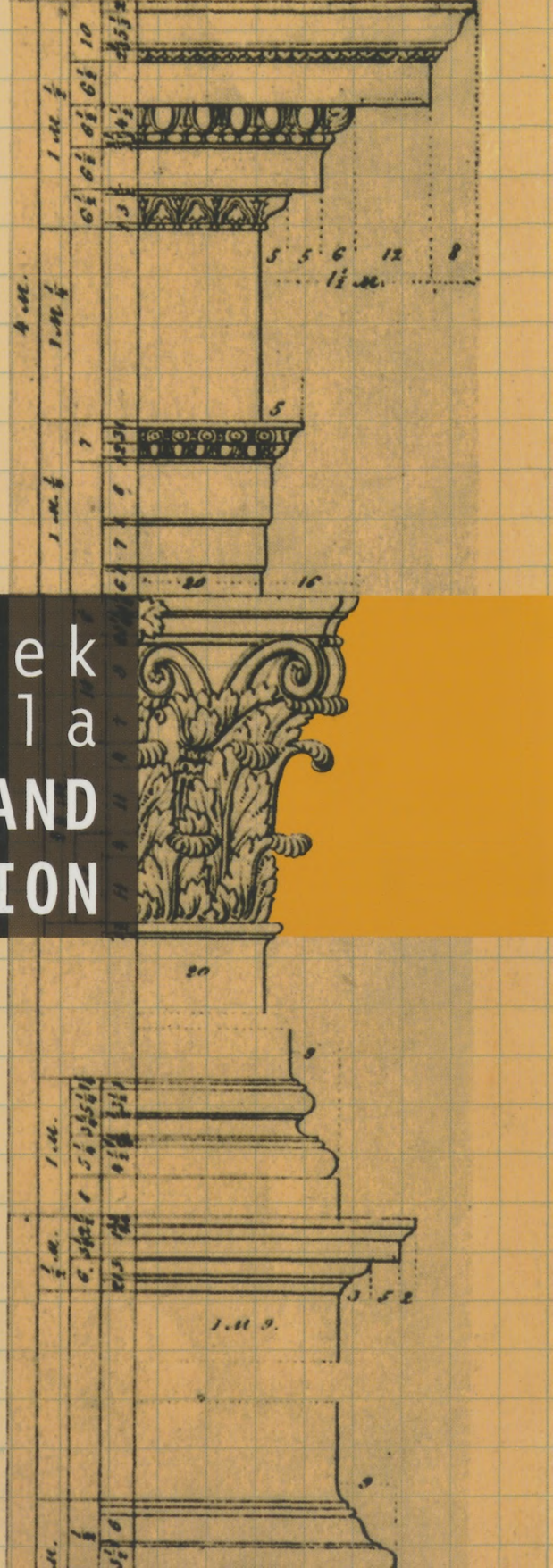

Jacek Purchla

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*International Cultural Centre*
*in Cracow*

*Małopolska School of Public Administration*
*at the Cracow University of Economics*

*Kraków 2005*

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Printing and binding
Drukarnia i Studio Pasaż

ISBN 83-89273-21-7

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Andrzej Rottermund

# Foreword

Professor Jacek Purchla's book *Heritage and transformation* is devoted to the very delicate topic that is historical heritage confronted with the constant flux of the contemporary world. The author's thoughts centre mainly around issues of heritage protection in the context of the transformation that Central Europe has seen since 1989. Professor Purchla is rightly aware of the differences in the way that Central Europe and Western Europe understand many geopolitical and historical concepts. This has a crucial influence on both the theory and the practice of heritage protection, and hence also on the legislative and financial solutions employed in this field. The author also draws attention to the fact that since 1989 little attempt has been made in Poland to modify the system of financing and managing culture that was created for a socialist state and a command and control economy. Over the years it has become clear how toleration of the previous system has compounded our dilemmas, generating a sense of lack of stability and omnipresent frustration. The lack of a clearly defined cultural policy on the part of the state has been the source of many misconceptions in terms of establishing the tasks of cultural and heritage protection institutions. The greatest loss to the national economy, however, is that the potential of culture as a factor in economic development and a source of new jobs is being ignored, which is in turn blocking its use as a major social policy tool.

