 788 sites in 134 countries all over the world. In Germany alone the title of world heritage monument has been awarded to 27 sites. The protection of heritage can be said to have become a cause of all nations. In other words, scientific and economic globalisation has also embraced the sphere of culture – and it is inconceivable that it could have been otherwise; without the influence of cultures throughout the world, these global economic, scientific, technical, and social processes could not have taken place. Globalisation has contributed to the dissemination and international recognition of the Convention on World Heritage Protection. It is thanks to globalisation that human heritage has been recognised as a universal value and its protection has become a global challenge. One could therefore risk the claim that it is this process that has created the common conviction that heritage protection is the task of all people, irrespective of their place of residence and culture.

Heritage and Identity

It was not always like that. A glance back into the past shows that the first world heritage protection initiatives emerged after the end of World War II. The countries that had waged the war had not hesitated to destroy cultural heritage. The destruction of tangible and intangible heritage assets by succeeding systems and generations is part of the processes of history and continues into the present day. I cite below three salient examples sourced from widely varying periods and cultures.

First example: the terracotta army in Xian in China (a replica of which is now on display in the ruins of the Palace of the Republic in Berlin). It was declared a world heritage monument in 1987. It was made in

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Lecture delivered to students of the Academy of Heritage (International Cultural Centre, 19 June 2004).

Xian at the behest of the first emperor of China Qin Shi Huang, who went down in history as a cruel despot, He was one of many tyrants who, wishing to be thought immortal, ordered his image to be captured in works of art. Qin Shi Huang also ordered his army to be immortalised in terracotta: 1,000 figures of warriors. No wonder, then, that the first action of his no less despotic successor, aided in his seizure of power by the revolting army (today it would be called a coup), was to obliterate all traces of his predecessor. The terracotta warriors, as a representative testimony to a cultural heritage that was the legacy of the previous ruler, were to be burned.

Second example: the Buddha statues in the Bamiyan Valley in Afghanistan, which in March 2001 fell victim to the religious and political fanaticism of the Taliban. In 2003 the remains of the statues were designated part of the World Heritage. They were destroyed because of the fundamentalist ideological convictions of the Taliban seeking to seize power and erase all products of other religious cults. By dynamiting these 1,500-year-old monuments of Buddhist heritage, they hoped to annihilate that heritage irrevocably. Evidently their previous desecration, defiling, and damage had failed to produce the desired effect among the local populace.

Third example: the destruction by the government of the GDR of the Hohenzollern Castle (Stadtschloss) in Berlin in 1959, partly because the decadence attributed to that family did not fit with the socialist vision of an agricultural and working-class society. With the demolition of the castle in the interest of the "unhistorical" entrenchment of the new ideology, the material relics of Germany's monarchistic history, relics that did not sit easy with the political ideology of the GDR – or its need for open spaces on which to hold parades – were erased.

If we listen attentively to the arguments cited in favour of rebuilding the castle, we will rediscover history and political ideologies from before the establishment of the GDR.

In historical terms, the consolidation of power can be seen to be accompanied by a ruthless annihilation of people's roots, regardless of country or system. The same strategy has always been used. Important tangible and intangible products of a given culture and identity are destroyed, desecrated, and ridiculed in order to create the framework and space to introduce and consolidate the new power structures. Successive waves of ruination of heritage are intended to eradicate identity, and this in turn facilitates indoctrination with the ideology of the new power unencumbered with old ballast. That was not the only way in ancient times, it was the declared strategy of colonialism, and a similar conception continues to function today.

The adoption and implementation of the Convention on World Heritage Protection the one hand created the possibility of having it honoured appropriately, both in the historical context and with a view to humanity's future; and on the other provided the basis for an understanding of both the destructive and constructive potential of the historical processes governing mankind.

World Heritage – Protection and Use

The importance of world heritage lies not only in its historical aspect. It has an acutely contemporary dimension, which is defined by many factors. At this point I would like to mention the conflict between protection of World Heritage and its use. This seems paradoxical, but nevertheless in many countries has become a real issue. The nomination of a heritage site as a World Heritage monument in many cases creates a threat to it because even more tourists will visit a World Heritage site than a local or regional heritage site. Therefore, it is vital to emphasise that the "World Heritage" status awarded by UNESCO can both protect such monuments and present a danger to them. This is because distinguishing a natural or cultural asset does not remove it from its public context.

The World Heritage title is a unique distinction that underlines the authenticity and uniqueness of a site but at the same time makes that uniqueness a "good", and helps to market it, which is a contradiction in concepts. On the one hand the site is designated worthy of protection, yet on the other it is marked out as a unique product to be exploited. The application of market laws to World Heritage sites involves broadening the aspect of their use. This means that the uniqueness and authenticity of sites bearing the title of World Heritage monument is translated into a business interest, which thus incorporates – irrespective of any consistent concept for use of the site – structural potential for harm.

World Heritage Monuments and Problems Arising from their Use in Tourism

The threat which tourism presents to World Heritage monuments is real for all countries. Notions of how the use of protected sites in tourism will bring about the socio-economic development of towns or regions are over-

blown. Expert opinion statements on the use of protected sites are common, varying in their specialist provenance or the discipline in question.

In highly developed countries the use of World Heritage monuments is usually just one element of local and regional development concepts. Examples of this are the palaces and parks in Berlin and Potsdam, Quedlinburg, or the castle of Augustusburg in Brühl. In developing countries the tourism connected with such sites is often the sole source of revenue.

Another problem arises when the nomination processes themselves overstretch the capabilities available in terms of education, technology, or even simply the infrastructure of the country. In developing countries, the main users are tourists from highly industrialised countries. Therefore not only individuals benefit from the third world's cultural richness; in fact it is the tourist business of the developed countries that benefits thanks to the "products" that the developing countries offer. Tourism cannot therefore be expected to bring about a sudden economic boom in these countries.

Moreover, tourism brings with it costs that are borne by the destination countries. The examples are Legion; I shall mention only the pyramids and the tombs of the Pharaohs in Egypt. Since they have become protected sites, thousands of people press through their narrow corridors. Perspiration and other human secretions cause humidity levels to rise and hence the colours of the wall paintings to fade and the walls to crumble. We can only speculate as to further consequences.

Another type of problem can be observed in the case of monuments of religious cult, for example Buddhist temples in India, Indonesia or China. The threat to them lies in the fact that with their increasing use by the tourist industry, their attractiveness to the local population dwindles. For many local users they cease to function as places of cult or prayer, for their value is diminished by the tourists, who often tour them without respect, in inappropriate dress, ignoring photography bans, or simply disturbing the solemn silence. The effect of such inconsiderate behaviour is that the local community gradually turns away from and neglects such sites.

In some cases such sites start to function as a kind of "Disneyland", whose only role is to make money from the tourists. Then it is not only the visitors who constitute a threat to the authenticity of the site, but also travelling or resident traders. The preservation of the protected site interests them solely for pecuniary ends. This form of exploitation of World Heritage sites does not stop at erosion of stone or other materials. It also entails other unsolved problems, such as waste removal, supplies, and overstretched infrastructure. We should also mention the most recent trend, which presents one of the gravest threats yet to the authenticity of historic sites: historic towns and cities, which, in order to meet the dual demands of being attractive and lucrative, have to be at once old and yet sufficiently functional for business. Functionality in this case means traders of all ilk offering and selling their wares, providing a full range of tourist attractions.

But the question arises as to whether ancient or medieval towns with their original infrastructure are capable of fulfilling the demands of tourism. They are not! For this reason, old fabric is steadily removed and replaced with fake. As in the case of Berlin's Stadtschloss, the aim is often to use only the façade to create the impression of better times, or indeed to reinstate them. Such use of World Heritage is not only a contravention of the Convention and the ideals in which it is grounded, it is also a devaluation of history. A key factor here is also the technical preoccupation with size, which negates the exceptionality and authenticity of sites, reducing these values to the level of a visual semblance.

As I have indicated above, in many instances monument protection becomes a challenge to the community not before, but only after inscription on the list of protected monuments. This fact must not be overlooked in efforts to have cultural or natural monuments nominated as sites of "exceptional value to the history of mankind".

Protection of Assets over Time

Understanding of the need for cultural heritage protection and its definition as a challenge facing the entire international community dates from the time when in connection with the planned construction of the Aswan Dam in Egypt the issue arose of flooding the temples in Abu Simbel and on the island of Philae. The first international campaign for the protection of cultural heritage took place in 1964–1969, and on both a financial and technical scale, as well as in terms of commitment by states, it was incomparable with anything previously

seen. The temples were classified as cultural assets of humanity requiring suitable protection. They were dismantled into thousands of sections and re-erected just 100 m away. Saving these historic buildings was not only a great technical feat but also a success for international solidarity, with the common goal of the protection of human heritage. Soon afterwards, in November 1972, the Convention was adopted.

At that time, the development processes in many countries of the world were dominated by slogans advocating modernisation and industrialisation, which in turn were the product of shaken faith in the potential of scientific and technological progress made with the interests of man and his socio-economic needs in mind. The UNESCO Convention highlighted the significance of nature and culture to civilisation. Definitions of the mutual relationships between them began to be sought, and it was ultimately agreed that nature is part of culture, since it satisfies some of man's fundamental needs. In including natural sites, the Convention on the Protection of World Heritage was at once ahead of and a product of its time.

Even in the 1970s, nature was still being exploited the world over without consideration for the destruction being wrought. The right of the world's cultures to tame nature was entirely independent of the political ideologies ruling societies or the level of their output capacities; it was a traditional right of developing humanity. What individual communities considered essential to their cultural development they claimed for themselves at the cost of nature, for instance building roads, skyscrapers, or atomic power plants. The resources and riches of natural reserves were exploited in the interest of human progress; nothing was considered amiss in routing roads and motorways through protected areas, with society's real or assumed need for mobility cited as justification. Where the aim was to gain land for industry, a handful of arguments were sufficient to annihilate national parks.

Careful analysis of the 788 protected sites in 134 countries inscribed on the World Heritage List confirms the view that culture continues to dominate over nature. Out of the total 788 sites, there are 611 cultural assets (C), 154 are natural assets (N), and 23 are sites classified in both the cultural and natural categories. For a long time there has been an awareness of this imbalance. The criteria on culture and nature listed in the operational guidelines are also evidence of a practical approach to this problem.

Tangible and Intangible Heritage

The encapsulation of human heritage in 611 cultural sites is indicative not only of the relationship between culture and nature – the very definition of culture requires consideration of its meaning. Appropriate to its time, the 1972 Convention defined culture and nature in a material sense. The culture that was to be protected was defined as authentic material works of outstanding value. Cultural heritage, therefore, was the monument, the cathedral, the castle.

Culture only began to be defined differently 10 years later. At the world cultural conference in Mexico in 1982, the definition of sites eligible for protection was broadened to include intangible assets. This act broadened the definition of culture. The Mexico declaration defined its unique role in shaping identity. From then on, in addition to material and natural assets, "exceptional spiritual, intercultural, and emotional human heritage" was also to be qualified as cultural assets. Hence not only were the concepts of culture and nature adjusted in line with the prevailing spirit of the times, but the very definition of culture was modified.

In my introduction, I asserted that globalisation would not have been possible without the contribution of each of the world's cultures. Without the Mexico declaration, we would not be able today to define cultural heritage as the intangible expression of human existence. The idea of protecting intangible heritage formed the foundation for the Memory of the World Programme launched in 1992. This programme serves to protect documented intangible human heritage preserved in the form of manuscripts, films, and print media. This list includes works such as the Gutenberg Bible, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, and the cult film *Metropolis* by Fritz Lang. The countries involved in this programme are under obligation to "preserve and make accessible" the protected assets, which bestows a new dimension on their value.

Since October 2003 intangible assets have been subject to direct protection. Thanks to a new Convention, oral traditions have also been identified as intangible assets, including languages and all linguistic expressions of human communication and tradition. The Convention also protects arts and crafts, ritual and

knowledge. The protection of intangible assets opens new dimensions of communication and offers a means to counteract the homogenising tendencies of globalisation.

Current Trends in the Discussions of Criteria

Since the Convention's adoption the nomination criteria have been aligned with current trends in social development. At this point it would be appropriate to mention those trends in the recent past that have contributed to the sudden increase in the number of World Heritage sites. Around a quarter of all protected sites, i.e. almost 200, have received their World Heritage status in the last five years alone. If this process continues at the same rate, the inflation of the idea of the protection of World Heritage will be inevitable. From experience we know that both tangible and intangible products decline in value when they become mass goods. As the number of World Heritage sites increases, those awarded the distinction will gradually lose their values of attractiveness, uniqueness and authenticity, and that would be fatal. What, then, is to be done? The World Heritage Committee has already reacted to the massive increase in numbers of nominations. In 2003 it was decided that no more than 30 applications per year will be considered, and no more than one nomination per country per year will be awarded. Time will tell whether this is a good decision.

In the case of Germany there are 17 sites on the waiting list, which means that we shall have to consider other innovative strategies of protecting our heritage besides awarding the official "World Heritage" title. An important issue in this respect is that of the identity function of protected sites. The situation in developing countries is different. Regional and national imbalances in the distinction of World Heritage sites, despite all attempts, such as extra consideration of heritage monument nominations from African countries, have not only not been eradicated, but have even increased – in the US there are 72 sites on the waiting list, in France 38, in the UK 18, in Turkey 18, in Mongolia 8, in China 55, in Pakistan 8, in Syria 15, in Yemen 11, in Uruguay 1, in Bolivia 2, in Namibia 5, in Congo 3, in Cuba 5, in Argentina 4, in Ethiopia 2, in Ghana 6, in India 14, and in Italy 62. The coexistence of economic and technical development or backwardness is transposed into the sphere of culture.

Although in 1999 the principle of "geographical balance" in awarding new nominations was successfully introduced (in particular in terms of African sites), a disproportion remains. One-third of the states parties to the Convention can boast of the possession of two-thirds of the sites inscribed on the list. As this is particularly true of industrialised countries, it is understandable that many states hitherto less well represented are calling for greater balance, while conversely, highly developed countries are demanding greater restraint in the handing out of nominations.

The selection criteria and determinants of protection for the sites have undoubtedly contributed to the cataloguing and preservation of human cultural heritage. At the same time, however, criteria are being formulated that exclude some sites from the World Heritage "club", yet enable rich countries to have their assets recognised as "universal", "authentic" and "exceptional". Discussions have also been resumed on adapting the Operational Guidelines to the constantly changing world situation. A representative example of the transformations in European heavy industry is the German industrial complex Zollverein in Essen, a monument recently inscribed on the World Heritage List. Three industrial sites in the UK were also awarded UNESCO titles in 2001:

- the 18th-century Derwent Valley Mills,
- the industrial village of Saltaire, which dates from the mid-19th century, and
- the New Lanark textile mill in Scotland.

In 2001 the discussions on cultural landscapes and the linking in the Convention of the concepts "culture" and "nature" were translated into nominations for World Heritage sites. New cultural landscapes were inscribed on the List: • Lake Fertő/Neusiedlersee (Austria/Hungary) and the surrounding lands (the Puszta – the only steppe national park in Central Europe), • the Alto Douro wine region in Portugal, and • the Spanish cultural landscape of Aranjuez.

Heritage Protection – an Interdisciplinary Challenge

Cultures are created by people and destroyed by them. This is true of both material culture and spiritual culture, both art and its institutions. They are an integral part of man, technology and society, a product of historical processes, thanks to which they are constantly developing. From this angle, the concept of cultural heritage

protection takes on a dual significance. Heritage is composed of existing elements of the history of cultures, of their intangible spiritual legacy. It forms a backdrop to the experiences on which communities draw in creating their present. Cultural heritage in all its complexity plays a guiding role in the process of shaping the present. While being a memorial, at the same time it is also a product of society's interpretation of the present and of history. But conscious heritage protection extends only to selected elements of culture – usually material elements such as memorials, monuments, historic places, etc. In themselves, these do not shape experiences or identity. They only take on this role when a given community begins to see them as representative of its identity. It is hence not the past that dictates which elements of culture will earn the status of cultural heritage, but society, which defines its own history. The way we perceive our past is motivated and steered by present-day values and aims.

In the context of protecting material heritage one more aspect needs to be considered: the functionality of heritage within society needs to be taken into account in the process of planning its protection and maintenance. It is no accident that the significance of heritage to society is so central to the awarding of nominations. This invites the following conclusion: the concept of protection cannot be based solely on the latest technology, the right materials or state-of-the-art computer programs. Heritage protection is never only a technocratic act; in relation either to material heritage and assets of cultural memory, or to cultural customs and the protection of, say, minorities suffering discrimination. It is always an important political, collective, interdisciplinary act. Heritage is the product of human know-how – of its material and technical implementation, and the interest groups and obstacles they encounter.

Every concept for heritage protection creates a new, valuating structure of history. It rules which elements of the historical context are worthy of remembrance. It reconstructs history, and by doing so it defines the values intended to help in making sense of the present and building the future. That is why the purpose of both the nomination for the title of cultural heritage monument and concepts for the protection and maintenance of these sites is to bring together in a single interpretative context all the local, national and international groups, as well as all possible resources. This is the most important condition for sustainable protection of heritage. To date unfortunately rarely fulfilled, it is perhaps vital to using heritage in such a way as to allow it to play a role in shaping the future.

The key issue is to ensure that heritage is open to interpretation from all sides, because only then will it become our shared heritage and be recognized as world heritage; only then will we accept it as our own – and only this kind of heritage offers a sense of identity. In my view this is the only way to a true international community.

It was with these priorities in mind that we in Cottbus designed and produced a concept for World Heritage studies. In my understanding this is also the role of the UNESCO Chair Heritage Studies of which I am head – as a centre where new paths, new research opportunities and new methods of education are sought.

[Translated by Jessica Taylor-Kucia]

Towards the United States
of a "Familial Europe"

This is the thirteenth summer that we from New York, with our friends from Cracow, have inaugurated our joint campus in this magical city. And so perhaps this is a good time to reflect on the dynamics of the political, social, and cultural context that has become our home over the last decade. There are good personal and professional reasons why to this talk on Europe I am bringing another conceptual character, the United States, and I hope those reasons become clear as I proceed. I want to add, though, that the United States figures mostly in the introductory part, in the overture to the drama, and its presence lessens as I go on.

The title of my remarks, which perhaps sounds less than graceful, needs a little explanation, particularly as to its second part, the *Familial Europe* part. Czesław Miłosz, the magnificent citizen-poet of Cracow who for over four decades lived in San Francisco and taught at Berkeley, wrote a book while still in Paris that made an enormous impression on me, and still does, in which he said that he wanted to show a foreigner my corner of the world, and "to bring Europe closer to the Europeans". In this largely autobiographical work he wrote about places where he had grown up, studied, and traveled before the war: Lithuania, Belarus, Vilnius, Paris, Munich, and Warsaw. The later English title of his book, which some of you are more likely to know, is *Native Realm: A Search for Self-definition*. But when the book first appeared in the original Polish in 1959, published, of course, abroad, as his works were banned in Poland, it had a title that rang a particularly warm bell in Polish – *Rodzina Europa* – which, if translated literally into English, would read: *Familial Europe*. It was a larger, kindred Europe, still undivided by walls or curtains, by hot or cold wars, with relative freedom to move, travel, see friends, visit family abroad, buy books, or attend foreign universities. It is hard to believe, but I want you to believe me: to read this book in Poland in the 1970s was like reading science fiction.

Professor Elżbieta Matynia is a sociologist whose major fields are intellectual history, political philosophy, and the sociology of art and culture. She studied literature (MA) and sociology (PhD) at Warsaw University, where she lectured from 1978 to 1981. In 1981–1983 she did a post-doctoral course of study at the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research, now New School University in New York. Since 1990 she has directed the Transregional Center for Democratic Studies (TCDS), which she designed and launched as an expansion of the Graduate Faculty's East & Central Europe Program (ECEP), which she had helped create in 1990 for the initial purpose of helping scholars and universities in the region revitalize the social sciences and re-enter the international scholarly community.

The inaugural lecture delivered to students of the College for New Europe summer courses (ICC, 16 July 2004).

It was Victor Hugo, a French romantic author, best known for *Les Misérables* and the *Hunchback of Notre Dame*, who in the 1850s, already a pacifist and the member of the French National Assembly, first envisioned the possibility of creating a *United States of Europe*. And if what I am about to quote sounds ironic in July 2004, that is not what I intended. So here is Hugo speaking to the assembly members in Paris in 1851:

"A day will come when we shall see those two immense groups, the United States of America and the United States of Europe, stretching out their hands across the sea, exchanging their products, their arts, their works of genius, clearing up the globe, making deserts fruitful, ameliorating creation under the eyes of the Creator, and joining together to reap the well-being of all. (...) Henceforth the goal of great politics, of true politics, is this: the recognition of all nationalities, the restoration of the historical unity of nations, and the uniting of the latter to civilization by peace, the relentless enlargement of the civilized group, the setting of an example (...), in short, (...), the assurance that justice will have the last word, spoken in the past by might."¹

But it was almost 100 years later, in September 1946, that Winston Churchill launched the actual project known today as the European Union, when he said, in his famous speech to the students at the University of Zurich: "To recreate the European family, or as much of it as we can, and provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety, and in freedom, we must build a kind of *United States of Europe*"². The original impetus for the founding of what was later to become the European Union was the desire to rebuild Europe after the disastrous events of World War II, and to prevent Europe from allowing such a catastrophe to happen ever again.

Churchill's speech stirred the imagination of many people, and it also had one almost immediate result. And that was the establishment of a body called The Council of Europe. This was (and still remains) a rather weak organization, resembling a regional equivalent of the United Nations, though it has developed some powers in the area of human rights, through the European Court of Human Rights. But 20 months after the end of World War II, at a time of enormous and growing popularity of the United States in Europe, the idea of forging a similarly successful structure was very appealing.

Now, 58 years later, it is still a work-in-progress, although at this point it is already far more than a simple international organization of states or confederation of states, as it provides, for example, an infrastructure that allows for the crossing of state borders, which reflects at least one dimension of Milosz's familial Europe. Still, this work-in-progress now known as the European Union is not – according to official proclamations – turning itself into a "United States", as it does not intend to replace existing nation-states. Yet the EU, which began as an economic union, now has its own currency, the *euro*, its own bank (called the European Central Bank, and a separate European Investment Bank), its own anthem, *Ode to Joy*, from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, and its own parliament, invested with increasing powers.

Just a few weeks ago it completed the draft for a constitution, which, after incredibly tense and dramatic negotiations, all the member states have agreed to vote on in their respective countries by 2006. After the recent and perhaps the most consequential enlargement of the European Union in its long history, when 10 new countries (eight of them former satellites of the Soviet Union) added 75 million new citizens, the European Union now has a total population of more than 454 million, which is densely populated given that its territory is more or less half that of the USA. By comparison, the population of the United States is just over 293 million.

The emergence of a larger Europe, once divided physically by the Berlin Wall and symbolically by the Iron Curtain, means – at least theoretically – that its citizens are now able to move freely for work, studies, and residence among 25 formerly separate countries – a political-administrative unit that from the standpoint of economic power and accumulation of human capital is already comparable to the United States of America.

What follows this sequence of facts and numbers is a reflection – at times personal – on Europe whether symbolic, real, or imagined, subjective or objective... I leave that for you to judge.

When I went from Poland to the United States in the early 1980's I thought that I was going from Europe to America. I was wrong. I was coming from a part of Europe that was – for Americans – hardly visible. It wasn't on their mental map. Their Europe's fantastical geography only had a west, even though – as in the conspicuous case of Italy – it had a fairly visible south. Everything east of Germany, Austria, and Italy – including the populations, cities, villages, and languages, even the landscape – was gone.

I felt that my situation was a perfect substantiation of the early modernist, grotesque play by Alfred Jarry, *Ubu Roi*, who placed its action, as he put it, "in Poland, meaning nowhere". Of course in 1981 nice

Americans, when they heard "Poland", would volunteer the names of Walesa and the Pope, just as they had no doubt volunteered the Czech names they'd gotten to know during the Prague Spring or Hungarian names after the Uprising in 1956. But notwithstanding these exceptions, the sizable lands east of West Berlin had disappeared, had become a black hole, as a result of the consensus reached at the conferences in Yalta and Potsdam. And just as with a poor neighbor in a hospice: one did not go there, one did not care, and one did not have to know.

That pariah-Europe began regaining some visibility among those more curious and aware when it became known that it was imaginatively reinventing civil society in the late 1970's in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. This gradual re-appearance was further supported by the region's assorted writers in exile, whose various efforts to help their countries included bringing to the western public writings that had been circulated as *samizdat* and then smuggled abroad. Their efforts, like those of Miłosz in his *Native Realm*, brought their corner of the world, his "*familial Europe*", just a little closer to the rest of the world.

The timing of these efforts happened to be just right. The workers in the invisible shipyards, mines, and steel mills had organized themselves against the workers' party-state and for a while captured the attention of the west. Intellectuals decided that despite the odds they would behave and act as though they lived in normal countries: they organized charters and committees; they managed to write and publish outside of state control. In the West, the writings on this absent Europe by Czesław Miłosz³, Milan Kundera⁴, Jenő Szűcs⁵, Joseph Skvorecky⁶, Danilo Kiš⁷, or György Konrád⁸ found a new and relatively friendly climate, prepared in part by Philip Roth's very popular *Penguin* series, aptly entitled *Writers from the Other Europe*. Reports of the democratic discourse and civic practices taking place in the region fell on fertile ground in the west, because, as many observed, they coincided with a search in the west for alternatives to Marxism, which had been losing its explanatory power.

Perhaps the single most consequential piece, the one that launched the most compelling debate on the absent Europe, was the essay by Milan Kundera published in 1984 in the *New York Review of Books*, entitled "The Tragedy of Central Europe". This essay was widely received as a powerful indictment of Western Europe. Since I'm picky about titles, as you now know, I personally find the more complete title of its French original, published six months earlier in *Le Debat*, somewhat more to the point. It read: "The Kidnapped East: The Tragedy of Central Europe", which reminded any European brought up on Greek mythology about the story of the Phoenician Princess *Europa*, kidnapped by Zeus disguised as a white bull. And in Kundera's passionate argument, Kundera's absent Europe is "a displaced, kidnapped and brainwashed West that insists on defending its identity". More specifically, it is a part of the Greco-Latin West, which, though geographically in the center, like Germany and Austria, culturally belongs to the west, and which – kidnapped by the Soviet Union – ended up politically in the east.

Geographic Europe, Kundera argued, had long been divided into two culturally distinct parts, one rooted in Rome and one in Byzantium; and when a slice of its western part was kidnapped in 1945, its identity was continuously abused and manipulated – hence the recurrent revolts, insurrections, rebellions. He suggested that his Europe, this "uncertain zone of small nations between Russia and Germany"⁹, a site of wars, conquests and occupations, distrusted politics and history, ought to be looked upon not as a geopolitical entity but as a state of mind, a worldview, and a mindset. Not having a geography, this thriving Kingdom of the Spirit was a resilient realm of autonomous culture where music, poetry, the arts, and philosophy ruled. Its immaterial existence generated a *culture of fate*, focused on the task of preserving its western-ness. At the same time, Kundera observed, the "beloved western Europe" had lost touch with the values it once stood for, lost touch with itself, and therefore did not even notice that it had lost a part of its very own soul as well. In such a situation, Kundera felt, it was Central Europe that was the real crucible of Europe.

Kundera's essay was and is an excellent piece of rhetoric, but for me it is clearly problematic, as it lionizes the occidental victim, and forcefully (but needlessly) insists on a sharp difference between the kidnapped west and the east, thus constructing a culturally bipolar Europe, with a strict West-East civilizational divide. He counter-poses an alleged rational-ironic distance, which he sees as a key feature of the culture of Central Europe, to what he sees as the overly-emotional, pre-modern culture of the East, specifically Russia. He resolutely but inaccurately defines the culture of Central Europe through its aversion to romanticism, which, according to Kundera, is a truly eastern, more specifically Russian, characteristic. However, according to most

accounts, romanticism was a dominant cultural paradigm that shaped both the culture and politics of survival in the region. And when Kundera passionately argues about the refined spiritual kingdom and the culture of fate of the kidnapped Europe, he himself is wrapped up in its own inherent antinomies and perplexities. He reveals, too, the special sensitivity, bordering on obsession, of the Czechs, Poles and Hungarians regarding their particular right to European self-identity.

Kundera's essay was published roughly 20 years ago, and I am sure that in his wildest dreams he would not have envisioned the possibility of his displaced Europe finding its way back home – even less so the possibility of an actual formal unification with the then budding European Union. His essay seems even to defy such a possibility. The idea that Kundera's *Europe of the Spirit* could actually be united with the *Europe of Steel and Coal*, as the European Union was known in its early phases of unification, sounded like a mind-boggling science-fiction scheme that could only have been conceived by a contemporary writer of the Alfred Jarry variety.

But unthinkable designs became thinkable. And when in 1992 the *Wall Street Journal* wrote that the State Department had instructed its embassies world wide that the words Eastern Europe will be banished from the lexicon of the agency, and that the region would be referred to as Central Europe, Kundera should have been happy. Thousands of young Americans have discovered Prague, Budapest, Cracow, or East Berlin, democratic institutions have been built and launched, along with stock exchanges, and Kundera's Europe has indeed lost its invisibility. The catch phrase, the "Return to Europe", was one of the key themes of both the anti-communist revolutions and the post-communist changes throughout the entire region. And after the first decade of transformation the phrase "transition to Democracy" was replaced by a new one: "European unification".

I am not asking whether Kundera's vision was correct or not, as I understand it to have been a strategic and expedient one, and I grant that this vision was shared by intellectual elites in the region. But it is interesting to look at what happened to this self-conception of the kidnapped Europe as a result of the most puzzling – since nobody could have predicted them – events in modern history, the peaceful revolutions of 1989 and the ensuing democratization in the region. What has happened to this crucible of European culture since the process of accession to the European Union was launched, and since its legal inclusion in the community of European nations has now become a reality?

First, the alleged inherent cultural unity of this part of Europe did not prevent an almost immediate weakening of the earlier cross-border, regional solidarity between intellectuals, members of the human rights-based democratic opposition who had initially assumed positions of responsibility in their respective countries and governments. Kundera's countries of Central Europe met in Visegrad in the early 1990s, and established a mechanism for regional collaboration known as the Visegrad Group, or the Visegrad triangle. But as soon as the argument arose that such an arrangement perpetuated the old division of Europe and might be taken as an alternative to integration with the European Union, it lost ground, and became a largely meaningless enterprise. With the Czechs' reminder that Prague is, after all, west of Vienna, palpable competition between the countries emerged, as far as their western-ness is concerned. Fairly soon, if the density of airplane connections is any indication, the links of Prague, Budapest, and Warsaw appeared to be stronger with Paris, Berlin, London or Brussels than between the Visegrad countries themselves. The east-east solidarity was gone, replaced by east-west strategies, and Kundera's *culture of fate* became fragmented at best.

Second, throughout the 1990s a major re-crafting of the respective socio-political landscapes took place in Central Europe: numerous political parties emerged, elections were conducted, re-privatization processes launched. I want to call your attention to one element of this landscape, a political orientation that focuses on articulating the tension between what I call the west and the past, or to play with the signposts: between the *west* and the *right*. The strengthening of this right-wing discourse and orientation often coincided with a considerable weakening of the very orientation that had facilitated the peaceful revolutions and negotiated transitions. The region's dominant dissident orientation in the 1980s – a civic-society-based agenda of human rights, imaginative democratic practice, and sense of civic responsibility – already began to lose its leading position in the 1990s, and in some cases (e.g., that of the *Freedom Union* in Poland) has been completely marginalized (though I am happy to see that the party has regained some of its constituency, and in the recent elections to the European Parliament secured four seats). In many cases it has been quickly dominated either by the so-called post-communist left, or eventually, by the radical right. The post-communist left usually represents a sig-

nificantly reformed party, in the sense that, as in the case of Poland or Hungary, it is quite removed from subscribing to any real socialist principles, and is strongly supportive of accession to Europe. The radical right emerged from the mixed populist and nationalistic constituencies, which have simmered under the surface, often incited in the past by the communist regimes themselves, or as in the case of Poland, by peculiar religious groupings, and is naturally suspicious of the west and is against the accession to Europe.

There is an economic argument explaining the emergence of populism in Central Europe, which points out that populism appeals to those who lost the most in the transition: the pensioners, the unemployed, former workers of the obsolete industrial plants who are too old to be retrained, and parts of the rural population. But I would like to offer a cultural argument which – I believe – may help to identify some of the tasks ahead for the two Europes that could help to make the union of Europe viable.

Populism appeals to a nostalgia for the past, but not just the past in general. There is a part of the cultural tradition constructed in the late 19th century that makes Poles, Hungarians, and even Czechs (who were once valiant organizers of the Pan-Slavic movement against the continental empires) particularly susceptible to populism. Populism thrives on certain simplified versions of a selectively digested romantic tradition, shaped by writers who saw themselves as serving the nations that had disappeared from the map of the continent. From the early 19th century, this hegemonic and highly functional cultural paradigm was employed in the task of regaining political nationhoods, and for its sake appeared mostly unyielding, as all involved agreed on the historical, cultural, theological, and often messianic legitimacy of the task. Kundera, the writer of ironic distance, does not subscribe to this tradition, which is, perhaps, at its weakest in Bohemia, but even he is not completely free of it.

I believe that to recognize the lingering power of this paradigm is of utmost importance for the two Europes, as the labor of unification did not suddenly end on May 1, 2004, when the eight countries of the region formally joined the Union. This 19th-century all-embracing paradigm was based on a unified romantic-symbolic style of culture and served a compensatory and therapeutic function for the nations without a state.¹⁰ It designated a very clear role for art and the artist throughout most of the last two centuries: to perform service on behalf of the captive nation taken over by the imperial continental powers.

As its sole role was to mobilize cultural differences in the salvational service of national politics, I'd like to call it, after Appadurai, *culturalism*, or perhaps more specifically *salvational culturalism*.¹¹ Though salvational culturalism was most pronounced in Poland, one could detect its persistence throughout the region. And Kundera, despite being expressly anti-romantic, continues this tradition. With his stress on cultural difference, his construction of bipolar distinctions, his intentional divisiveness, he was a perfect agent of salvational culturalism. And he is not so different from the 19th-century romantic poet Mickiewicz, who, exiled and displaced, lobbied in Europe – mostly in France – for recognition, sympathy, and support for Poland's aspirations for political self-determination. (The most recent climax of *salvational culturalism* in Poland was the "Solidarity" movement of 1980–81, with its peculiar mixture of national and civic-oriented currents resembling earlier romantic-national efforts).

The weakening of the civic participation model that had been encouraged in the 1980s by the practices of the democratic opposition, and the re-mobilization of *salvational culturalism* in the 1990s, made it possible for populist parties to enter loudly into the debate on the union with Europe, and to exploit both economic and cultural fears of a sell-out of national land and sacred values. The direct consequence of such a state of mind, independently conceptualized by Kundera in terms of Europe's soul, are the demands – stipulated above all by the radical right in Poland – to make an official commitment to "European" – meaning Christian – values by etching it into the Union's constitution.

Well, Central Europe is clearly more complex and multifaceted than Kundera wanted to see it in 1983, but it is not so easy to sort out what it is today, as perceptions differ depending on the location of the observer. Is Central Europe this missing person, perhaps even a relative, found by the International Red Cross in some backwater like Siberia and now an impoverished pariah repatriated back home? Or is it a valiant culture, with centuries-long experience in resisting repressions, which managed to work out a new resourceful social culture, and – departing from the logic of revolution – to end dictatorships through negotiations? Does it have its roots in the cosmopolitan rationality of enlightenment, or in the national commitment of the romantics? And with all its perplexities, sensitivities, and inadequate resources, will it be a burden or an asset to the Union?

Perhaps one thing is certain: both the period of democratic transitions and the processes of European integration have unleashed debates on national rather than European identity, and it was not just the populist, radical right that began to question the need for a larger European loyalty. Poles, Hungarians, Czechs and even Slovaks, who for so long wanted to be a part of democratic Europe, have found themselves divided into *Euro-enthusiasts* and *Euro-skeptics*. The President of the Czech Republic, Vaclav Klaus, who calls himself a *Euro-realist*, cautions his citizens on the consequences of being "a small country surrounded by a larger Europe that is striving to become a super-state". In an interview for *Gazeta Wyborcza* he insisted that he wants to be above all a citizen of the Czech Republic who happens to live on the European continent. "I do not want to be a citizen of Europe, and I hold it against other politicians that they do not think in the same manner".¹²

Old anxieties and distrust inherited from the past are still among the people, and now they are re-emerging among the political elites. Though the unfortunate disciplinary talk by Chirac, castigating the heads of the region's governments for backing Bush's war, and the recent vision of the *Core of Europe* and the *Europe of different speeds* proposed by a friend of our university, Jürgen Habermas, and perceived by many as divisive, did not help, there is a sense on both sides that they themselves have to work on changing the suddenly confrontational climate. Perhaps the recent hammering-out in June of an agreement concerning the draft for a European constitution was the very first step towards this.

In the light of the recent enlargement, some people question whether the call by Habermas and Derrida for an engendering of European patriotism really is a step in the right direction. Recognizing that the citizens of Central Europe have only recently been able to savor a sense of national sovereignty, and assuming the continuing durability of national identities, how likely is it that one can successfully build a European identity?¹³

For those wise people in Brussels who do think of the enlarged Europe as a true community, and not just a well-functioning administrative and economic contraption, I suggest turning again to culture, and examining the elements from the region's past that could be activated to transcend national identities and thus contribute to building a European one. To rescue the kidnapped Europe is to meet it halfway though, on some newly built bridge, as the odds of rescue would be far greater then. At this halfway point the paradigm of *salvational culturalism* may not be fully at work yet, and perhaps a new one will promptly emerge, as the situation of the encounter will not call for confrontation or self-defense to preserve dignity. Instead it may activate openness, the capacity for critical self-distance, and a certain caution about closing the process of self-identification, about too rigidly fixing one's self-identity. Just as in Ivo Andrić's novel, *The Bridge on the Drina*, one could envision the construction of a *kapia* on this bridge, that extra built-in space where differences meet and are negotiated, where it is possible for people to look through each other's glasses, and to plant the seeds of trust.

Beyond symbols and usable imagery there are concrete achievements available that could help to engender a broader, more civic and inclusive European identity. This Europe was not just, as Kundera would have it, a frontier, a bastion, a bulwark, and one has to work at bringing it back. In this Europe, where borders were moved back and forth, where in fact there are no incontestable borders, a culture of the borderlands has developed, and the practices of a good neighborhood have already been at work. In this Europe there were people, initiatives, movements which thought – as the International Cultural Centre often puts it – not in terms of borders but in terms of horizons. And the memory of grand multicultural cities such as Prague or Vilnius is still cherished. Who in the west is familiar with the achievements of the Reformation Hussites in Bohemia and Moravia; who knows about the constitutional tradition? After all, the very first and progressive constitution in Europe was voted through by Poland's parliament in 1791.

There are the accomplishments of the human-rights-based movements, representing all generations of rights, culminating in the persistence of the democratic opposition, the works of Vaclav Havel and György Konrád and Adam Michnik and János Kis, which prepared the ground for the emergence of the civic society. And there exists a body of diasporic critical thought that examines the very danger of fixing one's identity in stone, the distanced and irony-based works of people like Gombrowicz or Danilo Kiš, or the novels of Kundera.

I would not worry about the feasibility of a European *civis mundi*, but I have no doubt that this will require building bridges that have *kapias*, where citizens can discover each other and practice together the idea of the truly "good neighborhood" – and not just a European one. Coming from where I come from, I think that universities are such *kapias*, and summer schools like this one, institutions like Cracow's International Cul-

tural Centre, places like Viadrina University on the Polish -German border, or the Graduate Faculty with its University-in-Exile ethos – all these together constitute a virtual community of world citizens.

But I do worry about the invisibility of those who are still being left behind: Ukrainians, Belarusians, and the small countries in the Balkans. After all, Europe is also there.

Endnotes:

¹ <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/SPRINGhugo.htm>

² Sweet & Maxwell, *A Guide to European Union Law*, 12, 1995.

³ Cz. Miłosz, *Native Rebirth: A Search for Self-definition*, University of California Press, 1981.

⁴ M. Kundera, "The Tragedy of Central Europe", *The New York Review of Books*, April 26, 1984.

⁵ J. Szűcs, *Le Trois Europes*, Paris, Hartman, 1985.

⁶ J. Skvorecky, "Bohemia of the Soul", *Daedalus*, Winter 1990.

⁷ Danilo Kiš, "Variations on Central Europe", *Res Publica*, 1986.

⁸ G. Konrád, "Central Europe Redivivus", [in] *The Melancholy of Rebirth: Essays from Post-Communist Central Europe 1989-94*, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1995.

⁹ M. Kundera, "The Tragedy of Central Europe", *The New York Review of Books*, April 26, 1984.

¹⁰ M. Janion, *Do Europy – tak, ale razem z naszymi umarłymi*, Sic!, Warszawa 2000, pp. 22-27.

¹¹ A. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1996, p. 15.

¹² Interview with Vaclav Klaus, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, April 3, 2003.

¹³ A similar question was raised by Leszek Kolakowski in his piece *Czy Europa może zaistnieć?* written for *Gazeta Wyborcza*, March 1, 2003.

Excavating Modernity – Cities in East Central Europe in the Interwar Period

It is obvious that the great changes which have taken place in Central Europe in the last two decades have had their impact on the landscape, or – to be more precise – the cityscape and on our perception of the Central European urban matrix. Almost everything has changed: the cities' look, status, function and identity. The cities have re-entered the rhythm of time and the global game of semiotics – in many cases they escaped demolition and irreversible decay or were thoroughly reshaped. Many of them became marketplaces and centers of exchange and trade again. The changes transformed the status of public space and its relationship to private space, as well as the institutional framework. They regained their autonomy, becoming centers of civic and civil life, major sites of political action and representation. Last but not least, a few cities acquired a new identity, especially the old ones, a new self-image, a new corporate identity, new civic or urban pride and self-assertiveness. I believe we can talk about a new stage of urbanization after years or even decades of weakening or vanishing of urban culture, due to the destruction and terrible material and spiritual losses during World War II, to the consequences of social and cultural leveling in the postwar time resulting from mass migration and impressive social upward mobility, and to a general distrust of "bourgeois" civic culture and values. Finally, as a consequence of the reunification of Europe, the entire network of European cities changed and was re-established after decades of isolation behind the Iron Curtain. All that put together has transformed the Central European cityscape. The metamorphosis of the cityscape is obviously only one of the many transformations which occurred in the last decade; others relate to social structures, lifestyles, values, class relations, etc. One of the more challenging tasks facing historians, social scientists, cultural anthropologists and others is to come to terms with these transformations, which are given their due in the project of re-mapping Europe I postulate here. I am convinced that the new reality helps us to understand much better the internal relationship within the European cultural space. I would like to propose a project of re-mapping the cultural space of Europe in the 20th century in the following steps. We should look (1) at the cityscape in pre-1914 Europe, that is the cityscape as shaped by the great empires: the Ottoman, the Romanov, the Habsburg and Hohenzollern. In my view this was a time of rapid urban expansion and unique improvement of urban administration, city planning, infrastructure, etc. It was the period of great

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European mayors, as I would like to call it. I have done some research on this period, focusing on the amazing proliferation of art nouveau as the civic style *par excellence* in Europe from Helsinki to Barcelona, from Riga to Varna, Palermo to Oradea, and from Brussels to Constantinople. The next step (2) in my proposal involves the process of rebuilding of nation-states after World War I and its impact on the European cityscape. This is the subject proper of the present talk. Further analysis (3) concerns the wave of destruction and annihilation of cities and urban life during World War II – one could call it genuine “urbicide”, especially when considering the physical destruction of entire cities like Warsaw, Minsk, Stalingrad, Königsberg or the liquidation of inhabitants of Vilnius, Lvov, Łódź, as well as thousands of smaller cities “in between the frontlines.” This stage of analysis (4) deals with the cityscape of ruins. The next stage, the time after 1945, involves a decades-long process of rebuilding, reconstruction and resettlement. It took almost half a century to rebuild the cities. Now, if I am not wrong, we are at a time of re-urbanization, the time of a great city comeback. I believe that the analysis of landscapes and cityscapes is one key to understanding the world and human history. The urban texture is one of the most significant indicators of social processes, and may even be treated as a handbook.

Below I will try to provide an outline of the transformation of the Central European cityscape in the interwar period and to bring it back into a broader context of European modernity. In a certain sense my approach is that of an archeologist, digging on the main sites of European modernity of the interwar period. Our perception of Europe and European modernity has been ambiguous. Up until the 1990s, that is the time when the first exhibitions were organized and the first monographs published, the efforts and achievements of European modernism in the former Eastern bloc countries remained relatively unknown – even in a classic book like Nikolaus Pevsner’s *Penguin Dictionary of Architecture* of 1966 there is no mention of any of the famous modernist buildings in Czechoslovakia, Poland or Hungary. And this still is quite typical. Yes, we have had the great expositions in Bonn, Los Angeles, Vienna and Berlin on Central and East European Modernism. However, there is still a long way to go before European modernism is fully reintegrated in its entirety. By tradition, routine, education, aesthetic beliefs and customs, we are still in many ways the children of the divided Europe of the Cold War, removed from the experiences and perceptions of the other Europe. I call this the “Bauhaus shock” or the “white box phenomenon.”

In order to clarify the point I will provide a couple of examples so that you may understand my intention. Then I will proceed to a more systematic presentation of the problem. Let me begin with the “white box phenomenon.” When I traveled for the first time to Bucharest and saw the buildings on Boulevard Magheru, I was surprised by the number, the size and, of course, the design of the buildings along this great North-South axis in the heart of the Romanian capital. This was in the sixties, when I did not have any idea of the cultural context and the enthusiasm that the international style or “Bauhaus style” had generated in the 1920s and 1930s. But one thing was quite clear: amid the rather average and business-as-usual design of the socialist cities in the 1960s and 1970s – this was quite striking, a kind of aesthetic shock or provocation, which endured. I experienced a similar aesthetic shock many times in the following years, visiting the capitals of the then Eastern bloc. In Budapest I was shocked not only by the unbelievably refined Art Nouveau buildings – Gresham Palace, Gellert Hotel, some splendid villas – but also by the grand, clear, and reserved design of the buildings of what I would like to call interwar architecture. Among them were apartment and office buildings and a collection of superb villas in the Rose Hills of Buda. I experienced a similar sensation of a shocking simplicity and functionality in other places too: in the Lithuanian city of Kaunas, which was the capital of the country during most of the interwar period and consequently the major construction site of administrative buildings, the new Vytautas university, banks, and sport and health facilities. Any visitor would have a similar impression walking down Wenceslas Square in Prague, with its glass and concrete structures and surfaces like the Koruna Building. Such, or even more exciting forms, could be also found outside the capitals, in the so-called provincial towns. Such as, Novi Sad, for instance, where one of the largest and most impressive Bauhaus complexes ever raised in Europe was built in the 1930s. The administrative buildings of the Novi Sad district, excellently preserved up to our time, were hit by a Tomahawk missile during the Yugoslav war in the 1990s, when NATO aircraft targeted the bridges spanning the Danube. Or – to give another example – the waterworks in the city of Timișoara (Temesvár in Hungarian, Temeschburg in German), which look even more futuristic and come close to Erich Mendelsohn’s expressionistic Einstein Tower in Potsdam. It is a white elliptical structure. Strolling through the outskirts and

the former harbor area of Tallinn (Estonia) the visitor came across huge hangars or hangar-like buildings which, in fact, could be identified as hangars for hydroplanes, designed and built in the late 1920s for a city which emphasized its closeness to Europe by having a modern hydro airport. Or you could go to many cities in the Czech Republic or in Slovakia, such as Hradec Králové, Moravská Ostrava or Zlin. In all of these cities you will find examples of the international style in its most refined shape, as well as some of the so-called "icons of modernity", like Erich Mendelsohn's Kaufhaus in Breslau/Wrocław or Mies van der Rohe's Villa Tugendhat in Brno/Brünn. The exact meaning of the "Bauhaus shock" can be illustrated with a quotation from Horia Creanga, one of the leading representatives of Bucharest architecture: "What does the new architecture consist of? First – simplicity. Proportionate and vigorous spatial volumes, straight lines, surfaces free of useless decoration. Horizontal windows as a frieze, so as to be able to fit the general horizontal line of the street, replace the old-fashioned holes adorned with balconies used for windows... Second, the new architecture consists of comfort based on improvements in technology. Air, light, and warmth in every corner of the dwelling, in every corner of the globe. The rational division into apartments, every piece in its place according to its function. Technological advances eliminate the former effects of the weather on construction... A sincere and simple expression of modern needs – this is our architecture. It expresses the beautiful through simplicity and the useful through comfort." (*Romanian Modernism*).

I refer to these buildings and sites because it was the visual impact, the aesthetic sensation and shock which stimulated me to ask questions which I have tried to find an answer to. In the context of very often seriously dilapidated urban areas of the socialist period, these buildings looked like fossils of an incomparably elegant and subtle civilization which had vanished; they looked like dinosaurs from ages long past or like meteorites fallen from heaven. They were reminders of a culture which had gone, images of an almost unsurpassable perfection. My point of departure for further reflection was the aesthetic shock, the *differentia specifica* embodied in these works of art and architecture, the contrast with the surrounding environment. Why, you may ask, should this experience be different from what we see here, in "the West", as we used to call the world we live in. It is quite true that in the West the few examples of modern architecture which survived the war and the postwar time stand in sharp contrast to the average postwar architecture. But the Western way of modeling the environment was different: public space, housing and urban development followed different patterns, mainly defined by private property as the major force organizing space and symbolic representations. Now let us turn to archeology. It is almost a platitude but archeology stands, quite simply, for seeing things or discovering things and giving them a proper interpretation, which is putting them in a specific context of space and time. Excavating, in turn, means discovering something in shambles, something ruined, something which has to be rediscovered. Now I would like to proceed as follows:

1. Time, periodization: what is really the "interwar period"? The question is not related to calendar time, but to historic time. Does it literally encompass the time from war to war, so being the inter-war time? What are the implications for the topic at hand – urban environment or material culture?

2. Space, boundaries: What is exactly Central or East Central Europe? Is it a political or a cultural area or region? Is it something larger, like a political confederation, or is it something rather diffuse? For the purpose of the present discussion I assume it was the land between the two main systems of absolute or total power and coercion in the 20th century: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia.

3. Sites, places: Where is the archeologist-historian to start his work of digging tunnels, of excavating the remnants and ruins? Is it a chance work, assigned arbitrarily, or is there a hidden system with well-defined main routes and networks we can follow? I believe the latter is the case. And I will try to give an outline of the routes we should follow.

4. Typology, classification: When we start to dig and to excavate we realize very quickly that our findings follow certain patterns. We can easily classify and typify objects found. However, they are only the raw material for what is the most exciting thing in the life of a scholar: analysis and systematization.

5. Understanding and interpreting cultural forms. For urban historians or experts in city planning and architecture all this may be not very surprising and exciting, but my intention is to open this area up to historians, thus removing it from the hands of experts in art history and their oftentimes monopolistic practices. The artifacts of material culture are also major documents for "general historians", being no less important than archival materials, printed sources etc.

My concluding remarks will cover the Europeanization of perceptions and historiography, and the re-mapping of the European cities network.

1. Time, periodization: The interwar period

By definition the interwar period refers to the time between 1918 and 1939, that is between the end of World War I and the German aggression on Poland, which marked the beginning of World War II. Thus we are dealing primarily with the period between the two great wars; to put it otherwise, with "a super-war," interrupted by a long pause full of crises. With the benefit of hindsight, it was the time when Europe was emerging from the war and bracing itself for another war. Postwar governments in the countries involved had to come to terms with immense problems, like the reintegration of formerly partitioned areas, the reconstruction of areas devastated during the war, the problem of demobilizing hundreds of thousands of men and reintroducing them to civilian life. For most of the countries concerned it was a time of high tension, instability, nervousness, crisis, of postwar and prewar grudges and sentiments. It was a very short period of only twenty years, in some places even less. In many countries, like in Poland or Germany, the process of defining the postwar borderlines did not come to an end before 1923. In some countries territories and borders remained disputed and contested – examples are Poland-Lithuania, Poland-Czechoslovakia, Germany-Czechoslovakia, Hungary-Romania. In many countries, like in Czechoslovakia, border changes preceded the outbreak of World War II. The interwar period was a time when the entire geopolitical map of Central Europe was redrawn, with a dozen new states and many border and minority conflicts. It is a period of state- and nation-building, of ethnic and social conflicts and clashes, sometimes verging on civil war. It is a period of a radical change in the political system, of the decline of the *ancien régime* and the ascendancy of a new elite almost everywhere in Central Europe. It is the time of nationalization of the masses and simultaneously of the social radicalization of the masses in the working class and communist movements. There are at least two tendencies: towards nationalization, and towards globalization or internationalization. All of these tendencies are reflected, as we will see, not only in institutions or mentalities or political ideologies, but in the built environments, in the artifacts of material culture. A crucial role in the transformation of architectural patterns was played by the Paris exhibition of 1937, where all the aesthetic tendencies came together.

2. Space, boundaries: East Central Europe

I do not want to go into the old disputes on "who and what belongs to Central or East Central Europe." I understand East Central Europe of the 20th century as the borderlands in-between, the lands between the two great blocks or powers which in the period under discussion functioned as the epicenters of political dynamism, revisionism and radicalism: Bolshevik Russia and Nazi Germany, the centers of rule and rivalry over East Central Europe. The cities of the then Central Europe I would like to talk about are Prague, Brno, Budapest, Vienna, Bucharest, Zagreb, Belgrade, Novi Sad, Ljubljana, Poznań, Cracow, Katowice, Łódź and others. This is of course a simplification, looking at other coalitions and alliances of the time – we have the coalitions of "winners" and "losers" of World War I and of the Paris Peace Conferences. We have the coalitions of states which are per se revisionist in respect to the system established in Versailles or Trianon, and we have the powers interested in maintaining the status quo. We have Great and Little Ententes, we have empires crushed and empires which managed to survive and were reshaped. Petrograd/Moscow and Berlin – and to a certain degree Mussolini's Rome – were the twin cities of threat and fascination. This polarization helps to describe the processes going on in the countries and societies "in-between", the competition and rivalry of schools, styles and concepts, as well as the understanding of the slow and not so slow death of modernity in the world between the frontlines. There are many symbols of the death of modernity on the battlefields in between the 20th-century frontlines – for instance, the mayor of the city of Warsaw, Stefan Starzyński, who managed to reshape Warsaw as one of the centers of modernity, praised by *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM), who immediately before German airplanes razed Warsaw opened a new, beautiful central railway station, a fantastic glass construction. Stefan Starzyński, one of the geniuses of modern Warsaw, witnessed the destruction of his city and he finally died in a German concentration camp. The death toll was immense: many projects could not be realized,

remained on paper, blueprints for utopia. East Central Europe is not only the land of destruction, but also the land of many, many never realized or never finished beautiful projects. Many of their authors perished in war, died in camps, had to leave their countries, or committed suicide out of despair. Intimidation and frustration, violence became a basic experience of the generation living through the period. There was a great variety of political choices between Stalin's Moscow and Hitler's Berlin: there were the little dictators, as Anthony Polonsky has put it. There are the nationalistic authoritarians like Ulmanis and Smetonas in the Baltic States or the hero of the Second Republic Piłsudski and Horthy in Hungary, and T. G. Masaryk, the president of the Czecho-Slovak republic. It would be an oversimplification to believe that the "death of the avant-garde" came only from outside (from Berlin or Moscow), and only by repression and persecution – there were tendencies inside the avant-garde and forces inside the Central European societies which contributed a lot to the rise and fall of the modernist movement. But let us remember the unprecedented inspiration which the avant-garde gave to its contemporaries and even to us: the idea to recreate and to reinvent the world from scratch after the horrors of total mobilization and warfare in World War I. Let us remember only briefly the slogans of the postwar upheaval: simplicity, functionality, rationality, light, health, sanity, sports, social solidarity, emancipation of women from the slavery of household work, new housing, new public space, and finally the notion of an emerging New Man and New Woman. We will see how these ideas started to circulate and how they influenced the outlook of the Central European cities in the interwar time.