Charles de Tocqueville said: "When the past does not illuminate the future, the mind of man wanders in the dark",

and the great Polish collector Princess Izabela Czartoryska (née Flemming) ordered the inscription THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE to be set above the entrance to Poland's first museum in Puławy. To this day this remains the primary mission of our heritage protection institutions. And this is the reason why our day-to-day work consists on the one hand in protecting everything that combines to form our identity and often defines the meaning of our lives, and on the other in attempting to prepare the youngest generations of citizens for the challenges presented by the demands of modernity.

The author uses his extensive practical experience, as director of a state cultural institution, high-ranking representative of his city council, and academic lecturer with solid theoretical foundations, to make his readers aware of the scale of the changes taking place across broad areas of heritage protection. It is this issue, change and change management, that is the central theme of these papers. Professor Purchla is fully aware that change is vital in order to keep abreast of this rapidly evolving world, but he also realises that in order to change, society has to attain a certain level of education. It was these convictions that prompted him to found the Academy of Heritage. Work in heritage protection institutions requires exceptional comprehension of the complex relations between a range of issues, relating to economics, law, politics, society and even philosophy, all of which are central to heritage protection work. Irrespective of the path on which he leads us through fields long recognised as heritage and new areas by which this domain was considerably extended at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, his writings are infused above all with concern for the preservation of balance between culture and economics and culture and politics.

*Translated by*
*Jessica Taylor-Kucia*

# Culture vs transformation in Poland

It is somehow paradoxical that culture is now the only public sector in Poland that has not been included in the transformations of the last decade and a half. There is a growing asymmetry between the transformation of the state and its decentralisation on the one hand, and the anachronistic approach to culture in Poland on the other. The existing model and scope of the state's patronage of culture is not sufficient for the current degree of change in this area. Globalisation and commoditisation of culture, the rapid changes in the consumption model, and last but not least the political changes and the decentralisation of the state since 1998 have naturally changed the position of culture. There is a clear link between the lack of vision and comprehension for the role of culture in the rapidly changing reality, and the growing crisis in this sector in Poland. There is an indisputable interdependence between the fact that culture is a factor in development and the fact that development is the essence of culture. In particular there is no longer any doubt as to the close bonds between culture and "new economics", rapid communication, creation, innovation and human resources. According to the latest surveys, human resources constitute 65 per cent of the world's natural wealth, and thus investing in culture provides a strong foundation for economic growth. However, in Poland, even among the political class, culture is very often perceived mainly as ballast or a traditional burden on the state budget. The experience of our western neighbours clearly shows the complexity of what the Germans

describe as *Kulturindustrie* or even *Kulturwirtschaft*, the English term being *culture industries*. Especially at the regional level it is a significant growth sector that also provides considerable employment opportunities. There is an important trend visible in western European countries these days that can be described as a tendency towards de-institutionalising and decentralising culture and reducing the number of official posts. The public sector is withdrawing from direct financing of culture but in many European countries culture is still maintained within the domain of the state even though the state does not want to get directly involved in matters of culture. Just recently the Austrians carried out a thorough reform of culture management, and their slogan was very characteristic: "More culture in politics and less politics in culture." Decentralisation should not exclude a modern form of patronage by the state, and the depoliticising of culture should be aligned with its release into public hands.

When trying to provide a brief diagnosis of the state of culture in Poland, the first thing to note is the overlapping of the various levels of its crisis. Firstly, we have the still unreformed sphere of institutional culture. This is based on an extensive, static system that is unable to meet new challenges such as those posed by the world of show-business, the rise of the electronic media, and the competition on the vast art market functioning in the European Union[1]. The second fundamental dilemma is

1. A more extensive diagnosis of cultural institutions in Poland is contained in the following article: J. Purchla, A. Rottermund, "The Reform Project of the Public Cultural Institutions in Poland", *International Cultural Centre Yearly*, No. 8, 1999, pp. 58–67.

the issue of cultural heritage, which is being subjected to commoditisation just like culture. Nowadays, our heritage constitutes a resource and potential to be used, especially from the perspective of regional growth. Yet since 1989 no systems have been created to offer a new approach in this respect. The cultural services market has done best from this angle.