3. Sites, places. The trajectories of modernity

Where are the "excavation sites", where are the archeologists to go? First they have to go to the capitals, because these were the places which demanded general redesigning and reshaping. They were the centers of power, and the symbols of new power, of new national power. Most of the countries got new capitals, some of them for the first time. There was a big shift in power symbols and a great demand for pulling down monuments of the old power and erecting monuments to the new power. Having witnessed a wave of anticommunist iconoclasm in the late 1980s and early 1990s, we can easily imagine what happened after the fall of the old empires and the rebirth of the independent nation state after 1918. Some new states had to build new capitals or to reconstruct or transform their old centers. They were, for instance, Tallinn/Revel in Estonia, Riga in Latvia, Kaunas in Lithuania, which became the ersatz-capital when the Poles occupied Vilnius. But this concerns also Warsaw, which blew up quite a number of important buildings symbolizing Russian power and Russian orthodoxy – such as the Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in the center of Warsaw. Especially for Poland which was divided for almost 150 years, the question of reconstruction of the capital was fundamental. There was a huge demand for all kind of administrative buildings, ministries, government institutions, representative edifices, national banks, all kind of institutions which are crucial for reorganizing the integral life of the nation and the nation state. This is essentially true also for the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes with Belgrade as the capital. There you find a huge demand for new state institutions, and Belgrade was for years one of the most impressive construction sites of the region. The same problem existed for Romania, where Bucharest was the new capital of Greater Romania with its enlarged territory, population, ethnic, religious and cultural minorities. Bucharest was invented as an entirely new capital in sharp contrast with the prewar, royal and French *beaux-arts*. Bucharest is quite an obvious example and deserves a detailed discussion. Prague as the new capital of a new state could update the capital and imperial traditions of the pre-Habsburg capital of Charles IV or Rudolph II, and in fact, insofar as the government is concerned, Prague redesigned what it had: mainly the castle hill and the castle district, adding some ministries somewhat outside the town center. But one of the conditions for the foundation of Czecho-Slovakia was the fulfillment of the promise to have a real union or federation of equal nations, so the intention to create some equilibrium in economic and cultural development is quite clear. The modernization of old cities like Brno (Moravia), Bratislava and Košice in Slovakia was quite impressive. These cities became impressive construction sites for public and private building activity. In the capitals of the old empires the situation was quite the contrary. There was sometimes an abundance of government and bureaucratic structures and buildings, as can be shown easily in the case of St. Petersburg (and to a certain degree Istanbul), after the transfer of the capital to Moscow. A similar fate met Ankara in Turkey as well as Vienna and Budapest, which lost a lot of imperial functions. There we have a sharp reduction in state representation.

The second field of significant and very often state planned modernization lies outside the capitals and even outside the old traditional cities. Most of the countries entered the industrialization and modernization process as late-comers or they were trying to correct the deformations they had suffered at the time when they were part of the empire. Such was the case of Łódź as a textile and cotton center of the Russian empire – the “Manchester of the East”, and of the industrial centers in the former West Bohemia or in Upper Silesia which were developed under of the German Empire. The interwar period is a time of inventing and founding entirely new cities, in order to balance the economic development of the new states. These new cities became in many ways the crucibles of modernity and experiment. Gdynia can serve as an example of a city built from scratch. It was the main seaport for Poland because Gdańsk, being a “Free City”, could not function as a port. Gdynia was connected with Upper Silesia and the new Central Industrial District by the main rail line in the new Poland. In Czecho-Slovakia one could quote Brno, the capital of Moravia, and many projects in Košice and Bratislava, but especially striking is the new city of Zlin with the world-famous Bata Shoe Industrial Complex. In addition we can mention the reconstruction of Hradec Králové, Pardubice and other towns. In all of these states there was a huge demand for reconstruction of basic infrastructure: highways, railways, seaports etc. This became the main field for architects, engineers and designers of the time.

4. Typology, classification

Different times have different demands, separate societies have separate social demands, the various classes have diverging tastes. When we look at East Central Europe in the period of transition, we can discern a variety and multitude of types of new buildings and a wide spectrum of tastes and styles. Let me provide a more systematic overview.

Administration: As I have already mentioned there was a huge demand for administrative buildings for the newly established governments and administration. They needed strong states, representing new authorities. This was the time, it must be stressed, of state control. This defined the realm and type of building: massive, huge, impressive, true representations of the true essence of the nation. So we have in Warsaw the building of the government, the reconstruction of former imperial residences as residences of the president. We have the Ministry for Education, and state planning institutions. We have the entire new government compound in Kaunas. We have the buildings of district governments (*ban*) in Zagreb, Belgrade, Ljubljana, Novi Sad. We have the subtly remade Castle in Prague (author: Jose Plečnik, the pupil of Otto Wagner from Vienna). In Budapest there is only a minor, though impressive, complex of the time: the Ministry of the Interior. The same architectural style characterizes the new state embassies and residences abroad. It can be called the “national style” (e.g. the Czech embassies in Berlin, Belgrade, Warsaw and other cities. Here we could include the impressive example of the new government complex in the Finnish capital Helsinki, and, above all, the new Parliament, designed by J. S. Sirén 1931).

National education and culture: The reconstruction and expansion of the education system was pivotal. So we find an entire complex of buildings of that type: National Archives (in Warsaw), additional complexes in Cracow, the National Museum in Cracow, the Academy of Sciences, the University Campus in Szeged, Institute for Physical Education in Warsaw and many schools. Other important structures were transformed (like the former Royal Castle in Poznań into the Adam Mickiewicz University).

Infrastructure, railways, communication: The task was to create new networks for new economic spaces, different from the imperial spaces of the past. There was a huge demand for railway constructions, stations and ports, such as the ports of Gdynia, Klajpeda, Constanca. The – now destroyed – central railway station of Warsaw (designed by Czesław Przybylski) or the Northern Station in Königsberg/Kaliningrad. One could mention here waterworks and new crematoria in many cities, famous examples being Brno and Hradec Králové.

Health, recreation, sports: It was the time of the ascendancy of the masses and mass culture. Life was to become better, healthier and more joyful, as Stalin put it in the year of the “Great Terror”. This mood was not limited to the USSR or Germany (“Kraft durch Freude”) or Italy (“Dopo lavoro”). Organized leisure, organized and sometimes militarized forms of sport and physical education were characteristic slogans of the time. Many of these countries had a long tradition and highly developed culture of spas in the

mountains and at the seaside: Karlsbad and other towns in Bohemia, the Pieszczany and the High Tatra in Slovakia, Alexandersbad and other towns in Transylvania, Zakopane in the Tatra and Zoppot or Jurmala on the Baltic Coast. Construction of health facilities on a fairly large scale became obviously a national task. So health centers, sanatoria, hospitals, stadiums and swimming pools became popular and a challenge for some of the best architects and engineers of the time. Outstanding examples are the Machnáč complex in Teplice, the Morava complex. (1930–1931) in Tatranska Lomnica, built by Bohuslav Fuchs.

Religious buildings, churches: Almost all the succession states were not only multi-ethnic, but multi-religious as well. In some of them the state religion of the ruling empires of the past had disappeared. Churches were perceived as symbols of spiritual power and suppression, but also of spiritual liberation. So there was a boom of church demolishing and church-building going on and to a lesser degree of synagogues. Some central orthodox cathedrals were pulled down – like Alexander Nevsky in Warsaw, or in Lublin. There were impressive new churches in Kaunas and in other places, especially in new suburban areas, in the Pasaréti ut in Buda, there was the new synagogue in Košice/Kaschau. Another example is the Vinohradska church designed by Jose Plečnik in Prague.

Apartment houses and public housing: The war destroyed thousands of dwellings. The war and postwar migration fueled the housing market in the big cities. The demand for new housing was overwhelming and the idea of state- and community-sponsored housing programs became quite popular. The idea of the Marxhof in Vienna and Hufeisensiedlung and others in Berlin sprang easily to other cities in the region. Besides, the idea of the garden city was quite popular even before World War I. So we find impressive settlements in Budapest, which had to absorb a lot of immigrants, in Warsaw, in Bucharest, mainly because housing had become one of the most profitable sectors of making money, in Cracow, which was a growing city, and, of course, in the new town of Zlin.

Villas, private apartment houses: Possibly the most construction work was done in the private sector. At least in some cities the newly emerged and quite wealthy middle class was the main developer and financier. The huge areas of garden city in Bucharest, the Rózsadomb/Rose Hills and Svábhegy/Swabian Hills in Buda, the Cracow suburbs, the suburbs of Żoliborz and others in Warsaw, as well as the Baba Hills in Prague gave the new generation of architects a vast field of opportunities to demonstrate their talents and skills. All these areas are true collections and treasures of ingenious architecture, hot spots of the “white box” I mentioned earlier. Even in more conservative cities like Wilno/Vilnius or Revel/Tallinn you find the language of “Bauhaus” in the park and garden cities outside the historic centers. There are real jewels of this style which should be included in a future itinerary: Evzen Linhart’s villas in Prague, Mies van der Rohe’s Villa Tugendhat in Brunn/Brno and many others.

Capitalism, the fetish of commodity, skyscrapers: There is one player in our game whom I have not yet mentioned: America and Americanism, the third force beyond Bolshevism and Nationalism. America is present in many ways: in the form of the cafe, which lost any allusion to the old Vienna coffee house; the department store with huge courtyards, lobbies and windows, the cinema, and finally the skyscraper. There was skyscraper mania, though most of the projects and drafts were not realized – for instance, the towers for Berlin or Breslau. But some of them were realized. The densest concentration of skyscrapers of the time was in Bucharest along the Boulevard Magheru. One you can find in Katowice, the first to be built in Poland, predating Joseph Roth’s “skyscraper” Hotel Savoy in Łódź, and one very impressive in front of the new central railway station of Warsaw. Other outstanding examples are: the skyscraper of Vladimir Karfik in Zlin, the Prudential Insurance House in Warsaw, the Katowice skyscraper – in Silesia as the “Polish America”, and of course the ARO-Building and others by Horia Creanga in Bucharest.

Exhibitions, expositions, national and international: After World War I a dozen new states, proud of their new independence and creativity, entered the international stage. At the time the main form of becoming visible internationally was exhibitions. Some of the most impressive and innovative structures of that period were designed for national and international fairs and exhibitions. What I have especially in mind are the Exhibition Hall of Brno, the Exhibition Hall and Pavilion of the Poznan Fair, and the project of some pavilions of the World Exhibition in Paris 1937 – especially the Czech one – and New York 1939. It would be interesting to include in our account and analysis projects which were never realized or had no

chance whatsoever of being realized. It would involve an analysis of all the important competitions for city planning, housing, public buildings. The ideas presented for competitions are sometimes the best mirror of the spiritual trends – main or marginal – of their time. Some of them deserve particular attention, but there is no time and no place to do it here.

Summing up, I come to the following conclusions: the archeological sites of Central and Eastern European modernity can be defined quite easily. They are in general related to the main undertakings and currents of the epoch, i.e. to state-building, nation-building, modernization of economy, society and culture. The sites and objects which can be seen are quite a good indicator or "expression" or "mirror" of the basic processes characteristic for the main cities of Central and Eastern Europe.

5. Understanding cultural forms: the texture of history

After detecting and rescuing the fragments of a vanished culture we shall begin the analysis. The analysis of cultural forms is the analysis of style, "Formanalyse" or "Analyse der symbolischen Formen" (Ernst Cassirer). There are several ways to do this: to recompose, to contextualize, to reconstruct the patterns of diffusion, to reconstruct the genesis and decay of forms. To a certain extent historians have to be analysts of the morphology of forms. There is a vast spectrum of approaches, from cultural semiotics to a theory of symbolic forms – from Lotman to Ernst Cassirer, from Oswald Spengler to Walter Benjamin and afterwards, from the morphology of culture to the study of emblematic systems. There are different ways, but one general precondition: the understanding of culture as a texture of history, a texture which can be read, deciphered, understood.

What can the texture of Central European modernity, especially in the spatialized and visualized form of built cities give us, historians? I can not give you an answer to this question, but firstly I consider this a central and relevant question, and secondly I am convinced that we can find solid answers.

First: Nationalization and globalization. The morphology of Central European modernity will be a quite good, precise indicator of the postwar and post-imperial tendencies of nationalization and internationalization. We have both trends, both surprisingly innovative and creative, and it would be a prejudice to consider the national style something inferior. The national societies and public spheres were in search of the most adequate style. The interwar stage was a kind of laboratory. And the best examples are, I guess, the works in which global and local, international and provincial trends were blended. Functionalism and constructivism were the main trends and ideas of the international style, represented by such different personalities as Le Corbusier, the Vesnin brothers and the Bauhaus people. Most of the representatives of international style stood on the Left: Gropius, Taut, Meyer, Berlage, van Doesburg, van Oud, Syrkus, Gočar, Hilbersheimer, the international organization CIAM 1928 in La Sarraz, Werkbund-Ausstellung in Stuttgart-Weissenhof 1928. Both trends in their later development showed a certain exhaustion, and ended up very often in routine and mass production as well as the national style. At the other end of the spectrum we have diverse nationalisms in style: Rondocubism in the Czech lands (Jozef Gočar, Pavel Janak), the Vistula Gothic and the Zakopane Style in Poland, the neo-Baroque in Hungary, the neo-Romanian in Bucharest, etc.

Second: The epicenters of the mainstreams – Soviet Russia and Weimar and then Nazi Germany – had an important impact on the development in East Central Europe. We should not forget Mussolini's Rome and Le Corbusier's Paris either. It is not by chance that not only Speer, Iofan, Arno Brecker and Vera Muchina, but also the leading figures of Czech, Polish, and Hungarian art and architecture had their encounter in Paris 1937. There was – despite all declarations of artists and architects – an increasing politicization. The international style was identified with the Left and Communism, the search for national styles was identified with nationalism and National Socialism. This is quite right, but there is much oversimplification. There were mixtures and blends of Bauhaus and Nazi monumentalism as well as Constructivism and Stalinist pomp, there were modern reactionaries and reactionary modernists. Almost in every country you can find representatives of these highly interesting hybrids. There are many examples of gifted masters like Farkas Molnár in Budapest turning right and people who have been entirely identified with the left – like Karel Teige.

Third: The legacy of the empires. If we look at the leading figures of East Central European modernity, we realize very soon that all of them or most of them had their education in the prewar period, that is at the schools, academies, universities and technical institutes of the empires. The crucible of modernity is not

the interwar period but the *ancien régime*: Wilhelminism in Germany, the Silver Age in Russia, the *fin-de-siècle* in Vienna, even the Young Turk movement in Istanbul and Ankara. (See: the Arts and Crafts Movement in England, the Werkbund, founded by Hermann Muthesius in 1907. International exchange of ideas: the Czech participation in Cologne 1914. Examples of old imperial schools: Marian Lalewicz and Edgar Norwerth in Poland). By skill, taste, education, ambition and challenge there was a generation of planners, architects, designers well prepared for their new tasks in a new framework, that is the post-imperial (multi-ethnic) nation-state. It is a tragedy that this generation had no chance to fulfill what they had planned to do. It is a tragedy that they had not enough time or that the century destroyed much of what they had created in a very short period. They were born in a period of "Sturm und Drang", in an epoch of war and revolution, which ended in total war, mass destruction, genocide and unprecedented upheavals. This is the one of the reasons why the legacy of this brilliant and talented generation disappeared from our view, it has been destroyed, fragmented, fallen apart. It is our duty to remember what they created.

Fourth: What was the social stratum which advanced modernity or what is the social content of modernity – both questions seem quite traditional and outdated. Generally speaking, I would not hesitate to say that it was the civic society, the middle class, the entrepreneurial elements of society, as well as those on the margins: the progressive, enlightened elements of the state class, the state ruling stratum. The enemy of modernity were the parties of the radical mass movements, both nationalistic and Ouvrier-style plebeian on the one hand, and the authoritarian or even totalitarian power on the other hand. It is quite clear that the so-called totalitarian movements tried to use elements of modernity and they have been quite successful or, to put it the other way round, to be successful the movements had to be modern to a certain degree, and any analysis would prove this quite easily (Vesnin, Speer, Sagebiel, Kolli, even Johnson and Le Corbusier were not free of "authoritarian" temptations, as we know). There are many hybrids to be found: such as authoritarian Bauhaus, and a blend of *Neue Sachlichkeit* and national and ethnic folklore. When Stalinism and Nazism came to power, the representatives of modernity had mostly lost the game, many advanced, but many more suffered or even perished in the wave of violence and destruction – including many of the works, if they were not villas in shadowy and idyllic suburbs attractive for high ranking party members. In fact, modernity in East Central Europe survived insofar as it was placed away from the centers of power. To simplify a little, the conclusion is that modernity had civil society as its basis, and it was defeated and destroyed insofar as civic society was destroyed.

Concluding remark: In a few years a talk like this will be no longer necessary. It will be banal and obvious. East Central Europe with all its aspects – history, culture, people etc. – will be a part of Europe and of an all-inclusive European perception. We will talk about modernity in Europe and we will take it for granted that men like Karel Teige, Szymon Syrkus, Marcel Janko and Horia Creanga are representatives of Europe in the 20th century exactly in the same sense as Picasso, Malevich and many others are part of the European canon. All of them represent the genius of European modernity and the beauty and charm of our cities. I have tried to draw your attention to a layer of Central Europe which, in my view, is rather underestimated. Interwar modernity is a great and tragic chapter in the history of the cities of Central Europe. We have to study all the chapters in order to understand what really happened.

Note on Literature:

East European Modernism. Architecture in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland Between the Wars, ed. Wojciech Lesnikowski, New York: Thames and Hudson 1996

Central European Avant-gardes: exchange and transformation, 1910–1930. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. and London 2002

Between Worlds: a Sourcebook of Central European Avant-gardes 1910–1930, Los Angeles County Museum of Art. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. and London 2002

Market Square

A market square is a starting point, the navel of the universe, *omfalos ges* – and one should begin right there. The Cracow Market Square resembles a navel quite well; it is not a point, the crossing place of many directions (that point has been concealed by the shell of the Cloth Hall [Sukiennice]); it is rather a square in a geometrical sense, or perhaps a circle, agora, on which the world's theatre, *teatrum mundi* is acted out. It is a navel, as energies are derived from there and everything begins right there. A town square used to be a trading place, and when it was deprived of this natural function, only recollecting it from time to time (in Cracow: the florists), it became redundant. Today the city is escaping from the Market Square, moving its centre to a "New City", or – recently – it has amputated its trade and entertainment functions to move them away to the peripheries, to the multiplexes or malls, so convenient for drivers. In Cracow, the multiplexes frequently make reference to the currently fashionable form of a bucket, which can be exemplified by the Polish National Radio Building at Słowacki Avenue, often referred to as the "Cracow Bucket" [in Polish the words "radio" and "bucket" are pronounced in a similar way], which definitely is not an isolated example. This tendency has its own, unintentional symbolism. It is as if all the urban functions have been set free and left at the turnpikes. There is no deeper urban planning vision about it. What really matters lies inside, not merely outside appearances. One could say that the city is hastily liquidating itself to be replaced by a suburban zone: recently by closing down the old cinemas... This is not solely a Polish phenomenon. Luckily, the abandoned locations in the centre are replaced by universities. To study *in a city* is a value in itself for young people. However, as is illustrated by the cases of large cities, for example Paris: good conditions for studying can also be found in the distant suburbs. Recently Cracow universities have been building suburban campuses: Pychowice, Mydlniki, Rząska, and probably also Cianowice (the Cracow University of Economics).

The Market Square is no longer needed. Other cities, where the old town is even hard to find, have experienced the same fate even before Cracow itself did. Recently, I witnessed this tendency in Villefranche.

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The text of a paper delivered at the seminar *Art in Public Space* (International Cultural Centre, 13th January 2004).

Where there is no symbolic content or, where, for political reasons, this content could not be agreed on, quite spacious town market squares in Małopolska (Lesser Poland) were simply forested (cf. Łańcut, the town of the Potocki family, whose centre was turned into woodland back in the period of communism). A city becomes the kingdom of visitors, strangers, people who are curious about the city and who want to fantasise about it¹. These are both tourists and new settlers, less attached to the past of the place and ready to add their own story to that of the city. The authentic character of the experience of the past competes with the authentic character of a new-comer's experience.

A market square remains a multi-directional thought-provoking challenge. Something must be done about a market square. The Cracow Market Square is exceptional in many respects; it is still the city centre and "the New City" will not threaten it: "the New City" is even supposed to be visible from the Market Square, as this was a requirement posed for the designers. Yet, even here, the position of the Market Square might be weakened as a result of the development of the city and its suburban sphere. The Market Square remains important, yet it lacks a clear conception and a modern function; it is called a *salon*, which is understood in numerous different ways and nobody wants to decide about its final image – thus it is becoming anyone's trophy. The Square is becoming a place for advertisement and various eccentricities. Yet people still treat the Square as their meeting place. Small stall trade is still developing there; large advertising hoardings are hung and placed there; once even causing damage to the historic attic of the Cloth Hall. Street musicians perform; the poor beg; scores of haphazardly selected concerts are played, from Chopin to balalaika music. The folk atmosphere, yet not of an artistic, but of a commercial character, is thriving. First of all, the Market Square has been invaded by the trade in the form of a number of open-air cafes, alluring to the tourists and adding to the ambience of the place. Yet this is all regarded as temporary: the Market Square awaits a grand project which could live up to its aspirations. Other squares of Cracow join the queue: these are the old administrative centres, which – like Wolnica Square – are still empty. Competitions are organised and projects are made, but still a decision is lacking, as it requires some courage, so difficult to be summoned up. The pressure of public opinion is too strong.

The Cracow Market Square gradually acquired the function of the record of a collective memory. It was becoming the history of the city and of the country. This process was affected by the romantic search for symbols to be the object pilgrimage in order to express affiliation with them. To touch the place. There is something mystical about it: the confirmation of attachment to a space, identification, deriving energy. In such a place one should leave something that belongs to one in order to be able to return. The practices from the Trevi Fountain in Rome (those famous coins) are transferred to other places. Sometimes this has been done in ways that seem barbaric to us today. Let us take the example of Goethe: he left his signature, shown-off with reverence to this day, on the window sill of the Dornburg Castle, so as to say: "I was here".

Under the influence of this tendency, recalled after years of oblivion and gaining strength on the wave of patriotic and nationalistic thought, The Cracow Market Square was gradually acquiring monuments and other important sites. The Adam Mickiewicz monument is an example of this phenomenon. Not only was it destroyed by the occupying forces and rebuilt later by the Poles, but also, since the very moment of its creation, it has played the role of a symbol to be reached for and touched with one's own hands to confirm one's identity. The diaries say that at the beginning of the 20th century, the socialists struggled with the police to be able to finish their demonstration in front of the monument; and many years later, in 1968, students did the same up against so-called workers' activists. A similar story is played out today: conscript soldiers who have just finished their national service, numerous tourists and individuals, meet in front of *Adaś* [diminutive form of Adam], to show that they have been here and achieved something. And barbaric inscriptions on walls are replaced by photographs.

Post-communist landscape

Communism misappropriated the landscape. It ruled over the Market Square on the days of its lay holidays, covering the frontages with flags and banners, serial images and feretories, making the lives of the inhabitants difficult; and thrustingly displaying the slogans of so-called visual propaganda, which in the opinion of the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party was one of the most important ways of speaking to the masses. This imposed presence was ignored and unnoticed by the people. It is an interesting psychological phenomenon: not to see what one does not approve of. During the work on the Łańcut Programme in the late 1970s, the whole

city, and, in particular, its market square, was simply covered with such products of the *visual propaganda*. We photographed the majority of them and showed them to residents asking them where they had seen such slogans. And? All the respondents said that they hadn't noticed them at all. They would not notice what was imposed on them.

The people did not see also the examples of modern art, sculpture or posters which seemed to them unusual and strange, and were also imposed by the authorities: this time in good faith. Sometimes, quite good products of modern art and masterpieces of talented artists became victims of the rejection of the imposed form of space, such as "the elephant's legs" (as the monument to the Heroes of the Silesian Uprisings was dubbed). That is why human reactions to space are so important, as it is from them that the sociologist must start his comment on public space. What do people accept?

When you have a monopoly on spatial development it seems very simple. One thinks that if it is done delicately without imposing anything – it has to work. It seems enough to propose something reasonable and nice to people and they will develop it. This is what we, a group of experts in the early 1980s, hoped to get, when executing the "Blocks of Flats" Programme commissioned by the Cracow Housing Co-operative. We proposed a space called *Speaking Columns* to the inhabitants of the Nowy Bieżanów district. On the estate's little green square, close to a tram stop and a small hill, we placed six concrete columns in a circle and surrounded them with benches. We hoped that people would accept this installation as a meeting place, for the exchange of notes or advertisements. Yet we failed. This proposed form turned out to be "strange" and unwanted, in spite of its obvious usefulness. For a few years (and it needs to be remembered that this was the period of martial law) nobody used it, and, later on, it was liquidated during the extension of the local church. People rejected the proposals of an authority which had misappropriated the space and magnanimously given back a fragment of it later on. This was a critical period in the game between authority and society.

The communist authority, once identified with crowds on large squares, finally lost the battle for public space. When crowds started to gather to fight against this authority, the authority began to be scared of space. The effect was the urban desert. I remember myself walking in the years of martial law, along Floriańska Street in the direction of the completely darkened Market Square. Two young ladies, passing by, on seeing the dark pit of the Square, said to each other "Oh, look, the Square has been ploughed up." I realised how accurate this remark was, yet I could not have foreseen that the rebirth of the public character of the Cracow Market Square would be accompanied by exhibitions of cattle, cows in particular, a thing that happens during folk exhibitions.

The fall of communism initiated the rediscovery of the Polish landscape. The scaffolding under which private investors had been hiding what they had erected: façades, towers, drive ways, anything that the authorities could persecute, disappeared. Today we face another challenge. There are many and varied new owners of the visually available space and they want to say something to the people.

What is public space?

A public character of a place brings associations with a common character, as opposed to privacy. However, once one looks through the perspective of ownership, this term seems unsatisfactory. Sometimes this is because it is not possible to identify clearly the owner, sometimes this is because a private owner says something in public, speaking to others. Frequently he uses an advertisement for his announcement, but he also does so for other reasons, wanting to show something from himself. On entirely private territories – in farmsteads and even on fields – visual messages, or even monuments are created; they communicate something to the public, for example the Piast period warriors at a peasant's farmstead in Słupskie province, which inform the passers-by that Slavs live here; another instance could be the marble plaque with the old Lithuanian name of a village on the verge of a private field in the Polish province of Suwałki. As far as this criterion of ownership is concerned, the following types of public space can be listed: • state, • local government, • belonging to religious organisations (e.g. the Church), • belonging to businesses, • belonging to non-profit units, • belonging to individuals, • nobody's. Therefore, the opposition of public is not private but inaccessible.

Public means visually accessible; visibility marks the border of the public character of a space. But only visibly accessible? The signals of other senses are also important: of hearing, touch, smell, the human *motorium*. Public space can thus be seen, heard, touched, felt and moved upon. The bugle-call from the tower of

St. Mary's Church is a part of the public space of the Market Square. Sight isolates an object while providing it with an iconic form; touch brings it closer, allowing for an intimate, individual experience. The story of the Mickiewicz monument proves that the possibility to touch is important; a similar evidence is given by the shiny parts of the monuments at Piotrkowska Street in Łódź (that nose of the poet Tuwim!).

However, not all visible objects can be touched. Some visible elements are made inaccessible to the touch. Sometimes this results from regulations, sometimes it is because fewer and fewer people want to touch them as they become less significant. Public space undergoes changes, shrinks and appears in places where it did not exist before. Limiting factors are, on the one hand, growing communication, and, on the other, human attention. Communication and new roads take over public space. Human attention turns away from old public spaces and directs itself toward new ones.

It is, finally, worth mentioning that public space is subject to a specific perception. With regard to its rich programme and the abundance of the elements deserving attention, it requires a slower pace of visiting. On entering this space, people slow down. This is related to a specific paradox: although public space is the essence of the place and a symbol of the metropolitan sphere, one reacts to it as to a local space, since it is the locality within a metropolitan area. This slower pace of movement is therefore the measure of locality. In his book, *Geography of Time*, Robert Levine² shows how the size of a city influences the tempo of walking in it; the smaller the city, the slower the speed. At the same time, there is a sense of closeness: the richer the content, the closer. Recently, I was talking to a young person working at Miodowa Street, close to the corner of Krakowska Street. She told me that she often visits Szeroka Street, but she does not go to Wolnica Square, because *it is too far for her*. In fact, the distance to be covered to reach Wolnica Square was 300 metres and to reach Szeroka Street – 600 metres. Szeroka Street has regained its character of public space and the abandoned Wolnica Square has lost it.

Marking space and making it public

Let us leave the area of the Market Square and the metropolitan area and move to faraway, or even desert areas. This is where new phenomena related to social marking of space begin. First: making a space an information space. Information is characterised by discretion. Discretion is the ability to be distinguished, having distinct borders which separate the phenomenon which is information from its environment. A line is a collection of points, yet none of these points bears any information until it is highlighted. In order to highlight it, one may separate it from other ones contained within the line, make it bold or mark it in any other way. If one does so, he can use the point in some way, to tell others: "Look, here is the point." Such a marking must be objective in some way, distinctive enough to be recognised by other people. "I live at the 60th mile at the M-1 road," an American will say to tell me the way to his house. The 60th mile itself is nothing special, it is only a particular place, marked by a road sign, within a space, but it acquires significance upon the moment that it relates to the friend's home. It becomes information for him, for his neighbours and also for me when I want to reach his place. It becomes information because it is clearly identifiable, because there is no other 60th mile on this road. The road was marked by its constructor, but the user gave it some meaning. One person marked it while another interpreted it.

The world today contains many spheres devoid of information: empty, unmarked spaces. Large sand, ice or stone deserts, sea spaces, mountain ranges exist unmarked. The desire to mark the world leads to a more total use of the globe for human needs. The number of the world's inhabitants is growing, which brings about the need to use territories without information. One creates information because one wants to use the space. The struggles of fighting armies require the informative marking of a territory. A military observer is a pioneer in the creation of spatial information. He defines so-called landmarks, i.e. places noticeable for him and other members of the military unit; "five fingers to the right" or "three fingers to the left" of such a place something important is going on. Landmarks are information which creates the observation grids important for the success of each military troop. This is transient information, as it loses its features once a troop leaves the territory or when it is differently handled by other commanders.

It may be said that each man, in his actions, defines his own useful information on which he builds up his behaviour. It must be observed that such place marking by man has a meaningful context. A small figurine placed by someone on the wilderness of the Gorce Mountains may serve their topography, but at the same time it expresses some symbolic programme – here it refers to God. Another example: on the road leading through the

Candelaria desert in Columbia, somebody wrote TODOS. This means: "all" or "for all". This inscription acquires topographic functions – people arrange meetings at Todos to find each other. This is a place for all.

Sometimes an advertisement may be such a marking, especially when it has some additional hidden meaning. Here again, a Colombian example of a soap advertisement, in which, next to the image of a naked woman, placed by the road leading from the Sabana Plateau to the tropical lowlands, are the words *Curvas deliciosas*. This advertisement makes many drivers speeding downhill – especially those for whom the word means something more than delicate shapes – brake suddenly, and this leads to frequent collisions, so the authorities decided to get rid of the advertisement. All these markings are in fact incidental to our main subject, they only show how all this begins.

For public space, *correct* marking is important. Correct? Why? And thus for whom? If a basic function of this space is advertising – then for the customer. I do not know who that customer could be today, as one learns about new products on the Internet and in e-mails. Advertising on the Market Square may remain only an addition, a parasite on another function. If a basic function of this space is being a salon – then it is for a distinguished guest. Such a guest can be a resident on a special occasion, a municipal wanderer *on a Sunday after the holy mass*, and a tourist; they share one feature: they want to see what – being in the city – *they must see*. Without this thing they would not be able to say that they were in that city. Correct marking of public space consists in the placement of such a sign which is *necessary* for that place.

People abandon old market squares. Then the squares become deserted yards. The Cracow Market Square, losing its trading function, still attracts people with its historic monuments. Thanks to the conservation works, more and more of them are gradually regaining their original look, excavated from behind later influences and interventions. The houses surrounding the Market Square are significant because of their historic character. As on the Brussels Grand Place, the houses' names should emphasise the moment of their construction or the times when they flourished. However in Cracow, the houses retain names relating to the functions which toady are getting out of date. These names have remained in the colloquial language. For an old Cracovian, the significant points in the Market Square are the following (starting from the corner of Wiślna Street): Kuźnica, Marg [an artist group] (Rynek 25), the PKO bank, TPPR – the Polish and Soviet Friendship Society (today perhaps the Goethe Institute), Wentzl, Wierzynek, the Polonia house, the Jaszczury club, the "Czytelnik" ["Reader"] Publishing House, Pod Orłem (The Eagle) Pharmacy, and the Gallux shop; whilst, in fact these were St. John Capistrano House, the Ravens House, the Evangelists House, the Zbaraski Palace, St. Mary's House, the Berowska House, St. Ann's House, Lizard House, the Czynciela House, the Kromerowska House, the Deer House. And the old merchant names, such as Gebethner, Maurizio or Orbis, have been replaced by new ones. Although the Market Square is significant because of its historic character, the colloquial semantics of its space refers to non-existent shops and communist institutions.

Change in marking space

Monuments are a good example of marking space. A monument is a sign of memory. The Russian term for a monument – *paniatnik*, referring directly to memory, justifies this association. And here again Romantic antecedents appear. For Juliusz Słowacki, Mont Blanc was *the monument of the world*; whilst a man on its summit was *a monument of man*. The entrance into public space is as if the entrance onto a stage. Such a memory, however, disappears. I was told that not a long time ago, one of the Paris radio stations made a survey among the customers of the *bistros* located in the city centre, asking them who the monuments on the surrounding squares were dedicated to. In the majority of responses, the monument heroes remained unrecognised and unidentified.

Cemeteries are interesting places for the studies of the lives of the markings of public spaces. Once on 1st November I visited the Père-Lachaise cemetery. The grave of the father of sociology, Henry Saint-Simon, the man who introduced the term *industrial* and saw the society as one great behemoth, was forgotten and poorly maintained, whilst the grave of Chopin, the musician who wrote only three large-scale pieces for an instrument and orchestra, was brightly lit and visited by crowds. This is a very striking example showing the progress of humanisation and privatisation of memory, the change of the mass scale into the personal one.

Nowadays in cities the marking of public space is changing. Some monuments, once significant for a city and its history, now are becoming unnoticeable and swallowed by the road system. Here is the example

of the monument of the four bishop saints of the duchy which once comprised Maastricht and Liège. One of them (in Maastricht) has now been moved away to a road safety island; the other (in Liège), which is new and *socialist*, because it shows the bishops in their "class struggle" with the inhabitants, is somehow unnoticed and has become a children's playground. Socialism is losing ground now in Europe. This can be confirmed by the building of once the strongest in Europe socialist press in Brussels, now in ruins.

As for monuments, there is a real war going on in Europe now, and human feelings are involved in it. This war is the demolition of the monuments of old dictators: Stalin, Lenin, Dzierżyński, and, in some other place Saddam Hussein, have been disappearing from public space, leaving empty spaces. Dictators destroyed the monuments of the past for ideological reasons or because they simply did not like them at all. Nicolae Ceaușescu ordered the old historical theatre in Bucharest to be concealed with a shell of a new building. Romanian Transylvania may be an example of the national struggle between the Romanians and the Hungarians. Let us take the example of the city of Cluj: first in front of the monument of the king Martin Korvin, born there, the pride of the Hungarian kingdom, a Romanian mayor began archaeological research and, having found some historical traces, he promised publicly that he would erect a natural-size column of Traian. Another example could be the Roman She-wolf in Capitol, supposed to remind people that the Romanians were the descendants of the ancient Romans, left in Tirgu Mures in front of the Hungarian historical palace housing Magyar relics. In Ukraine in turn, there is a symbolic struggle going on between Ukrainian ancient folk and Polish tradition. Sometimes however, time itself turns away from monuments to past glory. Monuments used to glorify old military heroes. Their fame fades with time. And it is now rare that, like it is in Beijing, tourists get photographed in front of them. Even the realistic, as it was inspired by a photograph, monument of the Iwo Jima battle in Washington, is surrounded today by a road safety island. People find the monuments of the old commanders and rulers too pompous. Perhaps this is the reason why a very realistic and humane monument of a tired young Russian soldier still stands in the village of Starzyno Dwór in the Puck district.

Helplessness in relation to public space

Some markings will disappear and – before the new rulers decide whether the space is still alive – they will be replaced by advertisements or strange elements. Again, the Cracow Market Square is a good example here. Advertisements, both small, of the souvenir-stall type, and big, dominate the space. Sometimes an advertisement is the price for the conservation of buildings of historical interest, as was the case of the Wawel castle and the tower of St. Mary's Church. But also this happened to the façade of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome in the jubilee year or recently to the Vienna Burgtheater. These phenomena are frequently temporary. The monument in the Danish Odense is treated differently: it is a children's playground. If there are no ideas what to do with a space, the space may be entered by anything, even animals. Sometimes it is understandable, like holy deer in Nara in Japan. Sometimes, absolutely not, like a cow on the Cracow Market Square.

Where are the people?

People expect something from a space. They do not say it openly, and if it seems that they do, it is in fact the politicians speaking. These are really very dubious today speakers for the public. People in fact vote with their feet. Where can we meet them? The crowds of Chinese people along the Yellow Sea coast. They came to see an interesting geological phenomenon, but there they gather at the seaside, to admire the view and to walk. The Cracow *corso*, the traditional route of the peripatetic walk *there and back*, was once the Market Square and the Planty [green belt surrounding the old town] or Trzeciego Maja Avenue, and today it is the Washington avenue, which some politicians would like to build up. Sometimes people come to certain places dressed up, wearing historical costumes, such as during the Corpus Christi procession at Salwator.

People ultimately react to some intentional marking of space. They react to monuments. Cars are driven around the Iwo Jima monument, while in the same city of Washington, people gather around the *Awakening* sculpture at the National airport, where an anonymous giant emerges from under the earth. People gather also on Piazza di Meravighli in Pisa, organising picnics between the Tower, cathedral and Baptistery. They do not only visit the place, but also spend hours there, or they gather around the sculptures of Botero in front of the Monte Carlo casinos, where gigantic obese female bodies arouse interest with their lack of idealisation.

People approve of some markings. Their choices can be roughly described. They search for characters in their privacy, the traces of human beings who can be touched and whom one can make friends with; an example of this tendency may be the boy with the dog in Maastricht or – in the same city – the man awaiting the restoration of the city, commemorating an authentic person from the period after World War II. People also come to look at the only building that survived the bombing of Hiroshima. Tastes change: one looks for common people, not for heroes.

Some words about the monument as message

As the author of this essay, I would not dare to compete here with experts. Yet, I would like to share with others one observation which might be significant for the subject "Igor Mitoraj's sculptures on the Cracow Market Square". Marking public space, either in the form of a monument or in any other, must be visible and distinctive from the background. At the same time, it must rise beyond the first impression, it cannot let people get used to it too easily and be a single effect³. Edward T. Hall and Mildred Reed Hall, American authors, point to two types of messages: fast and slow.

"Since information underlies virtually everything, it is not surprising that the speed with which a particular message can be decoded and acted in is an important factor in human communication. Therefore, one would expect to find that there are fast and slow messages – which is precisely the case. A headline or cartoon, for example, is fast. On other hand, the meaning that one extracts from books or art are slow. A fast message sent to people who are geared to a slow format will usually miss the target. While the content of the wrong-speed message may be understandable, it won't be received by someone tuned to a different frequency."⁴

Thus a secret of good artistic marking of a space is the fact that a masterpiece must be a fast and a slow message at the same time. There are few such masterpieces, but everyone who has looked at the monument of Józef Dietl in front of the Cracow city hall must have come to the conclusion that this monument meets such requirements: it catches attention and evokes reflections. What Dunikowski achieved with the Dietl monument is a model challenge to the space of the Market Square. Art is supposed to attract attention and encourage further revelations and contemplation.

Igor Mitoraj in the Cracow Market Square

The open-air exhibition of Igor Mitoraj's sculptures is a rehearsal of the costume which the Market Square has donned for a time. Do people notice this masquerade or do they treat these monuments as another arrangement which "they" imposed on the space? People's own observations and also a short film made by the International Cultural Centre, more than the malicious remarks in the press, prove that people do pay attention to the sculptures placed in the Market Square. This was true for the entire period of the open-air exhibition. Let us say that we have here a phenomenon which has been rare since the fall of communism: people go where the masterpiece is. They walk, watch, contemplate, wander, stand on their toes to see better, they are amazed and share their observations with each other, children get into the "shells", people accept or reject, but they are not indifferent. Moreover, other "artists" gather around these sculptures to draw attention to themselves. There is the White Lady and the artist who decided to paint St. Mary's Church. The Market Square in the Mitoraj period is alive.

These sculptures are said not to commemorate anything. Their names are not identified, no one can say that they "resemble" the actual object, as it is said of the figure of Piotr Skrzynecki in front of "Vis-a-vis". Do they render any message? Definitely they do render the memory of antiquity. The "Italian" character of these sculptures matches the "Italian" renaissance style of the Market Square. These sculptures are "beautiful" without being ashamed of their beauty. They are a brave challenge to contemporary art. If one wishes to speak about their modern character, I would look for it in their incompleteness, as they do not show the whole beautiful bodies, but only their fragments. Such a message is very optimistic, however. The figures say – "look at yourself; perhaps there is something beautiful about you: a shape of the head, if not the head as a whole, a shoulder, your torso or even your intimate parts.

Can this become boring? It is difficult to say, as it takes time to learn how much of a fast and how much of a slow message there is about these sculptures. How much – one may ask, using the language of

Piramowicz – *pleasure* and how much *sorrow* will there be in their presence? Will placing one of those sculptures on the Market Square be an accurate marking? Will it make it impossible to come to the Market Square without visiting Mitoraj, as it is today with *Adas*? This, I believe, will depend on the uniqueness of such a sculpture in Cracow. If the Mitoraj sculptures were to be placed on the market square of each large European city, the case would be lost. For the time being, in my opinion, the Mitoraj work promises to be an accurate marking.

Contemporary significance of cultural marking of space. The politics of memory

Why is the matter of marking public space becoming increasingly valid today? Above, I have tried to show that this is related to the process of getting out of the period of real socialism. This is definitely an aspect of great importance, yet it is also a local, post-communist and a Polish aspect, too. At the same time however, the phenomenon is much more universal. It has to be related to the problems of post-modern society and its conditioning.

Societies need much information that is available and understandable at the same time. Nowadays we live under the impression that we have overcome space-time as traditionally understood. New communication techniques overcome space – this seems to have been proved. It seems that one does not have to travel to faraway places in order to experience them in one way or other. One does not need to move in order to get in touch with other people. This certainly does not mean that one gets to know them so well as would be the case with immediate contact. Such a virtual acquaintance without direct contact does not bring complete understanding. And it does not generate complete trust amongst people. A virtual contact is a new type of superficiality of human relationships, a different one than normal concrete relationships. It allows for a personal touch in these contacts, yet limits its sensual base. New communication techniques and the accessibility of the world resulting from these techniques have not reduced our mobility, but even increased it. Therefore, the more one virtually experiences the world, the more he feels the need to establish a direct contact with the places about which he learns in such a way. A similar way of overcoming time would mean the possibility "to travel in time", and thus moving to distant periods and a virtual simulation allow for an impression that one is present in these epochs.

Overcoming space-time means finding the experiences of a life in the past in a contemporary virtual space. In this way a virtual space-time would be created. To overcome space-time in such a way would mean that some elements rooted in a past time would find their places in a space existing in contemporary times. And again: the more one learns about the past, the more one wishes to experience it. All one's senses require this. One searches for what no longer exists, what was made familiar by means of scientific reconstructions. One searches for a virtual world in a real world. And one wants to make the virtual world a text in which one can read one's own vision of the world. This idea has been captured by the entrepreneurial organisers of cultural life and tourism in the Cracow district of Kazimierz who dressed up as its past inhabitants. It is possible to cross the borders of the historic record. Not a long time ago, some Poland-loving American demanded to listen to a concert of ancient Slavic music, as he knew that the ancient Slavs were great lovers of music. And he could not believe that nobody knows such music nowadays.

A newcomer to Cracow – both the tourist and the newly settled inhabitant – looks here for content that he has already learned virtually and that is not necessarily present here, at least because it has not survived until these times. In order to satisfy such interests, reconstruction processes are organised and physical transmissions from the past are brought alive. The need and the necessity to satisfy these interests was very well known to Karol Estreicher, when he was reconstructing the Collegium Maius. Even if we are able to reconstruct more or less faithfully the content of such historical information, our reconstruction effort will be tainted by the times of the act of reconstruction. This means that a large number of frequently unrealised assumptions accompanying the act will be contemporary. One reads and reconstructs ancient Egyptian texts as if they were understandable for contemporary man. One is accompanied by a contemporary philosophy of this reconstruction and one cannot free oneself from it, no matter how much one could try to experience this past epoch personally. The past records located today in space will still be contemporary for our times. This means that one cannot break free from time, irrespective of one's efforts to do so. The change of time into space will thus remain an illusion.

Such reconstructions cannot be separated from contemporary current scientific ideology. This can be proved by the example of the ancient settlement of Biskupin. In this village located on Polish territories, in 1933, well preserved traces of the settlement of the decline of the Palaeolithic period, the early Iron Age (650–

500 B.C.) were found. The settlement disappeared at the time of the early Piasts (11th century). A reconstruction of well preserved relics became the subject of the disputes over the ethnic character of the people living there. The Polish school (J. Kostrzewski) maintained that this was an ancient Slavic settlement, whilst the German school perceived it as a Proto-Germanic presence. The scientific dispute over Biskupin developed traces of a political one. Biskupin is known in Poland as a site of an early Slavic settlement and is proof that they settled there as the earliest people from a historical point of view. This was the state of knowledge presented by the school course books in my country. However, the contemporary state of knowledge allows us to see Biskupin as a sign of a settlement much earlier than Slavic, i.e. Gothic or even Celtic. There is no absolute certitude in this matter. However, a contemporary visit to Biskupin, whether it is real or virtual, gives us contact with the traces of the life of the Proto-Slavic people. The national naturalisation of this place progresses gradually and slowly.

As it happens at the beginning of every period, a reconstruction of space, in particular public space, is made. Such a reconstruction of public space is referred to by Andreas Huyssen as "the politics of memory". The former city space remains a centre of symbolic value. Such a symbolism is today consistently preserved and developed by means of the intentional creation of historic areas of former cities that express their composed cultural past³. The politics of memory relates some historic cultural forms with the centres of the old cities. Centres of old cities become – composed in accordance with the politics of memory – the storehouse of culture. The culture stored in there is a challenge for culture's authenticity. On the one hand it relates to a particular place and its composed tradition, on the other, it deviates from the essence of the life of the community. It is divided into a shrinking local community, for which the effects of the space composition and politics of memory are inauthentic, and the dispersed community of the cultural area, which will gladly welcome and accept the effects of the composition activities, provided that they correspond with its imagination of the past. For the first group this is inauthentic as it does not correctly express their life, for the latter it is desired, as it distinctly emphasises and enriches the essence of the place to which they are trying to adapt. Such a process of accepting the composed proposals will progress together with the process of the community becoming multicultural.

Endnotes:

¹ New flats built in the city are now most frequently purchased by foreigners and parents for their children at universities.

² R. Levine, *A Geography of Time: The Temporal Misadventures of a Social Psychologist, or How Every Culture Keeps Time Just a Little Bit Differently*, Basic Books, New York 1997.

³ As Grzegorz Piramowicz wrote: "Anything that has real beauty in it, is not a mere decoration, the longer and more frequently seen and observed, the more pleasant it becomes, the more de-

light it gives. What is a feature of minor decorations is that they will first become pleasant and they give liking, yet soon the sentimentality and boredom will follow that their view cannot be repeated any more" (G. Piramowicz, *Wymowa i poezja dla szkół narodowych*, [Rhetoric and poetry for national schools] Szkoła Główna Koronna, Kraków 1792, p. 349).

⁴ E. T. Hall, M. Reed Hall, *Hidden Differences. Doing Business with the Japanese*, Anchor Books, Doubtley, New York 1987.

⁵ A. Huyssen, *Present Past: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, Stanford University Press, 2003.

[Translated by Katarzyna Spiechlanin]

Cracow's Jewish heritage, accumulated over centuries, is experiencing revaluation and rediscovery even as we watch. The authentic heritage of this large, important and varied community, during World War II a heritage that suffered devastation, and after 1945 degraded and forgotten, in recent years has attracted fascination, but also commercial exploitation. Thanks to Cracow, the Jewish culture of Galicia is today being revived and discovered; on the other hand, the capital of the Małopolska region reflects broader trends in Europe: the return to and re-creation of the culture of what is today the numerically small Jewish community. My objectives are to discuss the fortunes of Jewish heritage in Cracow over the 20th century, to trace what that century added to this culture's heritage and what it destroyed, and finally, to show how this heritage functions at present, whom it serves and how, and what opportunities and threats this holds.

The contemporary conception of the term "heritage"

The concept of "heritage" is extremely capacious and today frequently cited, though more seldom defined¹. It has evolved over the last 200 years, and its scope constantly being expanded: from concern for the preservation of individual mementoes and relics of the past, through the desire to save complexes of sites, larger areas and even whole urban layouts, to the preserved cultural landscape and intangible values of historic places and areas. The following material components of heritage can be distinguished: single historic structures and complexes, urban layouts, garden, greenery and landscape forms, sites and objects of archaeological value, and movable relics or items². Intangible values are by their very nature harder to describe and systemise. It is nevertheless vital that they be taken into account, because the intangible assets, associations, meanings and content with

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which the urban space is saturated are an equally important element of heritage as material values. They are composed of ties, structures and institutions developed over history, and of traditions, places, customs connected with religious festivals, rites, urban organisations no longer in existence, folklore, legends, cyclical cultural events, historic links between one place and other countries and cultures, the historical connections between material forms of heritage and the functions they fulfilled, and historical toponomastics. They are also inherent in the *genius loci* – the uniqueness, symbolism and atmosphere of an urban space, the effect of the co-existence of its material and intangible values³. What is more, some contemporary authors consider heritage to consist only of accepted components of the cultural legacy that a given community wishes to preserve and pass on⁴. This definition of heritage, then, does not encompass all the “remains” of the past in a given area, but only those that have meaning and fulfil certain functions for its contemporary population. Wider interpretations of the relations between the market and heritage refer to its “sale” in various target markets, whereby this sale may be understood as symbolic use or as real commercial activity, resulting in consumption of goods and services with cultural content (cf. fig. 1). Heritage in its current conception therefore requires the existence of a party receiving the values being passed on. In other words, there is no heritage without an inheritor; if it is to survive, it must be accepted by someone, necessary to someone⁵.

In examining the contemporary role of heritage, then, we need to distinguish between heritage that is accepted by the residents of a given area who experience it and by incomers, and what is known as dissonant heritage⁶. According to the typology introduced by Ashworth and Tunbridge there are four types of dissonant heritage. The first is distorted heritage. Distortions are caused by selectivity with regard to the objects that have survived, and the selection of objects to which protection is extended and which are made available to a wider public. For instance, on the whole, tourists seek simple stereotypes. As such, therefore, a rich and complex past not only may, but for commercial reasons in fact must be reduced to a set of characteristic features easily identifiable by the tourist⁷. A second problem inextricably linked to heritage is the issue of disinherited heritage (*le patrimoine en déshérence*), otherwise termed “stateless heritage” or *le patrimoine expatrié*. This occurs where migration, relocation of borders, ethnic cleansing or other historical events cause a given ethnic or religious group to depart from its native territory, leaving behind it a cultural heritage built up over centuries⁸. Promotion of homogenous national heritage often eliminates the legacy of absent ethnic or regional minorities. Their separate historical experiences are ignored or distorted by dominant groups, which impoverishes the heritage of a given area. A related problem is that of non-conforming heritage – heritage that is not compatible with currently advocated norms and ideologies and does not reflect the approved symbolism of the area. Lastly comes the fact that in presenting heritage the wish is often to show only its positive aspects, to underline development, achievements and events in which pride can be taken, and to conceal or play down the significance of distasteful heritage, or heritage of atrocity: that which is related to wars, ethnic cleansing or other tragic occurrences in the past⁹. In other cases a region’s image may be dominated by its distasteful heritage (heritage of

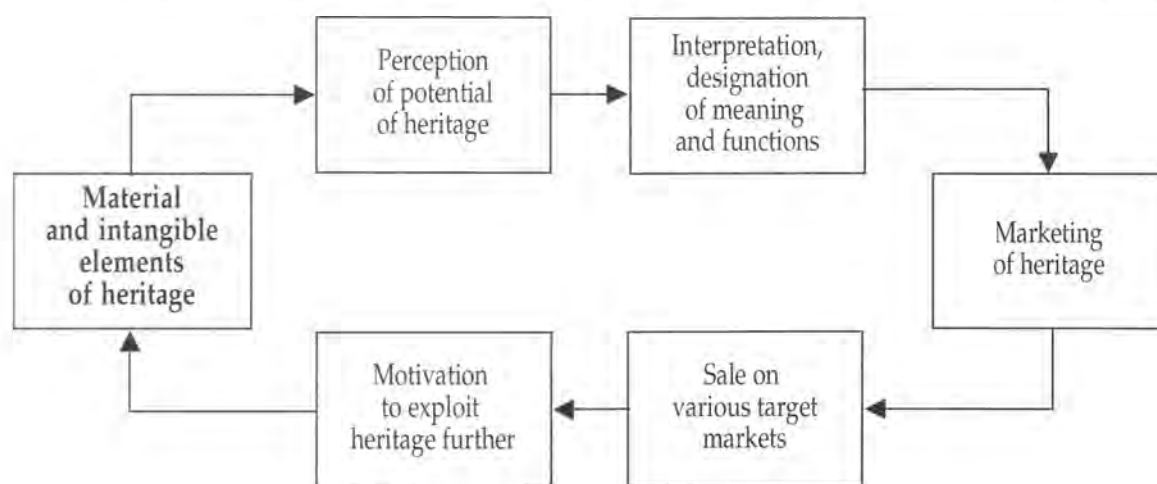


Fig. 1. The process of marketing cultural heritage (author's own work)

atrocities), while centuries-old aspects of its history connected with peaceful existence and development are relegated to the sidelines.

In relation to the Jewish heritage of Central Europe, the issue of the willingness of communities now inhabiting these areas to accept the heritage of the Judaic culture is of great importance (in the context of the problems of disinheritance and non-conforming heritage), though on the other hand the image of former Jewish districts and quarters is often dominated by reference to the tragic years of World War II and the Holocaust (the problem of heritage of atrocity). Moreover, the way in which this heritage is presented and interpreted is often far from the ideal broad, objective stance, which means that it can often also be categorised as distorted heritage.

Jewish heritage in Cracow to 1939

Jews accounted for some 25% of Cracow's population in the interwar years¹⁰. Cracow's Jews entered the 20th century with a wealth of heritage accumulated over their many centuries of presence in the city¹¹. This applied both to the preservation of the culturally homogenous Jewish district, founded in the Middle Ages in the north-eastern part of Kazimierz¹² (until the end of the 18th century a separate town, with its exceptional treasury of material relics of Judaic culture, including its old synagogues¹³, historic mikveh, and numerous traditional houses), and to the many traditions and historical figures connected with Kazimierz of significant importance to Jewish culture, to mention but Cracow's most eminent rabbi, Moses Isserles, "the Remuh"¹⁴, Nathan Nata Spira, or Joel Sirkes. The 19th century enriched Cracow's Judaic heritage with several significant elements. The Jews slowly acquired the right to settle outside the Jewish quarter, and eventually also outside Kazimierz¹⁵. In effect, from the beginning of the 19th century, and particularly in the second half of the century, there was an exodus of Jews, especially the richer, progressive population, beyond the boundaries of the Jewish quarter, initially into the Christian part of Kazimierz, then into the suburb of Stradom, and ultimately to other districts¹⁶. The assimilated Jews – mainly practitioners of the free professions and the intelligentsia: lawyers, doctors, professors and wealthy merchants – were the group that identified itself least with Kazimierz. The former *oppidum judeorum* was therefore reduced to the role of a backward, traditional quarter, inhabited until the time of World War II by the poorest orthodox Jews. The Jews also had another community in Podgórze, which was founded at the end of the 18th century and until 1915 was a separate town¹⁷. Yet in the second half of the 19th and the early part of the 20th century a number of important buildings were erected in Kazimierz to serve the members of the growing community¹⁸. In 1861–1866 a Jewish hospital was built on Skawińska Street and continued to be extended right up until 1939; and in 1860–1862 the reform synagogue Tempel, also extended in the interwar period. In 1908–1912 a huge new seat for the Jewish congregation was constructed at 41 Krakowska Street, to plans by Henryk Lamensdorf. Other important investments included the building of a ritual poultry slaughterhouse on Nowy Square, a new mikveh at 28 Paulińska Street, and a Jewish student dormitory at 3 Przemyska Street, and, of particular importance, the opening of a new cemetery and vast funeral hall on Jerozolimska Street in Podgórze¹⁹. Another significant development was the merging in 1936 of the city's two Jewish communities, in Cracow and Podgórze, into a single organisation²⁰. From the second half of the 19th century numerous alterations and renovations of Cracow's Jewish monuments, especially its synagogues, were also undertaken. One example is the conservation work on Stara (Old) Synagogue, conducted by the best known and most respected art historians of the turn of the century, Władysław Łuszczkiewicz and Zygmunt Hendel; another is the work on Remuh Synagogue²¹. It is also important to note that although the central part of the former *oppidum judeorum* did remain the most dilapidated and poor, though at once the most exotic and picturesque district of Cracow²², the outskirts of Kazimierz were populated with mainly new buildings. From the time of the regulation of the Vistula, the creation of the representative Dietla Planty and the routing of Starowiślna Street, the revival of construction in Kazimierz brought with it the modernisation and erection of much of the district's building stock (from the second half of the 19th century until the outbreak of World War II)²³.

Among the Jews themselves, the 19th century brought a considerable increase in differentiation first of religious views and subsequently of world and political views, which was sustained and even intensified in the interwar period. Cracow became an important centre for Judaism in all its forms, i.e. orthodoxy, Hasidism and reformism. Within each of these groups there were also conflicts, in particular between supporters of life in the Diaspora and Zionists. This differentiation was clearly visible in the divisions into adherents of the numerous

Jewish political parties, and in the struggle for leadership of the community²⁴. It was also reflected in the huge numbers of small, private prayer houses scattered throughout Kazimierz and partly in other districts of Cracow. Stanisław Piech numbers 119 such prayer houses between the wars, of which 82 were in Kazimierz, 11 in Podgórze, 7 in Stradom, and the remainder dotted all over the city²⁵. This mosaic of Jewish religious and political views is a unique, very little known part of Cracow's heritage.

Jews took an active part in the academic, social and cultural life of the city. Particularly worthy of mention in this respect is the fact that a well respected vice-president of the city for many years in the interwar period was Józef Sare (from 1902 a member of the Municipal Council and also a deputy to the Galician Parliament before World War I). Other Jews with seats on the Municipal Council were the lawyer Adolf Gross and the industrialist Tadeusz Epstein. The last prewar president of Cracow, Mieczysław Kaplicki (1933–1939), also came from a Jewish family. Another well-known figure was Ozjasz Thon, preacher at Tempel Synagogue, and deputy to the Austro-Hungarian parliament and later to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland. Most of Cracow's Jews used Polish as their first language, and young people were brought up to respect Jewish tradition but also as Polish patriots, something which was not considered contradictory. Jews read Polish books and the Polish press, visited Polish theatres and cinemas, and participated in Polish national holidays²⁶. There were numerous Jewish sports clubs in Cracow. The best known included Makkabi (founded in 1909) and Jutrzenka (both had their own sports grounds and Class A football teams)²⁷. The inter-war period was also a time of intense development of the Jewish school system and erection of Jewish school buildings in Kazimierz. With the radicalisation of attitudes towards Jews in the 1930s, there was all the more call for Jewish children to be educated in such schools²⁸. After World War I many private Jewish lending libraries sprang up in Kazimierz, the largest of which was "Ezra", in the Jewish community building at 41 Krakowska Street, dubbed the "Little Jagiellonian Library"²⁹. The first references to a Jewish theatre in Cracow date from the second half of the 19th century. At the end of the century a Polish-Jewish Theatre Society was established, which organised summer performances in the theatre pavilion in the Ogród Londyński behind the hotel at 11 Stradom Street. In 1910 a permanent auditorium was opened in the residential house of the Affordable Israeli Homes Association at 7 Bocheńska Street (formerly Pusta Street). After World War I this auditorium functioned with mixed success as a cinema, but continued to play frequent host to the best-known Jewish theatre troupes from all over the country. 1926 saw the establishment of the Cracow Yiddish Theatre – Krakever Yidish Teater – whose best-known achievement was the production of two of Wyspiański's dramas: *Sędziowie* [The Judges] and *Daniel*³⁰. The most famed bard of Kazimierz, the carpenter-poet Mordechaj Gebirtig, was also connected with this theatre³¹. There were many artists and architects of Jewish descent active in Cracow. Cracovians also remember the coffee house of the Jewish bohemia, "Szmatka", at 51 Dietla Street, and Thorn's restaurant at 13 Krakowska Street. In terms of the commercial traditions in Kazimierz that were so alive before World War II, also worthy of note were the flea market on Szeroka Street, the fish market outside Izaaka Synagogue, and the vegetable and poultry market on Nowy Square³². Another Cracow tradition were the antique and second-hand bookshops on Szpitalna Street that were largely run by Jews.

Heritage of atrocity – the World War II years

Then came World War II, tragic years for the Jewish community. The Nazis conducted a wide-ranging anti-Semitic propaganda campaign, and some of the Jews' most valuable historical relics were devastated and ruined³³. From the first days of the occupation the German authorities set about implementing their plan to annihilate the Jews by gradually depriving them of their rights, forcing them into humiliating labour, seizing their property and staging mass deportations. In March 1941 the Jews still remaining in Cracow were shut up in a ghetto isolated from the rest of the city with the aim of exterminating them biologically as a result of overcrowding in a small area, allocation of starvation-level food rations, forced labour, and deportation to labour camps, concentration camps and gas chambers³⁴. The final liquidation of the ghetto took place in March 1943. From October 1942 there had been a labour camp in Płaszów, to which some 6,000 residents of the shrinking ghetto were transferred. Most of Cracow's population of over 60,000 Jews were exterminated. A few survived who had had "Aryan papers", been concealed by Polish friends, or managed to survive the ghetto and the inhuman labour in the camp. The German factory owner Oskar Schindler saved the lives of over 1,000 Jews, and around 2,000 survived in Cracow and the immediate vicinity. In the postwar years Poland, and especially Cracow, given its

proximity to the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp, became for the Jews above all a synonym of the *Shoah* and heritage of atrocity³⁵. The city's tragic reminders include the site of the Płaszów labour camp and the devastated Jewish cemeteries on Jerozolimska and Abrahamowa Streets. In the oldest part of Podgórze, where the ghetto was located, the remains of some of the ghetto walls have survived, and there is a branch of the City of Cracow Historical Museum, "Apteka pod Orłem", in the building that during the war housed the only pharmacy in the ghetto, run by a Pole, Tadeusz Pankiewicz. The Nazis annihilated those who had created and were the natural heirs to the centuries-old legacy of Cracow's Jewish culture. The Jewish heritage in the city became largely a disinherited heritage. The absence of Jewish residents is to this day especially noticeable in Kazimierz, where in spite of the destructive force of the war, the cultural landscape and urban fabric has survived.

Eradication of Jewish heritage from the memory and the landscape

In the postwar period, as a result of the re-introduction into Kazimierz of less wealthy social groups and the general neglect of this historic district in the socialist period, Jewish Kazimierz degenerated into one of the most dilapidated areas of Cracow. For years it was commonly associated with neglect, dirt, crime, poor housing and serious social problems. In addition to the physical degeneration of the historic stock and the complex social and ownership problems, from the war the issue of interpretation of the quarter's intangible meanings and sometimes their eradication remained unsolved³⁶. This was particularly true of matters relating to the district's Jewish heritage, which did not fit with the monocultural, homogenous vision of the socialist state. Problems faced by historic areas, which were common to all the city's central districts in the real socialist period, gradual degradation of the historic tissue due to insufficient maintenance, were in Kazimierz compounded by the problem of disinheritance and heritage without heirs, a problem unique in Cracow, whose social structure had largely remained unchanged. The small group of Jews who had returned to or settled in Cracow after the war was steadily diminishing, especially in the wake of anti-Jewish unrest in 1945³⁷, and subsequently emigration in the 1950s and towards the end of the 1960s due to political pressure. Synagogues and prayer houses, as well as other Jewish monuments – with the exceptions of Remuh Synagogue, which never closed and was renovated with funds from the Joint Distribution Committee, the more seldom used Tempel Synagogue, and Stara Synagogue, which was made into a Jewish Museum³⁸ – were taken over by various state institutions and given new functions that were often unsuited to their historic character³⁹. Others were left unrenovated for years and gradually fell into disrepair. The same happened to the houses, the most spectacular example of which was the burning down of houses in poor repair on one of the most "Jewish" streets of all – Józefa (during the filming of a fire scene for the film *Nights and Days*)⁴⁰. Cracow was losing a very important ingredient of its heritage and Kazimierz was gaining a new, postwar image as a poor, dangerous, "second-class" area. Moreover, Jewish sites in other parts of the city were forgotten almost entirely.

The renaissance of Jewish culture in Cracow after 1989

Since the end of the 1980s the situation of Cracow's Jewish heritage has been transformed. This has come about thanks to the discovery and bestowal of new meanings, and to something of a fashion for references to Jewish culture, which is particularly visible within Kazimierz. The dilapidation of this area and the urgent need to rescue its historic monuments was perceived as long ago as the 1970s and 1980s⁴¹. However, the idea of actively reviving the district only gained much wider social and political support in the early 1990s. In city development strategies, Kazimierz became one of the key targets for action on the part of the authorities. Independently of, perhaps parallel to the urban authorities' strategies and attempts to implement them⁴², the last 15 years have brought many changes in the area. Kazimierz has experienced many new and reinforced processes, both positive and negative, previously seen in the revitalisation of historic city centres in Western Europe and the US. These include the commercialisation of the urban space, the bestowal of new functions and meanings on historic places and sites, new users, a change in the image of the place, and the transformation of the district into an artistic, bohemian quarter, an entertainment and nightlife centre⁴³. Jewish heritage has played a key role in this process as the driving force behind the changes in the area.

Since the beginning of the 1990s the majority of the public buildings in Kazimierz, both Christian and Jewish, have been renovated with funds from the Citizens' Committee for the Restoration of Historical

Monuments in Cracow (SKOZK). The work of SKOZK has considerably improved the attractiveness of the quarter, in particular of its most important squares and streets, which has in turn boosted the attractiveness of the plots and buildings adjacent to renovated sites. By 2005 six of the seven historic synagogues in Kazimierz had seen major renovations: Stara, Remuh, Kupa, Izaaka, Poppera and Tempel. SKOZK financed the first phase of the general overhaul of Tempel Synagogue under the direction of the conservators (1994–1997). The second phase saw the full restoration of its interiors, with their rich decoration of masonry, wood carving, stuccowork and painting, financed by the World Monuments Fund. A long-term project that has been proceeding gradually under the direction of SKOZK since 1991 is the renovation of the matzevahs and sarcophagi in the Remuh cemetery, and of its perimeter wall. The programme of conservation work to be financed by SKOZK over 2004–2010 includes the continuation of work on the Remuh cemetery and the start of restoration of selected headstones in the Jewish cemetery on Miodowa Street. All in all, in the period 1993–2004 SKOZK spent some PLN 10 million (USD 3.3 million; exchange rate as at 7.03.2005) on conservation and restoration work on Jewish monuments in Kazimierz⁴⁴. Conservation of the synagogues often involved endowing them with new functions or restoring previous ones. The Stara, Remuh, Izaaka and Tempel synagogues are regularly opened to tourists. Kupa Synagogue has no permanent function, though it is often used as exhibition space, while Poppera has retained its former function as the art studio for the Staromiejskie Centrum Kultury Młodzieży. All the above synagogues also periodically serve as concert halls, and Remuh and Tempel have retained their sacral functions. In addition, there are plans to adapt Wysoka Synagogue, which is still awaiting restoration due to its unresolved ownership status, into exhibition rooms for a branch of the City of Cracow Historical Museum. Other important projects outside Kazimierz include the successful adaptation of a former prayer house in Podgórze at 5 Węgierska Street, where the well-known art dealer Andrzej Starmach has opened a private art gallery.

In 1988 the first Festival of Jewish Culture was organised. Since 1992 it has been an annual event, and has grown into the largest cultural event of its type in Europe, and at once a force uniting and promoting new cultural initiatives in Kazimierz. The festival has done much to promote Kazimierz as a venue for cultural events. It has contributed to the emergence from Cracow in recent years of groups of artists inspired by Jewish culture, including klezmer music, such as Kroke and The Cracow Klezmer Band. Certain strains of artistic creativity based on Jewish themes have been revived and even developed – the best example is traditional Jewish paper-cutting, in particular its monumental form “Mizrach”; one of the world’s best known artists working in this medium is Marta Gołąb of Cracow. Out of the Festival of Jewish Culture have also developed a number of workshops currently held in various Kazimierz venues⁴⁵ – Hebrew and Yiddish language, music, dance, ritual, paper-cutting and Jewish cuisine – where participants can learn about “living” Jewish culture. In 1993 in the former prayer house B’nei Emuna on Meiselsa Street, now renovated and extended, the Judaica Foundation and its Jewish Cultural Centre were opened, promoting Jewish heritage and culture through lectures, film screenings, exhibitions and concerts. This is also the first such organisation with a scope of activity that stretches far beyond Kazimierz itself.

Many cafes and pubs regularly host concerts and cultural presentations connected with Jewish culture. Foremost among these are daily concerts of klezmer and other types of Jewish music in the cafes along Szeroka Street, but also, in recent years, avant-garde projects in other venues with a not strictly Jewish profile (e.g. the musical projects in the Alchemia cafe). In the former mikveh on Szeroka Street, in the place of municipal offices there is a small hotel, a restaurant with daily klezmer music concerts, and the Hamartef gallery. Another ritual bath, at 28 Paulińska Street, was home in 1997–2003 to the avant-garde Łaźnia Theatrical Association, and now to Klub Łaźnia. In 2004 a private entrepreneur from the UK opened the Galicia Jewish Museum on former factory premises renovated in the post-industrial style. This is not strictly speaking a museum, more a gallery with an exhibition of photographs of places connected with Jewish culture in Galicia, together with a cafe, a small shop selling kosher food, and a bookshop. It also has educational and commercial cultural programmes. An example of one such new cultural product in Kazimierz is Jewish karaoke, organised by the Galicia Museum, advertised under the slogan “Sing with us in Yiddish and Hebrew”. Since the beginning of the 1990s the bookshop Jarden has been operating on Szeroka Street, also offering chiefly Jewish publications and souvenirs. In August 2003 there were 15 antique and second-hand bookshops and antique shops and 16 art galleries in the area, many of them with strong Jewish accents. This has made Kazimierz Cracow’s second centre, after the heart

of the Old Town, for the sale of art works and antiques, which has further emphasised its increasing role as an artistic and cultural quarter. Jewish souvenirs (books, yarmulkes, carved wooden figures of Jews in traditional dress, menorahs, stylised Stars of David, postcards, etc.) can be bought at several outlets in Kazimierz, and in the tourist season also on temporary stalls in and around Szeroka Street and in the galleries on Józefa and Meiselsa.

One notable product in the tourism and entertainment branch is the Jewish-style cafe, an attempt to reconstruct the prewar Jewish salons (Ariel, Alef, Klezmer Hoi, Arka Noego). In the wider urban space other references to Jewish culture are also visible, in the form of symbols such as Stars of David or menorahs. The return to Jewish culture is also evident in the toponomastics selected by private entrepreneurs with businesses in Kazimierz. Firms in the tourist and leisure segments operating in Kazimierz, and particularly those within the boundaries of the former *oppidum judeorum*, are keen to use names directly or indirectly associated with Jewish culture. Examples include the cafes Klezmer-Hoi (Klezmer House), Ulica Krokodyli (Street of Crocodiles, a reference to the short story by Bruno Schulz), Proces Parzenia Kafki (a pun on the name of Franz Kafka's novel *The Trial* and the words "the process of brewing coffee"), Anatewka (the name of the setting of the most famous Jewish musical of them all, *Fiddler on the Roof*)⁴⁶, Alef (the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet), Ariel (a Hebrew boy's name), Szalom ("Shalom", meaning "peace" in Hebrew), Singer (a reference to the sewing machines that serve as tables in the cafe, but also to the atmosphere, which is straight out of the prose of Isaac Bashevis Singer or the stories of Bruno Schulz), Łaźnia ("Bath house", a reference to the original function of the premises, i.e. a ritual bath), the Jarden bookshop ("garden" in Hebrew), Arka Noego (Polish for "Noah's Ark"), and the hotels Eden and Ester (Biblical references, in the latter case also the name of the legendary Jewish lover of the Polish king Kazimierz the Great). There are also lots of names that are not direct references to Jewish culture but emphasise the mysterious, magical atmosphere of Kazimierz: Dawno temu na Kazimierzu ("Long ago in Kazimierz"), Alchemia ("Alchemy"), Raj utracony ("Paradise Lost"), Tajemniczy ogród na Kazimierzu ("Secret Garden in Kazimierz"), or refer to the historical province of Galicia (the Galicia Museum and the Galicia Restaurant).

References to Jewish culture are very strong in Kazimierz, although businesses of this type are concentrated chiefly in and around Szeroka Street and serve mainly tourists; on other Kazimierz streets and squares Jewish culture is more a background to than the central theme for entertainment and gastronomic outlets. Parallel to or in fact even outstripping its increasing cultural role, Kazimierz has become a centre for nightlife, and horeca services that rivals the city centre proper. In the period 1994–2004 the number of restaurants, bars and cafes in Kazimierz increased three and a half times (39 in 1994, 133 in 2004). While in 1994 only three places offered accommodation, in 2004 there were 14 hotels and guest houses and eight smaller accommodation providers. The tourist traffic in Kazimierz is primarily cultural tourism grounded in the quarter's Jewish heritage. This is reflected, for instance, in the structure of visitors to public museums in Kazimierz in 2003 (fig. 2). Over half of all those visiting public museums in Kazimierz were people visiting Stara Synagogue. There are a variety of new tourism products in Cracow also connected with Jewish culture, such as the "Jewish monument trail" promoted by the city authorities, or the route "On the trail of *Schindler's List*", created by the tourist market in the 1990s and taking in the post-industrial Zabłocie area, and in particular Schindler's factory at 4 Lipowa Street⁴⁷.

The last 15 years have brought change and diversification to the image of Kazimierz. Slowly, since the mid-1990s, the media and publishers of guidebooks have begun to take notice of Kazimierz and promote the district as a fashionable, artistic, interesting place, which has boosted its significance and position within the overall image of the city and created a fashion for visiting the area. Associations connected with the fact that the film *Schindler's List* was filmed in Kazimierz and with the popularity of the Festival of Jewish Culture have also done much to put Kazimierz on the map. It is now a key tourist and entertainment attraction in the capital of Małopolska – described and promoted as a must-see, a lively, interesting, new tourist and leisure centre within Cracow. However, it is still, in contrast to the Old Town, presented as a different, unusual, magical district, more sleepy and relaxed than the heart of the city proper. Its charm and *genius loci* are often emphasised, as are its Jewish heritage and the atmosphere of cultural bohemia⁴⁸. This change of image is also visible in the large number of new tourist publications devoted entirely to the attractions of the district: guides and books of photographs that deal not only with the past but also with its contemporary entertainment functions⁴⁹.

The "return to Jewish heritage" in Cracow, its discovery and creation, and this new identification with Judaic culture⁵⁰, are also considered by many controversial and problematic. Just as varied as the motives

for and objectives of this return to Jewish culture in Cracow, are the evaluations of this development. Critics point to the artificiality and “virtuality” of the Jewish culture presented and consumed in Kazimierz. Henryk Halkowski speaks of the district’s “Jewish life without Jews” and a world of “professional Jews”, i.e. goyim dealing professionally in Jewish culture³¹. Ruth E. Gruber writes of “virtual Jewishness”, which involves non-Jews adopting Jewish culture, and redefining, re-interpreting and even creating it³², while Shlomo Avineri points to an unreal “nostalgic romanticism”³³. Many authors compare what is happening with Jewish culture in Poland today to the situation of Native American heritage in North America, a culture that has been reduced to an ethnographic curio, eagerly imbibed and consumed in the form of souvenirs and festivals. For Erica Lehrer an example of this artificial “folky Jewishness” is the market in Poland for wooden figurines of Jews, which create and reinforce the stereotype of the Jew as a Hasid in traditional costume and pose³⁴. The renaissance of Jewish culture in Cracow, then, begs the question as to who has the right to the city’s Jewish heritage, who should interpret it and how. It is hard not to agree with the critics, at least in part. Two clear trends are emerging in the presentation of Cracow’s Jewish heritage. One is the approach to mementoes of Jewish culture primarily from the angle of the Holocaust; the other is the romantic idealisation of the Jewish past and its commercialisation.

The presentation of the Jewish past in Cracow is incohesive, scattered and fragmentary. There is no comprehensive exhibition on the past and centuries-long history of the Jews in Cracow or the wider region of Galicia, on the variety of religious, political and world views that existed among Polish Jews from the beginning of the 19th century until World War II, on broader references to their contribution to Polish culture, on the importance of the heritage of Cracow’s Jews to contemporary adherents of Judaism (e.g. the prominence of Rabbi Remuh as the codifier of behavioural norms for Ashkenazi Jews). Owing to the lack of space, the permanent exhibition in Stara Synagogue presents traditional, orthodox Jewish culture in its 19th-century form. Private exhibitions present Jewish culture arbitrarily, to varying standards, concentrating on the heritage of the Holocaust (Izaak Synagogue and the Galicia Museum). The heritage of Kazimierz, and the wider heritage of Cracow, is hence depicted in simplified, pared-down form. For many years there has been a concept for an Ashkenazi Museum in Cracow, which would meet the above needs, but there is a lack of will to put it into practice³⁵. Cracow is thus not taking advantage of the opportunity it has to function as a centre for education on the past and heritage of Galicia’s Jews. This causes problems in presenting Jewish heritage to both Poles and foreign visitors, whether Jews or other nationalities³⁶. An important step forward in this area was the merging of the exhibitions in Stara Synagogue and the “Apteka pod Orlem” under a single board in 2003, but this needs to be followed up with broader conceptions for a permanent presentation and exhibition of the achievements of Cracow and Galicia’s Jews financed from public funds or as a public-private partnership.

On the other hand, Kazimierz is becoming an example of romantic idealisation of the Jewish past, in particular a forum for frequent references to the Central and East European phenomenon of the *shtetl*. Already between the wars the term *shtetl*, meaning “not so much a physical space as a unique cultural space”³⁷, had several significant connotations, which are also reflected in literature. It was a symbol of homeliness, as

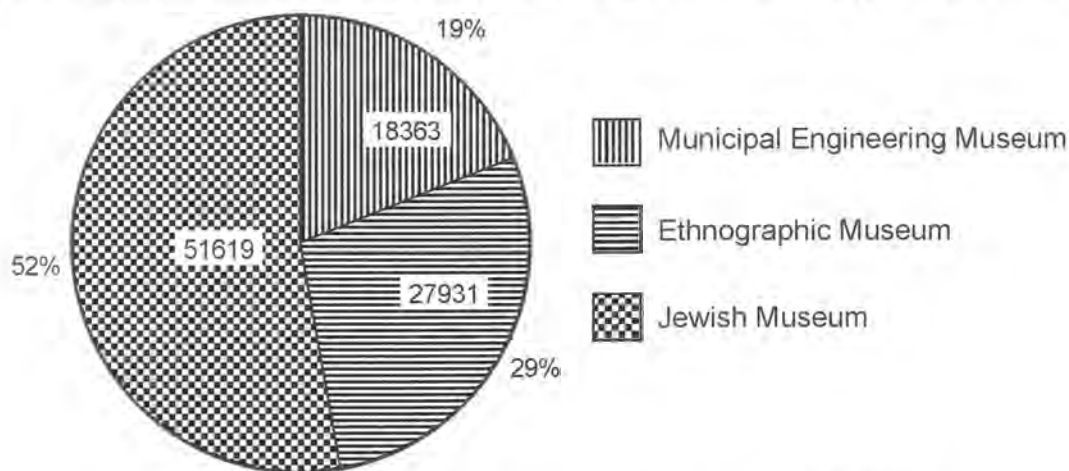


Fig. 2. Visitor numbers to Kazimierz museums in 2003 (author’s own calculations)

much for Poles as for Jews, of a traditional landscape and community ties, of multicultural charm, but also of backwardness, dirt and neglect⁵⁸. Western European, assimilated Jews perceived Kazimierz as a *shtetl* – a place of Jewish soul and spirit where one could get back to one's roots and see the forgotten world of traditional Jewish society. An example of one such vision of the district was the visit to Poland in 1924 of Alfred Döblin, a German intellectual of Jewish descent, and his impressions from his walks around Kazimierz⁵⁹. In time, especially after World War II, the second, negative component of memory of the *shtetl* was almost entirely erased from the social consciousness, giving way to idealisation. In 1990 Eugenia Prokopówna wrote that what links the Polish angle on both the *shtetl* and the Polish manor is this nostalgia for an idealised, harmonious provincial Polish past⁶⁰. Taken in a wider context, it could be said that this is part of a broader trend of idealising settler communities⁶¹ and of a yearning for the sense of closeness, neighbourliness and bond with place that is often lacking in contemporary cities. For Poles the search for the atmosphere of the prewar *shtetl* is nostalgia not only for contact with Jewish culture but also for that unique blend of exotica and homeliness. Historicity and the atmosphere of bygone days are amusing, calming, and form an attractive setting in which to spend one's leisure time. Foreign tourists seek similar values; in the case of those with Jewish blood it is a journey in search of their own roots and an attempt to define their own identity⁶². The Jewish *shtetl* thus functions as a "metaphor for the irrevocable loss" that is the lack of a Jewish community in Poland, and as a "metaphor for authentic space"⁶³. This romantic idealisation may take on a form reminiscent of Disney theme parks. For example, irrespective of historical accuracy and aesthetic values (on which score opinions may be divided and are not of particular importance to the average visitor), the striking façade of the café "Dawno temu na Kazimierzu", on the north frontage of Szeroka Street, or indeed the café in its entirety, gives the impression of being a stage set depicting small artisans' workshops and shops, a three-dimensional illustration for Antoni Słonimski's *Elegia miasteczek żydowskich* [Elegy for Jewish shtetls]. It is a romantic allusion to the Jewish shops that once stood in Kazimierz, a touch that livens up the dilapidated façade of the building. What some people fear is simply that a similar idea could be uncritically aped by other entrepreneurs, and the fact that the same motif is to be reproduced on a far larger scale in the Museum of the History of Poland's Jews in Warsaw, currently at the planning stage, where a virtual reconstruction of Nalewki Street is planned⁶⁴.

In the process of regeneration, then, Jewish heritage is becoming a product of contemporary creation for a wide range of consumers, for a variety of reasons, educational, cognitive and commercial⁶⁵. As Erica Lehrer writes, "Understanding the significance and circulation mechanisms of commercial and touristic cultural forms is particularly important when considering Jewish culture in present-day Poland, because so much of the tiny amount of Jewish culture that exists in Poland does so under the direct or indirect influence of the Jewish heritage industry"⁶⁶. From this angle, "Disney-fication" is perhaps the price that has to be paid for the revitalisation of a dilapidated Jewish quarter, or indeed, on a broader plane, for the discovery of forgotten heritage.

Conclusions

Cracow's 20th-century Jewish heritage is a prime example of dissonant heritage and its revaluation (cf. fig. 3). Up until 1939 Cracow's large, varied Jewish community nourished, interpreted and augmented the city's centuries-old Jewish cultural heritage. World War II annihilated the natural heirs to the city's monuments to Judaic culture, destroyed its multiculturalism, and created a heritage of atrocity. The postwar years further degraded and obscured Cracow's Jewish heritage, and this obscurity brought its distortion and eradication from the urban space. It became largely a disinherited, stateless heritage. It was not protected or promoted, because it did not fit with the monocultural vision of the Polish city and society that dominated during the period of the Polish People's Republic (non-conforming heritage). The 1990s saw the rediscovery of Jewish heritage in Cracow. It became an accepted, eagerly exploited, cited and promoted aspect of the city's past, one that fulfilled important contemporary functions. It is, in the modern sense of the word, "consumed" by a variety of social groups. On its back a range of types of business are being developed that prove that the "Jewish heritage industry" has become one of the key sectors of the economy in Kazimierz. At the same time, its commercial exploitation and the lack of co-ordination between the many fragmentary operations by private and public bodies may cause its distortion and failure to present the full complexity of this heritage (distorted heritage). Deeper cultural meanings may be passed over, simplified and "flattened" for the needs of tourists, in order to make them easier to comprehend. Heterogeneity

is hard to reproduce, and hence stereotypical representations may dominate, which instead of increasing knowledge of Jewish culture in Poland are more likely to reinforce stereotypes. One such is the vision of Poland as the site of the Holocaust, another the “folkification” of Jewish culture and its reduction to the image of a *shtetl* straight out of *Fiddler on the Roof*.

One positive aspect of the revival of Jewish culture in Cracow is inarguably the fact that the legacy of this culture is no longer the forgotten and unwanted “legacy of the recent past”; it now has many “heirs”. For younger Jewish tourists, in particular those from the United States, the heritage of Kazimierz, and on a broader scale that of Cracow, is a point of reference in the definition of their own identity and search for roots. For their parents, and especially grandparents, it is a reminder of the Holocaust, but also a place of returning and reconciliation. Most of its Polish heirs do not have Jewish roots, and they see this heritage either as an integral part of Poland’s cultural legacy, through which they learn about their own identity, or as a commercially and culturally attractive product. In this latter sense, the fascination with Jewish music or paper-cutting is part of a wider trend of a return to the traditions and cultural heterogeneity of Central Europe. It is also visible in the career that folk music, regional cuisine and highland products have made for themselves in Poland in recent years. There is similar motivation behind the discovery of the Lemko cultural heritage in south-eastern Małopolska and Podkarpacie, or the German heritage in Poland’s Western and Northern Territories, which, almost 60 years on from the end of World War II have ceased to be seen only as alien and unwanted⁶⁷. Jewish heritage also

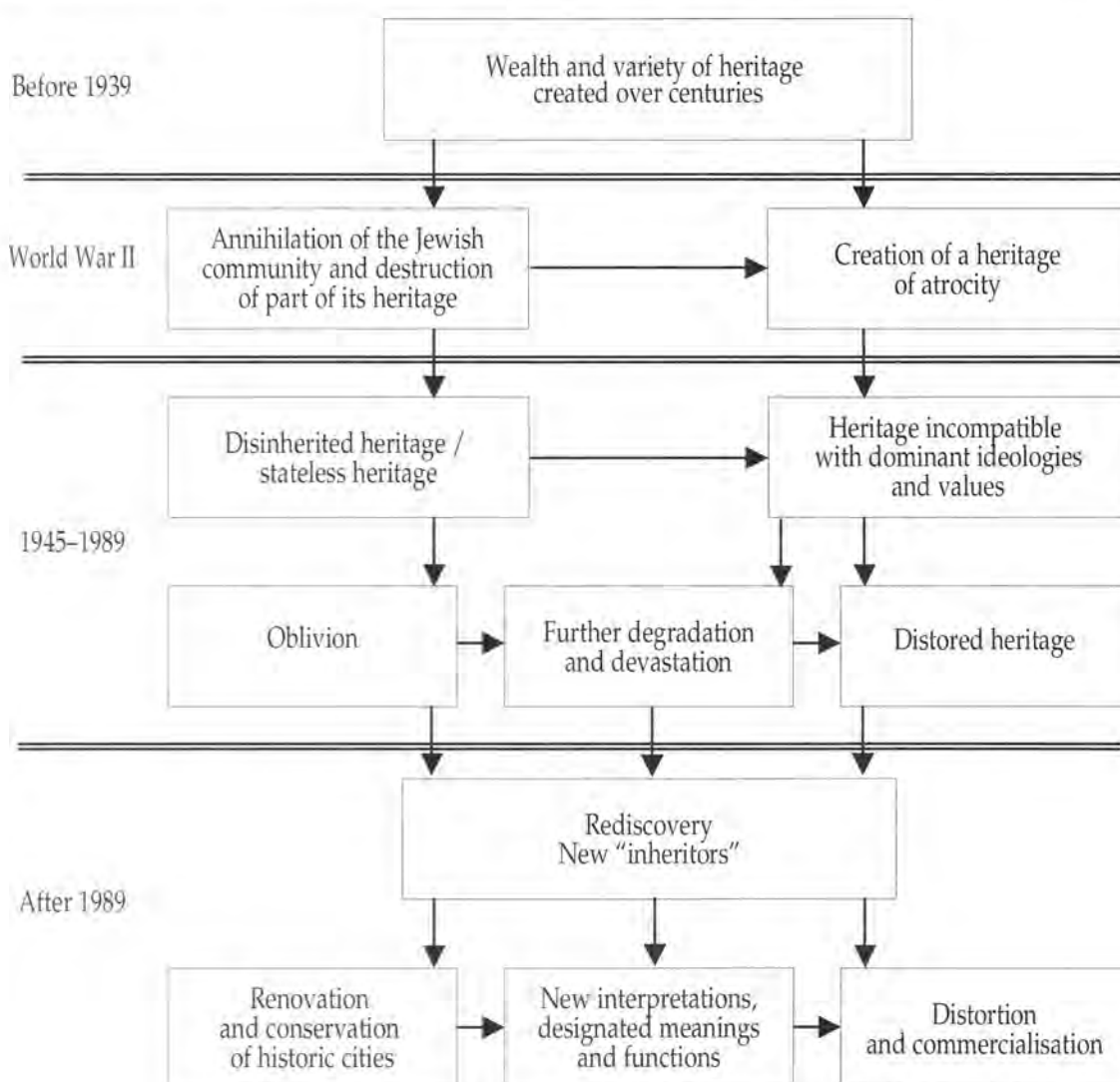


Fig. 3. Jewish heritage in Cracow in the 20th century (author’s own work)

has symbolic functions as an important part of Cracow's contemporary image and a vital ingredient of the city's *genius loci*. It provides a context for other types of business, in particular entertainment and gastronomic. Many people who frequent cafes in Kazimierz emphasise that what attracts them to the district is not so much its Jewish culture as its unique, indefinable character, the magical ambience of a place where time has stopped, and that the relaxed, laid-back atmosphere is more conducive to leisure than that in the heart of the city.

Cracow, and in particular the district of Kazimierz, reflects the processes of discovery of and fascination with Jewish culture that are underway in Europe at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, problems connected with the interpretation and commercialisation of heritage and the adoption of the heritage of one cultural group by another⁶⁸. It illustrates the fact that heritage is a fundamental aspect of the re-awakening of dilapidated districts, as well as the fact that spontaneously generated new interpretations and functions may prove controversial, and may diminish and trivialise the rich, multidimensional heritage of a place. Reaching compromise between commercial exploitation and broad interpretation that is faithful to history and has social and educational ambitions is very difficult, and in terms of monitoring and co-ordination presents a huge challenge to public authorities.

Endnotes:

¹ A good example of the "career" of the word "heritage" is its emergence towards the end of the 1990s in names of both central and local authorities in Poland, such as the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage or the Cracow City Hall Department of Culture and National Heritage, and in the names of ventures connected with making historical monuments accessible to visitors, e.g. Heritage Days (which in many countries are known as "Open Days" or "Open Door Days"), as well as in formulations of the work of the ZPORR (Integrated Operational Programme of Regional Development). Priority I of the ZPORR – *Expansion and modernisation of infrastructure for improving the competitiveness of the regions* – comprises points including action 4. *Culture and tourism*, which represents the merged former actions 1.4 *Preservation and reconstruction of heritage* and 2.6 *Development of tourism*. Cf. www.zporr.mgpips.gov.pl.

² Cf. M. Murzyn, "Dziedzictwo kulturowe a rozwój miasta", [in:] J. Szpak (ed.), *Zeszyty Naukowe. Akademia Ekonomiczna w Krakowie* no. 587, *Prace z zakresu historii gospodarczej*, Kraków 2002, pp. 65–80.

³ Cf. J. Mikulowski-Pomorski, "Genius loci w przestrzeni miejskiej", [in:] J. Purchla i in. (ed.), *Kraków–Małopolska w Europie Środkowej*, studia ku czci prof. Jana M. Małeckiego, Kraków 1996.

⁴ Cf. e.g. G. J. Ashworth, *Building a new heritage*, London 1994.

⁵ Cf. works including Z. Zuziak (ed.), *Managing Tourism in Historic Cities*, Kraków 1993; J. Purchla (ed.), *The Historical Metropolis. A Hidden Potential*, Kraków 1996; G. J. Ashworth, *Building...*, *ibid.*; B. Graham, G. J. Ashworth, J. E. Tunbridge, *A geography of heritage*, London 2002.

⁶ Cf. J. E. Tunbridge, G. J. Ashworth (ed.), *Dissonant heritage: the management of the past as a resource in conflict*, Chichester 1996.

⁷ Cf. works including: R. Prentice, *Tourism and heritage attractions*, London 1993; G. Richards, *Cultural tourism in Europe*, Wallingford 1996; J. Purchla (ed.), *Dziedzictwo a turystyka*, Kraków 1999.

⁸ A. Tomaszewski, Presentation during the Hungarian-Polish round table on co-operation in culture as part of the seminar "The cultural space of the Hungarian-Austrian borderlands", Budapest, 15 June 2004 (transcript).

⁹ One example are the concentration camps that constitute heritage of World War II. This subject is treated more broadly in: J. E. Tunbridge, G. J. Ashworth, *Dissonant heritage...* *ibid.*

¹⁰ They were most numerous in Kazimierz, where over half of all the Jews in Cracow lived, and they constituted 76% of the population. Many lived in the district of Stradom (53% of the total population of this district), Śródmieście (14%) and Podgórze (27%). Cf. the results of the first general census of the population of 30 September 1921, cited by S. Piech (*W cieniu kościołów i synagog: życie religijne międzywojennego Krakowa 1918–1939*, Kraków 1999, p. 17); Cf. also E. Adamczyk, "Społeczność Krakowa i jej życie", [in:] J. Bieniarzówna, J. M. Małecki (ed.), *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. 4, Kraków 1997.

¹¹ There is a wealth of literature on the presence, activities and culture of Jews in Cracow. Here and later in the article I cite only a selection of works. Cf. F. Kiryk, F. Leśniak, "Skupiska żydowskie w miastach małopolskich do końca XVI w.", [in:] F. Kiryk (ed.), *Żydzi w Małopolsce*, Przemyśl 1991; B. Krasnowolski, "Roz-

wój urbanistyczny i architektoniczny miasta żydowskiego na krakowskim Kazimierzu", "Krzysztofor", *Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa*, no. 15, 1988, pp. 84–98; J. Wyrzyski, "Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich", [in:] *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. 1, Kraków 1992; I. Samkova-Rejdach, J. Samek (ed.), *Katalog zabytków sztuki*, vol. IV: *Miasto Kraków*, pt. VI: *Kazimierz i Stradom, Judaica*, Warszawa 1995.

¹² Alongside Josefov in Prague, Kazimierz is one of the most valuable complexes of this type connected with Jewish culture in Europe. Unlike in Prague, however, no large-scale sanitation and rebuilding of the Jewish quarter was undertaken at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, which means that it has retained more of its medieval character.

¹³ Remuh (1553–56), Wysoka (1556–63), Poppera (1620), Izaaka (1638), Kupa (1635–47), Na Górze (first half of the 17th century, stood until 1941) see M. K. Piechotkowie, *Bramy nieba. Bożnice murowane na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1999.

¹⁴ Cracow's most famous rabbi (1525–1572), whose work *Mappa – a commentary to Joseph Caro's Shulchan Aruch* is to this day a collection of rules for daily life respected by orthodox Ashkenazi Jews all over the world; Cf. H. Halkowski, "Cracow – City and mother of Israel", [in:] Z. Baran (ed.), *Cracow dialogue of traditions*, Kraków 1991, pp. 35–51.

¹⁵ Cf. J. M. Małecki, "Cracow Jews in the 19th century: leaving the ghetto", [in:] *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 76, 1997, pp. 85–96, Toruń 1998.

¹⁶ Cf. J. M. Małecki, *ibid.*; K. Karolczak, "Ludność żydowska w Krakowie na przełomie XIX i XX wieku", [in:] F. Kiryk (ed.), *Żydzi w Małopolsce*, Przemyśl 1991.

¹⁷ Cf. J. M. Małecki (ed.), *Podgórze w dziejach wielkiego Krakowa*, Kraków 2000.

¹⁸ Cf. A. Żbikowski, *Żydzi Krakowscy i ich gmina w latach 1869–1919*, Warszawa 1994, and B. Zbroja, *Inwestycje budowlane Żydowskiej Gminy Wyznaniowej w Krakowie w latach 1868–1939* (forthcoming); cf. B. Krasnowolski, *Ulice i place krakowskiego Kazimierza*, Kraków 1992.

¹⁹ B. Zbroja, "Hala przedpogrzebowa cmentarza żydowskiego przy ul. Jerozolimskiej w Krakowie", [in:] *Rocznik Krakowski*, LXIX, Kraków 2003.

²⁰ Cf. S. Piech, *W cieniu kościołów...*, *ibid.*, p. 282.

²¹ B. Zbroja, *Inwestycje budowlane...*, *ibid.*

²² Cf. descriptions of the Jewish quarter by K. Estreicher and A. Döblin; K. Estreicher, *Kraków – przewodnik dla zwiedzających miasto i jego okolice*, Kraków 1938; A. Döblin, *Journey to Poland*, New York 1991.

²³ Cf. J. Purchla, *Jak powstał nowoczesny Kraków*, Kraków 1990; B. Krasnowolski *Ulice i place...*, *ibid.*

²⁴ The range of views is reflected in the division of mandates in the elections to the Cracow Jewish community organisation on 26 May 1929. Zjednoczony Blok Religijny (the United Religious Bloc) won 30% of the votes, Syjoniści Ogólni (the General Zionists, Hitachdut and Mizrahi) 24%, Mizrahi 12%, Żydowskie Stronnictwo Miesz-

czarńskie (the Jewish Bourgeois Alliance) 12%, Stowarzyszenie Rękodzielników Żydowskich (the Association of Jewish Craftsmen) 8%, the Bund 4%, Religijno-Bezpartyjni (Non-Party Religious) 4%, and the Bobow Hasidim 4%. Cf. Cz. Brzoza, "Kraków polityczny", [in:] J. Bieniarzówna, J. M. Małecki (ed.), *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. 4, Kraków 1997, p. 114, and E. Mendelsohn, *Żydzi Europy Środkowo-wschodniej w okresie międzywojennym*, Warszawa 1992.

²⁵ Cf. Mr. Piech, *W cieniu kościołów ...*, *ibid.*, pp. 294–298.

²⁶ A valuable source for Cracow's prewar history is the recently published collection of interviews with prewar Jewish residents of Cracow now living in Israel, most of whom came from reform homes with average or above-average financial status, by A. D. Pordes and I. Grin. For them Cracow was far more than the confines of the Jewish quarter or Kazimierz, which had more of a utilitarian, functional significance (shopping, school, synagogue). Their overall view of the city differs little from that of the city's prewar Catholic residents – important places were the Błonia (the common), Wawel (the castle), the Main Market Square and the Planty park ring; these were where they went for walks and spent their free time. Important events included the funeral of Marshal Józef Piłsudski and celebrations of the 3 May, Polish national holiday. (Cf. A. D. Pordes, I. Grin, *Ich miasto. Wspomnienia Izraelczyków, przedwojennych mieszkańców Krakowa*, Warszawa 2004). Cf. also memoirs of individuals who have written about their Cracow roots and life in prewar Cracow: R. Scharf, *Poland, what have I to do with Thee... : essays without prejudice*, Kraków 1996, and M. Akavia, *Moja winnica*, Kraków 2000.

²⁷ Cf. J. Bieniarzówna, "Krakowski sport w dobie międzywojennej", [in:] J. Bieniarzówna, J. M. Małecki (ed.), *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. 4, Kraków 1997, pp. 425–436, and M. Rympel, "Słowo o Żydach krakowskich w okresie międzywojennym (1918–1939)", [in:] *Kopiec wspomnień*, Kraków 1964. To this day the former sports ground belonging to Makkabi on Dietla Street is still in existence, as is the Makkabi building at 13/15 Wietora Street (formerly Skawińska Boczna), now owned by the Staromiejskie Centrum Kultury Młodzieży.

²⁸ E.g. Talmud Tora at 6 Estery Street, the Iwri Cheder and Tachkemoni Gymnasium at 26 Miodowa Street, the Chaim Hilfstein Hebrew Gymnasium at 5 Brzozowa Street and 8/10 Podbrzezie Street, the Jewish School of Crafts at 3 Podbrzezie Street, the Jewish Labour Centre Private Secondary Vocational School for Girls at 7 Skawińska Boczna Street (now Wietora), the headquarter of Bejt Jakob and the teacher training college at 10 Św. Stanisława Street. Cf. Z. Wordliczek, "Żydowskie szkolnictwo podstawowe, średnie i zawodowe w okresie II Rzeczypospolitej ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Krakowa", *"Krzysztofory"*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa*, no. 19, 1992.

²⁹ M. Rympel, "Słowo o Żydach...", *ibid.*

³⁰ Cf. K. Nowacki, "Teatry żydowskie w Krakowie", *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, 1992, pamphlets 1–4; K. Nowacki, *Architektura krakowskich teatrów*, Kraków 1982; J. Michalik, E. Prokop-Janiec (ed.), *Teatr żydowski w Krakowie. Studia i materiały*, *Studia Polono-Judaica: Series Fontium* 3, Kraków 1995.

³¹ Cf. A. Ciałowicz, "Żegnaj Krakowie... czyli o żydowskim poecie Mordechaju Gebirtigu", [in:] *Katalog VII Festiwalu Kultury Żydowskiej w Krakowie*, 29.06–6.07.1997, Kraków 1997.

³² M. Rympel, "Słowo o Żydach...", *ibid.*

³³ J. Stendig, "Dewastacja cmentarzy, bożnic i zabytków żydowskich Krakowa podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej", [in:] *W trzecią rocznicę zagłady getta w Krakowie*, Kraków 1946.

³⁴ A. Bieberstein, *Zagłada Żydów w Krakowie*, Kraków 1985; T. Pankiewicz, *Apteka w getcie krakowskim*, Kraków 1995; K. Zimmerer, *Zamordowany świat. Losy Żydów w Krakowie 1939–1945*, Kraków 2004; A. Chwalba, "Kraków w latach 1939–1945", [in:] *Dzieje Krakowa*, vol. 5, Kraków 2002 (cf. in particular the chapter "Kraków żydowski – Kroke", pp. 95–162).

³⁵ The negative image of Poland as a place of pogroms and the Holocaust has been addressed by authors including E. Hoffman, *Shtetl: The life and death of a small town and the world of Polish Jews*, Boston – New York 1998, p. 3.

³⁶ Cf. H. Halkowski, "Fenomen Kazimierza czyli podróż pomiędzy historią a utopią", [in:] *Żydowskie życie*, Kraków 2003.

³⁷ Cf. A. Cichopek, *Pogrom Żydów w Krakowie: 11 sierpnia 1945*, Warszawa 2000.

³⁸ In 1958 the Jewish Congregation donated Stara Synagogue to the City of Cracow Historical Museum, which in 1961 opened the first exhibition devoted to the history and culture of Cracow's Jews.

³⁹ M. A. Murzyn, "Conservation and change of function of synagogues in the Kazimierz district in Cracow after 1989", *Architektura & urbanismus*, Vol. XXXVIII, no. 3–4, Bratislava 2004, pp. 159–173.

⁴⁰ Cf. Z. Beiersdorf, "Ochrona i konserwacja dóbr kultury w Krakowie w latach 1944–1989. Próba oceny", [in:] J. M. Małecki (ed.), *Kraków w Polsce Ludowej*, Kraków 1996, p. 110.

⁴¹ Cf. J. Bogdanowski, *Problemy metodologiczne rewitalizacji urbanistycznej – krajoznawczej miasta zabytkowego na przykładzie Kazimierza Krakowskiego*, Warszawa 1985.

⁴² Cf. e.g. D. Cameron, Z. Zuziak et al., *Kazimierz – Action plan: an ECOS funded project, 1993–1994*, Kraków 1994.

⁴³ Cf. M. A. Murzyn, "From neglected to trendy. The process of urban revitalization in the Kazimierz district in Cracow", [in:] I. Sagan, M. Czepczyński (ed.), *Featuring the quality of urban life in contemporary cities of Eastern and Western Europe*, Gdańsk-Poznań 2004, pp. 257–273.

⁴⁴ Author's own calculations based on the financial reports of ZRZZK.

⁴⁵ For instance in the Staromiejskie Centrum Kultury Młodzieży, Stara Synagogue and the Galicia Jewish Museum.

⁴⁶ In 2003 the name of this cafe was changed to Magma.

⁴⁷ The lively discussion currently in progress as to the function of the factory is evidence that issues connected with the history and extermination of the Jews in Cracow are attracting current interest. One proposal is that Lipowa Street be the site of the planned Museum of Remembrance of the Jewish Aid Council, popularly known as Żegota. Another idea (not mutually exclusive to the first, which is in itself controversial) is to use the factory premises for the Museum of Contemporary Art that is to be opened in Cracow.

⁴⁸ Cf. M. A. Murzyn, "From neglected to...", *ibid.*

²⁸ Cf. e.g. A. Legutko-Ołownia, *Kraków's Kazimierz – Town of Partings and Returns*, Kraków 2004; J. Leśniak, O. Budrewicz, *Kazimierz*, Olszanica 2004.

²⁹ E. Lehrer talks of the unconventional way of comprehending Jewish identity in Poland and especially in Cracow, which is different from that in places where there is a sizeable Jewish community. Some people who are not Jews or have only a little Jewish blood in their veins consider "Jewishness" an important, integral element of their identity, and place themselves somewhere between the goy and the Jew. Hence what in Poland may seem to some incomers as a pastiche of Jewish culture devoid of authenticity, created in the absence of "real" Jews, is here often considered authentic. Cf. E. Lehrer, "Bearing false witness? 'Vicarious' Jewish identity and the politics of affinity", [in:] D. Głowacka, J. Zylńska (ed.), *Imaginary Neighbours* (forthcoming).

³⁰ H. Halkowski, *Żydowskie życie...*, *ibid.*

³¹ R. E. Gruber, *Virtually Jewish. Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 2002.

³² S. Avineri, "The changing meaning of Central Europe: a view from Jerusalem", [in:] J. Purchla (ed.), *Central Europe – a new dimension of heritage*, Kraków 2002, p. 49.

³³ E. Lehrer, "Repopulating Jewish Poland – in Wood", [in:] *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry*, 2003, vol. XVI, 2003, pp. 335–355. For Poles the figure of the Hasid is neutral, and received on a par with other similar commercial folk products such as figurines of the sorrowing Christ, dolls in Cracow traditional costume, or highland ceremonial axes sold in souvenir shops. Erica Lehrer's article shows that phenomena that go unnoticed by Poles may be important and controversial to people from outside the country. What Poles consider confirmation of multiethnicity and heterogeneity, or simply an expression of tradition (e.g. figures of Jews in nativity plays and scenes, or the figurines carved by folk artists mentioned above), may by foreigners be received as ambivalent or negative in respect of Jewish culture.

³⁴ H. Halkowski, "Muzeum Aszkenazyjskie w Krakowie, czyli żeby oni chcieli chcieć", May 2002/February 2003 (transcript).

³⁵ A suitable model for Cracow would be the Jewish Museum in Prague, which, with four synagogues and several other sites in

Josefov, in each one presents a different period of the history of the Jews in Bohemia and Moravia, or other aspects of their life in the Diaspora, and enables the visitor to buy a single ticket to all its branches.

³⁶ E. Prokopówna, "Sztetl", [in:] *Powiększenie, Kwartalnik Dyskusyjnego Klubu Filmowego Mikro-Odeon*, 1990, Annual X, nos. 1–4 (37–40).

³⁷ E. Prokopówna, "Sztetl", *ibid.*, and E. Prokopówna, "The image of the shtetl in Polish literature", [in:] *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry*, 4/1989; E. Hoffman, *Shtetl...*, *ibid.*, p. 184; H. Heumann, *Historia Żydów w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej*, Warszawa 1999, pp. 69–71.

³⁸ A. Döblin, *Journey...*, *ibid.*

³⁹ E. Prokopówna, "Sztetl", *ibid.*

⁴⁰ Cf. D. M. Smith, *Moral geographies. Ethics in a World of Difference*, Edinburgh 2000, pp. 90–91.

⁴¹ This is especially visible in the case of American tourists who are descendants of Polish or other Central European Jews, and who only in the second or third generation feel the need to get back to their roots and find out about the lives of their forebears before the Holocaust. On the basis of my own observations and information obtained from Erica Lehrer in Prague in April 2004.

⁴² Cf. E. Hoffman, *Shtetl...*, *ibid.* p. 11.

⁴³ Cf. www.jewishmuseum.org.pl.