Why, then, has Polish state policy on culture has been so inefficient over the last decade and a half? We all still remember the late 1980s and the very special time when culture played such an important role in the life of Poland. Paradoxically, the thinking of the late 1980s, when for a short time culture became a very important point in the great political dispute in Poland, is now perceived as ballast. At that time, for some people culture was a type of national *sacrum*, i.e. something that was in a state of some "splendid isolation" from the wild market forces. For the Marxists it was an element of the superstructure, part of an unproductive, non-producing sector. Today it cannot be denied that culture is *sacrum* but it is also becoming a *commoditum*.

In spite of the crisis in public finance, over the last decade and a half no government has made a serious attempt at adjusting the culture sector to the new economic situation; in fact, culture has been politically marginalised. The position of each minister in turn (from 1990 to 2000 there were as many as 12 ministers of culture) has steadily weakened. Their main concerns have been allocating the ever-shrinking funds and avoiding vital changes to the system. Moreover, they have

determinedly defended culture from the free market instead of building a market for culture. In this way the activity of the state in creating a market for culture has declined significantly, while the rival show-business sector has expanded to dominate markets such as the electronic media.

Looking at the last dozen or so years of transformation from the now historical perspective, we can divide state cultural policy into four distinct phases. The years from 1989 to 1991 mark the initial transformation phase. It was in these years that fundamental decisions regarding the privatisation of selected sectors of culture were taken, while the institutional core was deliberately left unchanged. In particular Izabella Cywińska's tenure as minister of culture was a time of many decisions that were bold yet unpopular, mainly in artistic milieus, which even then manifested their overt sympathy towards the state patronage model. In this period two main transformations in the cultural market took place, i.e. the privatisation of the book and music markets. The years from 1991 to 1993 brought about the first attempts at a systemic reform of cultural institutions with decentralisation in view (major events in this respect were the local government reform of 1990 and the "pilot programme" of 1993). The summing up of this phase came when on 10 August 1993 Hanna Suchocka's cabinet accepted a framework for Polish cultural policy. That was the last official document approved by any government on this matter! Its value is now mainly historical, as it represents the approach to Polish cultural policy in the years 1989 to 1993. In any case, two months after it was

approved, the framework ceased to be relevant, because in autumn 1993 the Polish political reality changed fundamentally. The third phase of cultural policy, in the years from 1993 to 1997, was a clear return to the centralised administration of cultural institutions, when interpretations of regulations were narrowed significantly, funds were limited and bureaucracy increased. Although it was a time of regression to a pre-1989 model of cultural policy, it should not be forgotten that the widely criticised and ridiculed Minister Zdzisław Podkański was in fact very successful in establishing a strong position in the cabinet as well as in reversing, in 1997, the decline in spending on culture in the state budget that had been underway since 1989.

In this context the political change of 1997 brought disillusionment. The new government, which came in trumpeting about the reforms needed, not only failed to generate any changes in terms of management of cultural institutions, but also proved unable to prepare these institutions for the coming administrative reform of 1998. It is enough here to list the infamous "game of numbers", when in 1998 the decisions as to how many national cultural institutions were to be supervised by the Ministry of Culture (8, 13, 18, perhaps 21...) were taken outside the Ministry. These decisions were taken without any essential criteria or any systematic approach to the problem of management of institutional cultural potential in Poland.

It is also indisputable that the administrative reform introduced on 1 January 1999 became the foundation

of a new decentralised model of culture management in Poland. Alas, the strength of this success was reduced by the underbudgeting of the cultural institutions that had been "handed over" to local governments, as well as by a lack of a suitable, modern act on cultural institutions. Their autonomy and a modernised system of financing still remain postulates[2]. Decentralisation did not bring about any transformation of the Ministry's aims and functions. In spite of a change in its name [previously the Ministry of Culture and Art and now the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage] the Ministry not only proved incapable of reacting to new challenges but also has increasing difficulty discharging its obligations as the organiser and administrator of the most important cultural institutions in Poland.

The development of Polish culture is now limited by fundamental barriers, which need to be quickly overcome. The first one is the doctrinal barrier. Culture is still perceived as an unproductive sector, an unnecessary structural element or a national *sacrum* excluded from the influence of economic factors. The second barrier is the political one, which springs mainly from the heritage of the 1998 reforms. It was then that an abrupt transition from radical centralisation to radical decentralisation took place (already back in 1993 during the "pilot programme" the minister of culture and the voivodes fought against handing over the administration of many city cultural institutions, which should already have been turned into community ones then). This reform, though necessary,

2. Ibidem, pp. 58–67.

was introduced without the culture sector being prepared for it, and this created a lingering barrier of "incompatible competences" at various levels of public administration. It is enough to look at the chaotic structure of the Marshals' Offices, for instance in the Małopolska administrative region. It was devised as part of the 1998 reform as a result of legal procedures adopted mechanically without any functional analysis of existing cultural institutions. The marshal thus took over institutions that today are no longer necessarily suitable instruments for implementing regional cultural development strategies. This situation is further complicated by incompetence in co-financing cultural institutions from central, regional and local budgets, as is done in Germany or Austria. In the case of Cracow and the Małopolska region, issues affected by this situation include such strategic plans as the building of a multifunctional conference and concert centre, or the creation of the foundations for a festival industry that could handle more than just local events[3].

Furthermore, it needs to be emphasised that one of the reasons for the crisis is the barrier of "ministerial Poland". Traditionally perceived as unproductive, in reality culture works for other sectors. This is best demonstrated by the example of heritage, which in many countries, developing ones included, is the main force behind the development of the tourist industry. These facts emphasise the need for rapid transformation of the approach to culture in Poland and for making better use of it in the transformation

3. Cf.: J. Purchla et al., "The Culture Industry. The Małopolskie Voivodship" [in Polish], unpublished, Cracow, December 2000.

process. All this is inseparably connected with the need to overcome one more barrier, which became evident during the last Cultural Congress in Warsaw in December 2000. This is the sin of conceit and self-love so common in artistic circles. Especially theatre circles, for instance, are often keen to take advantage of the benefits of the commercialisation of the film and television market, yet at the same time they defend the privileges resulting from the preservation of the anachronistic and economically outmoded model of administration of cultural institutions.

So is Polish culture, after a decade and a half of transformation, still at the start? Absolutely not. Its decentralisation is indisputable, as is the economic transformation of areas such as the book market. At the same time, however, we are now facing the urgent necessity to make up quickly for lost time. Time lost to culture. The anachronistic system of culture management, which lags behind the changes in consumption patterns, must be changed as soon as possible. This is the *sine qua non* both for breaking the impasse at which we have arrived and for Poland's successful participation in the international cultural market. However, all this requires a change in the perception of the place of culture in the globalising world, and its perception as a factor in the creation of and a catalyst for socio-economic development.

*Translated by*
*Anna Rucińska-Barnaś*

# Heritage and transformation – the experience of Poland

For the heritage of Central Europe a new era began after 1989. The question of the owners of this heritage became one of the most topical issues in this area. And it is an ambiguous question, especially since the lesson of communism, as Central Europe is a part of the continent where political borders, especially in the 20th century, have changed far more often than cultural frontiers. Yet the core of this post-1989 experience cannot be separated from the broader context of our specific experience in the long historical perspective [1].

Central Europe can be described in many ways. As a historian I would like to draw attention to two associations characteristic of this region. The first – so popular a hundred years ago in Vienna and so useful in describing the Kafkaesque reality of the Habsburg monarchy – is ambivalence. The other, often overlooked, is the serious complex of the inhabitants of Central Europe, a peculiar trauma that generates a need to seek support from history, and strength and identity in the past. This was the reason why throughout the 19th century both the romantic need to nurture the past and a profoundly deepened attitude towards what today we call heritage were cultivated in this part of Europe. This attitude was

1. See also: J. Purchla, "Dziedzictwo a rozwój. Zarządzanie miastami zabytkowymi a prawa rynku w doświadczeniach Europy Środkowej", [in:] *Miasto historyczne. Potencjał dziedzictwa* (ed. K. Broński, J. Purchla, Z. K. Zuziak), Kraków 1997.

a response to important aspects of the unique position of the Central European nations in the 19th century, such as their lack of independence and the late advent of the industrial revolution, and hence the prolongation of feudalism, backwardness and stagnation. This meant that for a long time we lacked the conflict between modernisation and accelerated development on the one hand and heritage on the other that was characteristic for the societies of the industrial era. It also prompted escape into the past and the intensification of historicism, which in the second half of the 19th century led to a characteristic sacralization of the monument. And since the monument was then perceived as a sacrum, it also came to represent the antithesis of practical value.