⁴⁴ Presentations of the problem of commercialisation of Jewish culture in Poland in the 1990s have been undertaken in projects including Erica Lehrer's exhibition of photography entitled *The Motives of Memory: Commercializing the Jewish Past in Poland* at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor in 1996.

⁴⁵ E. Lehrer, "Repopulating Jewish...", *ibid.*, p. 340.

⁴⁶ M. A. Murzyn, "Die Einstellung der lokalen Bevölkerung zum Kulturerbe in einer niederschlesischen Kleinstadt. Das Beispiel Schöenberg", [in:] A. Langer (ed.), *Der Umgang mit dem kulturelle Erbe in Deutschland und Polen im 20. Jahrhundert*, Warszawa 2004, pp. 201–223.

⁴⁷ R. E. Gruber, *Virtually Jewish...*, *ibid.*

[Translated by Jessica Taylor-Kucia]

The answer to the question about who the Slovaks are, or, alternatively, where they come from, or who they think they are, can be very simple: a majority consider themselves to be descendants of Adam and Eve. If we looked back, we would possibly be able to prove that Adam and Eve were, in fact, Slovaks. This claim would not surprise anyone in Slovakia because somewhere, sometime in the past the Biblical parents were already appropriated by the Slovak historical subconscious. All you need to do is strip them of their fig leaves and dress them in Slovak folk costume. But as other nations tend to think the same about themselves, the above theory is hardly satisfactory to anyone. Historians and ethnologists must therefore keep searching for a Slovak identity. And that is not an easy task. But here another simple solution dawns on one: the Slovaks are neither Czechs, nor Poles, nor Tibetans, nor Peruvians, etc. This method may be accurate but again it is insufficient, even though this is, indeed, the way ethnic identity is established: one group setting itself in opposition to another with respect to language, custom and culture. If it were not for these differences, all people would be the same, and the issue of identity would cease to bother anyone, to the great dismay of ethnologists and historians, who would have to look for other subjects to make their living.

The Slovaks live in a specific geopolitical space and on many occasions in the past and present they have had to determine their identity relative to other ethnic groups. This definition was fairly easy vis-a-vis invaders, whether former (Tartars, Turks) or contemporary (Germans, the Warsaw Pact troops), and vis-a-vis other citizens of the historical Kingdom of Hungary – Hungarians and Germans. The Slovaks shared living space and the king (not always) with them, but clearly stood out for their language and tradition. In these cases, the ethnic identity of the Slovaks was shaped naturally as self-determination vis-a-vis “others” within the same state.

This process was a lot more complicated in relation to ethnically related Slavs, mainly the Poles and the Czechs. In the early Middle Ages, the state moved in on ethnic differentiation unequivocally and energetically. As a result of the founding of the Kingdom of Hungary as well as the Polish and Czech states, some Western Slavs ended up in the Kingdom of Hungary, separated by country borders from the ethnically close Poles and Czechs. Thus, the Hungarian state created a political framework for the Slovaks to form as an independent ethnic group. Always perceived as language differences, the dissimilarities between inhabitants of the Kingdom of Hungary were not dramatic in the Middle Ages or the modern era, yet they should not be underestimated either. In those days other distinctions and other identification criteria prevailed, even within the same *ethnium*.

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Differentiation of the population was mostly vertical: there was the nobility (internally heterogeneous as well) and the people, or *plebs misera*. The nobility in the Kingdom of Hungary was *natio hungarica*. That “medieval political nation”, along with the king and the court, constituted the state. The rest of the inhabitants were not the state, nation or citizens. This polarisation of the medieval society was not as evident in towns. Under the feudal system, towns existed as separate structures, medieval islands of freedom, the only opposition against feudal lords, which, from time to time, were engaged by the king in his fight against the obstructive and disobedience-prone nobility. Therefore social and political stratification in the Middle Ages and the early modern era obscured ethnical differences in the multiethnic Hungarian state.

The national identity of the Slovaks entered a new stage of development at the time European nationalism invaded Carpathian valleys and the vast Puszta. Nationalism as an ideological current began to form in the 18th century, to explode with all its magnificence and all its misery in the 19th century. But its overture resounded in the multiethnic and multilingual Kingdom of Hungary. Before the Hungarian parliament was convened in 1721, the lawyer Mihály Bencsik wrote a work denying the Slovaks the right to participate in parliamentary sittings. He claimed that being descendants of Svätopluk, in other words a nation sold by its own king to Magyars for a white horse, the Trenčínians (Slovaks) were enslaved, holding no right to decide on state matters. This attack was parried by the priest Ján Baltazár Magin with the pamphlet *The Apologia*, and “the thorns cast before the feet of the despicable slanderer Bencsik” in its second part. Magin argued extensively, sensibly, sharply and sarcastically. He reached back to the Roman law which granted citizens’ rights even to residents of the provinces, etc. The polemics was centred on statehood, on who was and who was not a legitimate citizen. Obviously, only the nobility and townspeople were in focus, as *plebs misera* were outside anyone’s range of interest as yet. It is essential, however, that the dispute had an unambiguously ethnic dimension: Magyars versus Slovaks. It was a protonationalistic overture to the main acts coming up next in the 19th and 20th centuries. Perhaps it should have ended like Beethoven’s *Coriolanus*: the overture with nothing to follow. Unfortunately, it did not.

In terms of its time and themes, the process of development of a modern Slovak nation followed the classic track. In the late 18th century the first phase, called “academic”, began. Learned representatives of the two leading religious camps sought to discover the “soul of the nation” in its history, literature and national culture. The history of the nation began to be moulded by reaching back to – obviously – a more and more distant past. The Slavs were believed to be descendants of the Scythians and the Iazyges, vaguely as those had been defined in historical documents, and of more precisely identified non-Slovak protagonists: the Franconian merchant Samo or the Mojmir dynasty.

Problems started later on when the Slovak elite set about formulating the political programme for a national movement. A similar challenge was taken on by its Hungarian counterpart, which was the reason why Slovaks, specifically Ľudovít Štúr and his closest companions, were very “willing to compromise”, to use today’s preferred terminology. Political nationalism usually stemmed from the idea of a national state, and praised state independence. Štúr did not: he accepted the Hungarian state as the Slovak homeland but wanted the Slovaks (and other nations) to enjoy autonomy in the multiethnic Kingdom of Hungary. That compromising attitude met with strong resistance because the Hungarian national movement, also triggered by the idea of a national state, treated the multiethnic Kingdom of Hungary as the national state of the Hungarians. That clash set off a conflict, ramifications of which continue until this day. On the one hand, it helped Slovak national identity to take shape, but on the other hand, especially faced with the emergence of Austria-Hungary after 1867, it hampered national campaigning among the Slovaks because the Hungarian political elite, which had taken over all the instruments of power, combated the idea of a purely Hungarian Kingdom of Hungary with all means available to it, including the Magyarisation of the language, primarily among the intelligentsia and middle-class burghers.

In its fight against Magyarization and striving for the implementation of a Slovak political programme (autonomy), or at least a part of it (language, educational and cultural postulates), the Slovak national campaign used a number of symbols that became tokens of Slovak national identity.

Firstly, the language. Slovak Evangelical liturgy and literature employed the biblical Czech language of the “Králice Bible”. As a good disciple of Ján Kollár, Ľudovít Štúr wrote in this variety of Czech, just like Jozef Miloslav Hurban or Michal Miloslav Hodža. When Slovak Catholics centred around Anton Bernolák adopted

the language he had codified in the late 18th century, the Evangelicals did not reject it either because they themselves had spoken Czech and felt a part of a single culture, Czech or Czechoslovak, at least in a linguistic and literary sense. And that despite the fact that the Czech cultural elite, while nursed with the same philosophical milk, deviated from the biblical Czech language, came out in favour of the real-life spoken language, and absolutely rejected Ján Kollár's attempts to enhance the modern Czech language with the vocabulary of the "Slovak branch of the nation". Ľudovít Štúr decided to codify the literary Slovak language in 1843, when he started to formulate a Slovak political programme and his team initiated a deliberate and energetic national campaign among the Slovaks. Štúr chose the Central Slovak dialect as his reference, as opposed to Bernolák's codification based on Western Slovak. That was clearly and primarily a political manifestation. Štúr's political programme was oriented towards the Kingdom of Hungary, in which, in order to claim national rights successfully, the Slovaks had to be defined as an independent nation possessing its key characteristic, a literary language. Bernolák codified the Slovak language for the purposes of education and religious agitation but for Štúr's generation the codification was also an instrument of political propaganda. Following subsequent reforms of the etymology-based Slovak spelling system invented by Štúr (as opposed to the phonetic method he initially advocated), the Slovak language approximated to Bernolák's language and was accepted by both religious camps. Language as a symbol could therefore take its place in the history of the Slovak nation.

Secondly, the land. The country named Slovakia was, for long, defined imprecisely as the land between the Tatra Mountains and the Danube. It had no frontiers as yet. Later, when the authors of the 1861 Memorandum of the Slovak Nation tried to delineate this land, they did not quite succeed either. The task was not easy – divided administratively into comitats, the Kingdom of Hungary did not know the concept of "Slovakia" (just as it was ignorant of the concept of "Felvidék", meaning Upper Hungary), and marking out ethnic borders in a country that had been forming for centuries was unworkable. Slovakia as a country bounded by administrative borders has been in existence only since 1918. Nevertheless, with its landmark mountains and rivers (Kriváň, Kráľová Hoľa, the Vag, the Danube, etc.) the country played a vital role in the process of developing the Slovak national identity. It was a poetic image of "national space" as in Andrej Sládkovič's poem *Marina*: "My Slovakia: my motherland and the grave of my bones..."

Thirdly, the people. In the main, a rustic, farming population. Nationalism, typically an urban movement, frequently raised country people to the rank of idols with their "intact folk culture" and "pure character". A shirt with folk embroidery on it worn underneath a burgher's jacket was a combination regarded as stylish also by the Slovak elite.

Fourthly, the Centre. From a psychological point of view, the success of this symbol is highly interesting: bandied around by the national ideology for the purposes of appealing to the common people, the Centre was internally an important identification mark for the Slovaks. One of the proofs is the famous rock at the Krahule church, which features the inscription "Centre of Europe". Ideologists are not always good geometers. They might as well have written "Centre of the World" because the Earth being round, any point on its surface can be the centre. But with Europe the matter is slightly more complicated, and therefore there are more than one such rocks. In any case, the motif of the Centre is a significant element of Slovak national identity. Deeply ingrained in it was fear of isolation. Paradoxically, Slovakia has always been a periphery rather than a centre. Its capital city, Bratislava, lies at the periphery of the country, yet according to many Slovaks, Slovakia is still the Centre, or at least the Centre of Europe. This idea took on a political dimension when for the forty years of the communist rule Slovakia was pigeonholed by the world as the 'East' or 'Eastern bloc'. The great discussions over Central Europe that swept across the country after (and before) 1989, and the return to Milan Hodža, had a manifestly political background: we do not want to be the East, give us back our Centre! Also Mečiar's defeat in the elections of 1998 was largely attributable to his fiasco in the process of integration, as well as the anxiety of imminent isolation and possible re-incorporation into the East.

The role that other national symbols played in the development of national identity was not as important. The Slovaks have their national colours, which, in point of fact, are Slavic colours; they have their emblem, borrowed from the Benedictines; and they have their anthem, its tune adopted from a folk song (*Kopala studienku...*). All these symbols are relatively old and associated with the forceful promotion of nationalism in the 19th century, yet they have never become as embedded in the Slovak national awareness as *La Marseillaise* in French minds.

Naturally, Slovaks defined themselves also in the process of shaping their national identity, primarily vis-a-vis their compatriots, or fellow countrymen: Hungarians and Magyarized Slovaks, or "Magyarons", i.e. dissenters. That was not very hard. A lot more difficult was their attitude to the Czechs. Still in the first half of the 19th century, it remained an open question whether the Slovaks were an independent nation, or – together with the Czechs – were but a branch of the Slavic nation, or perhaps they together formed a single, Czechoslovak, nation. The single nation issue was revived on the political plane at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, a period of the most intensive Magyarization, and again after the Republic of Czechoslovakia was created.

The formation of a modern Slovak nation and national identity came to completion after 1918 in the First Republic of Czechoslovakia. The first evidence was the modification of the political programme during World War I. No longer postulating autonomy within the Kingdom of Hungary, Slovak representatives insisted on an independent state shared with the Czechs. The Czechoslovak state contributed new aspects and new problems to the national ideology, most notably anti-monarchist and anti-Hapsburg attitudes, which until then had been alien to the Slovaks. Slovak history also began to be shaped anew as a history of cohabitation of the Czechs and the Slovaks (the Great Moravian Empire as a union of the two nations). Interestingly, historical research stimulated by those concepts brought knowledge that did not substantiate them. In the area of culture and language, the Slovaks had evolved as an independent nation, and the development of education and culture, enabled by the First Republic of Czechoslovakia, sped up the process. As regards the political programme, it ended up split into two incompatible agendas. On the one hand, there were those who accepted the argumentation of centrally oriented political parties and, aware of the Slovaks being culturally different, accepted, or at least condoned, the unitaristic model of the First Republic in politics. The other camp, dominated by Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, demanded political autonomy. Characteristically, at the final stage of its formation, the Slovak nation resembled the leaf of the ginkgo biloba tree: cultural and linguistic unity grooved in the middle to produce two divergent political concepts like the ginkgo's distinct lobes. In some measure, this political duality has survived until this day.

One more comment needs to be made on national identity: what on a meta-plane seems to be self-contained unity, in reality turns out to be a motley collection of individuals. Therefore perception of national identity is diversified, or even idiosyncratic, I would say. Yet in a public forum, identity is always seen through the prism of a group. Disputes are held who really is the "proper" or "good" Slovak. If Slovak society's historical awareness may seem somewhat chaotic to an external eye (for example, we cannot agree on national holidays so we have, I reckon, the largest number of them), the fact that no one as yet wants to be the 'bad' Slovak should be seen as an optimistic sign. Or, perhaps, it is not that optimistic?

[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]

The Idea of the National Museum in Poland

If European "world class" museums such as the British Museum in London, Musée du Louvre in Paris or the Pergamonmuseum in Berlin in their universality date back to the Enlightenment, the so-called national museums are a creation of the age of romanticism when the issue of a nation with its identification and cultural heritage as well as its right to independence was debated very fiercely and justified by the blood sacrifice which took place during uprisings and wars. The fundamental role of a national museum is to depict fully or partially a nation's culture, mainly from a historical angle. Of course, one may try to imagine such a museum as an ordered, suitably displayed and described collection of documents and antiquities from consecutive periods of time, referring to important events or persons of merit in the history of a nation. However, a national museum can also contain a broader collection – it can present the country's geographic, natural and ethnic conditions, its economic and socio-political development, as well as achievements in the fields of science, literature and art. It is thus hard to define the thematic scope or set out firm exhibiting solutions for such an institution. The idea of a national museum has always been a hard one to put in practice, mainly because of the difficulties in obtaining a suitable building and exhibits, which have often already been allocated to specialised museums.

The idea of a "national museum" is more often associated with collections belonging to a nation, ones which are inalienable and are developed according to a specific scheme. It is usually a multi-divisional museum which, apart from national exhibits, presents also foreign works of art. The best example is the Louvre itself, or the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen, where archaeological findings from the times of the Vikings and objects from medieval Denmark are exhibited next to Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek or Roman artefacts. What matters in this case is mainly the national character of the institution as opposed to a municipal or regional one. Sometimes the "nationality" of a museum is clearly defined, as for instance in the case of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich, the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, or the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zurich. Sometimes, "state" and "nation" are both contained in the name, like in the case of the Russian State Museum in St. Petersburg.

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Paper presented at the international conference *Cracow and Nuremberg in European Culture* (International Cultural Centre, 6–7 December 2004).

Poland has the honour of having the oldest European national museum in its purest form: the Sibyl Temple at Puławy (opened in 1801). This museum was the work of Princess Izabela Czartoryska, née Flemming. Princess Czartoryska, in spite of the extremely difficult political situation of a nation which had lost its independence, decided to save and harbour a significant number of antiquities belonging to Polish kings, hetmans, artists and academics and to collect them all in her Pantheon of Fame. Almost all of these objects are now in the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Cracow, while the Sibyl Temple still stands in the Puławy palace garden.

The Czech Patriotic Society of Art Lovers was transformed into the Czech National Museum, Národní museum, which was opened in Prague already in 1818, although for a long time it did not have a proper building. Finally, in monumental urban scenery similar to the Parisian Champs-Élysées, an impressive neo-Renaissance building designed by Josef Schulz was erected at Wenceslas Square in 1885–1890 to house the museum. Its hundred-metre-long façade, hall and staircases were decorated with numerous statues of allegorical characters and national heroes. The central room, two storeys high, called the Pantheon, was decorated with bronze busts of those who rendered great service to the Czech nation, culture and science. The Pantheon quickly became a place of ceremonial gatherings and manifestations. The numerous rooms of the museum house very diverse artefacts from prehistoric and historic times, as well as archaeological, numismatic, mineralogical, geological and paleontological, zoological and theatrical objects.

The Hungarians solved the problem even earlier. Already in 1812, thanks to Count Ferenc Széchenyi, the Historical Museum was founded in Budapest (Történeti Múzeum). In the years 1837–1847 the impressive neo-Classical building of the Hungarian National Museum (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum) designed by Mihály Pollack was erected in Budapest. The suite of rooms houses an excellent selection of objects which illustrate the history of the Hungarians beginning from the migration, when in 896 they built their first settlements along the Danube, through a period of glory until the fall of the kingdom and the subsequent years of their heroic struggle for independence.

Let me now turn to the National Museum in Cracow, the first Polish museum to bear that name and to carry out a clearly defined idea of museum work. I am authorised to do so thanks to the very long, perhaps even too long time, I spent working at the Princes Czartoryski Museum, which since 1950 has cooperated closely with the National Museum.

A description of the events that accompanied the birth of the National Museum in Cracow has been a part of my own family tradition. Before World War II, in our Lvov apartment, amongst other 19th century family mementoes, which at that time were not yet that old (even though I considered them prehistoric) there was a photograph taken at the Walery Rzewuski atelier, showing my grandmother in a Renaissance Venetian dress. The elegant brown and ivory of the photograph made it look like a faded colour one. Such was the costume in which my father's mother, Wanda née Sąddecka, appeared on 5 October, 1879 at the fancy dress ball in the Sukiennice (Cloth Hall) to celebrate fifty years of Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's writing. It was on that day that the painter Henryk Siemiradzki presented Cracow's future National Museum with his monumental painting, called *Nero's Torches*, which he had just completed in Rome. It was a great ball, and the memories of it lasted until my time. Juliusz Kossak appeared dressed up as a "lisowczyk", a Polish rider, just like the one in Rembrandt's painting which decorated the Tarnowski family gallery in Dzików (now in the Frick Collection in New York); and Kossak's son, Wojciech, came dressed up as a falconer, with a live falcon sitting on his arm.

What matters here are the time markers. Kraszewski's anniversary was the first formal national manifestation organised by Poles after the fall of the January 1863 Rising, as the result of which the country sank into a period of national mourning. The bitterness of defeat seemed unbearable and the hopes of independence were dim and got even dimmer after the defeat of the French in the Franco-Prussian war. The nation needed encouragement, comforting and the restoration of its dignity. The poetry of Poland's three bards: Mickiewicz, Słowacki and Krasiński, was widely read at that time but its tone was far from triumphant – all the heroes of their poems and plays struggled with both personal and social disasters and were the representatives of romantic despair and dilemmas. When in 1869 Cracow and the whole of Poland heard about the discovery of King Casimir the Great's tomb at the Wawel Cathedral, it did not awake a feeling of power but led to nostalgic and grim reminiscing. The crown adorned a bare skull with empty eye sockets. Yet the nation needed a different image, if

only a legendary one, but uplifting and restoring faith in its power. Drawing often on old Slavic sources, that was what Kraszewski evoked through his novels, and for this reason he was so cordially feted during the Cracow jubilee. But there was still a demand for something else. Historic proofs: portraits of the kings and hetmans, regalia, old trophies, cavalry armour, sabres and standards were required. And all that was to be presented alongside historical paintings in the National Museum which had been so strongly advocated by various Polish patriots including Wincenty Pol, Józef Dietl and Teodor Nieczuja-Ziemięcki.

The program of the Polish National Museum was best captured in 1871 by Józef Dietl, the mayor of Cracow and a former rector of the Jagiellonian University. He wrote: "It would be appropriate to create a gallery of the Polish kings, heroes, artists and academics in the renovated Sukiennice. There historical paintings commemorating the great events in our nation's history, there ethnographic collections and ancient armour should bejewel the rooms, thus constituting a veritable National Museum".

A scrupulously reconstructed calendar of events that led to the founding of the National Museum, archival documents, speeches, press articles, photographs and prints prove that on the fifth day of October one hundred and twenty-five years ago, Cracow witnessed a true accumulation of social feelings, that the nation unified in a common euphoria, and that in this extraordinary atmosphere the longed-for institution was conceived. Twenty-five years ago, on the 100th anniversary of that event, an exhibition entitled *The Birth of the Museum* was organised at the Sukiennice. The organisers collected all the paintings which had been presented to the museum by other Polish artists who followed Siemiradzki's example. These artists were the first founders of the Museum. One of the wall display cases contained a reproduction of a drawing by Juliusz Kossak, published in the Varsovian *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* weekly and portraying the ball I mentioned earlier. The ground-floor hall of the Sukiennice, today full of stalls with souvenirs, was lit with gas lamps and full of guests: men in Polish robes or tails, officers in Austrian uniforms, ladies wearing splendid gowns; the walls decorated with mirrors and flower garlands, and the entrances to the hall hidden behind velvet curtains. Another print depicts an evening procession with torches, the *Fackelzug*, organised by the participants of the celebration, who went to the Krakowski Hotel where Siemiradzki was residing. He left his balcony, took one of the torches, and led the crowds to the house of Jan Matejko, to whom he symbolically handed the sceptre of Polish art.

In Siemiradzki's painting there were also torches, but they had been made of tormented human bodies so as to quench the cruel appetite of Nero and his court. The topic was not a typical one and it seemed that no one would remain indifferent to it. However, the artist was soon criticised for all the bad aspects of academism and condemned for insincerity and affected posing. Academism was not popular in the 20th century either, when art was tossed by violent storms. Also today the museum guides do not stop for long before that first item in the collection (recently renovated). All the canvas evokes in contemporaries is merely surprise. One must remember that in the newly-opened National Museum *Nero's Torches* was truly admired and its influence reached far beyond the walls of the Sukiennice. It is not an exaggeration to say that it spread around the world. It was that very painting which inspired Henryk Sienkiewicz to write his *Quo Vadis?*, which became the most famous Polish novel. Both oeuvres contained references to the history of Poland. One can easily see the face of the ruthless tsar in Nero and the figures of the oppressed Poles in the first Christian martyrs. Similarly, in *Quo Vadis?* Ligia, a slave from Silesia, is saved by Ursus, who wrings the neck of a great Teutonic bull. That image in turn inspired Siemiradzki to paint *A Christian Dirce* which is now exhibited at the Warsaw National Museum.

This link between literature and painting shaped both Polish art and museology. The first great work bought by the Museum was a painting by Jacek Malczewski entitled *The Death of Elenai*, inspired by Juliusz Słowacki's poem *Anielli*. It is still one of the most beautiful and most intense canvasses exhibited at the Sukiennice Gallery.

As I said, the Poles wanted to break free from the overwhelming complex of martyrdom and look at their history from a different angle, i.e. to recall the moments of power and glory. This trend was visible already in the first donations made to the Museum. Among these there stood out a middle-sized Munich-style painting entitled *Banquet at Wierzynek's* by Bronisław Abramowicz. The topic was perfectly chosen as it demonstrated the diplomatic success of King Casimir the Great, who invited monarchs from all parts of the world and at the same time proved the prestige of the host, the Cracow burgess Nicholas Wierzynek, who was of German origin. The painting marked another of the important motifs to be found in the Gallery, i.e. a certain actualisation or, in

other words, artistic vision, bringing to mind that noteworthy historic event which took place here, on Cracow's Rynek (Market Square). The aim of the rulers' meeting was to eliminate differences of views held by Central European rulers and to consider the idea of an anti-Turkish league. The participants included the Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg, his son Vaclav of Bohemia, King Louis of Hungary, King Pierre de Lusignan of Cyprus, King Waldemar of Denmark, the dukes Otto and Louis of Bavaria, Prince Bolko of Swidnica, Prince Boguslaw IV of Slupsk with his son Kazko, and the princes Siemowit III of Mazovia and Wladyslaw of Opole. Organised with great splendour, the meeting was accompanied by a tournament. Nonetheless, the feast was too distant in time and did not carry meanings which would be currently important for Poland. The mission to create truly important works was undertaken by the Master Jan Matejko – to whom Siemiradzki had handed the sceptre to rule people's hearts and minds, and who from the very start participated in the creation of the Polish National Museum.

The first great temporary exhibition organised at the Sukiennice in 1883 was of decisive importance to the ideological and material development of the Museum. It documented the 300th anniversary of King Jan III Sobieski's victory over the Turks at Vienna. Two years later the Museum acquired Jan Matejko's gigantic *Prussian Homage*. Painted three years before that date, it was the artist's present for the nation and it was meant to be placed in the Wawel Castle, which was then the most desirable, yet unattainable location for the National Museum as it had been turned into a citadel and occupied by Austrian troops. *Prussian Homage* was quickly sent abroad for the International Fair in Paris. The political and diplomatic role of Matejko's paintings deserves special attention. After the painting came back from France, it was put into a magnificent frame designed by the master and placed at the Sukiennice, where it remains until now. The choice of home for the painting was highly justified because the actual oath of allegiance was sworn by Albert of Hohenzollern to Sigismund I the Old only a few steps away from the Sukiennice, in the southern part of the Rynek, and later the place was marked by a memorial plaque. It was no longer a vague allusion, like in the case of *Nero's Torches*, but a concrete proof of Poland's sovereignty and a sign of its majesty unshaken even by the fact that the court jester in the painting seems to foresee the sad times to come. Matejko's artistic concept involved a specific realism of props, often anachronistic, taken from local collections, mainly from the Princes Czartoryski Museum. He also used to ask Cracow's celebrities as well as his own family members to be his models, and even incorporated his own self-portrait (Stańczyk, the court jester, and the king's Italian architect Berrecci). It was thus a kind of a painted *tableau vivant* or theatre, where the actors were real people conscious of their roles and dreaming of a great future.

During the past 125 years the painting has left the Sukiennice only few times. In 1894 it was taken to Lvov to grace the National Fair and four years later it went to Vienna in connection with Kaiser Franz Josef's coronation anniversary. Its return was celebrated by bands playing on the Market Square.

There is a shocking photograph taken at the end of August 1939 which documents the evacuation of the Museum in the face of the imminent outbreak of war. *Prussian Homage* has been taken out of the frame and is being rolled onto a great wooden reel. The canvas was taken to Zamość in the greatest secrecy and hidden there in the vault of St. Catherine's church. But already in November that year it was brought back to Cracow since the hiding place was considered unsafe. The painting survived amongst boxes with other museum artefacts and the Nazis did not manage to find and destroy it. During the communist times Tadeusz Kantor set to work to paint a "counter-canvas", the *Emballage of the "Homage"* in which, as a protest against the grim reality, *The Prussian Homage* is wrapped up and forgotten and only the tragic court jester's face remains. Today *Prussian Homage* is still to be found in the Sukiennice; it graces ceremonial gatherings and concerts and its theme does not matter as much as its history and beauty.

Another event which was a popular motif in the 19th century was the Tadeusz Kościuszko insurrection inaugurated on 24 March, 1794, also commemorated by a plaque on the Market Square and recorded in the paintings exhibited at the Sukiennice. A documentary but rather naive picture of that event painted by Michał Stachowicz was developed into a huge monumental painting by Jan Matejko. The work, called *Kościuszko at Racławice*, was bought by the Museum in 1890 with money collected by the public. It was neither the battle, nor the ephemeral triumph over the Russian army (the scarce Polish forces were unable to break down the power of the tsarist army) that was important, but the breakthrough that took place in the minds of the nation when peasants stood shoulder to shoulder united with the nobility and townsfolk in their struggle for independence.

Matejko was criticised for some weaknesses of his composition but the theme emphasised the fundamental patriotic importance of the National Museum.

No other painting acquired by the flourishing Gallery: neither Piotr Michałowski's remarkable etudes or light cavalry charges at Somosierra, nor images of Napoleon as the god of war, nor Chelmoński's wild *Four-in-Hand* or Podkowiński's perverse *Frenzy* could weaken the ideological content of these three gigantic canvasses I have described above. What is more, I venture to say that thanks to them the Gallery at the Sukiennice remains the ideological centre of the National Museum.

Unfortunately, the patriotic and triumphant trend, visible also in the architectural history of the National Museum, was never turned into reality. As the collections grew continuously there arose a need to erect a separate new building for the Museum just like the Czechs and Hungarians had done already in the 19th century.

After Poland regained its independence, in 1919, a decision was taken to build in Cracow a Freedom Monument, which was promptly associated with the idea of founding a new building for the Museum. According to a design by Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz the building was to be placed on the edge of the Blonia common, at the exit of Wolska Street (today's Piłsudskiego Street). A horizontal row of pavilions was to be enclosed by a colonnade and topped by a triumphal arch slightly similar to the one at the Place d'Étoile (today Place Charles de Gaulle) in Paris. Through the span of the arch one could see the distant Kościuszko Mound. However, such a design was beyond the possibilities of the young state, so Szyszko-Bohusz's design was not realised, nor was any other, because Poland, like the rest of the world, slumped into the great crisis. The idea was revived only at the beginning of the 1930s. A new design for the Museum building, produced by Czesław Boratyński and Edward Kreisler in collaboration with Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz and the Museum director, Feliks Kopera, was approved. It incorporated a new design of the façades produced by the Warsaw architects Bolesław Schmidt, Janusz Jura-szyński and Juliusz Dumnicki. The centre of the huge two-storey block was to consist of a lofty rotunda – a separate architectonic segment, the Polish Pantheon of fame and struggle for independence, an unquestionable reference to the first Polish Pantheon – the Sibyl Temple erected by Princess Czartoryska at Puławy and opened in 1801. Most probably the idea came from Feliks Kopera, who suggested it to the architects. The walls of the Pantheon were to be decorated with the designs of Stanisław Wyspiański's stained glass windows (once meant to decorate the Cracow Cathedral) portraying Poland's patron, St. Stanislas, Prince Henry the Pious who died defending Silesia against the Tatars, and King Casimir the Great. In the lower room of the Pantheon they planned a place for the urn with the heart of General Jan Henryk Dąbrowski, the founder of the Polish Legions in Bonaparte's army in Italy and the hero of the Polish national anthem. The sarcophagus was to be guarded by knights – symbolised by hussar armour – and the walls were to be decorated with national standards and trophies. On the ground floor, just opposite the main entrance, there was to be a great hall, accordingly decorated, which was to be used for exhibitions, congresses and other important celebrations. Along both sides of the hall, on the first and second floor, there were exhibition rooms meant to house permanent exhibitions of Polish art from medieval until contemporary times. At the back of the building, on the side of the Jagiellonian Library, there was to be a colonnade enclosing a courtyard housing a *lapidarium* and a number of antique cannons. The Polish society received this monumental undertaking with great enthusiasm. The National Museum Building Committee carried out a very energetic campaign. Articles on the subject appeared in newspapers, concerts and balls were organised, and a pavilion was built close to the Blonie common to advertise the construction. The foundation stone was laid on 1 June, 1934 in the presence of President Ignacy Mościcki and the Cracow Bishop Suffragan, Fr Stanisław Rospond. The construction work went smoothly and the plans were expected to be carried out promptly thanks to the social enthusiasm and dedication.

In 1939 World War II dealt a cruel blow to the undertaking. The Nazi invaders confiscated the partially-finished building and adapted it for their own needs, i.e. they turned it into a Wehrmacht and Gestapo officers' mess.

After the liberation of Poland from the Nazis, the Soviets took control. Their rulers did not think that the Polish people needed a patriotic national museum. The construction work went on for a long time and the initial design was intentionally abandoned. A pantheon was never built and General Dąbrowski's heart was taken to Poznań under the hypocritical pretext that in 1806 he had entered the city with Napoleon's army. Protests did not help as irrevocable decisions had been taken in the Party committees.

In 1979, shortly after the completion of the construction works, which turned out to castrate the original design, on the 100th anniversary of the Museum, the New Building shone with an unusual but rather ephemeral light thanks to an exhibition entitled *Polish People's Self-Portrait* organized by Marek Rostworowski and his team: Janusz Walek, Jan Dreścik, Krystyna Moczulska, Helena Małkiewiczówna and Dorota Dec. The magnificent exposition, portraying the turbulent Polish history through a collection of portraits, took the Party rulers by surprise. The exhibition attracted thousands of visitors and paved the way for Poland's spiritual victory, of Solidarity.

Yet the show passed and the New Building remains, now named the Main Building, a truly spiritless edifice. The place of the representative hall and the Sibylline rotunda was taken by a triple-aisle, heavy and dark temporary exhibition hall. The rooms on the first and second floor house the permanent exhibitions of modern Polish painting and sculpture. Permanent exhibitions of militaria "Arms and Colours", as well as decorative arts and crafts exhibitions have been set up, yet they are interesting only for specialists and far from the national museum idea (they have almost no iconographic dimension which could stimulate viewers' imagination). And thus the Main Building lives mainly thanks to temporary exhibitions and when there are none, it is simply empty. Its interior, especially the ground floor, lacks convenient and logical communication with the upper floors and is far from any modern architectural criteria. Thus there appears a need to build another annexe whose initial design was presented to us recently. It requires constructive evaluation and criticism. In our situation the construction of a new museum building has to be approached from the perspective of a whole new century. For this reason there should be a broad discussion on how to describe and carry out a correct national museum idea, not only in view of ownership title and administration rights.

In fact there is a very simple answer to that question: we have to present the nation's history through exceptional works of art and to raise a spirit that may awake the nation. This role was partially taken over by other museums in Poland and abroad in the 19th and 20th centuries, like the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Cracow and the old Polish museum in Rapperswil, then the State Art Collection – Wawel Castle together with the John Paul II Cathedral Museum, the National Museum in Warsaw and the Wilanow Palace Museum, the National Museum in Poznań, and finally the Royal Castle in Warsaw. A selection of exhibits from these museums could make an ideal Polish national museum collection. It can exist only as a "museum of the imagination" once described by André Malraux and now referred to as a virtual museum.

[Translated by Anna Rucińska-Barnaś]

The Legend of Wit Stwosz in Nineteenth- and Twentieth- Century Politics

In the vicinity of the imperial castle in Nuremberg lies a street whose name stirs up as much envy as anger. The street commemorates Johann Neudörfer, the author of *Nachrichten von Nürnberger Künstlern* (1547). The envy is aroused by the fact that Nuremberg – unlike Cracow – can pride itself on its “Vasari,” and the anger stems from the fact that a single sentence from Neudörfer’s volume was responsible for the great turmoil that broke out among Polish historians in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The name of the wood-carver who made the altarpiece for St Mary’s Church in Cracow was soon forgotten. That is rather unsurprising. Wit Stwosz stayed in Cracow until 1496, and just a few years later the town saw the harbinger of the Tuscan Renaissance: the tombstone of King Jan Olbracht in Wawel Cathedral. Stwosz’s idiom did not suit the tastes of subsequent generations. And although the altarpiece was renovated in the mid-seventeenth century at the cost of the Town Council, in the second half of the eighteenth century it was to be replaced by a new piece: a more appropriate Baroque one. Not losing one’s sense of proportion, one can tentatively suggest that the altarpiece was saved by the death of Reverend Jacek Lopacki, the parish priest of St Mary’s, who, albeit an outstanding intellectual, was enamoured of the Baroque.

Wit Stwosz’s name was to re-emerge as late as in the early nineteenth century, during the Romantic period, known for the fascination with the Middle Ages. It resurfaced thanks to Ambroży Grabowski (1782–1868), an industrious scholar carrying out research into the history of Cracow. His biography is yet another proof that Cracow has benefited most from the activity of people who were not born in it. Grabowski was a son of a church organ player from the area of Kęty in southern Poland. During his archival work he re-discovered the name of the medieval genius, lost in the mists of time. Grabowski authored over sixty books and gave his name to one of the halls at Collegium Maius of the Jagiellonian University. It is debatable if the archivist would have been at all able to propagate the name of the medieval sculptor if it had not been for the help of two artists, Grabowski’s contemporaries. The maker of the excellent polyptych was inquired after by the great Danish Neo-classical sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen during his stay in Cracow (where the Dane left behind a few of his works in Wawel Cathedral). Piotr Michałowski demanded that Wit Stwosz’s work should be renovated as “practically the only one of its kind, deserving the admiration of the greatest artists, being the pride of Polish art.”¹ The undoubtedly historic re-discovery of Stwosz had, however, its advantages and disadvantages. The point is it occurred under the partitions, at the time when the concept of the “nation” began to crystallise. That complicated the matter: the biography and *oeuvre* of Wit Stwosz were tied up with politics ever since.

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The complication manifested itself first in the second half of the nineteenth century during the major dispute of historians (and not only historians) over the nationality of the medieval sculptor and, later on, over the proper form of his name. In this case one can hardly speak of propaganda; rather, extreme emotions of the public were at play. Perhaps this is why that particular aspect of the political story of Wit Stwosz (often referred to as the "war over Stwosz" because of its rebellious and slightly irrational character, as viewed from the modern perspective) seems not only the most interesting but also the most moving. We wanted Wit Stwosz so much to be Polish...

On the German side of this controversy, the most important work is Baader's *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Nürnberg* (1862) and his later article under the telltale title "Veit Stoss kein Pole sondern ein geborener Nürnberger," in which Baader enumerated several burghers of Nuremberg who had borne the surname of Stoss, among them a Michael Stoss, a haberdasher from 1415, who, Baader supposed, had been the father of Veit Stoss. However, the first German monograph on the sculptor was published by Berthold Daun in Leipzig as late as in 1906. On the Polish side of the controversy, almost everyone voiced their opinion: Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, Jan Ptaśnik, Leonard Lepczyński, Jan Sas-Zubrzycki, Tadeusz Szydlowski, and Szczepan Dettloff. A prominent and unique figure in the debate over the nationality of Wit Stwosz was Ludwik Stasiak, a very emotional and stridently polemical feature writer and eccentric who considered himself a painter, an heir to the artistic heritage of Jan Matejko and a historian, disciple of Stanisław Tarnowski, who had been dubbed "the King in Szlak Street" [where he had his residence] and presided over Cracow's conservatives. Anyhow, Stasiak went down in history as the person who turned the case of Wit Stwosz into a national affair and incensed public opinion all over Poland for many years to come.

In the campaign, several documents were brought up as arguments. The first of them was the above mentioned *Nachrichten von Nürnberger Künstlern* by Johann Neudörfer from 1547. The nineteenth-century editions of this work (dated 1822, 1828, 1875) were based on copies and not on the original draft, which was unavailable. The 1822 edition does not contain any information about Wit Stwosz's birthplace at all, and the second one – as the editor did claim to be in possession of the original – contains a note "Dieser Veit Stoss (...) von Cracau birdig." The note was quoted as evidence by those who wanted to corroborate that Wit Stwosz was of Polish extraction: one could not have a better proof than that the Germans themselves, as represented by Neudörfer, had admitted the Polish nationality of Stwosz. The next argument was the last will and testament of Maciej Stwosz, Wit's brother, who in 1482 became an inhabitant of Cracow on the basis of its municipal laws. The pleaded sentence read: "Ich Matys Stos oder Schwab als man mych nent." However, Jan Ptaśnik in his book on Wit Stwosz and his family (*Ze studiów nad Witem Stwoszem i jego rodziną*, 1912) pondered on what conclusions could be drawn from the fact that the sculptor's brother had been called a Swabian in the town of Cracow: "Yet, did he consider himself German? It's hard to believe, as in his will he called his beloved daughter *Hamulina* (little Hannah)." ²

Another, perhaps the most controversial point in the debate was a document by Jan Heydek, a scribe for the Town Council at the time of Wit Stwosz. Heydek described how the altarpiece from St Mary's had originated, indicating that the Poles had not made any contributions, that the benefactors had been only the Germans, while the work itself had been executed by "Vittus Almanus de Norimberga vir mirae constantiae et fidelitatis." Everything seems to be stated here *expressis verbis*, but the doubts of the Polish historians were not in the least unfounded: the document in question was a copy dated 1553, which year saw the climax of the conflict between the Polish- and German-speaking inhabitants of Cracow about the proprietorship of the Church of St Mary (the conflict was resolved by King Zygmunt the Old to the benefit of the Poles). Hence the contents of the document could have been misrepresented at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Yet another written source that was to prove the Polish nationality of Wit Stwosz was a letter from 1506, sent by the sculptor to the municipal council of Nuremberg, written in execrable German...

So who was Stwosz for some of the most trenchant polemicists of the day? Let us remember that those years were marked in Cracow by the erection of the monument to the victory of the Poles over the Germans in the 1410 Battle of Grunwald; the monument was put up as permitted by the Austrian authorities in one of the town's central squares named after Jan Matejko. Presented below is the genealogy of Wit Stwosz written by Ludwik Stasiak, the most dedicated of the advocates of the sculptor's Polish origin; it is an excerpt from the text whose title is practically all-revealing: *From the 1181 Commander of the Polish Forces, Otto Stwosz, to the Last Representative of the Lineage, Bogusław Stwosz (nota bene, the language of Stasiak's writings concerning the recovery of*

property and the circumstance of the Polish judges *Rewindykacja własności naszej*, 1911; *Są jeszcze w Polsce sędziowie*, 1912 – constitutes excellent research material for students of journalism).

"Probably their family residence was Stoszyn in the region of Silesia. The Stwosz family were knights who served the Piast dynasty. In the service of the Piasts, they acquired much wealth and rose in importance. It was they who arbitrated between dukes in their conflicts concerning borders. At the same time the family expanded enormously, owing to which the side lines lost their landed estates and had to strive to earn their living. When the family was at the apogee of its power, the poorer of them were hired mercenaries who fought to get their daily bread. Before the middle of the fifteenth century in Silesia there were a great deal of estate owners and tenants named Stwosz; however, their Silesian inheritance proved too small and some of the members of the gentry had to leave their homes and start working as craftsmen. One of the migrants ventured as far as Nuremberg and, concurrently, a host of them headed for the region of Cracow. Those who were better-off and had connections went to serve the Polish monarch and asked him to confirm their gentry status in Silesia, which King Kazimierz the Jagiellon did. The poor ones, who could not afford to pay so as to retain their armorial bearings, leased villages in the Cracow area. The most impoverished ones looked for jobs in Cracow and became town-dwellers, earning their living by practising crafts. They became jewellers, gunsmiths, shoemakers, bakers, etc. It was the second or possibly the third Stwosz generation dwelling in Cracow that could boast of the great genius. Wit Stwosz's forefathers lost the Lekna coat-of-arms; this heraldic emblem of the gentry was replaced by the burgher's badge carved on the tombstone of Kazimierz the Jagiellon: by the sculptor's monogram that belongs to the most renowned emblems in the world."³

It appears that we wanted Stwosz not only to prove a Pole, but also a well-born one, which cannot be surprising in this country, where the ancient traditions of the landed gentry have remained important until today. And it was in the role of a representative of the Polish gentry that Wit Stwosz was cast in nineteenth-century drama. The two plays devoted to the sculptor, by Władysław Wędrychowski (1866) and Wincenty Rapacki (1874), were rather successful. Both playwrights attempted to answer the question why the sculptor – a respected inhabitant of Cracow – left for Nuremberg, where nothing was to befall him but misfortune. In Wędrychowski's play Stwosz is sent abroad by the historian Jan Długosz: "I will suggest Nuremberg to him / To serve the national cause. When foreigners desire to / Get acquainted with Polish art, let them see / That also in arts Poland will be able to become the champion of the nations."⁴ In Rapacki's play the rationale for the removal to Nuremberg is presented by Stwosz himself, who confides in the Portuguese King Manuel when the monarch, visiting the sculptor's German studio, enquires: "Are you a stranger here?" Stwosz answers: "Yes, I am Polish. My country is afflicted by war and conflagration, / and my compatriots, fully armoured / and armed with swords, have to stand guard / against the barbarians invading our homeland. / And where the roof over your head is rickety / fine arts cannot blossom. / The turmoil continues and in one of the fires / I lost all my goods and chattels / and later my wife and my three children. / With despair in my soul I left my home town / And settled down here / (...) All the time I am homesick for my country, / But the love of art keeps me in this place."⁵

The conclusion is that actually Wit Stwosz went to Nuremberg so as to show the local artists how to practise art. By the way, he was not the first one to do that. As it is generally known, in the old days Nuremberg was famous for the manufacture of bells and tower clocks. One of them is the Zygmunt Bell in Wawel Cathedral in Cracow. And what do we learn from Rapacki's play? It turns out that the arcane skill of clockmaking was transplanted to Nuremberg by the Slavs, represented in the text by the senile beggar who comes to see Stwosz and brings along a model of a clock. The envious inhabitants of Nuremberg had put out his eyes so that he could not disclose the secret to anybody. The old man pleads with Stwosz: "You must solemnly vow that you will immediately leave Nuremberg and that you will preserve my teaching in the land of the Franks. There the people are good, and here they will always be hostile towards us – as long as our hearts are tender."⁶ Both playwrights seem to be absolutely sure that it was Stwosz who made the tombstone of St Sebaldus in the Nuremberg church dedicated to the saint (today a Protestant church) as well as the ciborium in the Church of St Lawrence. In Rapacki's drama the said ciborium is the cause of the artist's downfall: the local guild craftsmen do not understand why the top of the structure is bent; they perceive that as a proof of the sculptor's incompetence and not of his artistic humility. And "the guild is serious about that,"⁷ forewarns him one of the characters in the play.

Part of the struggle for the recognition of the Polish nationality of the maker of the altarpiece at St Mary's was the debate over the spelling and pronunciation of his name. The spelling "Stwosz," which is used

in Poland nowadays, was for the first time proposed by Ambroży Grabowski: this was his reading of the sign on the tombstone of Kazimierz the Jagiellon and of the signature on the 1506 letter. However, in 1924 Adam Kleczkowski wrote that the letters "v" or "w", as used by the sculptor, had been in fact mute letters and signified that the "o" following them was to be pronounced as a long vowel. Two variants, "Stosz" and "Stwosz," were for a long time used interchangeably. Jan Ptaśnik claimed: "The Stwosz family were Polish and this is why Wit was unable to write in German, he wrote like a foreigner from the East. On one occasion he signed his name as "Stwosz," but the letter "w" could stand for "u" as we can observe in other words included in the same piece of writing. Both in Nuremberg and in Cracow he and his sons were called Stosz and this is how Stwosz should be called and how his name should be spelled. Why don't we return the old name of Stosz, equivalent to Stoso or Stoszko, to the Stwosz family and why don't we call them the Stoszes, as they were actually called?"⁸

Between the world wars, the Art History Committee of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences recommended that the name "Stwosz" should continue to be used because of the "fairly long observed custom of spelling it so in Poland."⁹ The decision followed the enquiry of the Polish Ministry of Post and Telegraph, which intended to issue a postage stamp in memory of Stwosz. One could say therefore that we owe the Polish spelling of the name of the most eminent artist who has ever lived in Cracow to the Polish Post. Notwithstanding the decision, Szczesny Dettloff suggested a change even in 1961: "If we then adopt a linguistically logical, and not misleading, version of the name of our Cracovian sculptor, how should we pronounce it? I myself cannot think of a reason why it should not sound Polish, that is the way we spell it, and not the way the Germans pronounce it (i.e. Stoss). Significantly, the name of the painter Norblin, who worked in Poland under King Stanisław August, is not pronounced in the French way any longer, but polonised. Moreover, even the Germans cannot be sure nowadays that they pronounce the sculptor's name correctly, because we don't know if in medieval Germany the consonants "st" were pronounced in the same way as they are now (i.e. "sht"). And even at present in some regions of northern Germany they are pronounced in the way they are spelled."¹⁰

But the real propaganda campaign concerning Stwosz was to begin only in the Third Reich. It should be remembered that it was targeted at the Germans and not the Poles, and that it focused on two aspects: Nuremberg was presented as a Germanic and imperial town while Cracow was presented as a German centre in the East. In other words, portraits of the two towns were created, and for propaganda reasons the vision of an imperial Nuremberg was obviously more crucial than the vision of a "German" Cracow: the altarpiece of St Mary's was transported to Nuremberg as early as in March 1940. (It was possible it would stay in Berlin, though, where it was kept initially in the Bank of the Reich. Apparently, the mayor of Nuremberg was assisted in the negotiations with the state authorities by Albert Speer.)

Even earlier, in 1933, Nuremberg hosted an exhibition devoted to Stwosz's *oeuvre*, including his works from Cracow, and on the basis of the exhibition catalogue prepared by Eberhard Lutze a monograph of Stwosz was written (1938, 1941, 1952). After the war, Karol Estreicher commented on Lutze, an art historian and member of the Nazi party, in the following way:

"I met Dr. Eberhard Lutze in Nuremberg towards the end of 1945, when for three days he had been detained in prison by the occupying authorities and interrogated on the issue of the plundered altarpiece of St Mary's. It seemed then to me that I recognized him as an acquaintance, as if I had met him before the war in Cracow. I wasn't sure at the time, nor am I sure now. It appears Lutze visited Cracow before the war, just like Dr Sappok, Dagobert Frey and Gustav Barthel. I can remember one thing: those Nazi historians enquired at the Museum of the Jagiellonian University about medieval works of art, especially those from the times of Wit Stwosz. As a rule, we (that is Professor Tadeusz Szydlowski and I) denied them access to these objects of art, and the rule had been established much earlier by Professor Marian Sokołowski (1905), who had denied scholars from Berlin the right to publish the design of the Bamberg altarpiece. In the future it became clear that the distrust and the premonition were not ungrounded. Because I could speak German, Professor Szydlowski entrusted me at that time, that is around 1937, with the task of talking to the German scholars. The accepted standard of conduct was a polite refusal: we suspected that those scholars were making reconnaissances."¹¹

The same Eberhard Lutze published two articles about the German nationality of Stwosz and the German character of his work: the first one in 1939 (*Nürnbergischer Schau*, no. 11) and the second one in May 1940, when the altarpiece had already arrived in Germany (*Bayern*, an occasional publication from 1940). The fact that

the altarpiece had been appropriated was kept secret: even Dr Kloss from Wrocław, a German historian who was writing a monograph of Stwoszcz during the war, was not allowed to see it. Neither was it permitted to write about the altarpiece without the personal permission of Goebbels. What was to become of the altarpiece after the "victorious" war? The Church of St Lawrence proved too small, so the plan was to display the altarpiece in a specially designed hall in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, in an appropriate setting presenting the German settlements in Eastern Europe.

At the same time, in 1941, the Institut für Ostarbeit, established in Cracow under the Nazi occupation, prepared an extensive exhibition devoted to the sculptor. Many works were acquired, for instance two works ascribed to Stwoszcz which depicted *The Virgin and Child with St Anne*: one from the Cracow Church of the Bernardines and the other from the Diocesan Museum in Tarnów; the latter got lost after the exhibition. The exhibition began with a section entitled "Krakau und der deutsche Osten," which mainly showed the ties between Cracow and Wrocław; according to Dr Ewald Behrens, who supervised the department of art history in the Institut für Ostarbeit, that had been precisely the route the German colonisation had followed eastward. Next came a section devoted to the descent and family of Stwoszcz, which included a trade letter of Ulrich Stoss from Wrocław, dated 1444. Stwoszcz's *oeuvre* was divided into two parts: dating from the Cracow and the Nuremberg periods. One section was devoted to the altarpiece of St Mary's, which by the way had been already removed from Cracow. Also, a special exhibition catalogue was published. Dr Ewald Behrens, who authored one of the texts included in it, wrote also a review for *Die Burg*, entitled "Die Originalwerke auf der Veit Stoss-Ausstellung Krakau." One has to mention here Dagobert Frey (in 1943 he published *Die mittelalterlichen Königsgräber im Krakauer Dom*), an excellent art historian who deployed all his expertise at the service of the Nazi propaganda.

On 30 April 1946 the altarpiece from St Mary's was brought back to Cracow. It reappeared in the Church of St Mary in May 1957, but the reason behind keeping it for so long in Wawel Castle was political. It must be remembered that extensive renovation work had to be carried out (the wood was infested with pests and 80% of the polychrome had to be revealed and reconstructed). However, the Stalinist propaganda would never lose an opportunity to use the potential inherent in the biography and work of Stwoszcz: it was proclaimed that he had been the first representative of the working class in Polish territories. Worth comparing are two literary works which rode that wave: the first one is a poem written by a talented but subservient poet, and the other one is a clearly emulative text by a hack. It becomes manifest in them how dangerous is the situation when an outstanding artist becomes a cog in the machine of ideology or servility.

Let me quote the coda of the poem *Wit Stwoszcz* (1951) by Konstanty Ildefons Gałczyński:

"It was work that gave birth to beauty: to water, a reed and a star, / a sonnet and the pride of cupolas, bridges and the arches of tympana; / it was with the work of his chisel in Pentelikon marble / that Phidias awoke the horses in the frieze, in the Panathenaic procession. // The *Communist Manifesto* extracted knowledge, struggle and courage / from the essence of work, and burned it like gold ore. / And that was the beginning of times. And he leads our work, / he who discovered the river of work and who was laid to rest in Highgate. // I sing the days of our times: the meeting rooms in factories, where poetry explodes to the sound of the accordion / and spills in a flash throughout continents, to and fro between horizons, / I sing jasmine and love in socialist towns. I sing the Warsaw airport, I sing the Cracow airport, / I sing the Wrocław airport, I sing the space and the sun, / the departing and the arriving wings / from Prague, Bucharest, Tirana, Peking and Moscow. // And the keen eyes of pilots and the shapes of all clouds / and the wind that suddenly rises, and the vanishing trees, / I sing while ascending in the clouds, I fly and I sing / my socialist country, youth, friendship and peace, / and in you, you Dove-winged, work is served by airports, by poems and coal, by cantatas and aeroplanes, / in you Stwoszcz's creation in clouds of thundering gilt / comes down to our streets and adorns our day and glistens. // I sing the work of the sculptor. Let it speak to us / with the sweet logic of art, and let the poem follow you / like red-leaved autumn that shakes clouds, / sea and mountain, bass and soprano autumn. / Here is the time of rising, here is the time of abundance / of ports and chimneys, and our plebeian songs. / Look: a mobile cinema is touring villages, / a tractor is carrying timber, / acorns are falling from oaks. // The century has reached its afternoon. / From the hill brightness is spreading, / it is the town of peace shining with the harmony of people and machines. / The flaming torch is passed from one day to another. And we shape our days as technological landscapes, as wood is carved by the sculptor. // And now after the night again a merry

day is awake, / the sun is climbing my table and the creeper is climbing my window. // Open the window wide and open wide your arms, / look: the apple is ripening. A child is going to school."¹²

And here are some verses from a series by Włodzimierz Słobodnik, entitled *Sonety o Wicie Stwoszu* [Sonnets on Wit Stwosz]. (By the way, the collection, issued in 1954 by the publishing house Czytelnik, was excellently designed by the graphic artist Jan Lenica.) In Słobodnik's poem the medieval artist is styled as a Pole by choice.

"Although his mother did not sing Polish lullabies / For Stwosz at his cradle when he was a child, / Although he was rocked by German songs / And the old German tale tenderly rocked him, // Yet when Poland charmed him / With Cracow full of towers and the royal pride, / With its people and the murmur of the blue Vistula, / Polishness slowly ripened in Stwosz. // And it ripened into a work in which you can find / Anything Polish, although Polishness did not lean over the cradle of / The sculptor. He was a newcomer from Nuremberg, but / He was a Pole in his lofty, elevated artistry, / Because, drawing upon Poland for beauty, he returned it to the country of his choice / By creating a work to its glory."¹³

Stwosz is also an anti-colonialist:

"And from the wood the master conjured up the Three Magi, / Who bear their gifts and offer their humble bows, / One of them, a muscular and tall Negro – / Exploited by the white people in the ages to come, // Serving them in spite of the solemn teaching of Christ / On plantations scorched by the sun / As a slave who awaits the storm / So as to shed the burden off his shoulder // – He took off his cap and thrust it high above his head / Looking upwards as if he could see / The harsh slavery that was going to hang over his people. // And his spurs are jangling on the soft grass / As if he wanted – with their jangling – to drown out the clatter / Of the future fetters and fight for freedom even today."¹⁴

And he is also a revolutionary:

"When today a worker from Nowa Huta or Cracow / Looks at the image, he sees our history in it, / Sees the times when the backward gentry ruled, / And sees the rebellions of the burghers that dim the gentry's splendour. // Though the beauty of the burghers is not yet the working class beauty, / It's close to the workers' plays and fairs. / And in every sculpture the new beauty shone, fighting the crude gentry beauty. // And seeing in the altarpiece the way already covered / By this country, which has been walking forward, by the People's Republic / By the masses that fight for freedom indefatigably, / Miners, steelworkers, peasants and masons / Will reflect a while before Stwosz's altarpiece, / Reflect and then move further on."¹⁵

Here no commentary is needed.

At present we do not debate where Wit Stwosz was born. Cracow and Nuremberg were reconciled by the Swabian town of Horb on the Neckar River (now in Baden-Württemberg). The concord is to be prized especially that Stwosz was "returned" to the Germans by the Polish art historian Rev. Bolesław Przybyszewski during a 1981 symposium held in Nuremberg in the Museum of German Art and Culture. After the 1989 political upheaval, the Cracow Church of St Mary saw a prestigious concert of the Berliner Philharmoniker, broadcast by almost all the TV stations in Europe. Perhaps the figure of Wit Stwosz will re-emerge in a political context, this time as a symbol of the united continent.

Endnotes:

¹ Quoted after T. Dobrowolski, *Wit Stwosz*, Kraków 1978, p. 46.

² J. Ptaśnik, *Ze studiów nad Witem Stwoszem i jego rodziną* [Studies on Wit Stwosz and his Family], Kraków 1910, p. 58.

³ L. Stasiak, *Od wodza wojsk polskich w 1181 roku Ottona Stwosza aż po ostatniego z rodu Bogusława Stwosza* [From the 1181 Commander of the Polish Forces, Otto Stwosz, to the Last Representative of the Lineage, Bogusław Stwosz], Kraków 1910, p. 11.

⁴ W. Wędrychowski, *Wit Stwosz. Dramat historyczny w czterech aktach z epilogiem* [Wit Stwosz. A Historical Play in Four Acts, with an Epilogue], Lwów 1866, p. 60.

⁵ W. Rapacki, *Wit Stwosz. Dramat w pięciu aktach z faktów dziejowych* [Wit Stwosz. A Play Based on Historical Facts, in Five Acts], Warszawa 1874, p. 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁸ J. Ptaśnik, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁹ S. Dettloff, *Wit Stwosz*, Wrocław 1961, p. 13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹¹ K. Estreicher, "Rabunek ołtarza mariackiego" [Plunder of the Altarpiece of St Mary's], in *Kraków w czasach Wita Stwosza* [Cracow in the Era of Wit Stwosz], Kraków 1986, p. 145.

¹² K. I. Galczyński, *Wit Stwosz*, Warszawa 1979, p. 37.

¹³ W. Słobodnik, *Sonety o Wicie Stwoszu* [Sonnets on Wit Stwosz], Warszawa 1954, p. 16.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

- Chronicle

Participants of the panel discussion
of the seminar *Art in Public Space*



Ireneusz Misiak and Małgorzata Jagiello,
joint First Prize winners of the competition
Mitoraf's Sculptures Through Your Lens



Press conference before the preview of the exhibition of Max Weiler's paintings



Dr Erhard Busek talks about the enlargement of the European Union

January

9–11 January

Ustroń: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the 18th Symposium in the cycle *Contemporary Economics and Public Administration*

12 January

Warsaw: delivery of a lecture by Prof. Jacek Purchla at the Museum of Independence entitled *The Heartland of Poland – Cracow and the Polish National Myth*

13 January

- *Art in Public Space* – a seminar and panel discussion with the participation of art critics and representatives of local government (an event accompanying the exhibition of Igor Mitoraj's sculptures and drawings in the Main Market Square and at the ICC Gallery)

- Opening of the exhibition of photographs sent in for the competition *Mitoraj's Sculptures Through Your Lens* organised by the ICC in December 2003. The winners were awarded their prizes at the opening of the exhibition (see: Appendix).

15 January

Meeting of the Council of Founders of the International Cultural Centre Foundation – approval of the report on the Foundation's activities during the years 2000–2003 and appointment of a new board. Dr Krzysztof Broński was nominated the new chairman.

22 January

Participation of Jacek Purchla in a meeting of the Council of the Wawel Royal Castle Museum; Prof. Purchla was elected vice-chairman of the Council.

23 January

- New Year meeting of the ICC directors and Małgorzata Dzieduszycka-Ziemilska (director, Department of International Co-operation and European Integration at the Ministry of Culture) with representatives of cultural institutions and diplomats

- A visit by representatives of the City of Frankfurt: Carolina Romahn (director, Europa-Büro, Stadt Frankfurt

am Main), Eduard Hechler (deputy head of Central Office Protocol and Partner Cities) and Dr Steffen Bruendel (Gemeinnützige Hertie-Stiftung), with the intent of learning about the Centre's activities and outlining possible areas of co-operation between the City of Frankfurt and the ICC; Dr Krzysztof Broński met the guests

26 January

- Warsaw: participation of Jacek Purchla in the first conference of the Monument Protection Council's new term of office; Prof. Jacek Purchla was once again appointed Council chairman by the Minister of Culture

- Prof. Jacek Purchla was awarded the Jan Adamczewski Prize

February

5 February

Prof. Wieland Schmied, *Max Weiler – ein neues Bild der Natur* – lecture accompanying the Max Weiler exhibition given by its curator

5 February – 28 March

Max Weiler 1910–2001. Paintings – an exhibition of pictures by one of the most outstanding Austrian artists of the 20th century

6 February

- Nomination of the ICC by the Minister of Culture to represent Poland in the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures

- Dr Erhard Busek, *The EU Enlargement in 2004. The Viennese Perspective* – open lecture by the president of the Institut für den Donauraum und Mitteleuropa in Vienna, the Austrian government's special representative for EU enlargement (2000–2001) and co-ordinator (since January 2002) of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe

6 February – 15 June

Małgorzata Gadowska, 5th-year student of editorial studies at the Jagiellonian University, served her internship at the ICC's Centre for the Promotion of Arts and Sciences



Welcome to the ICC Gallery



Introduction of the participants of the panel *Poland and Ukraine. What Next?*



The first graduates of the Academy of Heritage receive their diplomas
from the left: Jacek Purchla, Stanisław Mazur, Monika A. Murzyn, Barbara Szyper

Goschka Gawlik discusses strategies
of provocation and creation in modern
Austrian art



9–19 February

Katarzyna Chrostek, student of literary, cultural and media studies at Siegen University, served her internship at the ICC

10 February

- Warsaw: participation of Jacek Purchla and Regina Pytlík in the opening of the Igor Mitoraj exhibition at the Royal Castle
- Thesis defences by students of the Academy of Heritage, 2001–2003 course (supervisor Prof. Dr Zbigniew Zuziak)
- Working visit by Wilfried Verhé, director of the Europese Samenwerking, Gewestelijke Ontwikkelingsmaatschappij Antwerpen [European Co-operation, Regional Development Authority of the Province of Antwerp], and Wim Viaene, representing the Open Cultural Centres, Province of Antwerp, to discuss the planned Frans Masereel exhibit for 2005; the meeting was led by Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik and Dr Monika Rydiger

12 February

Visit by Cressida Thomson, representing the National Europe Centre, the Australian National University in Canberra; the discussion concerned potential for co-operation

17 February

Meeting of Jacek Purchla and Anna Gawron with Catherine Lockerbie, director of the Edinburgh International Book Festival, and Hilary Williamson, representing the City of Edinburgh Council, Culture & Leisure Libraries and Information Services

25 February – 1 March

Prato: participation of Jacek Purchla and Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik in a meeting of partners of the ECHOCast project (underway since October 2003), the purpose of which is to design training for personnel of cultural heritage institutions working in direct contact with visitors

26–27 February

Warsaw: participation of Magdalena Wrońska-Sudoł in the 12th seminar in the cycle MEDIUM, organised by Eskadra BTL, this time featuring the topic *Public Relations in Poland*

March

1 March – 15 June

Ewa Czarnecka, a 5th-year history (Jagiellonian University) and 2nd-year sociology (AGH University of Science and Technology) student, served her internship at the ICC's Centre for the Promotion of Arts and Sciences

5 March

Working meeting of Jacek Purchla, Monika Murzyn and Zoltán Gyalóky with Dr Péter Deme, director of the Public Relations Department, National Office of Cultural Heritage (Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal)

6 March

Formal inauguration of the second post-graduate study course at the Academy of Heritage, together with the

conferral of diplomas on the first graduates; the inaugural lecture, *The Future of the Past. Cultural Heritage Dilemmas in Poland*, was given by Prof. Jacek Purchla

9 March

Goschka Gawlik, *Pictures of the Body. Strategies of Provocation and Creation in Contemporary Austrian Art* – lecture accompanying the exhibition of Max Weiler's painting (5 February – 28 March) organised by the ICC in co-operation with the Austrian Consulate General in Cracow

11 March

Meeting of Jacek Purchla and Anna Gawron with a delegation from Lviv: Jaroslav Kashuba, regional director for Youth and Family Affairs, Gienadiy Bardovski, director of the Regional Social Services Centre for Youth, and Jaroslav Bordyan, director of the European Youth Centre; the guests were accompanied by Dr Antoni Weyssenhoff, director of Cracow's Dr H. Jordan Youth Centre

13 March

Toruń: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the inaugural meeting of the National Cultural Programme "Signs of Time", initiated by the minister of culture, Waldemar Dąbrowski

14–20 March

The Italian Institute of Culture in Cracow presented a photographic exhibition of young Italian artists entitled *No autofocus* in the cellars of the ICC, prepared in co-operation with the Italian Photography Foundation as part of the *Piedmont – A Factory of Culture* project

15 March – 13 April

Katarzyna Odrozek, a cultural studies student at the Viadrina European University, served her internship at the ICC Research Institute of European Heritage

16 March

- Warsaw: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in a meeting of the Committee "Poland in United Europe" at the Presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences
- *Poland and Ukraine. What Next?* – discussion accompanied by a presentation of books published by the ICC: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [The Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province] (part I, vol. 11), and *Kraków i Lwów w cywilizacji europejskiej* [Cracow and Lviv in European Civilisation]; the discussion was led by Agnieszka Sabor, with the participation of Prof. Włodzimierz Mokry, Prof. Jan K. Ostrowski, Prof. Jacek Purchla, the academic staff of the Jagiellonian University Institute of Art History, and art history students

17 March

The ICC directors and Anna Depowska met a group of Ukrainian journalists visiting Poland as part of the *Polish Year in Ukraine* programme; the guests were accompanied by Elżbieta Beziuk, first secretary of the Polish Embassy in Kiev



Meeting with Ukrainian journalists



Debate of the ministers of culture of the Visegrad Group States



Preview of the exhibition *The Seven Deadly Sins*: Cardinal Franciszek Macharski accompanied by Krzysztof Krużel, curator of the exhibition, and Ziyad Raouf in the background



17–18 March

Bratislava: During the international conference *Gotika na Slovensku a jej stredo európsky kontext / Gotik in der Slowakei und ihr mitteleuropäischer Kontext*, organised by the National Slovakian Gallery, an ICC project was presented: the internet service AHICE

19 March

Participation of Jacek Purchla, Anna Gawron, Krzysztof Broński and Monika A. Murzyn in the conference *Creative City: Transforming Industrial Zones into Cultural Centres*, organised by the Cracow University of Economics, the Cracow 2000 Office, and the Italian Institute of Culture in Cracow

22–24 March

Graz: participation of Jacek Purchla in the Central and Eastern Europe Taskforce conference – a work group for Central and Eastern Europe Affairs operating within the framework of Europa Nostra

24 March

Dr Franz Sattlecker, *New Methods of Managing Public Cultural Assets. The Example of the Palace in Schönbrunn* – open lecture by the director of the palace in Schönbrunn, organised by the ICC in co-operation with the Austrian Consulate General in Cracow

25–27 March

Radziejowice: participation of Jacek Purchla in a meeting of the Monument Preservation Council devoted to discussion of proposals for a national monument preservation programme

29 March

Working visit of consul general Janka Burianová, curator Zuzana Bartošová, and Ladislav Snopko, advisor to the Slovakian minister of culture, in connection with the exhibition of contemporary Slovak art and the bilateral conference *Who Are the Slovaks?* currently under preparation (autumn 2004)

31 March

- Participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the 3rd European Fair for Renovation Information (the "Conservation Fair") organised at Wawel Castle by the editorial staff of *Renovacje i Zabytki* magazine, in co-operation with the Citizens' Committee for the Restoration of Historical Monuments of Cracow and the Association of Monument Conservators; Prof. Purchla gave a paper on behalf of the Monument Preservation Council
- Defence of theses by students of the Academy of Heritage, 2001–2003 course (supervisor: Prof. Andrzej Tomaszewski)

April

1–2 April

- Visit by Sergio Alejandro Matos Uribe, director of the May Festival in Guadalajara (Mexico) – during his stay in Cracow the ICC's guest was accompanied by Anna Gawron and Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik
- Łódź: participation of Monika A. Murzyn in the 17th City Knowledge Symposium, *Spatial Differentiation of Living*

Conditions of Urban Populations, organised by the Department of Urban Geography and Tourism at the Faculty of Geographical Sciences of the University of Łódź; Ms Murzyn gave a presentation entitled *The Revitalisation of the Kazimierz District in Cracow. The Change in Function and Image of the District and the Quality and Standard of Living of the City's Residents*

2 April

Working meeting of Jacek Purchla and Magda Vášáryová, ambassador of the Slovak Republic to Poland

5 April

- Dr Krzysztof Broński, head of the Research Institute of European Heritage of the ICC, held his assistant professorship colloquium at a meeting of the Board of the Department of Economics and International Relations at the Cracow University of Economics; Dr Broński presented his assistant professorship dissertation entitled *The Economic Development of the Larger Galician Cities in the Period of Autonomy*
- Working visit by Alan Okada (vice-president and treasurer, Citigroup Foundation, New York) and Krzysztof Kaczmar of the L. Kronenberg Foundation; Prof. Jacek Purchla and Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik met the guests

6 April – 30 May

The Seven Deadly Sins – another exhibition presenting valuable prints from the Print Room of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow

12 April – 1 May

Washington – New Orleans – New York – Philadelphia – Cleveland: participation of Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik in the *Marketing of Local and Regional Culture* scholarship programme, at the invitation of the US State Department

13 April – 31 May

Karolina Kość, a student at the Brandenburgische Technische Universität in Cottbus, served her internship at the Research Institute of European Heritage of the ICC, collecting materials for her M.A. thesis entitled "Sustainable Tourism in Cracow" (World Heritage Studies major)

15–16 April

- Conference of the ministers of culture and experts from the Visegrad Group States (with the participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla); ICC publications and the documentary film *The Island*, about the Centre's activities, were presented during the event
- Working meeting of administrators of the international internet service Art Historian Information from Central Europe – www.ahice.net; the participants were: Zora Wörgötter (Moravska Galerie, Brno), Dr Erzsébet Marton (the National Office of Cultural Heritage, Budapest), Katarina Chmelinová (Comenius University, Bratislava) as well as the site's creator, Zoltán Gyalókey (ICC). A presentation of the service was given at one of the plenary sessions of the conference of ministers of culture

19 April

Participation of Magdalena Wroniska-Sudol in the conference *Plan for "Culture 2000": Step by Step*, organised by the Contact Point for the Ministry of Culture (Villa Decius)



Installation of a sliding door on the 4th floor of the Ravens House



Discussion *Wrath - A Human Thing* organised in connection with the exhibition *The Seven Deadly Sins*



Workshop given by Prof. Lluís Bonet, during the annual meeting of the ENCATC



Wrath, an engraving by Jacob Matham after Hendrik Goltzius

22 April

Nomination of Prof. Jacek Purchla by the minister of culture to represent Poland at the Forum of Slavic Cultures – an international foundation based in Ljubljana, created on the initiative of the Slovenian Ministry of Culture

24–27 April

Prague: participation of Monika A. Murzyn in an international conference entitled *The Future of Jewish Heritage in Europe*, organised by the Hanadiv Charitable Foundation, the World Monuments Fund, and other organisations supporting the preservation of Jewish cultural heritage in Europe

26 April

- Working meeting of Jacek Purchla with representatives of Coca-Cola Ltd.

- Working meeting of Anna Gawron, Regina Pytlik, Anna Śliwa and Dr Monika Rydiger with representatives of the City of Nuremberg; Sylwia Preusser (Amt für Internationale Beziehungen) and Dr Helmut Beer, director of the Stadtarchiv, and Renata Kopyto from the Nuremberg House in Cracow, regarding the exhibition *Nuremberg through the Lens of Lala Aufberg* (December 2004 – January 2005)

- Meeting of Anna Gawron, Dr Krzysztof Broński and Anna Strzebońska with city tour guides, organised by the Citizens' Committee for the Restoration of Historical Monuments of Cracow – tour of the modernised Ravens House: the cellars, Gallery and Library; the guests also visited the *Seven Deadly Sins* exhibition

27 April

Visit by Giovanni Sciola, director of the Italian Institute of Culture in Cracow – working meeting with Jacek Purchla and Anna Gawron

29 April

- Working visit by Caspar Will from the consulting firm Palmer/Rae Associated, which is drawing up a report for the European Commission on the progress of the European Cultural Capitals programme; Mr Will interviewed Prof. Purchla on the topic *European Cultural Month – June '92*

- Completion of another phase of the modernisation of the ICC's headquarters – installation of sliding partition walls on the fourth floor, allowing the area to be adapted to varying needs without the need for permanent construction solutions, yet simultaneously ensuring the necessary level of soundproofing

30 April

Meeting of Prof. Jacek Purchla with Prof. Wally Olins, an expert in the field of brand creation campaigns for products such as tourism (city promotion)

May

1 May

Warsaw: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the official European Breakfast organised by the minister of culture and the director of the Royal Castle in the Castle gardens to mark Poland's accession to the EU

2 May

Warsaw: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in an international conference entitled *The Idea of Europe*, organised by the Council of Europe Information Office, the Ius et lex Foundation and the Royal Castle to mark Poland's accession to the EU

5 May

Wrath – A Human Thing: panel discussion organised in connection with the *Seven Deadly Sins* exhibition; with the participation of Dr Michał Galas, Prof. Elżbieta Górską, Dr Marta Kudelska, Dr Przemysław Piekarski, Prof. Grzegorz Przebinda and Fr Dr Stanisław Obirek SJ (chair)

7–8 May

Ryto: participation of Prof. J. Purchla in the *Contemporary Economics and Public Administration* symposium organised by the Department of Economics and Public Administration of the Cracow University of Economics, the Małopolska School of Public Administration

10 May

- Warsaw: meeting of the minister of culture, Waldemar Dąbrowski, with Jacek Purchla, chairman of the Monument Preservation Council, and members of the team developing proposals for a national monument preservation programme

- Warsaw, Art Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences: promotion of volume 1 of *Kościoty i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa nowogrodzkiego* [Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries in the Former Province of Novgorod], edited by Dr Maria Kałamajska-Saeed, the first in the second part of the series *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 by the ICC since 1993

13–16 May

Annual conference of the ENCATC – the European Network of Cultural Administrator Training Centres – organised by the ICC together with the Jagiellonian University School of Cultural Management, entitled *Managing Cultural Dynamics within the Renewed Europe*

16 May

Visit by ENCATC conference participants Prof. Francesco Bandarin, director of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, and Dr Tomasz Orłowski, secretary-general of the Polish UNESCO Committee, in connection with the unveiling of a plaque commemorating the inscription of the church in Sękowa on the UNESCO World Heritage List

17 May

Working meeting of Prof. Jacek Purchla with Douglas Hall, former director of the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh

18–19 May

Participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the conference *Europe 2021: Shaping the Future*, organised jointly with the British Council; Prof. Purchla moderated the *Multicultural Society* session (ICC, the Ravens Conference Hall)



Luxembourg: before the gala opening of the Institut Pierre Werner



Anda Rottenberg and Dr Ariane Grigoteit, curator of the Deutsche Bank Collection, are talking to Peter Holl



Prof. Mieczysław Porębski and Prof. Lech Kalinowski at the ICC Gallery (March 1995)



13 June 2004, Polish Embassy in Bratislava: participants of the seminar *The Cultural Space of the Hungarian-Austrian Borderlands* vote in the elections for the European Parliament from the left: Maria Poprzeczka, Monika A. Murzyn and Jacek Purchla

21 May

Participation of Jacek Purchla and Zoltán Gyalókey in a preparatory conference for the Forum of the Regions of the Visegrad Group States, organised by the Marshal Office of the Malopolska Region; Mr Gyalókey gave a presentation of the international internet service AHICE (ICC, The Ravens Conference Hall)

22–25 May

Luxembourg: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the 1st European Cultural Forum, entitled *Die kulturelle Vielfalt leben*, organised by the Institut Pierre Werner, Luxembourg; Prof. Purchla moderated the *Die kulturelle Zusammenarbeit mit den neuen Beitrittsländern* session and participated in the plenary discussion *Eine Kultur Europas oder ein Europa Kulturen?*

26 May

Prof. Władysław Stróżewski, *On Evil* – lecture accompanying the *Seven Deadly Sins* exhibition at the ICC Gallery (April–May)

June

1 June

Vienna: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in a meeting of the board of the Österreichisches Ost- und Südosteuropainstitut

1–23 June

Irina Utochkina from Minsk, a Lane Kirkland programme scholarship student, served her internship at the ICC's Research Institute of European Heritage

2–3 June

Munich: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the Europa Nostra Congress

4–5 June

Cottbus: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the international conference *Prospects of World Heritage: Challenges for University Education*, organised by the UNESCO-Chair Heritage Studies at the Brandenburg University of Technology

5 June

Visit of Janet E. Garvey, deputy chief of mission at the US embassy in Budapest, to the ICC

9 June – 19 September

Man in the Middle. Works from the Deutsche Bank Collection – an exhibition of pictures, drawings, photographs and sculptures prepared on the basis of the 2002 *Man in the Middle* exhibition

9 June

- Meeting of the ICC Programme Council
- Meeting with Peter Holl, an artist presented at the *Man in the Middle* exhibition; with the participation of the co-creators of the exhibition, Dr Ariane Grigoteit and art critic Anda Rottenberg

10–16 June

The Cultural Space of the Hungarian-Austrian Borderlands – another travelling seminar in the series *The Cultural Space*

of Central Europe, combined with a Polish-Hungarian "round table" organised by the ICC and the Hungarian National Office of Cultural Heritage

14 June

Visit by Prof. Dr Frank Eckwelt (Bauhaus-Universität Weimar), accompanied by Prof. Anna Karwińska (the Cracow University of Economics). Prof. Eckwelt is preparing a research project on issues of developing tourism in Weimar and Cracow. Dr Krzysztof Broński told the guests about the ICC's activities, including those projects concerning the development of tourism in historical cities

15 June

Prof. Lech Kalinowski, an outstanding art critic, great scholar and teacher, and a member of the ICC Programme Council, passed away

15 June – 30 July

Marie-Therese Allam, a cultural studies student at the Viadrina European University, served her internship at the ICC's College for New Europe

17–20 June

Berlin: participation of Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik in a working meeting of the partners of the ECHOCast project

18 June

- Participation of Jacek Purchla in a formal meeting on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Jan Zawijski, designer of the Municipal Theatre, organised by the Slowacki Theatre; Prof. Purchla gave a talk on the achievements of this outstanding architect

- Meeting of Anna Gawron with Kinga Hoyer from Europa Nostra – visit to the ICC Library, information on the Centre's activities and renovation and conservation work underway in the Ravens House

19 June

Prof. Marie-Theres Albert, *The Heritage Preservation – an Interdisciplinary Challenge* – Academy of Heritage open lecture (The Ravens Conference Hall)

21 June

Minsk: bilateral conference entitled *20th-Century Heritage. The Experience of Minsk and Cracow*, organised by the Polish Institute in Minsk and the International Cultural Centre. The participants for the ICC were Prof. Jacek Purchla, who gave a paper on *Cracow in the Age of Capitalism*, and Monika A. Murzyn, presenting a paper entitled *Jewish Cultural Heritage in Cracow of the 20th Century*.

23 June

Professor Jerzy Wyrozumski, an outstanding medieval historian, secretary-general of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a member of the ICC Programme Council, received the Cracow Laurels of the 21st Century, awarded to Cracovians distinguished in the service of integrating three disciplines: art, science and enterprise

24 June

Criticism in the Age of Curators – panel discussion, one of the events accompanying the exhibition *Man in the Middle. Works from the Deutsche Bank Collection*; with the particip-



Bilateral conference in Minsk: Andrzej Chwalba, Andrzej Tomaszewski and Cezary Karpiński representing Poland, and Emanuel Joffe representing Belarus



Ambassador Reinhard Schweppe at the exhibition *Man in the Middle*



Workshop in monument study of the Academy of Heritage: time to relax in Krynica



The opening lecture of College for New Europe 2004



Students of the College for New Europe programme *Galicja – the Future of a European Region*

ation of Krystyna Czerni, Łukasz Guzek and Dr Maria Hussakowska, chaired by Leszek Danilczyk

24–26 June

Paris: during the annual RIHA (International Association of Research Institutes in the History of Arts) conference, the ICC was made a member of the network, the second Polish institution after the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw

25 June

- A session entitled *Polish Art in Europe in the Research of Western Scientists*, co-organised by the ICC as part of the 6th International Societas Humboldtiana Polonorum Congress taking place in Cracow on 24–26 June; at the plenary session on 24 June Prof. Purchla gave a paper entitled *Cracow in the European Civilization*
- Visit of Dr Reinhard Schweppe, ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Poland, to the ICC; during his visit Dr Schweppe also visited the exhibition *Man in the Middle. Works from the Deutsche Bank Collection*, of which he was patron

26 June

Ferrara: participation of Dr Krzysztof Kowalski for the ICC in the seminar *The Landscape in the Regional Policies of the New Europe: Trends and Perspectives*, organised by the International Center for Cultural Landscapes Studies of the university there

29 June

Warsaw: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the Assembly of the Founders of the Cultural Foundation and in a meeting of the Fiduciary Council of the Royal Castle

July

3 July

Krynica: open lecture by Prof. Jacek Purchla entitled *Jan Zawiejski in Krynica – The 150th Anniversary of the Birth of the Designer of the Spa House (the Old Spa House)*

8 July

Lecture by Prof. Jacek Purchla on places in Cracow within the history and culture of Poland, for the American poets participating in the Cracow Poetry Seminar led by Adam Zagajewski (The Ravens Conference Hall)

9–15 July

Academy of Heritage historical monument workshops; students learnt about the cultural heritage of the Beskid Niski region and Slovakia, including First World War military cemeteries, historic wooden architecture, and spa architecture (Lipnica, Zakliczyn, Bobowa, Szalowa, Wysowa, Krynica, Gładyszów, Sękowa, Biecz, Nowy Sącz, Bardejov and Bochnia)

12–29 July

Democracy & Diversity – the thirteenth programme under the auspices of the New School University in New York, organised as part of the ICC's College for New Europe

15 July

- A meeting of the ICC directors with senator Dorota Maria Kempka, vice-chair of the Senate Cultural Committee
- Working meeting of the ICC directors with Bogusław Nowak, new director of the TVP Regional Centre in Cracow, concerning further co-operation

15–29 July

Galicia – the Future of a European Region – the fourth "Galicia" programme of the College for New Europe, organised in co-operation with the Institut für den Donauraum und Mitteleuropa in Vienna

16 July

- Prof. Elżbieta Matynia, *Towards the United States of Familial Europe* – the inaugural lecture for the College for New Europe summer courses
- Visit of Mirosław Sawicki, minister of national education and sport, to the ICC in connection with the inauguration of the ICC's College for New Europe 2004

18–21 July

Warsaw: presentation of ICC publications during the Academic Book Fair, taking place as part of the international conference entitled *Nationalities and Pluralism from Old to New Worlds* organised by The Centre for East European Studies at Warsaw University

19 July

The 2nd *Małopolska 2015* Programme Conference took place at the ICC, organised by the Marshal Office of the Małopolska Region, with the participation of deputy prime minister Jerzy Hausner, Waldemar Dąbrowski, minister of culture, Janusz Sepioł, marshal of the Małopolska region, and many local authority figures

20 July

Work commenced on the renovation and modernisation of the rooms on the second floor of the Ravens House

22–23 July

Warsaw: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in a meeting of the Monument Preservation Council appointed by the minister of culture

27 July

Lecture by Prof. Jacek Purchla entitled *Cracow in the European Civilization* at the University School of Philosophy and Education Ignatianum in Cracow (as part of the world conference *Pax Romana*)

August

18–20 August

Brühl near Cologne: participation of Dr Krzysztof Broński in the 4th international conference organised every year by UNESCO-Welterbestätten Deutschland e.V. in co-operation with the Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission, this time entitled *Denkmalschutz und Tourismus im Einklang*



Working meeting at the ICC: Director Anna Gawron, Dr Monika Rydiger and Giovanni Sciola, Director of the Italian Institute of Culture in Cracow



Break during a session of the 14th Economic Forum: Andreas Wiesand and Jacek Purchla



Meeting of the Monument Preservation Council



Presentation of ICC publications during the Historical Books Salon



Reading Room at the ICC Library

27 August – 12 September

Montevideo: presentation of ICC publications during the 27th International Book Fair

22–30 August

Montreal: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in a congress of the Comité international d'histoire de l'art – CIHA; Prof. Purchla was elected vice-president of CIHA

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Another phase of the re-organisation of the ICC Library's collections was completed, namely the merging of three different parts of the library (those of the ICC proper, the ICC Foundation and the collections of Dr Marian Kornecki purchased by the ICC). The fruit of this work is an electronic catalogue including a description of the resources, and 215 periodical and ongoing publication titles, constituting some 2,000 items of stock. The remaining periodicals (single issues, incomplete series, newsletters etc.) were sorted and arranged.

September

1–6 September

Moscow: presentation of ICC publications at the International Book Fair

1 September – 29 October

Magdalena Strumińska, a 2nd-year student of comparative literature (Jagiellonian University), served her internship at the Centre for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences

6–7 September

Meeting at the International Cultural Centre in Cracow of the Monument Preservation Council appointed by the minister of culture – conclusion of work on the National Monument Preservation Programme

8 September

Meeting of Prof. Jacek Purchla and Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik with representatives of the Guadagni Stiftung – presentation of the ICC's activities

9–11 September

Krynica: *14th Economic Forum*; as a continuation of the previous year's co-operation with the Foundation of the Institute for Eastern Studies, the ICC prepared several panel discussions, on issues including cultural identity, culture in the transformation process and cultural patronage

13 September

- Meeting of Prof. Jacek Purchla, Anna Gawron and Dr Monika Rydiger with Giovanni Sciola, director of the Italian Institute of Culture in Cracow, concerning plans for co-operation between the two institutions

- Interviews with Prof. Jacek Purchla for TVP3 (topic: What is the Central European identity?) and Spanish television

16 September

Working visit by Zuzana Bartošová and Ladislav Snopko in connection with the exhibition *Contemporary Slovak Art*

1960–2000, and the international conference entitled *Who Are the Slovaks?*

16–18 September

Presentation of ICC publications as part of the Historical Books Salon, an event accompanying the 17th Congress of Polish Historians (the Pedagogical University in Cracow)

17 September

Former Capitals in New Europe – international seminar organised by the ICC as part of the 17th Congress of Polish Historians (ICC, The Ravens Conference Hall)

16–19 September

Lviv: presentation of the ICC's publications during the International Book Fair

18–28 September

London – Edinburgh: study trip of Prof. Jacek Purchla at the invitation of the British Council with the aim of researching possibilities for an exhibition organised by the ICC presenting British culture through a selected important phenomenon or the work of a 20th-century artist; also, on 23 September, Prof. Purchla gave a lecture entitled *Heritage and Transformation – the Case of Poland* at the invitation of Europa Nostra (London, Hellenic Centre)

29 September

Meeting of Prof. Jacek Purchla and Anna Gawron with Michel Raineri, consul general of the Republic of France in Cracow

30 September

- Warsaw: – working meeting of Prof. Purchla with the ambassador of the Kingdom of Belgium, Bruno Neve de Mevergnies, concerning next year's Frans Masereel exhibition at the ICC Gallery; – working meeting of Prof. Purchla and Dr Krzysztof Broński with the ambassador of the Slovak Republic, Magda Vášáryová, in connection with the conference entitled *Who Are the Slovaks?*; – participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the opening of an exhibition of 20th-century German painting in the residence of the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr Reinhard Schweppe

- The Hague: meeting of the Europa Nostra Council – admission of the ICC to associate membership of Europa Nostra

October

4–8 October

Paris: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the conference *Métamorphoses de l'identité polonaise au miroir du patrimoine*, organised as part of the "Nova Polska" Polish Season in France; Prof. Purchla delivered a paper entitled *Cracovie et le mythe national polonais*

7 October

Nomination of Prof. Jacek Purchla by the European Commission to the selection panel evaluating candidate cities for the European Capital of Culture 2009



Opening ceremony of the conference *Who Are the Slovaks?* attended by cardinal Franciszek Macharski, minister of culture of the Slovak Republic Rudolf Chmel, consul general Janka Burianová and marshal of the Małopolskie Voivodship Janusz Sepiół



Contemporary Slovak Art:
Alex Mlynárčik, *Traces*, 2003



The Senate Cultural Committee in session at the International Cultural Centre



The Eighth Book Fair in Cracow: presentation of ICC publications

8 October

Meeting at the ICC of a delegation from the Hungarian Ministry of National Cultural Heritage with representatives of the Consulate General of the Hungarian Republic in Cracow, Cracow City Hall, the Hungarian Institute of Culture in Warsaw, the Department of Hungarian Philology in Cracow, and the ICC, devoted to a discussion of the activities of these institutions in terms of Polish-Hungarian co-operation; the session was attended by: Secretary of State Lajos Vass with his advisors Dr Éva Lauter and Zoltán Simon; consul general Zoltán Nagyiványi; deputy president Henryk Bałkiewicz; Attila Szalai; Dr László Kálmán Nagy and Dr Piotr Kowalczyk; and Anna Gawron and Zoltán Gyalókey

8–10 October

Visit by Dr Erhard Busek, president of the Institut für den Donauraum und Mitteleuropa, with a group of Austrian intellectuals and entrepreneurs; Prof. Jacek Purchla talked to the guests about the ICC's activities and plans, while Monika A. Murzyn gave them a talk on the cultural heritage and issues connected with the revitalisation of the Cracow district of Kazimierz

11–12 October

Who Are the Slovaks? – international conference organised by the ICC in co-operation with the Embassy of the Slovak Republic in Poland

11 October – 28 November

Contemporary Slovak Art 1960–2000. From the Collections of the First Slovak Investment Group – paintings, prints, sculptures, objects and installations by 49 Slovak artists, mainly working outside official circles

12 October

- Participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the Forum of the Regions of the Visegrad Group States (V4), organised by the Marshal Office in Cracow; Prof. Purchla led a panel entitled *Culture within the Framework of Co-operation between the Regions of the Visegrad Group. Building Cultural Cohesion in the Visegrad Area*
- Visit by Gabriel Gantenbein, artistic director of the Kunstmesse Wien – “viennAffair”; Anna Śliwa and Dr Monika Rydiger gave their guest a talk on the activities and experiences of the ICC

13–15 October

Cracow: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla, Anna Gawron, Monika Murzyn, Magdalena Wrońska-Sudoł and Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik in the 3rd International Congress Culture – Economy – Media organised by the Ministry of Culture and the Cracow University of Economics and bearing the title *Culture in the Process of Socio-Economic Development in the States and Regions of the European Union*; on 15 October Prof. Purchla led a panel discussion entitled *The Cultural Identity of Europe*

19 October

Participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in a session of the Presidium of the Citizens' Committee for the Restoration of Historical Monuments of Cracow (SKOZK)

20 October

Participation of Dr Krzysztof Broński and Monika Murzyn in a partnership planning workshop in connection with the creation of a “Regional programme for the protection of monuments in the Malopolska province”; representatives of local government and institutions and universities involved in heritage protection participated in the training session

20–24 October

Rome: participation of Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik in a working meeting of the partners of the ECHOCAST project

21 October

Meeting of the Senate Cultural Committee at the International Cultural Centre

21–22 October

Participation of Dr Krzysztof Broński in an international conference to mark the centenary of the Cracow operations of the Lithuanian association Ruta, organised by the Jagiellonian University Institute of Art History and the Cracow branch of the Association of Art Historians

21–23 October

Ljubljana: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla as the Polish delegate in the first meeting of the board of the Forum of Slavic Cultures

21–24 October

A presentation of the International Cultural Centre's publications and its internet service www.ahice.net at the 8th Book Fair in Cracow

22 October

- Zuzana Bartošová, *Unofficial Slovak Art in the 1970s and 1980s* – lecture by the creator of the exhibition *Slovak Art 1960–2000* showing in the ICC Gallery
- Commencement of classes in the second semester of the current Academy of Heritage course

25 October

- Meeting of the Culture – Central Europe Platform, organised at the ICC by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Department of Promotion
- Working visit by Dr Emil Brix, participating in the Platform meeting – talks on the *European Union – Ukraine. Perspectives of Co-operation* College for New Europe programme

25–26 October

Budapest: participation of Zoltán Gyalókey and Jan Pankiewicz in the conference *Culture and Employment in the European Information Society* organised as part of VERTIKULT, a project supported by the Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Weiterbildung, Forschung und Kultur des Landes Rheinland-Pfalz

28–31 October

Lille: participation of Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik in the 12th EFAH (European Forum for the Arts and Heritage) conference, entitled *Moving Territories. Culture in a Europe of Regions*



Press conference of Federal Chancellor of Germany Gerhard Schröder and Polish Prime Minister Marek Belka



The International Cultural Centre is receiving the Áron Márton Medal from the Gábor Bethlen Foundation, Hungary



Gerhard Schröder is signing the Book of Visitors of the ICC



Tomasz Pszonak, one of the winners of the Art Competition for Manual Therapy Workshops



Visiting German journalists from Essen

1-4 November

Visit by Prof. Karel Veraghtert from the University of Tilburg, devoted to co-operation in 2005

2-3 November

Budapest: on 2 November Prof. Jacek Purchla accepted the Aron Márton Medal awarded to the International Cultural Centre by the Hungarian Gábor Bethlen Foundation, which works to promote Central European co-operation and disseminate knowledge of Hungarian minorities; this prestigious distinction (awarded since 1988) was received by the ICC for its services in developing dialogue between the nations of Central Europe and promoting Hungarian culture in Poland. Prof. Purchla also held talks on the projects planned for 2005: with Dr Péter Deme from the Kultúrális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal [National Office of Cultural Heritage] on the conference entitled *The Heritage of the Borderlands – Our Common Heritage?*, and with Éva Csenkey of the Iparművészeti Múzeum [Museum of Applied Arts] on the *Ceramics from Zsolnay* exhibition.

4 November

Visit to the ICC (press conference) by the Federal Chancellor of Germany Gerhard Schröder and Polish Prime Minister Marek Belka in connection with the 7th Polish-German Intergovernmental Consultations taking place in Cracow

5 November

Lester Borley, *Marketing the Post-industrial Cultural Heritage in the United Kingdom* – Academy of Heritage open lecture

6 November

Visit by a Lithuanian delegation – representatives of cultural institutions from the town of Telšiai; Anna Gawron and Regina Pytlik gave the guests a presentation on the ICC's activities and plans

7 November

Wysowa and its surroundings: a reconnaissance tour by Barbara Szyper and Dr Lester Borley of the route of the study trip under preparation for the *International Seminar and Workshop for Young Heritage Professionals*, one of the courses at the College for New Europe

8 November

Meeting of Anna Gawron with a group of journalists from Essen, accompanied by consul Wojciech Jakubowski (consul general of the Republic of Poland in Cologne); the meeting was attended by Wulf Mämpel (*Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*), Ulrich Führman (*Neue Ruhrzeitung*), Bernd Drescher (Radio Essen), Ralf Makrutzki (Westdeutsches Fernsehen), Dr Marion Grob (Westdeutscher Rundfunk), Karlheinz Stannies (*Bild*), Peter Lamprecht (*Welt am Sonntag*) and Beatrix Lampe (*Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*), as well as representatives of Essen Marketing GmbH – its director Heinz König, and Dagmara Fröhlich, programme assistant; the visit was in connection with preparations for the Polish Year in Germany

9-22 November

Exhibition *Art by the Disabled. Winners of the Third National Art Competition for Manual Therapy Workshops*, organised by

the International Cultural Centre and the State Fund for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled, under the patronage of the government commissioner for disabled people's affairs

11-12 November

Brussels: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the inaugural meeting of the co-ordinators of the national networks of the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures

15 November

Meeting of Anna Gawron with Moscow journalists and art critics: Nikolai Molok, editor-in-chief of the periodical *Art-Chronika*, Natalia Sipovska, editor-in-chief of *Pinakoteka* and *Antikvarnaya Gazyeta*, and Andrei Tolstoy, deputy editor-in-chief of *Pinakoteka*; the guests were accompanied by a translator, Irena Obuchowa of the Polish Institute in Moscow

18 November

- Warsaw: participation of Jacek Purchla in a meeting of the Committee "Poland in United Europe" at the Presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences

- Participation of Dr Krzysztof Broński in the academic session *Time of Hard Trials. Polish-Hungarian Relations in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, organised under the patronage of the consul general of the Hungarian Republic, through the Cracow Branch of the Institute of National Remembrance, the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Hungarian Institute of Culture in Warsaw, the Boglarczycy Association, the Józef Piłsudski Society, and Zbigniew Herbert Community Middle School No. 1

22 November

Meeting of Prof. Jacek Purchla with representatives of the City of Edinburgh, headed by Lesley Hinds, Lord Provost of the City of Edinburgh, guests of Cracow City Hall

22-23 November

Participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the international conference *Central Europe after Enlargement of the EU*, organised by the Jagiellonian University European Studies Department and the Austrian Consulate General in Cracow

23 November

Participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in a meeting of the Citizens' Committee for the Restoration of Historical Monuments of Cracow devoted to a presentation of the results of conservation work in the Sigismund Chapel at Wawel Cathedral

24 November

- Participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the jury recommending candidates for the Allianz Award in the field of culture

- Meeting inaugurating the operations of the Polish network of institutions belonging to the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures; in February 2004 the ICC was designated co-ordinator of the Polish network by the Ministry of Culture

- Working meeting of Anna Gawron and Prof. Jacek Purchla with Włodzimierz Zajczyk, the new director of the Russian Centre for Science and Culture in Warsaw



A network of member institutions of the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures launches its local activity



Cracow and Nuremberg in European Culture in private: Director Anna Gawron (ICC), Dr Helmut Beer (Stadtarchiv Nürnberg) and Marek Bruno-Kamiński (Cracow Municipal Office)



Lala Aufsberg: Camera battle – Fisherman's Bridge (1936)



Visit of Jörg-Ingo Weber

25 November

- Projection of the documentary film entitled *Nuremberg – A Portrait of a German City* ahead of the December events at the ICC: the exhibition *Nuremberg through the Lens of Lala Aufsberg* and the conference *Cracow and Nuremberg in European Culture*

- In connection with the forthcoming exhibition of photographs by Lala Aufsberg, the International Cultural Centre announced a photography competition entitled *Cracow – Magical Places* (adjudication 3 January 2005, announcement of results and opening of post-competition exhibition 20 January 2005)

26 November

Warsaw: participation of Anna Gawron in a meeting of the Council for the Promotion of Poland Work Group organised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with the Polish Year in Germany (2005/2006)

December

1 December

Another working visit by Dr Wilfried Verhé, director of European Co-operation, and Piotr Dudek (the Małopolska Regional Development Agency), in connection with the Frans Masereel exhibit planned for 2005 and the conference *The Antwerp Province and the Region of Cracow – Cultural Potential*

2 December

Participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in a meeting of the members of *Patria Polonorum* in the Cracow Heritage Society

6–7 December

International conference entitled *Cracow and Nuremberg in European Culture*, organised by the International Cultural Centre in co-operation with Stadt Nürnberg

[Translated by Søren Gauger]

6 December 2004 – 30 January 2005

Nuremberg through the Lens of Lala Aufsberg – photography exhibition showing Nuremberg in 1927–1950, organised by the International Cultural Centre in co-operation with Nuremberg City Hall and the Nuremberg House in Cracow

8–10 December

Wrocław: participation of Prof. Jacek Purchla in the conference inaugurating the 50th anniversary celebrations of the European Cultural Convention, organised by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Poland under the auspices of the Council of Europe

13 December

- Warsaw: participation of Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik in a national seminar on financing culture entitled *Europe – a Chance for Culture*, organised by the Ministry of Culture; Ms Wąsowska-Pawlik gave a presentation on the activities of the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures and the Forum of Slavic Cultures

- Meeting of Prof. Jacek Purchla with Jörg-Ingo Weber, who is preparing an exhibition on the most important events of the *European Cultural Month* programme for the Network of European Cultural Capitals and Months (in June 1992 the ICC organised the first of the ECM cycle in Cracow)

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Completion of renovation and modernisation work on the second floor of the Ravens House



Igor Mitoraj's sculptures at the Main Square, Cracow



Speakers of the first part
of the seminar:
Prof. Maria Poprzęcka,
Dr Ewa Mikina,
Dr Maria Hussakowska,
Prof. Jerzy Mikulowski-Pomorski

Igor Mitoraj's sculptures presented on Cracow's Main Square – winged Icaruses, Icaria, the head of Eros, a statue of a centaur, and the cracked head of Tyndareus, which were a part of a broader display at the International Cultural Centre – served as a pretext and empirical material for a debate on public space and contemporary art in public space and for attempts to address questions about the position of the newest art in space imbued with history, and about local governments' role in creating the right administrative infrastructure to support the formation of a new identity of place through art. This one-day seminar attracted a number of historians of contemporary art, historians, culture sociologists, artists and representatives of local government.

The first part of the seminar was dominated by general reflections on the concept of public space, the difficulties in defining it unambiguously, and the evolution of art towards direct confrontation with life, which takes place by eliminating borders between elitist art and art for all, and towards transforming the viewer from a passive observer to an active partaker. Prof. Maria Poprzęcka gave a speech entitled *Public Art – Democratic Art?* in which she noted that the emergence of art from secluded spaces into generally accessible space does not imply the levelling out of its elitist character. Art that permeates public space, which is a tension-laden territory of conflicting interests, conveys no consistent message; on the contrary, by becoming public it provokes conflicts and disputes. Reception and acceptance of art occurs at diverse levels as there is no universal, model resident, viewer or passer-by. Dr Ewa Mikina, in her speech *Scope of Visibility*, analysed American art (which doubtless began penetrating public space earliest and most potently), pointing to the key issues in a debate started in the 1980s on extending the role of art by including extra-aesthetic aims and mechanisms of penetrating various areas of life. Dr Maria Hussakowska (*Progressive Art in Urban Spaces: Failures and Successes*) reviewed and outlined the sources, objectives and milestones of the process of shaping public art concepts, and in doing that she referenced some widely hyped examples and their artists: Richard Serra, Jenny Holzer and Vit Aconcci. Prof. Jerzy Mikułowski-Pomorski's speech *Marking Public Space* was an extensive analysis of public space as the scene of a "spectacle" which takes place in front of our eyes, and in which we participate, yielding to a range of impacts and submitting to specific mechanisms.

The second part of the seminar was a panel discussion moderated by Prof. Jacek Purchla, with the participation of Andrzej Wajda; the marshal of the Małopolska region Janusz Sepioł; Dr. Paweł Pytko, chairman of the City Council; and Barbara Turlejska, deputy director from the Cracow Municipal Office. The focus was predominantly on the topical example of the exposition of Igor Mitoraj's sculptures on the Main Square, and the heated controversies it aroused in the media. Local government representatives pondered over the future of Cracow as a monument of national heritage on the one hand, and a scene of new artistic interventions on the other.

Dr Monika Rydiger

The Centre for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences



Last arrangements before the conference opening: president of the Network, Prof. Lluís Bonet (Universitat de Barcelona), Carmen Egea (European Parliament) and Prof. Jacek Purchla (ICC)



Workshop conducted by Isabelle Schwarz of the European Cultural Foundation (Amsterdam) and Alberto Gulli of Fondazione Fitzcarraldo (Turin)

Conferences Seminars

Managing Cultural Dynamics within the Renewed Europe. ENCATC Annual Conference and General Assembly *13 – 16 May*

The 2004 annual meeting of the European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centres (ENCATC) was organised by the Jagiellonian University School of Cultural Management in cooperation with the International Cultural Centre.

The European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centres was founded in 1992. The founding meeting was held in Warsaw. The Network is a platform for institutions engaged in educational activity to exchange their experiences in the management of culture. It represents the community of individuals and institutions associated with culture, and provides cultural lobbying. The partners of the ENCATC include the Council of Europe, UNESCO, the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Amsterdam-based European Cultural Foundation, the Open Society Institute, and KulturKontakt, Austria, as well as other networks, such as the EFAH (European Forum for Arts and Heritage). These days, 113 organisations in 33 countries are members of the ENCATC. The Polish members are: the International Cultural Centre, the Jagiellonian University School of Cultural Management, the Lower Silesian College of Public Services "Asesor" and the National Centre for Culture, which joined the Network during the Cracow meeting.

The Conference was held in a very special atmosphere, just a fortnight after Poland and nine other countries officially joined the European Union. The plenary sessions were a great opportunity to reflect on and discuss ways of teaching culture management in the new circumstances, an issue particularly vital in view of the concerns of many countries, including Polish society, for their individual identity. The core of the meeting were workshops that covered a variety of subjects, from copyright (*The Spontaneous Meltdown of Copyright*, moderated by Joost Smiers of the Utrecht School of the Arts) to training methodologies (*Education of Students Without Professional Experience*, conducted by Birgit Mandel of the Hildesheim University and Gabriele Zaidyte of the Vilnius Academy of Fine Arts; and *Case and Problem Based Learning*, prepared by Marijka Faber of the Utrecht School of the Arts). Some workshops focused on specific sectors of culture and its industries. The International Cultural Centre staged a workshop on heritage management and gave a presentation on the Academy of Heritage.

Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik
International Cultural Centre representative in ENCATC

[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]



Among the ruins of ancient Gorsium (1st-4th century)

Conferences Seminars

The Cultural Space of the Hungarian-Austrian Borderlands 10 – 16 June

The subject of this edition of the *Cultural Space of Central Europe* seminar cycle was the Hungarian side of the borderland mentioned in the title. Participants could explore the region's varied and multi-layered cultural heritage spanning the period from the Roman times through the Middle Ages to monuments of the 19th century and contemporary architecture. A lot of working meetings were held and contacts with institutions of culture in north-west Hungary, and Budapest, were initiated. Organisationally, the ICC seminar was supported by the Polish Embassy and the Polish Institute in Budapest.

On their way to Hungary the participants stopped off in Bratislava to meet Ladislav Snopko, advisor to the minister of culture of the Slovak Republic, Jerzy Kronhold, director of the Polish Institute in Bratislava, and Andrzej Jagodziński, director of the Visegrad Fund, and to discuss organisational details of the ICC's exhibition of contemporary Slovak art and the conference *Who Are the Slovaks?* The return trip took them to the Zvolen castle, where the Polish delegation was received by Peter Heneš, director of the local branch of the Slovak National Gallery.

The first base was the town of Keszthely, which, towards the end of the 18th century, deserved the title of the "Hungarian Weimar" thanks to the cultural and educational activity of the Festetics family. The Polish delegation visited the *entre cour et jardin* Festetics Palace (built 1745) and met László Czoma, director of the Helikon Kastélymúzeum located in the Palace. The group spent the second day of the tour exploring the area directly adjacent to the Austrian border. Headed by an expert on the subject, Prof. Andrzej Tomaszewski, the group learned about the history and architecture of the most famous Romanesque church in Hungary, founded around 1220 in the village of Ják. The next place on the itinerary was Szombathely, the capital of the Vas comitat at the foot of the Kőszeg mountains. The town was founded in the times of the Roman empire as Savaria, the capital city of the Pannonia province. At the Savaria Múzeum the participants met deputy director Ildikó Szommer and enjoyed a tour of the museum's rich collections of archaeological and natural science objects as well as a special exhibition on the Austro-Hungarian borderland and its impact on the cultural, political and economic landscape of the region, which was organised in connection with Hungary's accession to the European Union. Another important point on the agenda in Szombathely was a tour of Romkert, the cathedral garden of ruins with the ruins of the ancient palace of a Roman regent, fragments of mosaics, and a road paved with basalt stones, called the Amber Route. Outside the city lies the Vasi Múzeumfalu (The Rural Museum of the Vas Comitat), a beautiful open-air museum with dozens of 18th- and 19th-century farmsteads from the area of the Vas comitat. The itinerary also covered the historical borderland town of Kőszeg. As early as the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, Kőszeg was a famous tourist attraction of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. As a result of the Trianon treaties the town lost the majority of its selling markets and when the Austrian border was closed in 1949 it became a provincial town hard up against the Iron Curtain. When the borders opened again, the town revived as a popular destination of weekend jaunts for Austrians. A guided tour of the museum collection of the Jurisics castle and the historical apothecary in the centre of the town was given by József Révész, director of the Jurisics Miklós Vármúzeum. The meeting with the architect Endre Szűcs, a re-



The Budapest Holocaust Memorial Centre in Ferencváros, a city quarter undergoing revitalisation



Ceramics from the Zsolnay factory

presentative of the organic current in architecture and a collector and historian of Hungarian art of the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, was an exciting experience. His house is located in the village of Szentbékáll in a basin of long-extinct volcanoes in the Badacsony region. The unique scenic beauty of this area made the contrast with the commercialised, often marred cultural landscape of Lake Balaton's shores even starker. The subject of contemporary Hungarian architecture and organic architecture in Hungary was followed up on in a lecture by Dr. János Gerle, given in a building recently constructed in the organic vein in Csopak.

The next day's focus was the area of the northern shores of Lake Balaton. The first place on the itinerary was the Benedictine Abbey in Tihany, one of the oldest monasteries in Hungary, founded in 1055 by King Andrew I. The history of the Abbey, recovered by the Catholic church in the 1990s and now a frequently visited tourist place on Lake Balaton, was briefly outlined by Abbot Richárd Korzenszky. Next, the participants travelled to Veszprém, a significant centre of Renaissance humanism with roots in the Roman empire. An outline of the history of the town was given by Csaba Kalocsai, a staff member of the educational department of the Laczkó Dezső Múzeum, which partners the ICC on the AHICE project. Accompanied by Zsuzsanna Viktor from the museum's department of promotion, the delegation visited an ancient Roman archaeological site in Balácapuszt, a hamlet of the village of Nemesvámos in the Veszprém area. The archaeological works that have continued there intermittently since 1906 helped unearth foundations of a huge Roman *latifundium* dating from the 1st-4th centuries, composed of a villa and scores of other buildings. The meeting with Károly Kenessy, director of the Széchényi Palace in Nagycenk, was a great opportunity for the participants to visit the seat of a family that rendered great services in the history of Hungary. In the first half of the 19th century Ferenc Széchényi was the initiator of the Hungarian National Theatre and the National Museum; his son István was actively involved in the political events of the mid-19th century in Hungary and ran a series of projects to make Hungary a modern country, for example by building the first bridge between Buda and Pest, today named after him, expanding the railway network, and launching a regular steamboat line between the two shores of Lake Balaton. Another landmark residence near the Austrian-Hungarian border was the palace in Fertőd, south-west of Lake Fertő (Neusiedler See), which stretches on both sides of the Austrian-Hungarian border. The present name was given to the town in 1951, when Süttör was integrated with Eszterháza. It was here that in the first half of the 18th century the Dukes Esterházy set up one of the largest Hungarian palaces modelled on the Versailles layout. Renovation of the palace is one of the most important conservation ventures in Hungary these days.

The next stage of the tour was Sopron, a frontier city, one of the most beautiful and oldest in Hungary. After World War I, in a plebiscite held on 14 December 1921, the residents resolved that Sopron should remain within the borders of Hungary, for which the city was awarded the title of *Civitas Fidelissima* as the only Hungarian city. Following World War II, the Iron Curtain made Sopron a closed city but now it is a scene of animated Hungarian-Austrian exchange. The Polish group was received by Erzsébet Bircher, director of the Central Museum of Mining, which often works with the Polish Embassy in Budapest.

Heading to Budapest, the groups visited Székesfehérvár, which, for 500 years until 1527, was the first capital of Hungary, and has remained an exceptional city for the Hungarians ever since. The guide in this town was Katalin Izinger of the Szent István Király Múzeum. The group toured the Romkert, a symbolic garden of ruins with remnants of the medieval Alba Regia, in particular the St. Stephen Basilica – the coronation church and necropolis of the Hungarian rulers (377 kings and 39 queens were crowned here and 15 monarchs were buried); the late Baroque Bishop's Palace built with stones from the ruins of the basilica; and the City Gallery called the "Deák Collection", with interesting holdings of 19th- and 20th-century Hungarian art. The group also stopped at the ruins of Gorsium, a Roman town and sanctuary from the 1st-4th centuries. The vastest Roman excavation area in Hungary, Gorsium is also one of the largest digs in Europe, commonly called the "Hungarian Pompeii".

While in Budapest, the Polish delegation visited three institutions of culture. The first of them was the Szoborpark, or the Socialist Statue Park. A debate on what to do with the legion of unwanted socialist

* The Fertő area has also gone down in recent history. On 14 August 1989, a Pan-European Picnic was organised on the lake shores on both sides of the frontier. During the event, the border gates were raised just for a while, time enough for some people from the German Democratic Republic to get to the Austrian side without being stopped by the Hungarian border guard. Those events reverberated widely across the world and are now considered to be the first visible sign of the decline of socialism in Hungary.



Szoborpark: "a cemetery of monuments of recent history", opened in 1993

statues decorating the streets and squares of Budapest began in 1989. In 1991, the city authorities decided that each of the capital's districts should decide on its own about the future of their statues. At the same time, the municipal Cultural Commission organised a competition for a concept for the preservation of the statues. The winner of the competition was the architect Ákos Eleőd, who proposed setting up an open-air statue park. The "cemetery of public statues of not that remote past", as the proponent called it himself, was opened to the public in the peripheral District XXII on 23 August 1993.

Participants of the seminar also had the opportunity to visit the Holokauszt Emlékközpont (the Budapest Holocaust Memorial Centre), which was inaugurated in April 2004. This was the first government-funded institution of this type in Central Europe. Estimated at US\$9 million, the costs of investment were covered nearly in their entirety by the Hungarian government, with US\$500,000 donated by the French government. The mission of the Centre is to support and finance research into the Holocaust of Hungarian Jews, to organise conferences and lectures, to collect, catalogue and provide access to related documents, and to prepare publications. The Centre is located in the historical district of Ferencváros, currently under revitalisation. The facility comprised of a synagogue dating back to the 1920s and a new wing designed by István Miny, the winner of the Miklós Ybl Award. The first temporary exhibition featured photographs from the Auschwitz Album (1944). The seminar group met the author of the scenario and the curator of the exhibition Krisztina Jerger.

The Polish team went on to visit the Iparművészeti Múzeum (Museum of Applied Art), where they saw the exhibition *Industry and Art. 150 Years of the Zsolnay Factory*, the best known porcelain manufactory in Hungary, noted also for its architectural ceramics. At the Museum they talked to the director of the Zsolnay factory, Gyula Kovács, the curator of the exhibition Éva Csenkey, as well as Tamás Mattyasovsky Zsolnay and his wife Esther Vécsey Mattyasovsky Zsolnay, a celebrated expert on architectural objects ornamented with Zsolnay ceramics. The delegation took the opportunity to discuss initial organisational details of the exhibition of Zsolnay ceramics which is going to be mounted at the International Cultural Centre Gallery in 2005.

An integral part of the seminar was a Polish-Hungarian round-table debate organised by the ICC together with the Hungarian Cultural Heritage Protection Office (Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal) on 15 June in the neo-Gothic building of the Hungarian Cultural Foundation located in the centre of the historical town of Buda. On behalf of the Polish side the talks were attended by, among others, Maciej Klimczak, deputy minister of culture; Andrzej Rottermund, director of the Royal Castle in Warsaw; Paweł Jaskanis, director of the Wilanów Palace; Jacek Purchla, director of the International Cultural Centre; Andrzej Tomaszewski, president of the Polish Committee of ICOMOS; and other members of the ICC Programme Council. The Hungarian side was represented by Márta Schneider, under-secretary of state for artistic and international relations at the Ministry of National Cultural Heritage, and Péter Deme, PR director of the Cultural Heritage Protection Office. In the name of the Polish delegation, the keynote speech was given by Maciej Klimczak. Andrzej Tomaszewski's presentation was an introduction to the issues of cultural heritage outside state borders; additionally, he put forward a proposal to work together on a common strategy of cultural heritage protection for the countries of Central Europe. Andrzej Rottermund talked about management of cultural institutions, in particular museums. Mihály Nagy, director of the Department of European Union and Strategy at the Ministry of National Cultural Heritage, raised the subject of EU structural funds and the potential application thereof to finance cultural projects in Hungary. In his presentation, László Diószegi, director of the Teleki Foundation, focused on Hungarian cultural heritage in neighbouring countries. Annamária Vigh, director of the Department of Museums at the Ministry of National Cultural Heritage gave an overview of new Hungarian museum projects and programmes. Input to the discussion was made by numerous Hungarian speakers, such as Tamás Fejérdy, János Gerle, István Kovács, László Diószegi, Miklós Cseri, Csaba G. Kiss, Péter Erdősi, László Veres and Szilvia Bába. The key outcome was the initial concept for a Central European conference *The Heritage of Borderlands – Our Common Heritage*, to be held in Cracow and co-organised by the Polish and Hungarian partners.

Monika A. Murzyn

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[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]



Minsk, the National Museum of History and Culture of Belarus, first part of the session

Conferences Seminars

20th-Century Heritage. The Experience of Minsk and Cracow

Minsk, 21 June

This bilateral Polish-Belorussian conference was organised by the International Cultural Centre in Cracow and the Polish Institute in Minsk. The first session was held at the National Museum of the History and Culture of Belarus, and the second in the Rector's House of the Belorussian State University. Poland was represented by Andrzej Tomaszewski, chairman of the Polish Committee of ICOMOS; Andrzej Chwalba, deputy rector of the Jagiellonian University; Jacek Purchla, director of the International Cultural Centre; and Monika A. Murzyn of the ICC's Research Institute of European Heritage. Amongst the Belorussian speakers were representatives of the Belorussian State University, the Belorussian State University of Economics, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Belarus and the Belorussian Cultural Fund.

The conference was opened by speeches from Piotr Khotka, director of the National Museum of the History and Culture of Belarus; Peter Brigadin of the Belorussian State University; Cezary Karpiński, director of the Polish Institute in Minsk and *spiritus movens* of the project across the Belorussian border; Prof Jacek Purchla; and Vladimir Gilep, a representative of the Belorussian Cultural Fund. An inspiring keynote speech entitled *Common European Cultural Heritage of Belarus and Poland* was given by Prof. Andrzej Tomaszewski. The next presentations highlighted analogies between periods and issues in the modern history of Cracow and Minsk. Prof. Jacek Purchla described the developmental dilemmas of Cracow, a city of many faces: the spiritual capital of Poland, a place of blending cultures, a growing municipal and academic centre, and – last but not least – a stronghold surrounded by a girdle of forts at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. A pendant to his presentation was the paper *The Culture of Minsk in the Age of Capitalism* presented by Zakhar Shibeka of the Belorussian State University of Economics. The problem of Jewish heritage and culture in the two cities was the topic of presentations by, on the Belorussian side, Emanuel Joffe, who focused on the first half of the 20th century, and on the Polish side, Monika A. Murzyn, who discussed the changing fortunes of and erratic attitudes to Jewish culture in 20th-century Cracow. Prof. Andrzej Chwalba took up the complicated issue of the history of Cracow during World War II and in the post-war period. Igor Tcherkavski from the Department of Cultural Heritage Protection at the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Belarus described Minsk's fate in World War II and during the period of postwar reconstruction. Vladimir Glinnik of the Belorussian Cultural Fund discussed the new concerns in the protection of the 20th-century cultural heritage and landscape of Minsk that arose in the early days of this century. Thinking forward into the future, Anatoli Grinberg of the Belorussian State University talked about Minsk as a virtual city, or Internetpolis, basing on BSU students' projects.

The second part of the conference was devoted to the architecture of Minsk. Papers were presented by academics representing various faculties of the BSU. The subject was introduced by the deputy rector, Prof. Igor Voitov. Oleg Ianovski talked about how the Belorussian university functioned in Minsk's urban space in the years 1920–1930; Evgeni Morozov outlined the transformations of the architectural concept of the city's main transport axis between 1920 and 1950; and Igor Dukhan gave an overview of the enthralling subject of the



Promotion of the Russian-language version of Jacek Purchla's book *Cracow in the European Core* | *Kraków w serdtszevinie Evropy*; next to the author: Vladimir Gilep of the Belorussian Cultural Fund

vision of Minsk from 1920s constructivism to postwar neo-Classicism by looking at the city's art from the perspective of European art.

An addendum to the meeting was the launch of the Russian translation of Prof. Jacek Purchla's book *Cracow in the European Core*, with the participation of the translator, Dr Evsiey Gendel of Minsk. The Polish delegation could also see the progressing conservation works at the Mir Castle complex and the surrounding landscape, inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2000.

The Conference was an interesting and exhaustive presentation of the experiences of Cracow and Minsk in the 20th century, drawing attention to the dilemmas of the protection of modern heritage in both cities. The fruit of this bilateral session will be a book containing the papers presented, due out in 2005.

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The 6th Congress of the Societas Humboldtiana Polonorum



In 1989, the Poznań-based holders of scholarships of the Aleksander von Humboldt Foundation founded the *Societas Humboldtiana Polonorum*, which seeks to support science and foster international scientific exchange with a range of organisations and institutions. The Society, which currently has over 1,000 members, holds regular congresses. The 6th Congress of the *Societas Humboldtiana Polonorum*, entitled *Science and Art for Europe*, was organised on 24–27 June, and was the first one ever held in Cracow. The Cracow-Katowice branch of the Society asked the International Cultural Centre to host a session devoted to issues of Polish art in the research of Western scientists. Speeches were given by Professors Andrzej Tomaszewski of the Warsaw University of Technology; Adam Labuda of the Humboldt University in Berlin and Stefan Muthesius of the University of East Anglia.

In his speech *Central-Eastern Europe as Cultural Space: At the Periphery of Art History* Prof. Andrzej Tomaszewski noted that the part of Europe between the Elbe and Vistula rivers was a cultural territory outside the reach of the Roman civilisation. It joined – in stages – the Christian world of Western culture only in the 9th–14th centuries. Drawing its cultural blueprints extensively from a variety of sources in Western European art, the New Europe created its unique architectural landscape which was not short on substantial innovation. In the 19th century, the former periphery became an equal partner of the Old Europe, with its own centres of “artistic emanation”, which in the interwar period in particular impacted world architecture. In art historical research, however, the New Europe remains a periphery that mindlessly adopts Western models. Language barriers as well as political constraints that persisted for nearly half a century made research difficult – for Western European researchers Central-Eastern Europe was *terra incognita*, a region unexplored, possibly even unworthy of exploration. But in recent years, with the cooperation between Polish and German historians becoming more intense, things have been looking up.

Prof. Adam Labuda’s speech was entitled *German Heritage in Poland. Views, Stereotypes and Opinions After World War II* (*Das deutsche Kunsterbe in Polen. Ansichten, Gemeinplätze und Meinungen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*), and nicely echoed the subject of research initiated by the ICC in 1995 with the Polish-German conference *Common Cultural Heritage of Poland and Germany*. According to the speaker, historical and artistic heritage is not a static system but it metamorphoses in a variety of ways, driven by human awareness as well as by views of the role of nations, social classes and religion in the process of heritage formation. These beliefs are ingrained in actual experience, sometimes also in stereotypes, both positive and negative. So are the mutual images of Germans and Poles, which were deeply imprinted by the period of World War II. Intended by the Germans to extend their sway and to eliminate the Polish state and nation, World War II bonded Germany and Poland with a common heritage through the Teheran and Yalta decisions. Abreaction to the Nazi occupation took long years, many a time leading to deliberate destruction of historical monuments, a drastic example of which was the town of Nysa (Neisse). The reason was not only that the Regained Territories (areas incorporated into Poland after WWII) were populated by immigrants from beyond the eastern border. Equally instrumental



Dr Gisela Janetzke, deputy secretary general of the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung

was the indolence and passivity of local authorities and the cultural policy in the Regained Territories which caused havoc in social awareness, reflected in mass destruction of works of art. No other approach to the issue of the cultural heritage of the Regained Territories was taken until the 1980s. In 1981, *A Memorandum on the State of Historical Monuments in Lower Silesia* was written by a group of art historians from Wrocław and published in samizdat in 1986. The issue of German heritage was outlined point-blank by presenting the Silesian region against the wider spectrum of European values. In the *Memorandum*, argumentation and attitudes appeared that provided encouragement for open discussion. A forum for such debates are the more and more frequent meetings of historians and art historians of the two countries.

Prof. Stefan Muthesius talked about *Aspects of Western Evaluation of the Polish School of Conservation and Restoration of Warsaw's Old Town* (*Aspekte der westlichen Beurteilung der polnischen Denkmalpflege und der Warschauer Altstadt*). The speaker drew attention to the fact that the rebuilding of Warsaw after the ravages of war had been a subject of international discussions amongst conservators. The basic dilemma could be summed up in a simple question: Reconstruction – for or against? The reconstruction of the capital city, purposefully pulverised by the Nazis, had profound social overtones. The restoration of Polish monuments in Warsaw, Gdańsk or Poznań stirred contradictory comments in the international community of conservators. The policy adopted in Poland countered the generally recognised principles of conservation by giving priority to the authenticity of a monument and eliminating copies. No wonder criticism was occasionally heaped on the Polish method. In point of fact, the term “Polish school of conservation” became widespread to denote not a school of conservation but restoration of dilapidated monuments and building complexes. But there was some understanding for Polish conservators’ motives, especially among those who were familiar with the results of their work. Such understanding was expressed for example in 1950 by the celebrated English urbanist Arthur Ling, and in 1952 by Greame Shankland. In German-speaking countries opinions about the reconstruction of Warsaw were cautious at that time, usually voiced as commentaries to translations of articles by Jan Zachwatowicz and Stanisław Lorentz. Prof. Muthesius emphasised that Poland has been very much engaged in international projects, conferences and organisations dealing with the protection and conservation of historical monuments. Quoting Prof. Tomaszewski’s opinion published in 1980 in the West German press, he admitted, however, that although Poland’s activity for monument protection is rated very highly by the international community of conservators, there are insufficient grounds to claim that a “Polish school of conservation” exists.

An addendum to the session was a tour of the exhibition *Man in the Middle* at the ICC Gallery and a presentation of the ICC’s numerous publications on European art, including the role and rank of Polish art.

Dr Krzysztof Broński

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[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]



Panel *Nations and stereotypes. A Ballast or Chance for Central Europe?*
 from the left: Stanislav Shushkyevych, Prof. Jacek Purchla, Prof. Zdzisław Mach, Mykola Ryabchuk



Conferences Seminars

The 14th Economic Forum in Krynica 9 – 11 September

Following last year's positive experience and strong interest in issues relating to scientific research and culture a decision was made to include a separate thematic block *Science and Culture* in the programme of the 14th Economic Forum. The International Cultural Centre was a co-organiser of three discussion panels and one lecture within this block.

On September 10th, a discussion was held on *The Most Talked-About Literary Scandals in Central Europe*, moderated by Dr Andrzej Nowakowski, Director of the Book Institute in Cracow. The participants were: Yuri Andrukhovych, a Ukrainian poet, writer and translator, author of the novels *The Moscoviad* (2004) and *Perversion* (2003), and *My Europe*, a book published together with Andrzej Stasiuk and containing two essays about Central Europe; Victor Yerofeyev, a celebrated Russian novelist, essayist, literary critic and expert whose works have already been translated into twenty-seven languages, the author of the scandalising tragicomedy *Russian Beauty*; and Vladimir Arsenijevic, the best known representative of the young generation of Serbian writers, a co-founder of the RENDE publishing house promoting contemporary prose, and the author of the much-hyped novel *Below Deck*, which addresses the experience of the wartime horror in Yugoslavia. They all agreed that a writer should – in the creative process – convey all that inspires or moves him, neither shying away from controversy nor aiming at scandal. A scandal may, as a matter of fact, result from failure to comprehend the artist's intention or from stern moral judgement of the work. A true writer annoys everyone, since he looks at the world in a special way. For Yerofeyev Russia is an inspiring and stunning country, where the writer feels continuously overwhelmed by havoc, rush and pressure of events. According to Arsenijevic a controversial book can emerge as the writer's personal reaction to the daily life he experiences or simply because he reaches back to descriptive methods that refrain from blind adherence to postmodernism or the latest fashions. Referring to examples from the literature of the turn of the 19th and 20th century Andrukhovych showed that scandals may become classic and are often a catalyst for artistic and intellectual ferment. Scandals are no guarantee of the quality of a literary work but good literature can be controversial and polemic. The need for 'responsible literature' that brings up daily problems and dilemmas was strongly underlined.

The second panel was *Nations and Stereotypes. A Ballast or Chance for Central Europe?*, which dealt with the multinational mosaic and variety of images of Central Europe. According to the moderator, Prof. Zdzisław Mach, head of the Faculty of European Studies at the Department of International and Political Studies of the Jagiellonian University, stereotypes are – quite paradoxically – nations' tool for improving their knowledge of one another. Mykola Ryabchuk, a Ukrainian literary critic, essayist and columnist, the winner of the Polish-Ukrainian Reconciliation Award (2002), emphasised the detrimental effect of stereotypes that fuel prejudice and superstitions and serve propaganda by enkindling negative emotions between peoples. Stereotypical images can be played with, provided they are kept at an intellectual distance. Given the experience of the most recent history of Central Europe, Stanislav Shushkevych, head of the Belorussian Supreme Council in the years 1991–1994, and



Presentation of the activity and achievements of the International Cultural Centre:
Dr Krzysztof Broński and Prof. Jacek Purchla "on duty" at the stand

currently one of the opposition leaders, demonstrated how positive stereotypes, even the most traditional ones, can be distorted by political propaganda. An example was the image of Poland as an improvident rabble-rouser, which was disseminated across the socialist bloc in the times of martial law. Nationalism rooted in geographical stereotypes is also dangerous. Prof. Józef Lipiec of the Institute of Philosophy of the Jagiellonian University noted, in turn, that some stereotypes are still in the making, specifically those concerning the nationals of the new countries that emerged after 1989. Their negative impact will be weak if, as Tomasz Wolek of the *Życie* daily claimed, the model of civic patriotism – rather than the demons of the past and nationalism – gets the upper hand in our region.

The programme of individual meetings with the Forum guests also included a feature lecture from Dr. Erhard Busek, member of the EU Education Committee and co-ordinator of the South East European Co-operative Initiative (SECI), Austrian deputy-chancellor in the years 1991–1995 and now president of the Institut für den Donaauraum und Mitteleuropa in Vienna. He shared his observations on the cultural dimension of the enlargement of the European Union and pointed out the need for wider promotion of the common cultural heritage of the European countries, particularly Central Europe. Another issue he brought up was lobbying for culture in Europe and making political elites aware of the economic aspects of the cultural sector so that it is included with the priorities of European policy.

The last project co-organised by the International Cultural Centre as part of the Forum was the panel discussion *Sources of Financing Culture Following the Enlargement of the European Union*, which was held on September 11th and moderated by Prof. Jacek Purchla. The German experiences in financing cultural projects were presented by Andreas Wiesand, secretary general of the ERICarts European Institute for Comparative Cultural Research (Bonn). Dr Monika Smoleń, deputy director of the Department of Cooperation with Local Government and Promotion of Culture at the Ministry of Culture, outlined the policy of financing cultural projects from structural funds and the basic assumptions of the National Strategy for the Development of Culture in Poland in the years 2004–2013. A representative of the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture discussed the problems with obtaining funds for cultural activity as a result of the Ukrainian state withdrawing from patronage of culture upon regaining independence. This move deprived significant albeit intellectually demanding cultural events of any support. Monika Murzyn of the ICC referred to the example of Budapest as a Central European metropolis which, with substantial funds allocated to the development of cultural infrastructure in 1989, strengthened its position as an important cultural centre in Central Europe.

During the Forum, Krynica's Main Pump Room additionally hosted a presentation of the achievements, educational programmes, exhibitions and international projects of the International Cultural Centre, as well as its publications, specifically those relating to subject matter and fields of interest of this significant international Forum.

Monika A. Murzyn

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[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]



Professors Joseph Rykwert and Jan M. Małecki during a break

Polish historians have been meeting at Congresses of Polish Historians since 1880. The latest, seventeenth, Congress on *Tradition – Modernity – Identity* was organised under the auspices of the president of Poland, Aleksander Kwaśniewski. It was the fourth time that Cracow was the meeting place for nearly 2,000 historians from across Poland and Europe. The Congress was arranged by the local community of historians, mostly representing the Jagiellonian University and the Pedagogical University, in liaison with the Central Board of the Polish Historical Society.

On the organiser's request the International Cultural Centre hosted the seminar *Former Capitals in New Europe*. The selection of topic was not accidental: urban development and heritage are themes continually present in the Centre's projects these days. The keynote address *Heritage: a Burden or an Opportunity. The Experiences of Central European Cities* was given by the moderator, Prof. Jacek Purchla. Cities are like a lens that focuses the problems of contemporary civilisation. Discussions of the relationship between heritage and development are raging across Poland these days but urbanisation, although an essential aspect of our civilisation, has not featured prominently in Polish scientific research. This was, no doubt, due to the hampering effect of the Marxist ideology. We have always dealt with *local history* and not *urban history*, which hardly encouraged development of interdisciplinary research of civilisational aspects of urbanisation, and was clearly in opposition to research conducted in Western Europe and the United States, in which three main aspects were addressed:

- the concept of central cities (a theory much touted in the interwar period),
- large metropolises as the driving force of economic growth,
- the creative and innovative spirit of cities.

Prof. Purchla based his analysis of the complicated relationship between heritage and development on the example of Central European cities after 1989, referring to the idea of the city as a work of art (i.e. a superior being), which has long been championed by art historians. Central to that conception are the problems of freedom in architecture and the aesthetics of the city. A distinctive feature of Central European cities in the 19th century is that they managed to shun rapid urbanisation, and, by implication, to avoid the conflict between modernisation and dynamic growth on the one hand and heritage on the other, which the postindustrial age typically brought. Thus, opportunities lay open for defining a cogent attitude to monument protection. A monument was a sacrum. In Cracow, as early as the 19th century, monuments stimulated the development of the city, and Cracow's status as the capital city took on a special meaning. This brings us to the principal theses, i.e. the relationship between heritage and growth, between heritage and the economy.

Another essential chapter in the process of forming relationships between heritage and development in Central Europe was the period after World War II, when communism "arrested" the economies of cities in this region. Isolation from economy was the curse of the cities that had not been destroyed: the condition of cities such as Cracow deteriorated exponentially. All this reinforced the 19th-century way of thinking about



Speakers: Prof. Joseph Rykwert, Prof. Karl Schlögel, Prof. Jacek Purchla, Prof. Jan M. Malecki

monuments, history and heritage. Since 1989, the conflict between form and function has become increasingly evident. We are witnessing the rising diktat of commercialisation and expedited revisions of the heritage issue, entailing a new approach to protection: from passive protection to change management.

In his speech *Seduction of Place. The Past and Future of Towns and Cities*, Prof. Joseph Rykwert of London thrashed out the complex issue of the sense of place (city) in a historical perspective, beginning his discussion in ancient Greece. Ancient towns were above all models, symbols of mythical and ritual purport. They had their topography (layout of the place) and chorography (the general impression the place makes). Every town had its own time and calendar, an example of which was ancient Rome. The speaker proceeded to show the specific nature of the process in which urban space is created as a reflection of economic and social trends rather than human intention. The industrial revolution and the latter-day globalisation have had an undeniable effect on the sense of urban space. Doubtless a great booster for the financial situation of city dwellers, the free market generates significant threats as well. A city is a result of many complex processes, therefore the urbanist finds its history equally exciting. Finally, Prof. Rykwert mentioned aesthetic sensitivity as an indispensable trait of a historian and urbanist.

Prof. Jan M. Malecki's speech entitled *The Shaping of Central European Capital Cities* emphasised that the forming and evolution of state capitals has long been the subject of historical research. On Polish ground, the question of relocating the capital from Cracow to Warsaw stirred a lot of emotions. Also, the speaker noted the various interpretations of what it actually meant to be a capital city. Closer study of the variability – and stability – of the role capital cities played in Central Europe up till the end of the 18th century will reveal certain regularities: firstly, capitals were set up during the period of founding a uniform state structure; secondly, the capital was generally established in the country's best developed municipal centre; thirdly, the location of a capital was also a result of external political impacts, such as wars or redefinition of state borders.

In his speech *Excavating Modernity – Cities in East Central Europe in the Interwar Period*, Prof. Karl Schlögel stressed that the past two decades of systemic and political change in the countries of Eastern Europe have left their mark on the cityscapes but also influenced the way cities are perceived. They get more and more independence, which helps their individuality and identity revive. They have ceased to be treated as hotbeds of bourgeois values. This presents a challenge for historians, anthropologists of culture and sociologists, whose studies and observations may be helpful in creating a new map of Europe. Prof. Schlögel proposes describing Europe's cultural space by distinguishing between the following periods:

- Europe up to World War I, shaped by large empires (Ottoman, Romanov, Habsburg and Hohenzollern), called the "age of Europe's grand mayors",
- the interwar period: the time of building and restoring national states,
- World War II: the time of demolishing of cities,
- the nearly half-a-century-long period of postwar reconstruction,
- the current age of new urbanisation.

Special attention was devoted by Prof. Schlögel to the interwar period. The Central European countries, which either had just emerged or were being rebuilt at that time, were under the influence of two totalitarian states: Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. That situation stigmatised the style and purpose of architecture of that age. The character of the buildings was extremely politicised, combining a variety of trends: global, international (associated with the left and communism) and domestic (nationalistic).

The Congress was a forum open to everyone interested in the issues discussed. It concluded with a discussion attended by the speakers and participants.

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[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]



Keynote address from ministers of culture, Waldemar Dąbrowski and Rudolf Chmel



The time is always right for reading: ambassador Magda Vašáryová with cardinal Franciszek Macharski and minister Rudolf Chmel

In 1994 the Slovaks began writing a new chapter in their history. It was in that year that an independent Slovak Republic was founded, and Poland got a new neighbour in the south: a nation akin culturally yet hardly known, the perception of which had often been warped by stereotypes. Yet over the centuries, contacts between Poles and Slovaks were not rare, as clearly showed by the conference *Cultural Ties Between Poland and Slovakia Through the Ages* organised at the International Cultural Centre in 1995. Following up on the discussion with the southern neighbours started years ago, the ICC, together with the Embassy of the Slovak Republic, organised another conference entitled *Who Are the Slovaks?* The idea of the meeting was conceived in June 2003 during the round-table debate staged by the ICC in Bratislava as part of the touring seminar *The Cultural Space of Central Europe*.

The conference *Who are the Slovaks?* links perfectly with the bilateral conferences organised by the ICC with Poland's neighbours: Hungarians, Czechs, Belorussians, Germans and others. The contributors to the conference were intellectuals from Poland, Slovakia and Hungary, among them Rudolf Chmel, minister of culture of the Slovak Republic; Magda Vášáryová, ambassador of the Slovak Republic to Poland; Martin Butora, sociologist, writer and former ambassador of the Slovak Republic in Washington; Csaba G. Kiss, specialist in Hungarian and German studies, professor at Zagreb University; Michał Jagiełło, writer and columnist, director of the National Library in Warsaw; Pavel Vilikovský, writer and translator; Ladislav Snopko, playwright, columnist and advisor to the minister of culture of the Slovak Republic, and a former minister of culture in that country; Martin Porubjak, playwright, screenplay writer, theatre director and critic; Kornel Foldvari, critic, essayist and translator of prose and drama from German; Jacek Baluch, specialist in Slavonic studies, director of the Institute of Slavonic Language and Literature, former ambassador of the Polish Republic in Prague; and Antoni Kroh, ethnographer, translator of Slovak literature, researcher of the Spisz/Spiš, Podhale and Beskidy regions. The conference covered the following subject groups: *The Slovak National Identity*, *Slovakia in Europe*, and *The Culture of Slovakia*.

The first part highlighted the complex issues of the nature and transformations of the Slovak national identity, the perception of the Slovaks by the Poles, as well as group identities in Slovakia. The moderator and commentator of the session was Prof. Jacek Purchla, with speeches given by Rudolf Chmel, Michał Jagiełło, Dušan Kovač and Vladimír Krivý. It was emphasised that, almost from the dawn of its history, Slovakia had been forced to defend its ethnic, and subsequently national, identity, which was threatened by the near-organic closeness of the Czechs on the one hand, and the territorial and political ambitions of the Hungarians on the other. In Slovakia, Polish, Czech and Hungarian political influences clashed head-on and the land often fell prey to dynastic horse-trading. The feeling of Slovak national separateness took shape in opposition to Hungarian domination and in the complex process of breaking free from the influences of Czech culture.

Moderated by Magda Vášáryová, the second part of the debate was devoted to the topical and critical problem of who the Slovaks might be in the European Union, and what may, and should, be their contribution to the development of the united Europe. Among the speakers were Martin Butora, Jacek Baluch and



Full house again

Pavel Vilikovsky, with Csaba G. Kiss as the commentator. The speakers stressed that Slovakia looks different from Cracow's perspective than it does from Central or Northern Poland. Cracow and the region of Małopolska might serve as a gateway to Slovakia and as mediators in the relationship between the two nations. Pavel Vilikovsky noted that since the accession to the European Union, Slovaks lack balance in their national identity. The Slovak national identity swings between two extremities: the inferiority complex and hoity-toity disdain.

Selected issues connected with Slovak literature in Poland, the image of the Slovaks in Slovak theatre, and the Slovak sense of humour were presented by Rafał Majerek, Pavel Dvorak, Kornel Foldvari and Martin Porubjak in the third group, moderated by Ladislav Snopko. The role of commentator fell to Antoni Kroh. Pondering on the Polish awareness of the Slovaks we confront a web of questions, the most fundamental of which is: How well is Slovak culture known in Poland? Literature and culture, which together create a system of national symbols and stereotypes that reach for a nation's landmark moments as their themes, have a part in building a nation's image in other cultural settings, help overcome distance, and allow it to shake off its indifference and step outside the circle of its own issues.

With its formula of an open forum, the Cracow meeting attracted a wide public interested in the subject of the debate. Among the audience were residents of Cracow and other cities, who had come especially to take part in the conference. In keeping with its tradition, the ICC is planning to publish materials from the conference.

Dr Krzysztof Broński

Head of the Research Institute of European Heritage

[Translated by Monika Myszkieńcz]



Panel *Development of Cracow and Nuremberg in the 19th Century*; Prof. Zdzisław Żygulski is taking the floor

October 2004 marked the 25th anniversary of the co-operation agreement between Cracow and Nuremberg. Being one of the earliest in the history of Polish-German relations, this partnership played a vital role in developing neighbourly co-operation between the countries. The 25th anniversary fell exactly on the landmark year when Poland joined the European Union, a perfect occasion to hold a conference to explore the stunning phenomenon of Cracow and Nuremberg – twin cities and historical metropolises of Central Europe, and to point out their role in European civilisation. Prepared by the International Cultural Centre in co-operation with the Department of International Co-operation of the City of Nuremberg, the conference accompanied the exhibition *Nuremberg Through the Lens of Lala Aufsberg (1907–1976)*, which was staged at the ICC Gallery.

Invited to take part in the conference were noted experts: historians, art historians and architects from Poland, Germany and Austria, among them Prof. Ulrich Grossman (director of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg), Dr Hans Christian Taubrich (head of the Dokumentationszentrum Reichsparteitagsgelände in Nuremberg), Dr Heiko Bandilla (director of the City Planning Department of Nuremberg), Prof. Andrzej Chwalba (vice-rector of the Jagiellonian University), Prof. Zdzisław Żygulski (curator of the Princes Czartoryski Foundation at the National Museum in Cracow), and Prof. Jerzy Wyrozumski (secretary general of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and chairman of the Cracow Heritage Society).

The agenda of the two-day session proposed three subject areas:

- I. *Cracow and Nuremberg at the turn of the Middle Ages and modern times,*
- II. *Development of Cracow and Nuremberg in the 19th century,*
- III. *Cracow and Nuremberg in the 20th century.*

The session on the first subject area heard a discussion on factors in the development of Cracow and Nuremberg as well as the important role both cities played in medieval Europe and modern times, each of them operating within a different political system and a different cultural milieu. Some speakers emphasised strongly that despite the distance between the cities and their dissimilar political and economic contexts, they had a lot in common. The session was moderated by Prof. Jacek Purchla, the speakers including Prof. Jerzy Wyrozumski, Prof. Jan M. Malecki and Dr Thomas Eser.

The second subject area covered the interesting and complex matter of the cities' functioning in the 19th century. The discussions focused, among other topics, on the idea, inception and growth of the Germanic Museum in Nuremberg and the National Museum in Cracow. Also, an outline of how the cities contributed to the shaping of the national myth was presented. The moderator of this session was Dr Thomas Eser, the speakers including Dr Christoph Holz, Prof. Jacek Purchla, Prof. Zdzisław Żygulski and Prof. Ulrich Grossman.

The third part – Cracow and Nuremberg in the 20th century – dealt with the functioning of the two cities under totalitarian regimes. Other topics included the forming of modern Nuremberg after World War II and the utilisation of postindustrial space in Cracow's Nowa Huta. The session was moderated by Prof. Jacek



On the second day of the conference: break between sessions

Purchla, the speakers including Dr Helmut Beer, Dr Hans Ch. Taubrich, Agnieszka Sabor, Prof. Andrzej Chwalba, Dr Piotr Winkowski and Dr Heiko Bandlilla.

An integral part and the wrap-up of the conference was the debate *Cracow and Nuremberg in the United Europe*. The panel, moderated by Prof. Jacek Purchla, consisted of Dr. Werner Broda on behalf of the Cultural Department of the City of Nuremberg, and the journalists Agnieszka Sabor (Cracow) and Steffen Radlmaier (Nuremberg). The debaters raised a variety of issues, for example, they emphasised the importance of the awareness of cultural identity in the age of globalisation: partnerships of cities in the united Europe open opportunities for protecting culture from globalisation. It is critical that we are able to make use of the past to create the future. Fundamental in shaping a cultural community are publishing and translational initiatives, as well as joint educational and exhibition programmes. In his closing address Prof. Jacek Purchla noted approvingly that the speeches had been dominated by the themes of creative partnership, intense co-operation as well as common undertakings beyond bilateral collaboration, such as the Nuremberg-Cracow-Lviv project.

The meeting was attended by academics, representatives of a number of Cracow institutions as well as a large group of university students. In keeping with the ICC tradition, the organisers intend to publish conference materials. The conference was prepared thanks to financial support from the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation.

Dr Krzysztof Broński

Head of Research Institute of European Heritage

[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]



Max Weiler, July 2000



Paintings from the cycle *Als alle Dinge*, section of the exhibition

Exhibitions

Max Weiler 1910 – 2001.

Painting

5 February – 28 March

Max Weiler is an exceptional individuality. Never linked with any artistic group, he left a deep imprint on the art of the 20th century. The groundwork of his painting was feeling and intuition: "I cannot say precisely what I do. I can describe it instead: these are pictures of unity with being, pictures in which infinity takes a glimpse inside nature". For Weiler, art was the only way to explore the unshakable laws and principles of nature, to look for the essence of nature and to discover its sense.

The twenty-eight works selected for the Cracow exhibition by Wieland Schmied, the author of the exhibition and a noted German art historian, is but a fraction of Weiler's abundant output yet even this fraction bears out his outstanding artistic consistency. Despite the evolving language of forms and painting methods his oeuvre invariably recorded his own comprehension of the world and expressed his cogent attitude to nature.

"I need to close my eyes to see". These words of Wols, a celebrated German abstractionist, reflect the dilemmas of those artists who aimed at attaining pure abstraction in painting. Weiler believed in the "internal necessity" of pictures. Gradually, he freed his vision of nature from the chains of form, perspective, local colour, composition and any rules and principles of reproduction. He was not after an "image" but the "gist" of nature, which he captured in the painting matter itself. In that art, contemplation of nature and the reflections it implies are filtered through the experience of the abstract.

"I, too, found my formulas, observed in and copied from nature", wrote the artist. "They are an instrument for me to create something like a landscape". *Like a Landscape* was the title of a series of paintings from 1962–1967, the core of the Cracow exhibition. They are "landscapes born out of unawareness", a painterly recording of the nature discovered, penetrated, felt and experienced by the artist. They illustrate nothing and make no reference to concrete reality. The toned-down colours dominated by brown and black, trails of paint, compact and diluted patches and minor stains produce an unusual, not fully definable painting structure of sublime expression.

A watershed in Weiler's work, these paintings were preceded at the exhibition by a selection of pieces illustrating the earlier stages of his artistic quest. The exhibition started with symbolic, figurative painting from the 1930s that reveals religious inspirations, as well as simplified, synthetic landscapes from the 1940s, characterised by intensive, hot colours. The exhibition also featured a modest group of canvases painted by Weiler after his trip to Paris and encounters with lyrical abstraction. Manifest in those compositions, the lasting tension between figuration and abstraction would later disappear in *Als alle Dinge*, a cycle with no more semantic references, which was distinctive for its bold brush strokes and strongly articulated, unrestrained patches of saturated, rich colours that combined into a rhythmical painting texture where plans, directions and tensions were palpable.



At the exhibition preview: Yvonne Weiler in a talk with Anna Śliwa, the organiser of the exhibition on behalf of the ICC, and Ryszard Wojnakowski, translator of literature

The show closed with *New Landscapes* (1980s), with white surfaces, cool, subtle colours and calligraphic structures, coupled with saturated, lush paintings representing Weiler's late works, in which the artist went back to earlier artistic issues, elaborated on early motifs, and continued his reflections.

The pieces presented in Cracow were drawn from the collection of Yvonne Weiler, the artist's wife, and the collection of Karlheinz and Agnes Essl (Sammlung Essl Privatstiftung Klosterneuburg/Wien).

After the exhibitions of Klimt, Kokoschka and Schiele, the Cracow presentation of Max Weiler's work was a striking discovery for the Polish audience, which adjusted our picture of Austrian art of the 20th century.

Dr Monika Rydiger

Polish curator of the exhibition

[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]

The exhibition was accompanied by lectures by Prof. Wieland Schmied (5 January) and Goschka Gawlik (9 March)

Design of the exhibition: Harald Hasler

Layout of the catalogue: Ryszard Otręba



Press conference: journalists' questions are answered by Prof. Jacek Purchla and the author of the exhibition, Krzysztof Kruzel; a meeting moderated by Magdalena Wrońska-Sudoł



Pieter van der Heyden, *Sloth* (1558), engraving from the series *The Seven Deadly Sins* after Pieter Bruegel The Elder

Exhibitions

The Seven Deadly Sins.
Prints from the Print Room
of the Polish Academy of Arts
and Sciences, in the Scientific
Library of the Polish Academy
of Arts and Sciences and the Polish
Academy of Sciences in Cracow
5 April – 30 May

"Pride is getting *cool* and lust *trendy*", "in order to see, one has to know", "let the contemporaries find out what's eating them". These and many other thoughts written down in the exhibition guestbook justified the appropriateness of the decision to acquaint our visitors with certain images which for centuries have warned Man against evil. Only few can now recognise the mysterious, hideous figures staring at us from miniatures in manuscripts, frescoes, bas reliefs and stained glass windows in mediaeval churches. Once popular in Christian art, the symbolic representation of sins was coded in particular personifications as well as deliberately chosen Biblical and mythological themes and generic scenes. Artists laboured to present the hierarchy of misdeeds in the form of "trees of sin" or circular diagrams in some monumental church polichromies. Initially rather simple, the iconography of the *saligia* (a Latin acronym made up of the names of seven deadly sins) developed over time into very complex allegories. They encouraged men to reflect upon their message through subtle associations, or shocked with macabre grotesque, and it is important to remember about the powerful appeal of graphic art.

The selection of 125 prints from the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences presented the richness of forms, motives and themes. The exhibition opened with portraits of original sin, as the one which had initiated the history of Man's fall and led to the inevitability of death and Man's final responsibility for his actions. It caused the adventures and dilemmas of the sinners seduced by the demons of the *saligia* accompanying them in their earthly pilgrimage. The other exhibition rooms were filled with the portraits of these demons, in order of appearance: Pride (*Superbia*), Avarice (*Avaritia*), Lust (*Luxuria*), Envy (*Invidia*), Gluttony (*Gula*), Wrath (*Ira*) and Sloth (*Acedia*). The viewers were reminded of the fates of Pride's victims: Satan vanquished by the Archangel Michael, Niobe who equalled herself with the gods, and those who tried to reach heaven by building the Tower of Babel. The ugliness of sin was emphasised by the faces of the envious misers who according to an old tradition were fed with toads in hell, and the bony jealous who consumed themselves in avaricious convulsions. The different aspects of hatred were presented through scenes of irrepressible cruelty, tavern brawls, gamblers' quarrels and the atrocities of war. Those sinning with their bodies – lechers, drunkards and gluttons – were often presented in a more frivolous manner, through anecdotal scenes, often full of humour and understanding for human weakness and foolishness. Warnings against the lure of fatal women and the consequences of losing one's mind and clear-headedness due to a lack of chastity were amongst the most popular "sinful" themes. Apart from these there was also a presentation of the metamorphosis of sloth, which was originally presented as the inertia of a sleeping layabout and with time was philosophically elevated by art to a creative melancholy, which was, however, bound to result in continuous suffering.

Organised by the ICC, the fifth exhibition of prints from the collection in the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences this time emphasised a certain topic rather than the sheer artistic value of the prints, although amongst the items presented there were works of such great masters as Dürer, van Leyden, Bruegel the Elder, Goltzius, Rubens, Rembrandt, Callot, Hollar and Hogarth. The exhibition was widely praised and proved that



a number of old fashioned prints presented in a certain order are timeless and their message is clear also to contemporary viewers. The complexities of the famous *Seven Deadly Sins* series by Pieter Bruegel the Elder were presented by a film visitors could watch at the exhibition. The event has been documented by a full and carefully published catalogue in Polish and English.

Krzysztof Krużel

Author and curator of the exhibition

[Translated by Anna Rucińska-Barnaś]

The exhibition was accompanied by:

A discussion entitled *Wrath – A Human Thing* (5 May)

A lecture by Professor Władysław Stróżewski entitled *On Evil*
(26 May)

Design of the exhibition: Maciej Leśniak

Layout of the catalogue: Krzysztof Zgłobicki



Karl Schmidt Rottluff, *Girl's Head* (1914), oil on canvas



In the foreground: a bronze by Joseph Beuys, *King of The Mountains* (1961)
in the background: *Transformer*, computer graphics by Katharina Sieverding (1973)

Exhibitions

Man in the Middle. Works from the Deutsche Bank Collection

9 June – 19 September

Man tangled up in the social and political context, images of man, man's emotional condition and his place in the society. These topics are continuously brought up by artists. The exhibition *Man in the Middle* featured about 100 works from the enormous collection of 20th-century art compiled by Deutsche Bank. The selected paintings, prints, drawings, sculptures and photographs were intended to provoke us into questions about man in contemporary art. They were meant to encourage reflection and pondering on the sense of human existence and the search for identity. Amongst the works on view were pieces by celebrated artists such as August Macke, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Egon Schiele, Paula Modersohn-Becker, Oskar Kokoschka, Käthe Kollwitz, Oskar Schlemmer, Otto Dix, George Grosz, Max Bill, Georg Baselitz, Joseph Beuys, Sigmar Polke, Stephan Ruff, Rebecca Horn and Stephan Balkenhol. The image of man – painted, carved or photographed by artists representing several generations – reflected decade after decade, and their respective moods, styles and experiences. It was also a sign of the evolving condition of society, from the beginning of the century till now. The chronological arrangement of the exhibition brought these transformations to the fore.

The exhibition opened with Oskar Schlemmer's *Deep in Thought* (1931), a picture pregnant with meaning in the context of the exhibition. Derived from cubism, the poetics of a simplified and manikin-stylised silhouette with subtle colouring and delicate contours contrasted with the Expressionists' distinctive images: the sharply and thickly contoured *Girl's Head* by Karl Schmidt-Rottluff; Kirchner's distorted bodies laden with tension; Oskar Kokoschka's female nude draughted in convulsive, nervous strokes; and the vivid tones of August Macke's composition *At the Cemetery in Thun* (1914). Attention was captured by a small, lyrical work by Max Bill, with its fine lines and refined colour, and a Heinrich Hoerle collage employing the language of geometric abstraction. From the experience of *Die Brücke* and *Der Blaue Reiter* periods, the viewer passed on to the *Neue Sachlichkeit*. Verging on the grotesque, the harsh and scathing pictures by Otto Dix and Georg Grosz illustrated the drastic and grim reality of human existence in interwar Germany.

The centrepiece of the exhibition was a group of works by Joseph Beuys, an artist who, alongside Andy Warhol, is considered the most important personality of the second half of the 20th century and an artist who had a profound influence on the nature of art transformations in the last two decades of the last century. Beuys' artistic efforts, actions and projects always made references to man and his role in society. The Deutsche Bank collection includes Beuys's sketches and watercolours dating back to the 1950s – delicate girls' silhouettes showed in outline, and a bronze sculpture entitled *Mountain King*. At the Cracow show they were neighboured by Reinhard Mucha's *Blind*, a sketched study of the artist executed by himself with his eyes shut. Showcased next to it was a piece by Rebecca Horn, one of the most distinguished and versatile contemporary German woman artists, famed for her intriguing installations and unconventional film productions.

Special space was dedicated to the neo-Expressionist work of Georg Baselitz: provocative, shocking and stirring up sex scandals in the 1960s. Baselitz won renown primarily for his figurative paintings, in which



Section of the exhibition with Christa Näher's watercolour *Pomegranate* (2001) in the background and Cornelia Schleime's computer graphics *For Further Good Cooperation* (1993) on the right

human figures were deliberately painted upside-down in order to make the viewer break the routine of thoughtless gazing at art, to stun him and to force him into reflection. This part of the exhibition was rounded out by pieces by Eugen Schönebeck, A. R. Penck, Johannes Grützke and Jürgen Klauke.

A collection of just a few works by Salomé highlighted the vitally important moment in the German painting of the 1980s: the emergence of the Neue Wilde painters who harked back to the Expressionist tradition and aggressively tackled the problems of national, sexual and social identity, and issues of human alienation and disorientation in the chaos of civilisation.

A separate section of the exhibition was devoted to the oeuvre of Peter Holl. Not even thirty years old, Holl, a master of the watercolour technique, records the look of interiors and men, faithfully representing minute detail. Deeply set in the realist tradition, his painting is a typical example of new varieties of realism, which have sprung to popularity in the past few years. That realism exposed, with all its might, the sham of the present, which is dominated by the culture of imagery. Today, we live and breathe vivid imitations of reality more than reality itself. Succumbing to media-created images we tend to put more faith in appearances than in the crux of the matter.

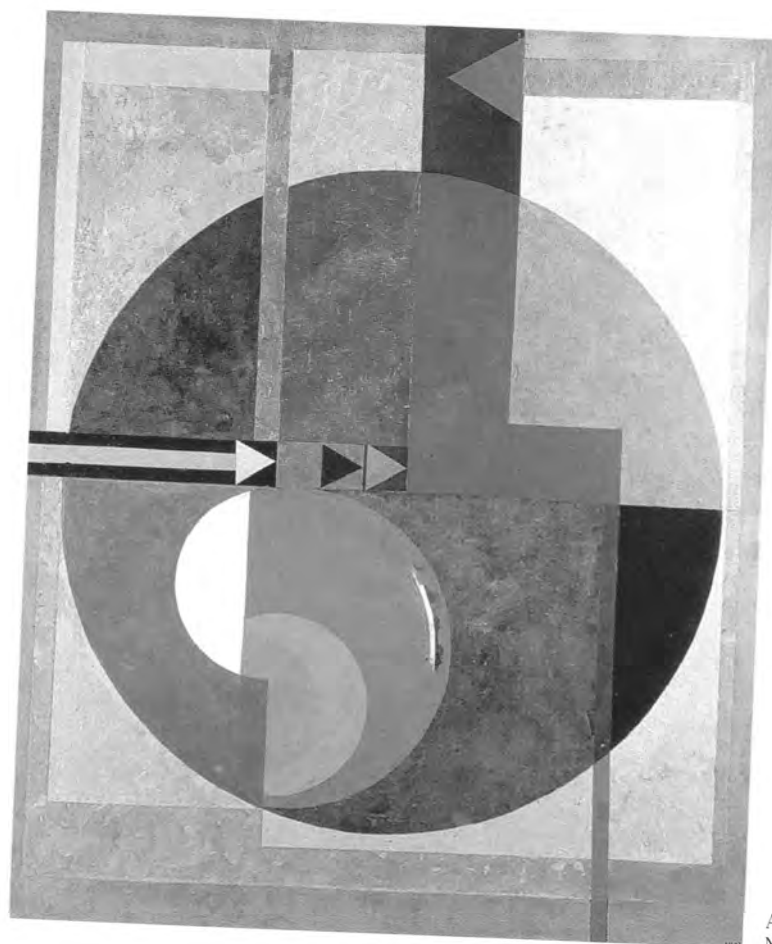
The exhibition concluded with Thomas Ruff's photographs and Stephan Balkenhol's sculptures. Both these artists focus on man in their works. But the man they show is superficial and impassive, as if made to a template. For them, man is a standardised and nondescript mass product lacking individual character.

The Cracow presentation of the Deutsche Bank collection showed that art continues to be a manifestation of our experiences and emotions. The image of man – variable and ambiguous – never ceases to be an inspiration for artists and a source of the deepest emotions and sensations for the audience.

Dr Monika Rydiger
Exhibition curator

[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]

The exhibition was accompanied by:
A talk with Peter Holl led by Anda Rottenberg and Dr Ariane Grigoteit (9 June)
Criticism in the Age of Curators – discussion with the participation of Krystyna Czerni, Łukasz Guzek, Dr Maria Hussakowska and Leszek Danilczyk (24 June)
Consultant designer: Małgorzata Radnicka
Layout of the catalogue: Władysław Pluta



Anastázia Miertušová, *Signal II* (1967)
NC lacquer on canvas

Exhibitions

Contemporary Slovak Art 1960 – 2000.

From the collection of the First
Slovak Investment Group AG

11 October – 28 November

The Bratislava-based First Slovak Investment Group was founded in 1991. A year later this private financial institution took up the initiative to compile a collection of contemporary Slovakian art. Since 2001, selected works from this collection have toured galleries in Slovakia (Bratislava, Košice, Prešov, Banská Bystrica, Nitra, Žilina and Trenčín) and other countries (Prague, Vienna, Passau). The Cracow exhibition was staged to show the exceptional character of the Slovakian art of the second half of the 20th century and its relationships with global art trends. The core of the exhibition were works by artists of the unofficial movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

Slovakian art of the 1960s was notably pluralistic. At that time, neither younger nor older generation artists found Socialist Realism interesting any longer. Modern art and its various directions were known to artists and promoted by art critics. At the ICC exhibition Art Informel was represented by the works of Marián Čunderlík and Miloš Urbášek, New Figuration by Milan Paštéki and Jozef Jankovič, Gesture Painting by Rudolf Fila's compositions, and pop-art by Stanislav Filek and Jana Želibská's objects and Vladimír Popovič's paintings. The works were selected to fully illustrate the innovative character of that art and the wide array of expressive media the artists used.

On the one hand, the diversity of Slovakian art was nourished by the rich palette of the artists' existential moods and postures, which fostered a vast range of expressive modes, from lyrical abstraction to figurative expressiveness. On the other hand, solutions in which the rational was paired up with the avant-garde encouraged this variety. Constructivism with Miloš Urbášek as its leading representative met with the most powerful response. Rudolf Uher oscillated between geometry and inspirations drawn from archetypes. Pavol Binder preferred ephemerality, while Alojz Klimo strove to loosen up its rigour. Juraj Bartusz employed the most modern technologies. Female artists such as Anastázia Miertušová, Tamara Klimová and Danuta Binderová followed the constructivist guidelines a lot more consistently. The climate of the exhibition was in a great measure determined by the works of Milan Dobeš, who made movement – and, subsequently, light – an integral part of his geometrical objects.

Rationality was the starting point for artists practising action and conceptual art. Both these styles united and intermingled. Artists abandoned the material, "closed" form in favour of artistic activity in off-gallery space. Relations between art and science were illustrated in the works of Rudolf Sikora and Peter Bartoš; Alex Mlynárčík and Július Koller alluded to group happenings (slávnosti) or sports; Viktor Oravec and Milan Pagáč, artists of the younger generation, followed a similar track in their action art; Dezider Tóth's objects were a fine example of discreet visual poetry, a stark contrast to the harsh expressiveness of the work of Juraj Meliša. From elegance to robust gesture or Michal Kern's introversive land-art – such were the areas encompassed by artists dismissed and snubbed by the official cultural policy after 1968. The most interesting of them are Ivan Štěpán's experimental objects, Vladimír Havrilla's pieces inspired by his unique, individual mythology, and Mária Bartuszová's installations.



Milan Pagáč, *Fragment* (1999), neon glass, mirror; a photograph of the gallery from inside the object

In the 1970s and 1980s, the unofficial art scene in Slovakia saw debuts of new artists whose media included painting, graphic and drawing. Exploring the borders between illusion and reality, Marián Mudroch, Daniel Fischer and Milan Bočkay engaged in polemics with the ideology-shielded realism. Marián Meško, Klára Bočkayová and – a little differently – Igor Meluzin renewed and refreshed the principles of pop-art. Vladimír Kordos's photographic actions produced new contexts for well-known works of celebrated masters.

A revival and revitalisation of painting as an art domain was highlighted by the works of younger artists, Simona Bubánová, Ivan Csudai and Laco Teren, while the neo-avant-garde outlook was evoked by Milan Tittel and Patrik Kovačovský's objects. Their works date from the close of the 20th century. The present condition of Slovakian art was reflected more broadly in a display of Jana Želíbska, Alex Mlynárčik and Július Koller's pieces selected by the artists themselves.

Zuzana Bartošová

Collection and exhibition curator

[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]

The exhibition was accompanied by a lecture from Zuzana Bartošová (22 October).

Layout of the catalogue: Marek Pawłowski



Filip Wieszok, winner of the Second Prize in graphic arts and drawing



Piotr Nicpoń, *Me and my life*, honourable mention in painting

Exhibitions

Art by the Disabled. Winners of the Third National Art Competition for Manual Therapy Workshops *9 – 22 November*

Hosted by the International Cultural Centre in November 2004, the exhibition of competition-winning works was not only untypical but also exceptional, in the fullest sense of the word. On view were the best objects produced by members of over 500 Manual Therapy Workshops and entered for the art competition organised by the State Fund for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled. The works represented a wide array of media and were rated in five categories: painting, graphic arts and drawing, fabric and appliqué, ceramics, and sculpture.

The competitors were people with disabilities and – most frequently – with great talents. Artistic activity and externalising their emotions help them understand themselves and the world around them, but at the same time they are a form of therapy in the complicated process of rehabilitation. Expressing oneself through a work of art breaks down the barriers of one's own limitations. Creative activity is an invitation to a realm of sensations that are incomprehensible and inaccessible on any plane to the people around. It is a new dimension of art, a proprietary way of describing reality. These works are stunning in their unconventional treatment of the subject, their sensitivity and a fresh look at the simplest matters that normally pass unnoticed.

The exhibition was a rare opportunity to witness the enormous efforts made by both the artists and their caregivers. In many cases, their struggle with the often tough material is crowned with superb mastery of the technique, most notably in batik, fabric painting, pastel, linocut, mosaic or sculpture.

Public presentation of this type of art not only draws attention to the difficulties faced by the disabled, but most of all shows that art creates space where the equal existence of the people with and without disabilities is clearly visible. Looking at a work of art we admire its originality of interpretation, its mood, the statement it makes and the unrestricted expression. We evaluate its quality and not the artist beheld from the aspect of disability.

Anna Chachulska

Exhibition curator

[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]

Winners

Painting: 1st Prize – Krzysztof Zawistowski; 2nd Prize – Rafał Gulgowski; 3rd Prize – Marcin Wrzał; Honorary Mentions – Piotr Nicpoń, Konrad Pszonka and Grażyna Żoleńska;

Graphic arts and drawing: 1st Prize – Małgorzata Justa; 2nd Prize – Filip Wieszok; 3rd Prize – Tomasz Lechtański; Honorary Mentions – Dariusz Omelczenko, Violetta Stasiak and Andrzej Szewczyk;

Fabrics and appliqués: 1st Prize – Danuta Ławska; 2nd Prize – Monika Lewicka; 3rd Prize – Agnieszka Serebnyńska; Honorary Mentions – Barbara Grzesiak, Mariusz Pawlak, and Adam Wiśniewski & Marcin Waleczak;

Ceramics: 1st Prize – Izabela Pinkowicz; 2nd Prize – Daniel Demski; 3rd Prize – Piotr Kant and Marek Dudarewicz; Honorary Mentions – Marcin Bubacz, Wojciech Ciągło, and Jolanta Lipiec & Jolanta Miegoń;

Sculpture: 1st Prize – Tomasz Pszonak; 2nd Prize – Andrzej Mechliński; 3rd Prize – Sławomir Tyburcy; Honorary Mentions – Józef Luzar, Adam Pietrzak, and Marcin Góra, Norbert Gózdź & Anna Siwko.

Design of the exhibition: Marek Bielen



Lala Aufsberg: Repose by the water on the Pegnitz River, near the Charles Bridge, July 1950 (Photo: Marburg Archives)



At the exhibition: German consul general in Cracow Dr Maren Klingler and Prof. Ulrich Grossman, director of Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg

Exhibitions

Nuremberg Through the Lens of Lala Aufsberg (1907–1976)

6 December 2004 – 30 January 2005

The exhibition year 2004 at the Gallery of the International Cultural Centre closed with a photographic exhibition that coincided with the 25th anniversary of the twin city agreement between Cracow and Nuremberg. The exhibition included 118 photographs by Lala Aufsberg, one of the most renowned German photographers. She took her first photographs under the supervision of her grandfather, Joseph Heimhuber, a pioneer of photography in Allgäu. After she took her master's exams at the State School of Decorative and Applied Arts in Weimar, photography became her profession, which she pursued with great passion and talent till the end of her life.

Although she was born and spent most of her life in Sonthofen, she felt emotionally close to Nuremberg, to which she returned again and again. It is thanks to Lala Aufsberg that the City Archives in Nuremberg now hold a collection of about 1,200 photographs, a valuable documentation of the city's historical monuments and life in 1927–1950. Her camera recorded the surroundings without detriment to her individual artistic visions and personal treatment of the subject. The photographs saved delightful images of the city, which was destroyed almost completely during World War II. Her pictures of the most famous sites became a sort of guidebook to the historical monuments of Nuremberg: the castle, Gothic churches, Albrecht Dürer and Hans Sachs's houses, squares, fountains, streets and lanes, and houses with distinctive, high-pitched roofs and beautiful oriel windows. She not only highlighted the architectural qualities of the buildings she photographed, but also created a romantic atmosphere through her adept selection of light. The way she captured the city in the morning haze, setting sun or covered by snow prove her great photographic skill and aesthetic sense. She was a master of genre scenes, recording human epitomes and countenances, children at play, market traders tired with the day's trading, Franconian peasants, women having a natter, or mourners at a cemetery. As a perceptive observer of reality she could not evade the subject of national socialism. Her pictures documenting the party rallies reveal the artist's interest in the spectacular nature of those monstrous political shows that had a powerful influence on the crowd mentality. But even here Lala remains an outsider and onlooker rather than a glorifier. The chronological arrangement of the installation culminated in the photographs of wartime devastation of Nuremberg: burnt-down ruins and ashes of what was once a beautiful city and a symbol of Germany's historical glory, now razed to the ground. The final feature were pictures of Nuremberg rising fast from the rubble. A valuable addendum to the exhibition was a documentary film showing a portrait of the city across decades. Apart from highly interesting archival sequences illustrating the daily life of Nuremberg in the early 20th century, the film brought up a number of difficult and painful topics such as the birth of fascism, Nazi party rallies, the enactment of the Nuremberg Laws on Reich Citizenship, the Holocaust, and trials of war criminals.

The exhibition of Lala Aufsberg's photographs was organised in co-operation with the City of Nuremberg and Nuremberg House in Cracow.

Anna Śliwa

Exhibition organiser on behalf of the ICC

The exhibition was accompanied by a lecture from Dr Helmut Beer, author and curator of the display (20 January 2004)

Design of the exhibition & layout of the catalogue: Katarzyna Godyń



The Beskid Niski mountains: a July monument study workshop

On 6 March 2004, the second post-graduate study course was launched at the Academy of Heritage. An inaugural lecture entitled *The Future For the Past. The Dilemmas of Cultural Heritage Protection in Poland* was given by Prof. Jacek Purchla. The ceremony was attended by representatives of the Cracow University of Economics (AE) and the AE Malopolska School of Public Administration in Cracow (MSAP), which partnered the International Cultural Centre in founding the Academy, among them Ryszard Borowiecki, rector of the AE, and Dr Stanislaw Mazur, director of the MSAP. The inauguration of the Academy's second programme was held at the same time the first edition was officially closed and the certificates and diplomas were awarded.

The aim of the course is to educate personnel who need to confront the challenges of modern heritage protection efficiently. The curriculum of the Academy covers selected topics of contemporary theory of heritage, history of art, law, economics, marketing and management, regional policy, spatial planning, cultural policy, as well as international cooperation in heritage protection, which has grown in significance remarkably upon Poland's entry to the European Union.

In keeping with the previously set objectives, the second course of 2003–2005 includes both a programme in conservation and a teacher training programme. Educational formats include lectures, seminars, workshops and monument study tours. The conservation programme is addressed in the first place to representatives of monument protection services, architects, as well as personnel of museums and other cultural institutions. The workshops and tours help trainees learn about modern communication methods for the area of heritage protection, which prove useful in creating educational paths in heritage classes. The Academy's interdisciplinary programme combines harmoniously the various levels of thinking about heritage: local, national and international.

One element of the programme is a week-long study camp; in 2004 the camp was organised on the Polish-Slovak border (Wysowa-Bardejov). The students met representatives of local authorities who presented an overview of local policy on the protection of material and non-material cultural heritage. The visit to Bardejov and the panel discussion with Slovak monument protection services revealed the slightly different problems that our neighbours need to handle.

Thanks to collaboration between the International Cultural Centre and the University of Economics, which together founded the Academy of Heritage in 2001, the course can draw on the academic and training potential of the University of Economics, especially in relation to economic issues and the role of public administration in safeguarding historical monuments, and make use of the ICC's network of contacts with Polish and international communities active in state-of-the-art protection of cultural heritage.

The teaching staff of the Academy of Heritage are celebrated scholars representing the Jagiellonian University, the Cracow University of Economics, and the Universities of Technology in Cracow and Warsaw, as well as directors, curators and conservators of large museum collections in Poland. Invaluable is the engage-



Opening lecture by Dr Lester Borley *Marketing the Post-industrial Cultural Heritage in the UK*, 5 November

ment of the clergy, who are custodians of diocesan museums and historical churches with all the elements of interior decoration. The lectures, seminars and workshops will be given by: professors Zdzisław Mach, Jerzy Mikulowski-Pomorski, Jacek Purchla, Andrzej Rottermund, Andrzej Szromnik and Andrzej Tomaszewski; Drs Piotr Krasny, Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, Zbigniew Beiersdorf, Piotr Dobosz, Krzysztof Kowalski, Grażyna Królikiewicz, Stanisław Mazur, Zbigniew Myczkowski, Monika Niedźwiedź and Antoni Weyssenhoff; directors and curators: Paweł Jaskanis, Magdalena Jaśkiewicz, Bronisława Gumińska, Janusz Walek; as well as Rev. Stanisław Dziedzic and Rev. Zbigniew Kras. After these few years of close co-operation on the programme they have become the core of the staff associated permanently with the Academy of Heritage.

Additionally, foreign experts representing renowned universities and institutions of cultural heritage protection came to share their experiences in safeguarding cultural heritage with the students. In 2004 the latter heard lectures by Prof. Marie-Theres Albert (Brandenburgische Technische Universität Cottbus, World Heritage Studies) and Dr. Lester Borley (National Trust for Scotland), who presented strategies for the protection of heritage as well as reviewed practical methods of revitalising elements of the cultural landscape and objects of historical significance. Invited to the experts' lectures are special guests – not necessarily heritage professionals but people who react strongly to the threats that the market economy poses to memorial sites and objects.

The changes implicated by Poland's membership in the European Union give rise to new challenges for the addressees of the programme. The Academy will give them the knowledge required to assess adequately the cultural heritage resources in their care, and teach them the skills needed to apply a range of management methods to ensure protection of these resources. They will also learn how to share this knowledge with young people in an attractive and appealing manner.

Barbara Szyper
Head of the Academy of Heritage

[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]



Towards the United States of Familial Europe - the opening lecture by Prof. Elżbieta Matynia

For the past thirteen years, the New School University's Transregional Center for Democratic Studies (TCDS), in collaboration with the International Cultural Centre of Cracow, has organized a summer institute in Cracow aimed at young scholars, junior faculty, and NGO activists who are seeking research and training opportunities. The name of the institute – *Democracy & Diversity* – not only reflects the subject matter of its seminars and lectures, but is also indicative of its participants.

This past July, the *Democracy & Diversity* Institute hosted 44 individuals from a combined 23 countries as diverse as Armenia, Canada, Israel, Kazakhstan, and Tanzania. Beyond their varied geographical origins, the participants brought with them a multitude of academic and occupational backgrounds to the institute. This year's group included graduate students in the fields of sociology, political science, anthropology, gender studies, international affairs, art history, and psychology. As importantly, TCDS seeks out participants who are not only interested in the study of democracy, but who actively work in organizations that contribute to democratization in their home countries. So, for example, in attendance this year were Pavel Marozau, a coordinator for a Belarussian environmental NGO, and Shahla Aligulieva, a programme director at the Oxfam GB Baku office.

The institute consisted of daily seminars, evening lectures, and group excursions.

The seminars were:

- *Memory, Trauma, Genocide, Evil* by Professor Richard J. Bernstein, Department of Philosophy, Graduate Faculty, New School University, and Professor Carol L. Bernstein, Department of Comparative Literature, Bryn Mawr College,
- *Democratic Culture: Societal Inclusion, Public Deliberation, and Difference* by Professor Jeffrey Goldfarb, Department of Sociology, Graduate Faculty, New School University,
- *Theories of Gender in Culture* by Professor Ann Snitow, Committee on Gender Studies and Feminist Theory, Graduate Faculty, New School University,
- *Sustaining Democracy? Boundaries, Conflicts, and Agreement in Democratic Politics* by Professor David Plotke, Department of Political Science, Graduate Faculty, New School University.

Perhaps the most validating aspect of the *Democracy & Diversity* institute is the way in which it provides a platform for a group of individuals with such a multiplicity of experiences to examine with one another issues of common interest surrounding democracy and democratization (for example, gender, culture, immigration, collective trauma, and minority rights). Being a part of this dynamic team was itself of great educational merit. It highlighted the fact that despite being distinguished by differences in social, political, and economic circumstances, societies have the possibility of drawing upon one another's experiences in dealing with similar problems.

At the same time, it became clear from the interactions of the scholars and activists from around the world that there is no single blueprint for democracy. I was particularly interested in witnessing, during

a session of the *Sustaining Democracy?* seminar, the extent to which some of the students from the former Soviet bloc were far more sympathetic to policies of cultural protectionism than their western counterparts, motivated largely by the experience of living in countries that faced strong Soviet cultural hegemony.

Another unique and enriching feature of the institute is its location. There is, of course, the obvious pleasure of learning amidst the beautiful and pastoral settings of Przegorzały Castle in Cracow. But more importantly, many of the issues that arose in the seminars and lectures have been, and continue to be, extremely relevant in Poland.

This was most clearly the case with the seminar led by Professors Richard and Carol Bernstein. In this seminar, students explored the concepts of trauma and collective memory, and how they relate to historical events such as the Holocaust. The readings and discussions of the seminar were complemented by excursions to the Galicia Jewish Museum and to the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. As one student noted, "being here, and seeing Auschwitz, added so much to the seminar. What we were learning became more vivid and I came to understand it on such a different level." Poland is also a country where issues surrounding collective memory generate a significant amount of exposure and debate in the public sphere. An aspect of this was presented to the participants in a lecture by journalist Anna Husarska on the competing claims concerning Polish-Jewish relations in Polish history. For many of the students from North America, where issues of collective memory and historical interpretation do not play as prominent a role in public discourse, the seminar and Husarska's lecture were particularly informative about the dynamics of collective memory, their political implications, and their impact on individual identities. This took on a personal dimension with the many conversations, both inside and outside the classroom, between some of the Polish and Israeli participants, about this controversial past of Polish-Jewish relations.

Similarly, Poland offered a unique case study for students interested in democratization; though considered to be a country with one of the more successful transitions to democracy in the region, Poland has witnessed a rise of factious and often anti-democratic political parties and organizations as a result of some of the negative effects of the transition. This was, in many ways, the focus of Adam Michnik's evening lecture, "Poland: 15 Years after Solidarity." In his opening remarks, Michnik stated that "big changes cause big hopes," and for this reason many Polish citizens have come to feel disillusioned with post-transition Poland. He concluded by saying that what is needed is "a Poland whose image people can identify with and this requires a re-evaluation of the approaches taken in the last fifteen years." For the next two hours, Michnik eagerly responded to the questions. It was an engaging evening that was often talked about in the days that followed.

For Professor Jeffrey Goldfarb, one of the main points of his seminar at the institute is the fact that "democratic culture exists in the small interactions between people. It requires space for them to reveal themselves as they are in their distinctiveness. If there is room for mutual recognition and respect, and for concerted action, democracies have a chance." There is little doubt whether the *Democracy & Diversity* Institute provided such a space. But to give a fuller picture of this space I would like to add that beyond the interactions and debates that occurred in the events and seminars mentioned above, there were more intimate, though no less important, connections between the participants. I recall fondly the conversations I had in my dorm room with my Polish roommate about how differently we viewed the war in Iraq; him from the vantage point of someone growing up in Poland, and me as a Polish born Canadian. There was also the group excursion to see the premiere of Michael Moore's *Fahrenheit 911* and the heated debates that followed at the pub. Or there was the birthday celebration of one of our participants, who had the privilege of having sung to him birthday songs in over a dozen languages.

The *Democracy & Diversity* Institute demonstrated that the differences among us can be valuable sources of both education and social and cultural bonding, and that it is possible to create at least fragments of the world we aspire to achieve.

Marek Denisiuk
MA student in Liberal Studies at the Graduate Faculty;
TCDS programme associate



A study tour around Małopolska: stopping off in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska

This was the fourth programme on Galicia organised in cooperation with the Institut für den Donauraum und Mitteleuropa in Vienna. It was initiated in 2001 with a course in history devoted to the phenomenal impact that Galicia – a region purely historical – has on today's culture, politics and economy of the regions of Małopolska and Podkarpacie, relating Galician heritage to the future of the Europe of regions. The considerable popularity of the programme encouraged the organisers to continue with the Galician subjects in the following years. In 2002 the topic of the course was Galicia in the cultural context, and the challenge of saving culture and national identity in the face of globalisation. Galician motives were sought not only in literary texts but also in the historical monuments of Cracow and Lviv's architecture, and additionally during a study tour to regions of Eastern Galicia. Last year's course tackled the common memory of the former Galicia in the context of some of the countries of the former Hapsburg monarchy joining the European Union.

In summer 2004, a group of twenty four students and young scholars arrived in Cracow to delve – under the supervision of experts in Galician studies – into the most recent history of this European region, to debate on opportunities for furthering the idea of multiculturalism in a multiethnic commonwealth, as well as to ponder on the opportunities of, and vistas for, further development now that the European Union has been enlarged. The programme was delivered at the campus of the Jagiellonian University in Przegorzały, and was supplemented with two one-day-long study tours in Małopolska, during which the students not only explored the history and monuments of Lanckorona, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Lipowiec, Bochnia and Niepołomice, but also had a look at the initiatives taken by local authorities to preserve the natural and cultural heritage of the region.

The cycle of lectures was opened by Dr Jakub Basista, who talked about the fluidity of Galicia's borders from 1772 up till the post-World War II demarcations. His next lecture was on the history of the Galician Jews: who they were, how they assimilated, and what their lives' paths were after the war. The question was raised whether the current revival is only a renaissance of Jewish culture, or, perhaps, it is still legitimate to talk about a Jewish community on the territories of Polish Galicia. Another lecture accompanied by a slide show illustrated the way Galician tradition and identity resisted Stalinist propaganda. Next, the students heard about the political, economic and social transformation after 1989, about who lost the most on these transformations, and why the majority of the population believe that the 1970s, and not the time after 1989, were the best years for them. The last lecture, also illustrated with slides, was followed by a visit to Cracow's Old Town and the Kazimierz quarter, and was devoted to the history of Cracow perpetuated in its monuments. With Dr Basista as their guide the students toured around Cracow: their itinerary included the Benedictine Abbey in Tyniec, the Mercy Sanctuary in Łagiewniki, the former concentration camp in Plaszow and the district of Nowa Huta.

Dr Emil Brix presented the image of Galicia as a truly exceptional province of the Hapsburg monarchy. He directed most of his attention towards Central Europe, pointing out there was a need for cultural and national identity in the common Europe. He discussed autonomy and integration, myths and stereotypes, as



The Jagiellonian University campus in Przegorzały: a class taught by Dr Lilya Berezhnaya

well as Galician heritage, also elaborating on the issue of borders, both in the historical context and in the sphere of human mentality. The lecture on the European Union's policy on Ukraine contained elements of an action plan, which is the first step towards more intensive, mutual relationships in politics, economy and culture, the tightening of cross-border co-operation, and recognition of common responsibility for preventing, and solving, international conflicts.

The significance of borders was discussed also by Lilya Berezhnaya, who pointed to borders as zones of struggle for political and economic domination, without, however, disregarding their role in migratory movements and contribution to the dispersion of ethnic and cultural groups. Pondering – in her next lecture – on the future of Christianity in Ukraine, she reached to the history of religiousness in Galicia from early Christian times up to the Pope's visit to Ukraine in 2001. In conclusion she said that although disputes between churches bear heavily on politics, religion poses no more hazard to the system than, for example, a deep-felt sense of ethnic separateness. A flurry of emotions, particularly among the Ukrainian audience, was stirred by a lecture on Eastern Galician's presence in the myth of imperialistic Russia.

Dr Steffen Huber outlined the perspectives of cross-border co-operation under projects financed in part by the European Union. In his second lecture he talked about Galician motifs in the work of Franz Kafka and Jaroslav Hašek, referring to selected sections and illustrations of their novels. Discussing the difficult process of social transformation in Ukraine, Dr Jacek Klich analysed Polish companies' chances for business expansion in that country, speculating on the reasons why so many opportunities have already been lost (not enough knowledge? trust? or institutional or organisational support? political concerns?). Dr Krzysztof Kowalski's classes were devoted to European issues, discussing in detail the history and the role of the European flag and anthem in building European identity. The topics of the lectures given by Prof. Zdzisław Mach were construction of regional, national and European identities, as well as the changes that the communities of Cracow, Galicia and Poland have gone through.

Prof. Jacek Purchla presented Galicia from the social and economic perspective, outlining each stage of its economic development in the period 1772–1918, and the impact this historical region has on the economy of contemporary south-eastern Poland. Going beyond the curriculum, he gave a unique presentation on Cracow and Lviv by showing not only the two cities' architectural monuments but also their input into cultural, political and economic development. Dr Mykola Ryabchuk overviewed co-operation between Ukraine and the European Union, the perspectives and opportunities that opened up on the enlargement of the EU, as well as the status of Western and Eastern Galicia in the Europe of regions, and Prof. Krzysztof Zamorski talked about the social and cultural circumstances of the demographic transformation on the territory of Galicia in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Apart from its educational merit, the programme gave the participants great opportunities outside the classroom to exchange experiences and knowledge with representatives of an array of cultures. Another important element were presentations prepared by students from all the countries, an excellent source of information about the social, political and economic reality of regions. The closing ceremony and distribution of certificates took place in the castle in Niepolomice, and was attended also by mayor Stanisław Kracik. An additional attraction was a ride in covered wagons through the Niepolomice Forest.

Anna Depowska
College for New Europe

[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]



Rome: the participants of the June session of the ECHOCAST
in front of the seat of Associazione Civita

Projects

ECHOCAST (European Cultural Heritage Organisations Customer Aware Staff Training)

In summer 2003, upon invitation from the Palace Museum in Schönbrunn, the International Cultural Centre joined a three-year international project aimed at preparing training materials for staff working directly with visitors at institutions of cultural heritage.

ECHOCAST (European Cultural Heritage Organisations Customer Aware Staff Training) has received funds from the Leonardo Programme. The project was inaugurated in October 2003 at Lancaster University, the project co-ordinating institution. The other partners are: the Historic Royal Palaces Agency, Hampton Court; Historic Scotland, Edinburgh; Schloss Schönbrunn, Kultur- und Betriebsges.m.bH, Vienna; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz; Associazione Civita, Roma; PIN Servizi Didattici e Scientifici per l'Università di Firenze; and the Malbork Castle Museum.

One of the subjects of the project is the increasingly popular trend towards making more "approachable" the ossified structures of institutions of cultural heritage, such as museums, castles, palaces, or heritage sites. Museums have traditionally been looked at from the angle of their protecting and documenting mission. The present change of working philosophy is geared towards creating a visitor-friendly atmosphere. Museums evolve, invite audiences to have a good time there and to reflect on heritage, and they pursue ambitious educational goals. With their growing expectations, visitors are becoming the object, while the museum collections are less and less the focal point. The bottom line is to make visitors want to come back and to encourage others to pop in as well. Helpful in attaining this aim should be high-quality customer service, which is the responsibility of front-line staff: museum guards, showroom watchpersons, guides, gift shop and ticket clerks, as well as coat check-out attendants, who have a major impact on visitors' impressions of an institution, thus contributing to its image. Positive opinion pushes up the attendance record which, in turn, has a boosting effect on financial results. Therefore, there is a sound economic rationale behind this selection of the training target group.

At present, the ECHOCAST project has reached its halfway point. The team of partners has prepared a training framework and curriculum, defined the learning outcomes, and determined assessment methods. The expected result of the project is a set of modules for the following training areas: introduction to customer service, delivering first class customer service, handling difficult situations, and confident guiding (adults and children). In March 2005, a pilot training programme will be run and its results will be discussed at the next meeting of ECHOCAST scheduled for 30 March – 3 April in Cracow.

Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik
Project coordinator on behalf of the ICC

[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]



Meeting of the partners of the AHICE at the International Cultural Centre: Zoltán Gyalókay (ICC), Erszébet Marton (National Office of Cultural Heritage, Budapest), Katarína Chmelinová (Department of Art History of the Comenius University in Bratislava) and Zora Wörgötter (Moravian Gallery in Brno)

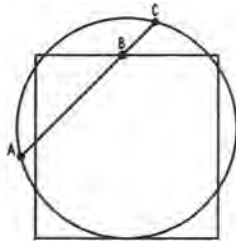
The Art Historian Information from Central Europe (AHICE) web service was created at the International Cultural Centre in January 2004 following a year of preparations. Those efforts also resulted in launching a web site of the project, www.ahice.net. The purpose of the project was to streamline communication on events relating to the protection, promotion and exploration of cultural heritage in the countries of the Visegrad Group. Consequently, the prime focus of the AHICE service is on exhibitions, conferences and publications devoted to old and contemporary art of Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

Art communities in these countries have run a lot of interesting projects highly appreciated by art lovers and experts alike. These projects could have attracted more viewers if information about them had reached wider circles of the public. One tends to think that given the more and more common use of the Internet the problem should be taken care of. After all, almost every institution has its web site these days and the information available there can be read from every corner of the world. However, that implies a growing information smog, which often makes it difficult to reach the information we are interested in.

This experience inspired the idea to set up a 'signpost' directing one to the source of cultural events, i.e. the sites of organisers. It is critical, however, that – contrary to the impersonal character of web communication – the organisers should work with our service through direct contact. Following a lengthy survey we managed to find three partners willing to take on the task of coordinating the project locally. Having a good knowledge of the local cultural environment our partners have a very important role to play: not only do they clarify the mechanics of the service but they also explain the ideas behind the project, support the information sharing process and, finally, promote the service to its potential users.

By submitting details of their projects, partner institutions contribute to the editing of the site. Once registered, an institution receives a password that gives access to the administration panel, where brief information is entered, most importantly the web address. The format of the forms allows for attaching text files with more detailed presentations of institutions which are not yet present on the Internet or do not have foreign language versions of their sites. All incoming news is entered to update the AHICE Calendar and can be searched by time criteria. The search engine, again, gives access to information sorted by specific criteria such as artistic domain, historical period or type of event. A subscription to the service is also available for those who wish to receive free AHICE newsletters direct to their e-mail box. Another functionality is the Contact List, where art historians from across the world can sign up in hope of making contact with colleagues with similar areas of interest.

Creating something new is not enough – it still has to be given publicity. Members of the AHICE project promoted the service with a lot of forethought and in a variety of ways. The most spectacular was a series of presentations to which we invited, for example, guests of the Book Fair in Krakow, or ministers of culture of the Visegrad Group states, who came to Cracow for a conference in April 2004. Also, promotion of the AHICE has been directed at potential users and our future partners – organisers of events. The latter look on the idea



International Cultural Centre
in Cracow



Moravian Gallery in Brno



National Office of Cultural
Heritage in Budapest



Department of Art History of the
Comenius University in Bratislava

approvingly, yet actual co-operation has not always been going so well. That experience gave us a general picture of culture promotion, which is to a large extent similar in all the Visegrad countries. Examples: some institutions did not see the need to join the AHICE, claiming they were popular enough anyway; in certain big institutions the registration process was hampered by the outgrown internal bureaucracy; some partners made do with submitting a completed registration form with no communication to follow. But the key hindrance was the requirement to submit texts in English. Information was often sent in in native languages only, which made contact with potential recipients in other countries difficult.

Yet a lot has changed over the last year: event organisers are increasingly aware of the potential of promotion that reaches beyond their natural operating area or even beyond their countries. The service has become one of the tools for finding one's way through the hundreds of art and science events in Central Europe. 82 institutions have joined us in 2004 and 528 news items have been published. When planning the AHICE's activities for 2005 we assumed that in addition to co-operation with more institutions in the countries of the Visegrad Group, the service should be expanded to cover also other countries in Central Europe.

Institutional partners of the AHICE are: the Moravian Gallery in Brno (the Czech Republic), the Faculty of Art History of the Comenius University in Bratislava (Slovakia) and the National Office of Cultural Heritage (Hungary).

Zoltán Gyalókey
Project Coordinator

[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]



Lecture by Prof. Lech Kalinowski *William Hogarth's "Analysis of Beauty"*, ICC, 5 June 2001



Obituary

Lech Kalinowski (1920 – 2004)

Ever since I can remember he was closely and inextricably tied to the Library in Sławkowska Street. In 1980, when I began working there, he was the Chairman of the Scientific Council of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) Library in Cracow. He continued as a member of the Council from 1965 till the end of his life, chairing it for seven terms, from 1972 to 1992, a period long enough to get to know an institution through and through and to do a lot for it.

The position never having been officially created, he was an informal curator of the Print Room of the Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAU) in the time when it existed within the organizational structure of the PAN as the PAN Department of History of Art (1953–1954), and subsequently as the PAN Library Graphic Collection in Cracow (1955–1999). After the Library was repossessed by the PAU, he held this function officially as Chairman of the PAU Commission on Art History. A frequent guest, reader and user of the Library, Professor Kalinowski was unfailingly a kind adviser and reviewer of the publishing and cataloguing initiatives it took up, and a friend of our senior colleagues, Anna Treiderowa, Maria Macharska and Zbigniew Jabłoński.

He was an earnest supporter of the idea to put the treasures of our collections on public view. He extended his patronage willingly to exhibitions that we organised with painstaking effort and under Spartan conditions in the years 1983–1989, among them *Dürer's Masterpieces from the Graphic Collections of the PAN Library in Cracow* (1983/1984), *Rubens' Most Illustrious Graphic Artists* (1984/1985), *Chiaroscuro* (1985/1986), *15th-Century Copperplates* (1986/1987), *Graphic Arts of the 16th-Century German School* (1987/1988) and *Francesco Bartolozzi* (1989). Those shows were reviewed by Professor Kalinowski, as were the modest mini-catalogues consisting of copied typescripts with photographs pasted into them. Typically running for two months, these exhibitions were known to librarians, art historians, artists and students, yet they remained small-scale events, never advertised and never visited by audiences larger than 500. Professor was an expert consultant and curator for the exhibitions, as well as our invaluable mentor, who pointed to the latest publications on history of graphic art or helped us to get hold of them in those dreary days.

It was he who, after 1989, when the restrictions and inertia of the passing epoch were gone, had a role in establishing a new exhibiting formula that helped overcome former hurdles and limitations. As a member of the Programme Council he drew the attention of the International Cultural Centre to the vast opportunities offered by the graphic arts and Cracow collections of prints, which had long been kept on the sidelines. Linked for many years to the Library in Sławkowska Street and perfectly aware of the exhibitory qualities and inestimable value of the former collections of the PAU Print Room, he was able to come up with a modern concept of presenting prints.

The co-operation so established between the International Cultural Centre and the former PAN Library in Cracow set a regular rhythm of exhibition projects. The initial step was taken by staging a one-man show of Francesco Bartolozzi's output (1995), next on view were masterpieces of 15th- and 16th-century graphic



Last visit to the International Cultural Centre: 6 June 2004, opening of the exhibition *The Seven Deadly Sins* next to Professor Kalinowski: Dr Karolina Grodziska, Prof. Andrzej Białas, Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, Prof. Jerzy Haber and Prof. Jan M. Małecki

art (1997), Rembrandt, Rubens and others (1999), and Hogarth (2001), the cycle culminating in 2004 in the first strictly iconographic show, *The Seven Deadly Sins*. Professor Lech Kalinowski was not only an ardent champion of the new concept at the ICC Programme Council, but also a big-hearted advisor for authors of exhibition scenarios, an expert consultant of their texts and himself the author of essays on graphic arts. Published in ICC catalogues were two of his essays under the same title *The Art of Printmaking and Print Rooms* (1997, 1999); as well as *Hogarth – Theoretician of Art* (2001) and *The Seven Deadly Sins in Medieval Art* (2004). The exhibitions were accompanied by the Professor's lectures, the one entered in the ICC calendar for 9 October 1995 (together with Jerzy Wyrozumski and the undersigned); 29 April 1997; 15 July 1999; and 5 June 2001 – brimming with erudition, vivid, and delivered with great oratorical zest and humour.

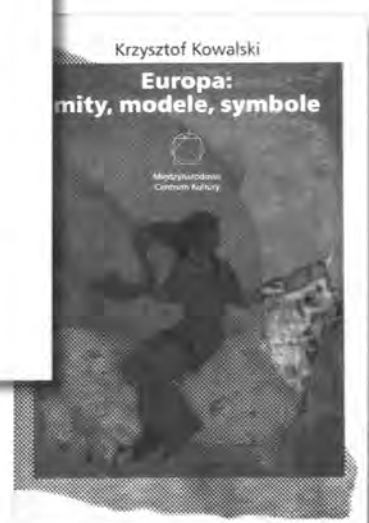
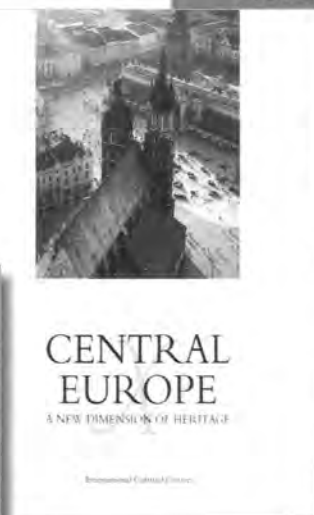
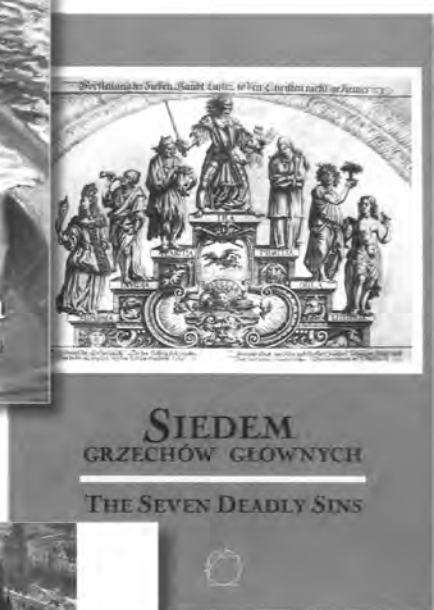
We will miss that erudition sorely, despite the fact that the exhibitions drawn from the collections of the Print Room of the PAU/PAN Scientific Library in Cracow and held jointly with the International Cultural Centre have become a permanent feature of Cracow's cultural landscape.

Dr Karolina Grodziska

Director of the PAU/PAN Scientific Library in Cracow

[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]

- Publications



Cracow – Dialogue of Traditions (1991)

A volume of essays under the editorship of Z. Baran 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 ill., Polish and English versions).

Wojciech GALĄZKA

Oszęcanie 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).

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 organisational and thematic preparations, financial principles, 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 (240 pp.).

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 ill.).

Władysław STRÓŻEWSKI

O pojęciu inspiracji / On Inspiration (1993)

An essay by an eminent philosopher published in 100 numbered copies by the International Cultural Centre to mark Krzysztof Penderecki's sixtieth birthday.

Piotr KRAKOWSKI

Sztuka Trzeciej Rzeszy [Art of the Third Reich] (1994, 2002 – reprint)

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 the great similarities to what happened to art in the countries of the socialist camp (254 pp., 216 colour and black-and-white ill.).

Adam MIŁOBĘDZKI

Architektura ziem Polski / The Architecture of Poland (1994)

Architektura ziem Polski / Architektur Polens (1998)

A compendium of knowledge about buildings on Polish lands, from the earliest period of the Polish State up to the present. It shows the history of architecture as a particularly great dialogue between new concepts of the philosophy of life coming from the West and rendered into form, and the native tradition and culture (Polish-English version 164 pp., Polish-German version 162 pp., +160 colour and black-and-white ill.).

Zdzisław NIEDZIELA

Słowacja znana i nieznaną [Slovakia Known and Unknown] (1995)

Another volume in a series of essays on the culture of Central European countries. It deals with literature, shows centres of spiritual life and the intellectual legacy of the Slovaks. It is a contribution to the knowledge and understanding of our neighbouring country (132 pp., 25 ill.).

Władysław SEMKOWICZ

Polacy i Słowacy w dziejowym stosunku

[Historical Relations Between the Poles and the Slovaks] (1995)

A reprint of a work published in 1938, written with great academic competence and reflecting the state of knowledge at the time it was written. With friendly affection it talks of the legacy of Slovak culture and our mutual links (64 pp., 14 drawings).

International Cultural Centre Cracow (1996)

A brochure presenting the goals and areas of activity, the organizational structure, and the output of the ICC so far: conferences and seminars, exhibitions, educational activity, publications (40 pp., 50 colour photographs, Polish and English versions).

Miasto historyczne. Potencjał dziedzictwa [The Historic City.

Heritage Potential] (1997)

This book includes texts written by both Polish authors and – which is particularly interesting from the viewpoint of Polish needs – by Western authors, and is grouped into two parts: part I, *Concepts, Doctrines, Strategies*, and part II, *Cities – Selected Examples*. Such a choice of texts and their layout is intended to illustrate the complex nature of preserving historical cities in a market economy and in the context of progressive globalisation. Among the authors are: G. J. Ashworth, S. Belniak, K. Broński, D. Geffers, K. Görllich, W. Kowalski, S. Maciejowski, T. Markowski, A. Miłobędzki, G. Piccinato, A. Prior, J. Purchla, M. Thomas and Z. Zuziak. Edited by K. Broński, J. Purchla, and Z. Zuziak (228 pp.).

Jan PATOČKA

Kim są Czeši? [Who Are the Czechs?] (1997)

Philosopher Jan Patočka wrote his essay in the 1970s, when any discussion of the nation's identity, its past and present was impossible in Czechoslovakia. The essay – a repetition of history – aims to outline the main developmental tendencies of the Czech nation and state, and to show the problems of Czech national identity and political awareness formed in the historical process (trans. J. Baluch, 95 pp.).

Tadeusz BARUCKI

Architektura Węgier [The Architecture of Hungary] (1997)

This publication is an attempt to present Hungarian architecture – its past and present – within the present-day borders of Hungary. This publication supplements our knowledge of Polish-Hungarian political and cultural links with material documenting the existence of relations between the two countries in architecture. The book also contains 133 illustrations, a list of major buildings and the reflections of many modern architects on architecture (156 pp., 133 colour ill.).

Lidia KORCZAK

Litwa. Przechowana tożsamość [Lithuania. The Preserved Identity] (1998)

In seeking the roots of Lithuanian culture identity, Lidia Korczak was confronted in her essay with a fundamental question: why Lithuanians did not first vanish in the sea of Russian culture, when the borders of their state contained extensive areas of Ruthenia, which had been Christianised much earlier, and why, on the other hand, they did not lose their identity after several centuries in the Polish Commonwealth. To answer this question, the author draws upon pre-Christian layers of Lithuania's spiritual life, and the wealth of its myths and ideas (140 pp., 11 ill.).

Jacek Purchla

Cracow in the European Core (2000)

Kraków w Europie Środka (2000)

Cracovie au coeur de l'Europe (2001)

Krakau Mitten in Europa (2003)

Krakov v srdtsevinnie Evropy (2004)

Frequently perceived as the heart of Poland and the most Polish of all Polish cities, Cracow is also the most cosmopolitan place in Poland. For over a thousand years a variety of different influences have met and intermingled in the city at the foot of Wawel Hill, and artists of many languages and nationalities have come to Cracow in search of the opportunities to accomplish their artistic visions. The richly illustrated book is an attempt at interpreting European themes in Cracow's heritage over the centuries. It is also meant as an attempt to answer the question of the status of Cracow in the history of European civilisation (252 pp., 50 black-and-white + 216 colour photographs).

From the World of Borders to the World of Horizons (2001)

The publication is an anthology of texts which have appeared in consecutive editions of the Yearly of the

International Cultural Centre and books published by the Centre during its decade-long activity. The volume contains essays which focus on the subjects of the research projects, conferences and exhibitions and refer to the following issues: the essence of European civilization, national stereotypes and problems connected with the concept of neighbourhood, national identity in relation to globalisation, the multicultural dimension of Central Europe, Poland in Europe, cultural heritage and the new philosophy of its preservation, the historical city phenomenon, culture and development, the place of culture in society. The book is a record of activities carried on by the International Cultural Centre. Its chronological layout allows us to follow the evolution of issues and views presented in essays by different authors including M. Dönhoff, J. Woźniakowski, K. Skubiszewski, A. Tomaszewski, H. H. Hahn, J. K. Ostrowski, C. G. Kiss, J. Purchla, J. Jedlicki, A. Wajda, B. Genzelis, G. J. Ashworth, E. Busek, K. Czyżewski, M. Martin, S. Peres, W. Stróżewski, A. Miłobędzki and E. Brix (English and Polish version).

Irina KOTLOBULATOVA

Lwów na dawnej pocztówce [The Lvov of Old Postcards] (2002)

Over the past two decades, monographs of pictorial representations of cities on old postcards have featured significantly on the book market. Kotlobulatova's handling of the topic distinguishes her study from the majority of albums published so far as she focuses on the history of the postcard itself rather than treating it as a mere source of urban iconography. This publication contains reproductions of 483 postcards, as well as a history of illustrated postcards, indices of topics, publishers and artists, and a list of present Lvov street names (491 pp.).

Krzysztof KOWALSKI

Europa: mity, modele, symbole [Europe: Myths, Models, Symbols] (2002)

This one-of-a-kind guide to the realm of European images and symbols was written as a result of the author's exploration of the archives of the Council of Europe and the European Commission, as well as libraries in Belgium, France and Switzerland. The anthropological perspective of the study gives the publication a unique character. Kowalski focuses on the symbolic and mythological aspects of European institutions. Europe is presented as an ideal being, which 'lends itself to thought' through images organised in thematic groups. These groups are a springboard for deliberating on contemporary political mythologies. The section on metaphoric models of European discourse outlines the political ideas of de Rougemont, Schuman, Monnet and Delors. The symbolism of European institutions is discussed based on the example of the European flag and anthem, specifically their history, official meanings and unofficial popular connotations. A wide selection of official documents, correspondence and proposed designs for the European flag and anthem make an interesting addition to the book (296 pp., 22 ill.).

Alois WOLDAN

Mit Austrii w literaturze polskiej [The Myth of Austria in Polish Literature] (2002)

A translation of a book that has been widely appreciated in Europe but is completely unknown to Poles, written by an Austrian specialist in Slavonic studies and researcher of the Polish culture. The author demonstrates a variety of

contexts that promoted the true image and the idealistic image of Austria among Polish artists and intellectuals. The book also shows how Galicia, once a territory annexed by Austria, was transformed into a myth and a symbol, on the one hand standing for freedom (limited as it was) and cultural development, but on the other hand burdened with connotations of a backward civilisation (281 pp.).

Exhibition catalogues

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: A. K. Wheelock Jr., National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.; J. Grabski, IRSA, Vienna; J. Purchla, ICC, Cracow; and L. Koenig, CEDART, Florence (30 pp., 32 colour and black-and-white ill.).

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 the Art Nouveau style, contains numerous reproductions of the artist's works and a note about him and his work (36 pp., 23 colour and black-and-white repr.).

EGO. Dudziński w Krakowie / in Cracow (1992)

EGO was published for a retrospective of Andrzej Dudziński organised 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 (78 pp.).

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 J. Purchla. Introduction by S. Sabarsky (255 pp., 187 ill., 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 J. Purchla. Artist's profile by S. Sabarsky (160 pp., Polish version).

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 P. Krakowski and 26 colour and black-and-white repr. (44 pp., 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 (56 pp., 28 colour and black-and-white repr.).

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, a selected bibliography and texts about the artist written by art critics (48 pp.).

Grand Prix '91. Günter Dollhopf (1994)

A catalogue published jointly with the International Print Triennial, accompanying the exhibition of the laureate of the last year's triennial. It contains 16 expressive black-and-white illustrations depicting the artist and his works, a biographical note, and essays on the work of G. Dollhopf written by L. Puyplat and U. W. Ulrich (24 pp., 14 black-and-white repr., Polish-German 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 (24 pp., 7 colour and black-and-white repr.).

Nowosielski. Rysunki / Drawings (1994)

A minicatalogue published in connection with an exhibition of Jerzy Nowosielski's drawings in Budapest, organised for the Polish Institute. It contains reproductions of drawings from the collections of the ICC and the Starmach Gallery, and a note about this outstanding artist (16 pp., 10 ill.).

Oskar Kokoschka. Wczesne lata
[Oskar Kokoschka. The Early Years] (1994)

This catalogue contains 102 reproductions of oil paintings, drawings and watercolours by one of the leading exponents of European Expressionism. It is supplemented with comments by P. Krakowski, J. Purchla, S. Sabarsky and P. Werkner on the artist's life and work (141 pp.).

Artysta i jego Mecenasy [The Artist and his Patron] (1995)

This publication contains 23 reproductions of drawings by J. Malczewski from the years 1885–1905. They come from family collections presented to the Royal Castle at Wawel by Karolina Lanckorońska. There are also texts by J. Purchla, Ł. Kalinowski, K. Lanckorońska and J. Winiewicz about the history of friendship between the artist and Count Karol, about Professor Lanckorońska and about the works on display during the exhibition (44 pp.).

Krzysztof KRUŻEL, Jan MOTYKA
Francesco Bartolozzi. Ryciny ze zbiorów graficznych Biblioteki PAN w Krakowie
[Francesco Bartolozzi. Plates from the Graphic Collection of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow] (1995)

A catalogue containing precise academic descriptions of 148 plates by a graphic artist from the late 18th – early 19th century, "master of the stipple technique" from the Polish Academy of Sciences Library. The publication contains forewords by K. Grodziska and J. Purchla, and indexes: iconographic, of authors of patterns and publishers of prints; the chapter "Watermarks" constitutes an extremely valuable section, as it establishes many new facts from the fields of paper and watermark science (128 pp., 30 ill.).

Artysci węgierscy / Hungarian Artists. Bukta – Halász (1996)

This catalogue accompanied the exhibition of these two well-known artists. It is supplemented with an essay analysing the current situation of the fine arts in Hungary, with texts characterising the work of Imre Bukta and Károly Halász and reproductions of their works (50 pp., 10 colour repr.).

Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1996)

This exhibition catalogue presents, for the first time in Poland, the life and work of this eminent Scottish architect and designer (1868–1928), one of the main representatives of European Sezession. Together with a foreword by J. Purchla, which provides Mackintosh's historical background, the book also contains a biographical note, outlines the themes of Mackintosh's work, and includes a chronology of his life and career prepared by D. Leśniak, curator of the exhibition (Polish version, 40 pp., 6 black-and-white + 8 colour repr.).

Egon Schiele (1996)

Following catalogues of the work of Gustav Klimt and Oskar Kokoschka, this presents the art of another outstanding Aus-

trian Expressionist (1890–1918). The publication contains colour reproductions of 10 oil paintings and 100 drawings and watercolours by Schiele as well as texts by J. Purchla, S. Sabarsky, P. Krakowski and P. Werner, which analyse many aspects of the artist's life and work (Polish version, 168 pp., 25 black-and-white + 110 colour repr.).

Józef Czapski. Obrazy i rysunki ze zbiorów prywatnych
[Józef Czapski. Paintings and Drawings from Private Collections] (1996)

This catalogue was published for an exhibition to mark the centenary of the artist's birth. For the first time in Poland it presents paintings from the Popiel de Boisgelin collection, and also drawings from the private collections of the Woźniakowski family, K. Zachwatowicz, E. Łubieńska, I. and S. Rodziński; it contains texts by J. Woźniakowski, K. Czerni, J. Marciniak and S. Rodziński as well as reproductions of all the paintings on display (44 pp., 18 colour repr.).

Wobec Thanatosa. Galicyjskie cmentarze wojenne z lat 1914–1918 / Galizische Kriegsfriedhöfe aus den Jahren 1914–1918
[In the Face of Thanatos. War Cemeteries in Galicia from 1914–1918] (1996)

This catalogue documents the dynamic output and artistic value of 400 necropolises during the First World War. They are a keepsake of the battles of that conflict and a monument to the cultural splendour of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The illustrative material (photos by M. Sajduk) is complemented with essays by J. Purchla and P. Pencakowski, curator of the exhibition (24 pp., 8 black-and-white + 9 colour repr.).

Architektura Lwowa XIX wieku / Die Architektur Lembergs im 19. Jahrhundert
Architektura Lwowa XIX wieku / Архитектура Львова XIX століття
[The Architecture of Lvov in the 19th Century] (1997)

This catalogue documents an exhibition organised by the ICC. Texts by J. Purchla, Y. Biryulov and M. Sepiat, together with a wide selection of photographs from archival Polish and Ukrainian collections and original publications of the time illustrate the cross-sectional development of Lvov's architecture and provide the reader with a better understanding of Galicia's old capital and its multicultural character during this period. Historicist, Art Nouveau and modernist buildings are of a high aesthetic and cultural value. At the same time they represent an important chapter in Polish 19th-century artistic culture, which until now has not been the subject of any systematic research (Polish-German version, 75 pp. + 174 ill., Polish-Ukrainian version, 75 pp. + 174 ill.).

Arcydzieła grafiki XV i XVI stulecia
[Masterpieces of 15th and 16th Century Graphic Art] (1997)

This publication presents 109 of the most valuable woodcuts, copperplates and etchings of the leading graphic schools of 15th and 16th century Europe: the German school (Schongauer, Dürer, Cranach), the Netherlandish school (van Leyden, Wierix, Cranach) and the Italian school (Mantegna, Raimondi). The prints are accompanied by

a text written by K. Kružel, providing an insightful description of the origin and technique of particular works. The work is preceded by an introduction written by J. Purchla, a foreword written by K. Grodziska on the history of the Graphic Collection of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and an essay presented by L. Kalinowski on artistic graphic art and Print Rooms (156 pp., 109 ill.).

Henryk Morel (1937–1968). Rzeźba, rysunek, kompozycja przestrzenna [Henryk Morel (1937–1968). Sculpture, Drawings, Spatial Composition] (1997)

This catalogue presents the very interesting work of an artist who died prematurely. He was a graduate of the A. Kenar School and the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts. Morel's work here is edited by A. M. Leśniewska, curator of his exhibition at the ICC Gallery. In addition to an essay analysing Morel's output, with a supplementary appendix, it contains a biographical note, a list of exhibitions, a selected bibliography and several dozen reproductions of his drawings, designs and sculptures as well as spatial compositions. (64 pp., 60 black-and-white + 3 colour repr.).

Marcel Mariën (1920–1993) (1997)

This catalogue includes both a biography and the work of Marcel Mariën, a Belgian iconoclastic artist, who was an outstanding representative of the second generation of Surrealists. A sketch on the artist's life is provided by X. Canonne, which is preceded by A. Zeńczak's short outline on Surrealism. The catalogue also contains a biographical note, a list of Mariën's publications and exhibitions, some interesting photographic documentation, and a dozen or so colour and black-and-white reproductions of his works (Polish-French version, 96 pp., 34 ill.).

Toshihiro Hamano. Człowiek i sztuka / The Man and Art (1997) [jointly with the International Print Triennial Society, Cracow]

This catalogue presents the work of an outstanding Japanese artist, laureate of the International Print Triennial Cracow '94, painter, sculptor, creator of prints and monumental compositions, and a landscape gardener. Hamano combines Eastern and Western influences, tradition with modernity, the individual with the collective. The publication, in addition to an essay on Hamano's art written by B. Kowalska and a foreword written by the editors, J. Purchla and W. Skulicz, contains a detailed biographic note, prepared by the artist, as well as many photographs (112 pp., 38 colour and 80 black-and-white ill.).

Emil Nolde. Grafiki i akwarele [Emil Nolde. Watercolours and Prints] (1998)

This catalogue contains reproductions of several dozen watercolours and prints of Emil Nolde, a prominent German Expressionist, the "master of etching and wood engraving", the greatest colourist of the 20th century. These works come mostly from private American collections. The album is supplemented with texts written by J. Purchla, S. Sabarsky, and the curator of the exhibition A. Zeńczak.

There is also an essay written by T. Gryglewicz (156 pp., 64 colour repr.).

Krzysztof Penderecki "Czarna Maska". Współczesny taniec śmierci / "The Black Mask". Contemporary Dance of Death (1998)

This publication accompanies an exhibition organised within the framework of the Krzysztof Penderecki Festival. Reproductions of famous representations of the dance of death, opera drafts, and photographic documentation of the performances are preceded by essays: T. Chrzanowski's "The Theology of Horror", M. Tomaszewski's "Listening to Penderecki", R. Chłopicka's "Theme of Death in Penderecki's Musical Theatre". The publication is supplemented with a list of Penderecki's major works and selected literature (92 pp., 17 colour and black-and-white ill.).

Margaret Hunter (1998)

This catalogue presents drawings, oil paintings and sculptures of the Scottish artist, Margaret Hunter (b. 1948), a student of George Baselitz, who works in Berlin and Glasgow. In addition to reproductions of her works, the catalogue contains an essay by I. Gale on Hunter's artistic profile, a biographical note, and a list of the artist's major projects and achievements (Polish-English-German version, 52 pp., 21 colour repr.).

Polak, Węgier... Potrójny dialog / Poland and Hungary... A Triple Dialogue (1998)

This catalogue accompanied an exhibition which may be described as a specific kind of dialogue between six works (rather than between the artists themselves, as is usually the case) produced by modern Polish and Hungarian artists: Katarzyna Kozyra and Péter Forgács, Ryszard Winiarski and Dóra Maurer, Antoni Mikołajczyk and János Megyik. In addition to introductory texts written by J. Purchla and L. Beke, the catalogue contains essays on the work of each individual artist, written by M. Hussakowska-Szysko, I. Hajdu, L. Beke and G. András, together with biographical and exhibition notes (68 pp., 6 colour repr.).

Vieira da Silva. Grafika [Vieira da Silva. Graphic Works] (1998)

This catalogue presents the copperplates, serigraphs and lithographs of Maria Helena Vieira da Silva (1908–1992). She was an outstanding Portuguese painter. Her works represent the vein of lyrical abstraction. In addition to prints, the catalogue contains A. Zeńczak's text characterising the artist's profile against the background of the artistic milieu of the Montparnasse and École de Paris, a diary of her life and work, and critics' notes on her work and personality (48 pp., 25 colour + 3 black-and-white repr.).

Baillie Scott. Dom dziełem sztuki / The Artistic House (1999)

A publication accompanying the exhibition of works by M. H. Baillie Scott (1865–1945), an outstanding architect and a representative of the Arts and Crafts movement, the author of the idea of "an artistic house" where its practical service corresponds with beauty, and a block of stone, the inside of

the house and the garden produce a harmonious artistic effect. The catalogue contains a foreword written by Prof. Jacek Purchla and texts by Diane Haigh ("Baillie Scott and the Artistic House in Poland") and Edyta Supińska-Polit, the exhibition curator ("Poetically Man Dwells... Baillie Scott's House"), as well as two comments by Baillie Scott on his own projects, a biographical note and numerous reproductions: photographs of the houses, interior designs, garden details and concepts made by the artist (88 pp., 44 colour and black-and-white ill.).

Rembrandt, Rubens i Inni / Rembrandt, Rubens and Others (1999)

This catalogue was published to coincide with an exhibition of 17th-century prints from the Print Room of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, which are stored in the Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Cracow. The album section presents 100 prints by Rembrandt van Rijn, Paulus Pontius, Robert Nanteuil, Hendrik Goudt, Johannes Teyler, Jacques Callot, Václav Hollar and by painters from the Rubens school. The text section contains an introduction by J. Purchla, an essay by L. Kalinowski on artistic prints and print rooms, a history of the Cracow collection written by K. Grodziska, and a text by the curator of the exhibition, K. Kruzel, describing the prints, with special attention given to the development of graphic techniques (126 pp. + 100 drawings).

Romuald Loegler. Dialog z czasem i miejscem
[Dialogue with Time and Place] (1999)

This catalogue accompanies an exhibition featuring the design of the distinguished Cracow architect Romuald Loegler and contains essays on his work written by art historians and architects; an outline of his career (professional work and practice, awards, one-man and group exhibitions, lectures and seminars, monographic publications, and publications in Polish and foreign journals); as well as plans and photographs of his designs and projects: Bank PKO B.P. in Nowa Huta, 1998; the Gate to the City of the Dead – a funeral parlour in Kraków's Batowice cemetery, 1998; an extension of the Cracow University of Economics – the teaching and sports pavilion, 1998; study of a detached house, designed 1998; an office building in Warsaw, designed 1998; the Artur Rubinstein State Philharmonic, designed 1998; the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Berlin, competition design, 1998 (64 pp.).

Made in Hungary. Hungarian Photographers (2000)

The album comprises 125 excellent black-and-white photographs taken by a number of outstanding Hungarian artists. The oldest photograph comes from 1915 and the latest one was taken in 1996. Some of the photographs present real events, urban scenery and the landscape, faces caught in frame, everyday episodes and some astonishing situations – severe, lyrical, and sometimes grotesque ones. Their artistic values match the workshop mastership. It's hard to overestimate the importance of Hungarian photography for the development of this domain of art. At the beginning of the 20th c. a characteristic explosion of talents took place. In the 1920s and 1930s a great number of Hungarian photographers emigrated for political or economic reasons.

Many of them won international fame: Brassai, L. Moholy-Nagy, G. Kepes, R. Capa, C. Capa, A. Kertész, M. Munkácsi – they are those whose names entered the history of photography. Those who remained in the country had the relevant skills of the others but because of the lack of promotion they could hardly gain the world-wide fame, to mention only J. Pécsi, K. Escher, O. Maté, J. Németh, Angelo, J. Kárász. The album is a sort of confrontation of the output of Hungarian emigrants and their famous but unknown countrymen. In his interesting introductory essay K. Kincses considers various aspects of these Hungarian experiences. The album was published on the occasion of the exhibition organised by the International Cultural Centre and the Hungarian Museum of Photography (Polish version – English summary, 208 pp.).

Mersad Berber (2000)

The publication presents the works of M. Berber, Grand Prix winner of the International Print Triennial in 1997. They represent a period of thirty years (1970–2000) which enables us to follow the progress of the artist's creative work. Mersad Berber continues the trends characteristic for his works but at the same time he surprises us with introducing new methods. In his works the impressive craft joins the poetic reflection upon the past, and the ancient elements combine with Christian ones and also refer to Islam. The beauty of his pictures and the perfection of the artist's creation are highly appreciated by art critics and admired by the public (Polish-English version, 52 pp., 54 colour repr.).

Otto Wagner. Wiedeń – Architektura około 1900 / Wien – Architektur 1900 (2000)

The publication comprises essays written by U. Prokop, P. Hajko and R. Kassal-Mikula, the experts in the epoch and the output of Otto Wagner. The authors not only present the richness of the great architect's works, but also give a good picture of Vienna at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the city where civilisational conflicts and problems of great urbanisation carried an exceptional weight at the time. Wagner's innovative designs such as Vienna city railway pavilions, the Savings Bank of Vienna, the church at Steinhof or Majolikahaus have been presented against the background. What attracts our attention in Wagner's works are: the primacy of function over form, utilitarianism, technology as an art, the use of new materials, and economics of design. The book also comprises Wagner's biography, a list of projects and buildings accomplished, and a comprehensive catalogue (256 pp., 160 ill.).

Paula Modersohn-Becker i artyści z Worpswede.
Rysunki i grafiki 1895–1906 [Paula Modersohn-Becker and the Worpswede Artists. Drawings and Prints 1895–1906] (2000)

This publication, coinciding with an exhibition presenting the Worpswede artists' *oeuvre*, comprises essays published in the German-language edition of the catalogue, written by U. Zeller, W. Herzogenrath and K. Erling, and also biographical notes and a catalogue of the exhibited works (42 pp.).

Sila wyobraźni. Symbolizm w Brukseli. / La force de l'imaginaire. Bruxelles et le symbolisme (2000)

The catalogue presents the artistic output of the most eminent Belgian symbolists: F. Khnopff, F. Rops, X. Mellery, E. Berchmans, J. Delville, A. Rassenfosse, E. Fabry, A. Ciambrellani, W. Degouve de Nuncques, C. Montald, L. Frédéric, E. Laermans. Transitory moments, the mystery of time, melancholy, perversity, erotica and death are the favourite motives and subject of the paintings. A number of plates in colour are preceded by an essay by E. Clémens describing the origin and assumptions of symbolism, as well as the atmosphere of Brussels – one of the main centres of this trend, and biographical notes of the artists by C. Croës (Polish-French version, 88 pp., 62 ill.).

Hogarth i jego wiek / and His Century (2001)

The catalogue presents masterpieces of 18th-century European printmaking from the Print Room in the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Cracow. In the collection of over 100 black-and-white and colour engravings the most numerous group consists of copperplates of the outstanding English painter and engraver W. Hogarth. The assemblage also includes striking copperplates of Sir R. Strange and W. Woollett, virtuoso mezzotints of V. Green, J. R. Smith and R. Earlom, and engravings of R. Bartolozzi executed in the drypoint technique which was very popular in Great Britain in the second half of the 18th century. A selection of French rococo graphics and copperplates from J. Ph. Lembas's printing shop, and N. de Launay's and J. M. Moreau's prints can be found in the album as well. New techniques of European printmaking are exemplified by works of J. Ch. Francois (coloured pencil), J.-B. Le Prince ("washing" techniques, aquatint), and J.S. Janinet and Ch. M. Descourties (coloured etchings, colour one- and multi-plate prints). The review is complete with unique etchings of masters of the genre including G. B. Piranesi, S. Boucher, B. Bellotto, and D. Chodowiecki. The catalogue also comprises essays by such experts as L. Kalinowski, M. Pokorska-Primus and K. Kružel (178 pp.).

Andrzej Nowacki. Po drugiej stronie kwadratu [Through the Square] (2002)

A catalogue prepared for an exhibition of works of Andrzej Nowacki (b. 1953), a follower of the Polish traditions of geometrical abstraction who has been working abroad for over twenty years, mainly in Berlin and New York. This publication contains reproductions of his drawings, painting and reliefs created in the years 1985-2001, which disclose his fascination with the works of Stażewski, Malevich, Calder. The catalogue is furnished with B. Kowalska's notes on the artist and an analysis of his works, G. Sztabiński's essay on geometry in art, the artist's own text "Szepty barw" [The whisper of the colours], and a biographical note with a list of monographic and other shows. The publication is richly illustrated with photographs from the artist's private archives (168 pp., 96 ill.).

James Ensor (1860–1949). Grafika i malarstwo [Prints and Paintings] (2002)

Ensor, the trailblazer of symbolism and expressionism, one of the most eminent artists of the turn of the 19th century, had the reputation of a scandalist and a provocateur. His works shocked and intrigued both the critics and the public. Today, when his art has finally been appreciated, he is listed on a par with the greats such as Gauguin or Van Gogh, and his output is seen as a key to the art of the 20th century. Printing as an instrument of artistic expression was for Ensor equal to painting. Formally, his graphic oeuvre is often compared to that of Rembrandt and at times Dürer, while in terms of iconography he sometimes appears akin to Breughl and Bosch. He attained undeniable mastery in etching and the drypoint technique, and his diversity and virtuosity of style remain impressive today. The catalogue contains reproductions of five canvases by Ensor and over a hundred prints with notes by Herwig Todts. The cataloguing part is accompanied by in-depth essays by Marcel van Jole and L. Schoonbaert, in which the most characteristic motifs in Ensor's works are interpreted. With an introduction by Jacek Purchla (204 pp., 109 ill.).

Martin Dülfer. W kręgu secesji monachijskiej [Martin Dülfer. in Munich Sezession Circles] (2002)

Dubbed the first German city of art, Munich made an intriguing and spectacular career in the 19th century, when it was mostly associated with the flourishing Munich school of painting, and then again at the turn of the 19th century, when it became one of the major centres of the European Art Nouveau, alongside Paris, Vienna and Berlin. It was in Munich that the Jugendstil became established with the aim of creating a national style combining folk traditions with picturesque historicism, Art Nouveau and Modernism. The most eminent representative of this movement was Martin Dülfer. Like a looking glass, his art reflected the dilemmas and challenges faced by the architecture of the turn of the century. Associated mostly with Munich and Dresden, Dülfer designed town houses, villas, hotels and department stores. But his métier was theatre architecture: he constructed theatres in Dortmund, Lübeck, Merano, Duisburg and Sofia/Sofiya. This publication presents the artist Martin Dülfer and his output, highlighting his influence on the development of the architecture of his times. It contains texts by Jacek Purchla, H. Ottomeyer, W. Tegethoff and D. Klein, as well as a biography and a list of Dülfer's known works and designs. The numerous illustrations show his designs and construction projects and offer an overview of the most typical architectural projects by some of his contemporaries, e.g. Endell, Thiersch, von Seidl, Riedel, von Klenze and Fischer (76 pp., 107 colour and black-and-white ill.).

Igor Mitoraj. Rzeźby i rysunki / *Sculptures and Drawings* (2003)

The album presents the sculptures and drawings displayed in the ICC Gallery and *en plein air* in the Market Square

from October 2003 till January 2004. Igor Mitoraj, fascinated by the beauty of the ancient sculpture, creates monumental figures of classical proportions cast in bronze or sculpted in marble. However, the classical beauty is partly deconstructed; the torsos of the statues are cleft and cracked, the arms empty, the gigantic heads damaged. For some critics the partial destruction is an expression of nostalgia for the lost Arcadia, while others perceive it as a criticism of contemporary civilisation and a warning against its destructive force. The rich illustrative material is completed by the texts of Jacek Purchla and Andrzej Wajda on the power of art in public space, and by the essays of D. Kuspit, J. R. Taylor, G. Testori, the art critics, and M. Rydiger – the curator of the exhibition, on Mitoraj's art. The album also comprises the artist's biography, a list of individual and group exhibitions, collections and places where Igor Mitoraj's works can be seen, and bibliography. The author of the photographs of the open air part of the exhibition is J. Poremba (192 pp., 104 coloured photos).

Karl Duldig (1902–1986). Rzeźby i rysunki [Sculptures and Drawings] (2003)

The publication accompanies the exposition of works by Karl Duldig, one of the greatest Australian artists of the 20th c., never presented in Poland before. Duldig was born in Przemyśl. Up till 1938 he made his works in Vienna, then – having escaped from the Nazi, he got through Switzerland and Singapore to Australia where he finally settled down and stayed creative till his death in 1986. Duldig was fascinated by human body and drew his inspiration from its shape. Figures, heads and busts are all characterized by close, round blocks of carefully deliberated tectonic construction resulted from the material used: stone, marble, clay, bronze. The album contains reproductions of sculptures and drawings, archival photographs of the works which have survived the stormy ups and downs of the artist's biography. The introductory texts written by Jacek Purchla, Gabriele Kohlbauer-Fritz, Peter Stasny – the author of the exhibition, and Monika Rydygier – Polish curator of the exhibition show the artist's life through the dramatic vicissitudes of Central European Jews in the 20th c., and first of all characterize Duldig's creative work against a background of artistic dilemmas and ambivalence that accompany the development of modern sculpture (128 pp., 82 coloured reproductions + 59 black-and-white photographs).

Mistrzowie światła. Impresjonizm kalifornijski 1890–1930 [Masters of Light. Californian Impressionism 1890–1930] (2003)

The catalogue accompanies the exhibition of paintings by the most outstanding American impressionists from the unique collection of the Irvine Museum that have never been presented in Poland before. Franz A. Bischoff, Guy Rose, Collin Campbell Cooper, Granville Redmond, Meta Cressey, Alson S. Clark, William Wendt, Alfred R. Mitchell are the best known from the midst of the group of artists who created in California in the years 1890–1930. They glorified the beauty of the nature, immortalized the virgin landscape, the rugged coastline, rich and green meadows,

California full of sunshine, with its mild climate and enchanting landscape has become the dream land for the painters and such picturesque places as Laguna Beach, San Diego and Monterey turned into the artists' colonies. The catalogue comprises coloured copies of all the works presented at the exhibition, a discerning essay by J. Stern and a comprehensive text by W. H. Gerdts, an outstanding American art historian, on the phenomenon of Californian impressionism. The publication is preceded by an introduction written by Professor J. Purchla (pp. 190).

Max Weiler 1910–2001. Malarstwo [Painting] (2004)

The catalogue accompanies the exhibition of paintings by one of the most outstanding Austrian painters shown in Poland for the first time. Discerning essays by prof. Wieland Schmied (the exhibition curator) and Leszek Danilczyk draw the artist's silhouette closer and analyse his pieces of art. Weiler is an exceptional individual. Bound with no artistic group, he has influenced the 20th century art, though. He gradually moved from figuration to abstraction. Although during the lifelong search for formal artistic expression they often underwent modifications, his paintings constantly express feelings and sensations towards the nature. The coloured reproductions of his works included in the catalogue let us trace the most important stages of Weiler's creativity which shows a deep affinity with life and nature. The catalogue comprises the artist's biography rich in numerous photographs, and a list of individual exhibitions as well as a list of the artist's works painted on public request (108 pp., 74 coloured reproductions and black-and-white photographs).

Norymberga w obiektywie Lali Aufsberg / Nuremberg Through the Lens of Lala Aufsberg (2004)

Nuremberg of the years 1927–1950 in the photographs of Lala Aufsberg, one of the most outstanding German artists-photographers of the 20th c. The artist has immortalised streets, squares and lanes of Old Nuremberg and has shown the city as a place of particular charm and atmosphere. The photographs taken at different time of day or season have created a place of unusual and picturesque image. Lala Aufsberg's favourite subject of artistic presentation are Gothic churches, and it is their architecture, rich furnishings and decorations which became the main source of inspiration. Her pictures presenting the pompous Nazi ceremonies and rallies have been very impressive as well. The catalogue also comprises the pictures of Nuremberg in 1945 – a documentary account of the city ruined by the allied forces, the city of lost glamour. The catalogue is completed by an essay by Helmut Beer on Lala Aufsberg's artistic output, the artist's biography and calendar of life and work (150 pp., 94 black-and-white photographs).

Oto człowiek. Dzieła z kolekcji Deutsche Bank [Man in the Middle. Works from the collection of Deutsche Bank] (2004)

The album of works presented at the exhibition intriguingly entitled *Man in the Middle*. The subject of both the exhibition

and the publication is the image of man – variable and ambiguous – which has always been the most important inspiration for artists. Reproductions of paintings, drawings and photographs included in the album give us an exceptional opportunity to get to know the most interesting phenomena of contemporary art, from modernism and expressionism of early the 20th c. to the latest tendencies and trends including the most outstanding German artists of the 20th c. Beuys, Dix, Grosz, Kokoschka, Kollwitz, Prince, Salomé, Schlemmer, Sieverding – these are some names selected from the artists whose works are included. The catalogue is completed by essays of well-known art critics and art historians: J.M. Bradburne, J. Gerchow, A. Grigoté and F. Hütte (the authors of the exhibition), V. Loers, G. Nonnenmacher, A. Rottenberg (128 pp., 47 coloured reproductions).

Siedem grzechów głównych / The Seven Deadly Sins (2004)

The catalogue accompanies another exhibition of prints from the Print Room of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, in the Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow. The subject of the Seven Deadly Sins is shown on lithographs, etchings and mezzotints by masters like Dürer, Cranach, Bruegel the Elder, Rubens, Rembrandt van Rijn, Teniers and Hogarth. The sins and the vices have for long been the favourite subject with the artists. For over 400 years, from the Middle Ages till the 19th c., they have experienced numerous personifications, allegories and attributes – and despite the obscurity of some of the allegories, they all have shown the variegated history of customs and the changing moral “code”. The basic text by K. Kruzel, the

exhibition’s author and curator, can be considered an extraordinary guidebook illustrated with relevant fragments of the prints and even their details, which leads the reader through the labyrinth of subjects, plots and iconographic shapes recorded on the prints. The publication closes with a list of exhibited prints completed with didactic inscriptions preserved in order to mirror the originals which often used to be affixed to the representations of the sins (pp. 240, 125 black-and-white reproductions).

Współczesna sztuka słowacka 1960–2000. Ze zbiorów Pierwszej Słowackiej Grupy Inwestycyjnej [Contemporary Slovak Art 1960–2000. From the Collection of the First Investment Slovak Group] (2004)

The album presents reproductions of oil paintings, engravings, sculptures, objects and photographs made by 49 famous and respected Slovak artists, among others: M. Bartuszova, M. Čunderlik, M. Dobeš, R. Fila, J. Jankovič, A. Mlynárik, R. Sikora, M. Urbásek, J. Želibská, which come from a unique collection of the First Investment Slovak Group. Founded in 1992 after the “velvet revolution”, it gathers works made beyond the official scene, and against any ideological directives in use. Presented forms and subjects are surprisingly rich; the works show that Slovak artists have followed the impulse and inspiration coming from Western Europe or the USA. A discerning introductory essay on the history of Slovak art of the last forty years was written by Zuzana Bartošová, the author of the exhibition. It precedes a catalogue of reproductions considered as a review of artists, techniques and trends. Biographical notes and short essays on the artists’ output make the presentation more complete (158 pp., 65 colour reproductions).

Materials from seminars, symposia and research projects

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 (62 pp.).

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

The 7th volume of the Niedzica Seminars on Gothic art. 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 (80 pp. + 86 sketches and ill., 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 organised by the ICC and the Jagiellonian University as part of the CSCE

Conference and contains papers delivered at that time (95 pp., texts in English, French and German).

Managing Tourism in Historic Cities (1992)

The 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 revitalising European historic cities (272 pp.).

Cultural Policies (1993)

The new political reality in Central Europe at the threshold of the 1990’s 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.).

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.).

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 cities which are only now entering that road (290 pp.).

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

The session, whose results are contained in this publication, was organised 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 of culturally mixed areas in Central Europe, and to make us realise the benefits and dangers arising from the inevitable integrating process (208 pp. + 16 ill., 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 organised 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 co-existence added vigour to both structures (168 pp., 39 ill.).

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 in 1992. It is intended for professionals involved in the protection of cultural heritage (118 pp.).

Stereotypes and Nations (1994)

Papers given during an international conference under the same title, organised in June 1993. It presents, in a comprehensive and unconventional way, the issues of national stereotypes: how they are formed and how they function in popular consciousness and in art, and what threats they pose. The authors include C. Milosz, S. Barańczak, T. Venclova, K. Zanussi, T. Jastrun, K. Dedecius, S. Frenkiel, L. Baier,

R. Scruton, F. Alting von Geusau, J. Błoński, U. Altermatt, and R. S. Amosy (330 pp., Polish and English versions; 1999 – German version).

Wokół Matejki [Around Matejko] (1994)

Materials from an international symposium organised in autumn 1993 to mark the centenary of the artist's death. It is an attempt to look on Matejko as a painter – and not only as a specialist in the philosophy of history or co-ordinator of the main national myths – by setting his work against the wide background of 19th-century European painting (165 pp., 135 colour and black-and-white ill.).

Theatre Architecture of the Late 19th Century in Central Europe (1995)

The book contains selected papers given during an international conference organised by the Centre in 1993 to mark the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Slowacki Theatre. Rich comparative material makes possible a multi-faceted formal and programmatic interpretation of theatre architecture from the turn of the century, set in a wider historical context. This publication also permits us to determine the effect the constructed theatre buildings exerted on urban planning; it permits us to answer the question of to what extent theatres inscribed themselves in the cultural landscape of cities and metropolises and to what extent they determined it for the decades to come (145 pp., 131 ill.).

Zarządzanie kulturą [Management of Culture] (1995)

This volume contains selected materials from a seminar for cultural managers, which was held in March and April 1993. There is an overview of institutions and international foundations, together with their addresses and comment on their activities and the kind of assistance they offer; the characterisation of different forms of institutional management; proposals for new solutions possible for Polish culture; discussion of the issues of advertising, marketing, techniques of presenting the work of a cultural institution, and techniques of painting its picture in the minds of the recipients (178 pp.).

Związki kulturalne polsko-słowackie w dziejach

[Cultural Ties Between Poland and Slovakia Throughout History] (1995)

The outcome of a symposium organised in June 1995 by the International Cultural Centre and the Slovak Institute in Warsaw (in co-operation with the Polish Ministry of Culture and Art and the Slovak Ministry of Culture). The conference was of an interdisciplinary nature; it focused on Polish-Slovak political relations from a historical perspective, analysed cultural relations and literary ties between the two nations, and looked at issues of cultural contact in the border area. The meeting demonstrated the extent of the friendship between Poles and Slovaks, emphasised linguistic and cultural similarities, showed the effect Polish literature had on the process of awakening Slovak national identity, and demonstrated the actual

problems of and opportunities for present-day coexistence of both nations, especially in the border zone (366 pp.).

Miasto i kultura ludowa w dziejach Białorusi, Litwy, Polski i Ukrainy [The City and Folk Culture in the History of Belarus, Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine] (1996)

This volume contains papers given during a conference organised by the ICC in September 1994; it focused on the cognitively important opposition "the city – the country", and its particular relation to the field of culture. The authors discuss the part of folk culture in the formation of urban culture; the value of particular components of both cultures; the force of tradition in the life of the city and the country; the role language plays as a carrier of cultural contents; the manifestation of identity of particular cultures, in customs, literature and everyday life; and they try to conduct a typology of some cultural phenomena in the area concerned (368 pp.).

The Historical Metropolis. A Hidden Potential (1996)

This volume – containing the texts of papers given at an international conference organised in May 1996 – presents an interdisciplinary definition of the historical metropolis, showing the geographical, historical, sociological, economic and artistic factors that have shaped Central European urban centres throughout history, using the examples of Budapest, Zagreb, Prague, Bergen, Rome, Munich, Nuremberg, Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Cracow and Czerniowce. Such a broad context makes it possible to see and understand the phenomenon of the historical metropolis, the current state of cultural heritage and its potential role in forming urban space (256 pp.).

Polska i Węgry w kulturze i cywilizacji europejskiej [Poland and Hungary in European Culture and Civilisation] (1997)

Materials from a conference organised by the ICC in April 1996. The statements of the participants revealed the following sets of problems: development of national consciousness in both countries, the shape and social range of already developed national identity, including the phenomenon of xenophobia; the nobility as part of a cultural legacy as a value, and as a barrier to building a European consciousness; folk culture and authentic folklore: the dangerous process of sidelining them on the one hand and their genuine culture-forming role on the other; the pedigree of the intelligentsia; the cultural legacy from the years of totalitarian subjugation; our common place in the culture of the new, integrated Europe (380 pp.).

Radio. Szanse i wyzwania [Radio. Opportunities and Challenges] (1997)

This volume, published jointly with Radio Kraków S.A., contains comments from radio technicians, psychologists and sociologists of culture who participated in the conference, *The Culture-forming Role of Radio*, organised by the International Cultural Centre in Cracow, Radio Kraków S.A. and the Public Radio Association in Poland on 14–15 Feb-

ruary 1997 to mark 70 years of Radio Kraków. The authors describe the situation of radio on the threshold of the 21st century: against the background of other media sources, in the context of revolutionary changes in broadcasting techniques, in the face of a re-evaluation of the cultural canon, as a means of broadcasting which creates and strengthens social ties (136 pp., 7 ill.).

Czechy i Polska na szlakach ich kulturalnego rozwoju [The Czech Republic and Poland on the Routes of Their Cultural Development] (1998)

This volume of materials is the outcome of a bilateral conference organised in 1997 by the ICC. It discusses the many aspects of Czech and Polish history and culture; although this culture shared the same roots, it followed different patterns of evolution. In their papers, Polish and Czech authors discuss similarities, differences and interrelations in the history of both nations. Academic editor: J. Wyrozumski (286 pp.).

Mayors and City Halls (1998)

This publication is the outcome of a conference organised in late November and early December 1995 by the ICC in association with the ICC Foundation. The aim of the conference was to compare the opinions of specialists in the history of art, architecture, town planning and cultural heritage preservation on the role of art and architecture, and town planning in particular, in local government policy and the consciousness of city residents. The conference was also designed to review internationally used methods of research and preservation with regard to urban architecture and town plans, to present the municipal architecture of Poland and Central Europe, especially in the 19th and 20th centuries. The publication provides an important scholarly aid for local and regional governments, conservators, experts in museum studies, and staff at institutions involved in cultural heritage preservation (286 pp. +198 ill.).

Art Around 1900 in Central Europe. Art Centres and Provinces (1999)

This publication is the outcome of a conference under the same title, organised by the International Cultural Centre in Cracow, which gave particular attention to the cultural phenomenon of Central Europe. The turn of the century is an especially intriguing period. It was precisely around 1900 that our part of Europe – beset with increasing contradictions, conflicts and threats – reached a uniquely high level of creativity, leading to an unprecedented great intellectual and artistic contribution to the cultural heritage of our continent. In addition to traditionally large centres, such as Vienna, Munich and Berlin, this publication draws attention to smaller and lesser known centres and regions of Central Europe in their widest meaning: from the Baltic Sea to the Adriatic, from Helsinki and Riga to Ljubljana and Zagreb. Academic editors: P. Krakowski, J. Purchla (440 pp., 178 ill., Polish version in 1997).

Dziedzictwo a turystyka [Heritage and Tourism] (1999)

The book comprises papers which are the outcome of a conference organised by the ICC in September 1998. The papers present a review of attitudes towards the issues included in the title: from an enthusiastic approval to an extreme scepticism. Tourism has become another opportunity for development and, on the other hand, a serious menace to historic cities. The authors, who mostly represent countries much more than Poland engaged in investment in touristic trade, share their experiences from the point of view of art historians, urban planners, economists, sociologists and psychologists. In conclusion they point to the necessity of an integrated approach to the question of heritage, the functioning of the city and the market; the approach which requires an adequate strategy of management (181 pp.).

Kultura Litwy i Polski w dziejach [Culture of Lithuania and Poland in History] (2000)

This one-volume edition comprises the outcome of the conference organised by the International Cultural Centre in October 1998. Polish and Lithuanian authors presented an elaborate collection of problems, mainly concerned with history, law and cultural anthropology. The examination of Lithuanian and Polish culture in terms of political coexistence of the two countries and cultural syncretism is not supposed to answer the purpose of taking possession of the past and tradition by anybody, but should work for spreading knowledge and for better communication and understanding. At the beginning of the 21st c., when globalisation is developing so rapidly, it is worth not only reminding ourselves of a phenomenon of European history which was the unity of Poland and Lithuania, but also having an awareness of the fact we are not the only heirs of the Old Republic of Poland. The publication is useful for academic research and widely-understood education which is necessary to accomplish a task of understanding the existent stereotypes and then overcoming them (204 pp.).

Dziedzictwo a rozwój. Doświadczenie Krakowa [Heritage and Development. The Experience of Cracow] (2000)

Published in co-operation with the Citizens Committee for the Restoration of Historical Monuments of Cracow, this book comprises essays by A. Golaś ("The Achievements and Experience of the Citizens Committee for the Restoration of Historical Monuments of Cracow"), A. Kurz ("The Contribution of the Citizens Committee for the Restoration of Historical Monuments of Cracow Towards the Preparations for the Year 2000 Celebrations"), S. Juchnowicz ("Cracow, Nowa Huta – Unwanted Heritage: Where Next?"), J. Sepiol ("The Role of Cultural Heritage in Regional Development"), J. Purchla ("Heritage and Development") – with an introduction by Polish President Aleksander Kwaśniewski, entitled "The Heritage of Cracow and Poland in Contemporary Europe" (100 pp., 25 ill.).

Die Abtei Sankt Gallen und Polen [Sankt Gallen Abbey and Poland] (2001)

The publication comprises a collection of materials of the scientific session organized by the ICC in November 1999 which was devoted to the Benedictine Sankt Gallen Abbey that is said to be a model example of the medieval cloister, one of the most illustrious cultural centres of medieval Europe. The abbey, once famous for writing manuscripts (codices which happened to appear in the farthest parts of Christian world in the course of centuries were made in its scriptorium), today is well-known for its archives that belong to the oldest ones in European civilization and gather one of the richest collections of medieval and baroque texts. Polish, Swiss and German authors discuss the role of Sankt Gallen in creating European civilization, and its influence on the culture of Christianizing Poland. Among the subjects taken into consideration we can find descriptions of the Benedictine mission and the Sankt Gallen Abbey together with its monumental manuscripts, but also the descriptions of connections Polish Benedictines had with the abbeys from the territory of the empire; we read not only about the codices of Sankt Gallen but also about their commercial relations, or cultural links (151 pp., German and Polish version).

Vernacular Art in Central Europe

This publication is the outcome of an international conference under the title "Native Character of Art in Central Europe. The Centenary of Zakopane Style". The publication on vernacular art: •discusses Polish national art, particularly the truly extraordinary Zakopane style and its influence on creating "the national style" and the sense of national identity, and also the way it affects urban architecture and fine arts; •shows Polish scientific research confronted with other projects and ideas; •defines the idea of vernacular art by giving Polish and Central European examples for the purposes of researchers, archivists and conservationists; •shows Polish vernacular art and its position in world art, mainly that of Central Europe; •introduces the ways of research, protection, use and promotion of the monuments of vernacular art in Poland and Central Europe (424 pp., ill. 238).

Kraków i Praga. Dwie stolice Europy Środkowej [Cracow and Prague. Two Central European Capitals] (2002)

Materials from a conference organised by the International Cultural Centre in June 2000. Both Prague and Cracow are among the nine cities that have been awarded the status of European Capital of Culture. Both of them offer images of Central European civilisation. Relationships between the two cities, constantly changing over the centuries, now inspire a deeper reflection on the culturally, politically, socially and economically complex process of the sustained existence of Poland and the Czech state in Europe for over one thousand years. With its range of overlapping topics, the publication is addressed especially to architects (issues of functional and urban transformations in Prague and Cracow, the urban landscape), city planners (e.g. the continuity of the urbanistic traditions, the two cities' development concepts and strategies in the new reality),

historians (e.g. the appearance of capital centres, the shaping of the metropolises), art experts (a comparison of the Baroque style in Prague and Cracow), philologists (e.g. Polish celebrities in Prague, the Polish and Czech modernists), and finally cultural anthropologists (ethnic variety, the cities' role in the process of forming the national culture and myth). The book triggers off thoughts on chances for more intense relationships in all areas and closer cooperation between both nations for the Central European cause (225 pp.).

Śmierć – przestrzeń – czas – tożsamość w Europie Środkowej około 1900 [Death – Space – Time – Identity in Central Europe Around 1900] (2002)

A publication comprising materials from a conference organised by the International Cultural Centre in December 1996. The papers collected in this book record the state of the Central European awareness of the cultural and tangible legacy relating to death and its place in the life of societies. This subject has a very important role in every nation, usually with a tradition of rites built around it. The texts by authors of various nationalities (Austrians, Poles, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Italians) and professions (art historians, architects, diplomats, ethnographers, experts in religious studies, historians, philosophers and artists), all of them very enthusiastic and observant, contribute to an interdisciplinary picture of the state of things. Interesting photographs, partly archival, which are a perfect illustration of the subjects discussed in each of the texts, are an exciting enhancement to the publication. (364 pp., 190 colour and black-and-white ill.).

Central Europe – A New Dimension of Heritage (2003)

Materials from the international conference held in June 2001 as the centrepiece of the International Cultural Centre's tenth anniversary celebrations. The papers that make up the publication all fall into one of the thematic blocks around which the conference was organised. These include the significance of the concept "Central Europe" at the threshold of the 21st century, myths and stereotypes surrounding both the past and the future of this region of the continent, education in heritage, and international co-operation on heritage preservation. Contributors include G. J. Ashworth, S. Avineri, L. Borley, E. Busek, J. Kieniewicz and H. Samsonowicz (228 pp.).

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]

edited by J. K. Ostrowski

Part I, vol. 1: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province] (1994)

The series attempts to catalogue monuments of religious art on the borderlands of the old Polish Republic (today's lands of Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine) and movable

Dziedzictwo: Kraków – Polska – Europa [Heritage: Cracow – Poland – Europe; in co-operation with the Citizens' Committee for the Restoration of Historical Monuments of Cracow] (2003)

In May 2003 an international conference took place at the ICC, organised on the occasion of a double jubilee: the 25th anniversary of the city of Cracow and Wieliczka's inclusion in the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage List, and 25th anniversary of the creation of the Citizens' Committee for the Restoration of Historical Monuments of Cracow (SKOZK). The publication comprises the papers delivered during the conference by the President of the Republic of Poland, Mr A. Kwaśniewski; Prof. J. Purchla (the programmatic speech); the President of the city of Cracow, Prof. J. Majchrowski; and the Secretary General of the Polish National Commission for UNESCO, Dr. T. Orłowski, all preceded by a foreword by the Chairman of the SKOZK, Prof. T. Chrzanowski. A great advantage of the publication is the iconographic material which not only shows the variety and the artistic quality of Cracow's monuments of heritage, but also records the achievements of the SKOZK in the field of restoration and conservation of Cracow's monuments, and visualises the range of threats to monumental substance due, among others, to the growing "disneylandization" and "macdonaldization" of public space (64 pp. + 28 ill.).

Kraków i Lwów w cywilizacji europejskiej [Cracow and Lviv in European Civilisation] (2003)

Materials from the international conference held in November 2002. The included papers show the history and mutual relations of these two cities in a more interdisciplinary way and on various levels. Their authors not only evaluate the contribution of Cracow and Lviv to the development of the region's culture and civilisation but also discuss the predictable role of the old metropolises in the uniting Europe. An additional attraction is a transcript of the panel debates that closed the conference. Contributors include Y. Hrytsak, Y. Isayevych, J. M. Malecki, O. Matyukhina, A. Miłobędzki, J. Purchla, M. Ryiabchuk, A. Woldan, J. Wyrozumski; and Z. Żygulski, and M. Bewz, W. Mokry, S. Obirek, A. Podraza, L. Unger, T. Voznyak, A. Zagajewski – panellists (240 pp.).

buildings now scattered primarily in the west of Poland. The first volume contains monographic descriptions of the churches in Buczacz, Hodowica, Lviv, Nawaria, Olesko, and Podhorce. With the great variety of catalogued monuments, what they share is availability, relatively high artistic class, and copious documentation (125 pp. + 366 ill.).

Part I, vol. 2: Jerzy T. Petrus *Kościół i klasztor Żółkwi* [Churches and Monasteries of Żółkiew] (1994)

Another volume in a series which is an inventory and documentation of Żółkiew's religious monuments, particularly the parish church under the invocation of St. Laurence the Martyr, the Church of the Assumption, the monastery of the Dominicans, the Church of the Sacred Heart, the convent of the Felicians, the former church under the invocation of St. Andrew and the former convent of the Polish Province of the Dominicans (200 pp. + 355 ill.).

Part I, vol. 3: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province] (1995)

This volume discusses the area of the former Wisznia deanery and parts of the Dobromil and Jaworów deaneries. Parishes active there from 1941 enter the composition of the Mościce (Jaworów, Milatyn, Sądowa Wisznia, Stojanice, Twierdza) and Sambor (Błozew, Czyszki, Dobromil, Nowe Miasto) deaneries, as part of the Lvov archdiocese. The examples in the book are buildings varying as to the time of their construction (from the end of the Middle Ages until the interwar period) and as to their historical importance and artistic status. However, all the buildings discussed in the book are poorly researched in both Polish and Ukrainian literature (222 pp. + 276 ill.).

Part I, vol. 4: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province] (1996)

Of the ten historical monuments discussed nine are located in the area of the Lvov archdiocese (Kulików, Podhajce, Biały Kamień, Nadwórna, Mikulińce, Monasterzyska, Gwoździec, Milatyn Nowy, Winniki), while the tenth, the church in Niżankowce lies within the former borders of the Przemyśl diocese. Churches in Kulików and Niżankowce were built in the final phase of the Late Gothic period in the Rus. The temple in Podhajce illustrates the specificity of the existence of Gothic forms in the architecture of Royal Rus in the 18th century. The oldest parts of the churches in Biały Kamień and Nadwórna date back to that century. Most of the churches discussed are works from various periods of the 17th century, which played a vast role in the development of art in the eastern borderlands (211 pp. + 402 ill.).

Part I, vol. 5: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province] (1997)

Volume 5 of this series deals with historic monuments of the old Sambor deanery of the Przemyśl diocese in its pre-1991 boundaries. All the towns included in the volume belong to the Sambor deanery as part of the Lvov archdiocese. The buildings described in this publication are located in Biskowice, Borynia, Brześciany, Chyrów, Czukwia, Felsztyn, Ilnik, Komarniki, Laszki Murowane, Łomna, Rakowa, Rozłucz, Sambor, Sąsiadowice, Stara Sól, Stary

Sambor, Strzałkowie, Turka, Wojutyńcze and Wolcze (367 pp. + 613 ill.).

Part I, vol. 6: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province] (1998)

Volume 6 of the Materials deals with historic monuments of the Drohobych deanery in its prewar boundaries. In addition to parish churches, this publication also discusses several subsidiary churches and even late chapels on Młynki in Drohobych and in Stara Wieś. The buildings described in this publication are located in: Borysław-Tustanowice, Borysław Hubicze, Borysław Mrażnica, Dublany, Gaje Wyżne, Krynica Szlachecka, Letnia, Lipowiec, Majdan, Medenice, Neudorf, Nowoszyce, Podbuż, Równe, Rychce, Schodnica, Słońsko, Stara Wieś, Stebnik, Stupnica Polska, Truskawiec, Wacowice, Winniki and Wołoszcza (250 pp. + 336 ill.).

Part I, vol. 7: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province] (1999)

The volume comprises monuments of religious art situated in the area of the Przemyśl diocese, within the borders of the Old Republic of Poland and brings to the end the descriptions of the places (the other volumes contain lists of the places and monuments presented). The articles refer to parish churches and chapels of Andrianów, Balice, Chłopy, Czajkowiec, Czyżowice, Hussaków, Kalinów, Komarno, Koniuszki Siemianowskie, Krysowice, Lipniki, Łanowice, Miżyniec, Mościska, Mysiatycze, Prikut, Pohorce, Radenice, Radochońce, Rudki, Rumno, Tamanowice, Trzeniec and Tuligłowy. The publication presents the variety of the Przemyśl area considering its cultural and ethnic questions, indicates the significance of the patronage of lordly families for the artistic development of the region, thus giving an opportunity of analysing and comparing the monuments of architecture, painting and sculpture which belong to different periods – from Gothic till the year 1939 (pp. 424 + 555 ill.).

Part I, vol. 8: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province] (2000)

This volume is devoted to historic monuments of the Gródek and the out-of-town Lvov deaneries, and also a part of the Żółkiew deanery – in their prewar boundaries. These monuments are mainly religious edifices none of which have survived intact. Some of them (e.g., in Kukizów or Żółtańce) no longer exist, and some are extremely dilapidated. The described monuments are in Barszczowice, Białogóra, Białohorszcze, Biłka Szlachecka, Brzechowice, Czyszki near Lwów, Glińsko, Gródek Jagielloński, Janów, Jaryczów Nowy, Kłodno Wielkie, Kościejów, Krechów, Kukizów, Lubień Wielki, Malechów, Powitno (Malczyce), Prusy, Przedzrymichy Małe, Rodatycze, Rzęsna Polska, Sichów, Sokolniki, Wiesenberg, Wolczuchy, Zboiska, Zimnawoda, Zubrza, Żółtańce, Zydatycze (588 pp. + 494 ill.).

Part I, vol. 9: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman-Catholic Churches and Monasteries of the Old Rus Province] (2001)

Volume 9 describes Roman-Catholic churches in Antoniówka, Bartatów, Chromohorb, Daszawa, Dawidów, Demna, Felicental, Kochawin, Krotoszyn, Machliniec, Mikołajów, Młyńska, Obroszyn, Pustomyty, Rakowiec, Rozdół, Siemianówka, Skole, Stryj, Synowódzki Wyżny, Szczerc, Wolków, Zulin, Podhorcie, Żurawno and Żydaczów (the former Szczerc and Stryj deanery). The churches situated in the places mentioned above vary as to the time of their construction – from the end of the Middle Ages till the beginning of modern times, the second half of the 19th century and the 20th c., and as to their state of preservation. Up till now only the churches in Stryj and Szczerc have survived almost in their original form, the other ones lack their internal fittings, the buildings have been destroyed, ruined or even pulled down. The studies of the preserved though incomplete documentation let the authors include these outstanding and unique monuments of wooden architecture into the volume (608 pp., 456 ill.).

Part I, vol. 10: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman Catholic Churches and Monasteries in the Old Rus Province] (2002)

The historical buildings catalogued in this volume are all located within the boundaries of two pre-war deaneries: the Kąkolnik Deanery and the Dolina Deanery. The buildings described come from various epochs and span a range of artistic merit, which is largely attributed to the fact that the history of each region within the investigated area took a different course. This area covers powerful towns founded in the late Middle Ages or the early modern era (e.g. Rohatyn, Dolina, Kalusz), towns which appeared in consequence of the urbanisation of the Halicz region in the 15th and 16th centuries, and, finally, piedmont settlements that emerged as late as in the 19th or early 20th century (618 pp., 379 ill.).

Part I, vol. 11: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman Catholic Churches and Monasteries in the Old Rus Province] (2003)

The volume describes the historical monuments in Batiatycze, Bóbrka, Bryńce Zagórne, Brzozdowce, Chlebowice Wielkie, Chodorów, Czarnuszowice, Fraga, Gliniany, Hanaczów, Horpin, Kamionka Strumilłowa, Knihynicze, Kurowice, Kutkorz, Nowosielce, Ottyniowice, Pniatyn, Podkamień, Pohorylce, Przemyślany, Rozwórzany, Słowita, Sokółówka, Stare Siolo, Strzeliska Nowe, Świrz, Tadanie, Tucze, Turkocin, Wodniki, Wolków, Wyżniany, Zadwórze, Żelechów Wielki and Żędowice. The buildings described in this publication experienced smaller or greater devastation. Abandoned or ruined, they will most likely serve their original purpose never again. Very few churches which date back to the 16th – 18th c. have survived up till now (among them is the church in Wyżniany). Numerous buildings described in the publication date back to the 18th c. (among

them there is a wooden church in Tadanie worth mentioning because of decorative rich wall paintings) and from the beginning of the 19th c. (among others the churches in Brzozdowice, Chodorów, Hodowica, Gliniany, Hanaczów, Podkamień). The churches built at the turn of the 19th c. represent varied historicism. The buildings which come from the interwar period follow baroque and moderate modernism (728 pp. + 612 ill.).

Part I, vol. 12: *Kościół i klasztor Lwowa z wieków XIX i XX* [Churches and Monasteries of the 19th- and 20th-century Lviv] (2004)

The volume comprises 22 monographic descriptions of monuments of religious art (the palace of the Archbishop and Lviv cemeteries have been excluded from the research). Their architecture represents great variety of style – from the early historicism to the modern style. The publication is unique as it shows the forgotten aspect of modern sacral architecture of Lviv, and presents architectural surroundings of the city from its unknown side. Quick development of Lviv in the 20th-century influenced creating new Roman-Catholic parishes which aimed at reinforcing Polish image of the city. Remarkable architectural movement took place in the years 1931–1939; it was supported by public collections, loans, bank credits, financial aid from state institutions, fundraising events. The outbreak of the Second World War stopped many initiatives. When the war ended, the city found itself in a completely different political situation, and sacral buildings underwent many changes of function and purpose. The preface to the publication carefully examines and evaluates various artistic aspects of analysed monuments (pp. 415, 804 ill.).

Part II, vol. 1: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa nowogródzkiego* [Roman Catholic Churches and Monasteries in the former Province of Novgorod], ed. M. Kałamajska-Saeed (2003)

The volume comprises monographic descriptions of the churches and Roman-Catholic monasteries resulted from archival and field studies carried out on the area which constituted the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1772 by a team of Warsaw art historians in the years 1994–2000. This volume deals with historic monuments located in six towns: Dziewiątkowicze, Hniezna, Łopienica Wielka, Roś, Wolkowysk and Wolpa, which belong to the Grodno district now. The way of presentation follows the one used in the first volume dedicated to the Old Rus Province (history, description, the state of preservation, artistic values, illustrative materials comprising old and contemporary photographs). The year 1939 is the terminal date. The extended source annexes refer to the materials found in the archives and libraries of Grodno, Minsk, Moscow and Vilnius. The state of preservation of churches and their internal fittings is much better in Belarus than in Ukraine as, despite of Soviet government repression and atheisticness there was not so much extermination of Polish people or mass emigration after 1945 (508 pp. + 412 ill.).

Yearlies of the International Cultural Centre

- Vol. 1 (May 1991 – May 1992)
- Vol. 2 (June 1992 – May 1993)
- Vol. 3 (June 1993 – May 1994)
- Vol. 4 (June 1994 – May 1995)
- Vol. 5 (June 1995 – May 1996)
- Vol. 6 (June 1996 – May 1997)
- Vol. 7 (June 1997 – December 1998)
- Vol. 8 (January – December 1999)
- Vol. 9 (January – December 2000)
- Vol. 10 (January – December 2001)
- Vol. 11 (January – December 2002)
- Vol. 12 (January – December 2003)

These volumes contain reports of the activity of the International Cultural Centre. They contain information about research programmes, seminars, conferences and exhibitions held at the ICC Gallery. The section Reflections • Impressions • Opinions includes essays on philosophy, culture and history. They complement and comment on the current research and on the statutory activity of the Centre. They are supplemented with interesting photographic materials and a Diary (starting from Vol. 2), which records in detail the current work of the ICC (Polish and English versions, in two volumes).

[Translated by Anna Depowska, Monika Myszkievicz, Jerzy Pilawski]

- Appendix



Mitoraj's Sculptures Through Your Lens: the First Prize was awarded joint to Ireneusz Misiak (top) and Malgorzata Jagiello (below)



Photography Competition *Mitoraj's Sculptures Through Your Lens*

As the presentation of fourteen sculptures by Igor Mitoraj at Cracow's Main Square proved immensely popular with photography buffs, the International Cultural Centre announced an open photographic competition to pick out the most creative shots of the statues in the beautiful setting of Cracow's Main Square.

Between 1 December 2003 and 2 January 2004, an impressive number of 341 works came in to the ICC from 91 photographers. The artistic level of the pictures was surprisingly high.

On 5 January 2004, a jury headed by Maria Herzog-Majewska with Aleksander Matczewski, Dr Monika Rydiger and Krzysztof Zgłobicki as its members, selected the winners of the competition. The first prize went jointly to Małgorzata Jagiełło and Ireneusz Misiak. Honourable mentions were awarded to Michał Krakowiak, Andrzej Sułkowski, Paweł Szulecki and Paweł Żuk. 71 works were qualified for presentation at an exhibition in the ICC's historical cellars.

All the winners received the album *Mitoraj* published by the ICC, and a pass to all the exhibitions at the ICC Gallery in 2004. The best works were published in *Biuletyn*

Fotograficzny and the daily *Warsaw Voice*, on the International Cultural Centre's web site, and in Volume 13 of the *ICC Yearly* (see opposite). A number of special prizes were awarded:

- The ICC Director's Prize: Małgorzata Jagiełło and Ireneusz Misiak,
- The President of the City of Cracow's Prize: Witold Spiess,
- The Marshal of the Małopolskie Voivodship's Prize: Tadeusz Cukier,
- The *Biuletyn Fotograficzny* Editors' Prize: Michał Krakowiak,
- The Dęby Rogalińskie Publishing House Award: Tomasz Czech.

The preview of the exhibition and the prizegiving ceremony were an exciting addendum to the programme of the *Art in Public Space* seminar organised by the International Cultural Centre (13 January 2004).

Magdalena Wrońska-Sudol
The Centre For the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences

[Translated by Monika Myszkiewicz]

Renovation and Modernisation Work at the Second Floor



Reception desk before refurbishment



The modern form echoes the entrance to the Gallery on the 1st floor



Following adaptation works
the corridor got some extra light



New design of office rooms



One of the partition walls is being demolished



Reinforcing the ceilings over the 1st floor



The seminar room and its new look

Design of modernization and the arrangement:
Włodarczyk + Włodarczyk Architekci Studio Autorskie
Contractor: Firma Budowlana J. Kasperczyk s.j.

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Statutes of the International Cultural Centre*

Chapter I GENERAL PROVISIONS

§ 1

The International Cultural Centre, hereinafter called "the Centre", is a cultural institution established by the Instruction No. 11 of the Minister of Culture and Art of 10th May, 1991 concerning the foundation of the International Cultural Centre, changed by the Instruction No. 18 of 6th July 1992, functioning in compliance with the 25th of October 1991 Act on organizing and implementing cultural activities (Law Gazette No. 114, pos. 493 of 1994, No. 121, pos. 591) and the present Statutes.

§ 2

1. The Centre's main base shall be in the city of Cracow.
2. The Centre shall act on the territory of the Republic of Poland and abroad.

§ 3

The Centre is subordinated to the Minister of Culture and Art.

§ 4

The Centre shall use a round stamp with the emblem of the Republic of Poland in the middle and the inscription "The International Cultural Centre in Cracow" in the rim.

Chapter II GOALS AND TASKS

§ 5

The Centre is a cultural institution of a research and development, educational and informational nature.

§ 6

The aim of the Centre's activity is to support European cooperation and cultural integration, and to preserve its cultural heritage through:

- 1) promotional and informational activities in all areas of European culture.
- 2) conducting research and studies on the European heritage with special emphasis on:
 - a) the phenomenon of multiculturalism and intermingling of cultures
 - b) the cultural area of Central and Eastern Europe
 - c) the Polish cultural heritage abroad
- 3) education for the benefit of New Europe, provided within the topics which cover the Centre's scope of activity.

* In accordance with the Instruction No. 27 of the Minister of Culture and Art of 18th May 1995

§ 7

The Centre's principal tasks include:

- 1) encouraging cooperation amongst cultural institutions involved in the preservation of Poland's and Europe's cultural heritage,
- 2) organizing academic research on specific problems of culture as well as promoting the results of such research,
- 3) organizing international cultural festivals,
- 4) organizing and carrying out various forms of educational activities addressed principally to youth,
- 5) publishing activity and the operation of a specialized library,
- 6) accumulating and disseminating information concerning the cultural life in Poland and Europe.

Chapter III

ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT

§ 8

1. The Centre's activities shall be supervised by a Director appointed and recalled by the Minister of Culture and Art.
2. The Deputy Directors and the Chief Accountant shall be appointed and recalled by the Director.

§ 9

The specific duties of the Centre's Director are:

- 1) to direct the activities of the Centre and to supervise the funds to be administered by the Centre,
- 2) to determine the appropriateness of expenses and administrative expenditures within the guidelines of the approved budget,
- 3) to determine whether the bequests and donations should be accepted, and to decide about acceptance and transfer of deposits,
- 4) to conclude agreements regarding employment, work orders and contracts, and to manage personnel-related matters,
- 5) to represent the Centre.

§ 10

1. The following are the Centre's most important organizational units:
 - a) The Organizational Bureau,
 - b) The Research Institute of European Heritage,
 - c) The Centre for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences,
 - d) The Training Centre – The College for New Europe.
2. The Centre's Director is empowered to create, combine, divide, and dissolve the Centre's organizational units.
3. The detailed scope of activity of the organizational units will be determined by the Centre's Director in a set of organizational rules.

Chapter IV

THE PROGRAMME COUNCIL

§ 11

1. The Programme Council hereinafter called "the Council" shall function at the Centre as an advisory and opinion-forming body to the Centre's Director.
2. The Council shall be composed of between 10 and 15 members appointed and dismissed by the Centre's Director from among:
 - a) representatives of the Minister of Culture and Art,
 - b) authorities on art, cultural heritage and its protection,
 - c) art critics, art historians and patrons of culture.

§ 12

1. One of the Council's tasks is to provide opinions and suggestions on matters related to the Centre's overall activities.
2. The Council's activities shall be directed by a Chairman appointed by the Council members.
3. The Chairman shall convene a session of the Council at least once a year.
4. The Council shall act on the basis of regulations resolved by itself.

Chapter V
ASSETS AND FINANCES

§ 13

1. The Centre's activity is based on the funds from the budget; from the Centre's own means acquired from the statutory activities; voluntary contributions, donations, and bequests from natural and legal entities; and from other sources.
2. The basis of the Centre's financial activity is an annual financial plan drawn up by the Director.

Chapter VI
FINAL PROVISIONS

§ 14

1. The Centre shall be subject to entry in the register managed by the Minister of Culture and Art.
2. The Centre shall begin its activity and acquire the status of a legal entity immediately upon its registration.

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