The political need for support from history is clearly visible in the development of many Central European cities. The resulting attempt to turn them into museums, as in the case of Nuremberg or Cracow, ended – inevitably – in a great conflict at the beginning of the 20th century that is discernible in all, especially the biggest, cities of the region, such as Prague.

Paradoxically, World War II petrified this attitude. In Central Europe, where historical fabric was subjected to catastrophic destruction, a new political and economic system was introduced in which heritage functioned in an ideological rather than a practical dimension. The reconstruction of Warsaw became a symbol of the successful dictate of politics. Yet the Old Town in Warsaw is also a prime example of the fact that the communists totally ignored the issue of property. Today problems of

ownership are one of the most burning issues in Central European cultural heritage, and often the key to effective heritage preservation. This is intertwined inseparably with the fact that after World War II heritage in Central Europe was once again detached from economics. This was the case in both cities that had been devastated, like Warsaw, and those that had remained untouched, such as Cracow. It also affected the heritage of the landowning culture, which fell victim to the agricultural reform. And it should be emphasised that Poland is a country where ownership relations are one of the most complicated legacies of the past. For the fifty years of communism, the monuments of Central Europe lacked both what the British call maintenance, and what we can read in Article 4 of the Venice Charter: monument preservation assumes first of all the obligation of proper and continuous upkeep.

What is the essence of the change that ensued after 1989? 1989 brought a change in the rules of the game, including the rules of heritage management. Today, monument is no longer only a sacrum but also a marketable good that is increasingly the subject of a market game, which is especially visible in the centres of many cities. There has been a rapid departure from the static model of preservation. Equally rapidly it transpired that everything connected with heritage preservation – especially in big historic cities – is a true minefield, a field of conflict in which new actors have made their entrance, above all private proprietors and local governments.

The rapid privatisation, commercialisation and commoditisation of space are important aspects of the changes we

are experiencing today. The close relationship between cultural landscape and social and economic system can be seen particularly clearly in the period of transformation, i.e. in that transitional state where preservation is still managed using old instruments although the reality is entirely new. The first symptom of that situation was the appearance of aggressive advertisements in the historic tissue of our cities, against which conservators have often been defenceless. This is not only a sign of the change in ownership relations and the return of the mechanisms of ground rent, but also evidence of the failure of the principles and instruments of protection used so far. In a way, those old methods were more effective within that system based on economic stagnation and total control. Today the main problem is that they are not equal to the confrontation with the dynamics of city life. There is the other extreme also: heritage bereft of a function, such as the Catholic churches in Volhynia (now Ukraine), abandoned after 1945, the result of a total dislocation from market forces and deprivation of function to such an extent that it could be termed "disinherited heritage".

Of course, conservators may complain about this mounting conflict between function and form, especially in big cities, and about the dictates of commercialisation, motorisation, suburbanisation, standardisation, and above all the conflict between the individual and the public interest as regards heritage. It is often a new and surprising experience. The most important thing is, however, that irrespective of those objective processes a change is also taking place in our thinking about heritage.

Here it is worth recalling the CSCE symposium organised in 1991 in Cracow[2]. This was the first great meeting of East and West devoted to culture and heritage. That symposium introduced the notion of "our common heritage", replacing the previous conception of heritage that dated from the 19th century, when heritage was first of all understood in categories of nation.

Today heritage means much more than it meant even only a dozen years or so ago. We often forget that the experience of Central Europe in this respect, i.e. our experience, is a value in itself. We forget, too, that we can pass this value on. It is not only a matter of our experience in connection with the fall of communism and the transformations, which is alien to the West. It is also the strong presence of history in our time, the cult of defeated heroes, and a different understanding of progress than in the West. It is also the different understanding of geography, geopolitics and cultural diversity, the great process of revival experienced by the societies of Central and Eastern Europe after 1989, and the question of political and cultural borders.

It would be legitimate to ask why Poland's cultural and heritage policy of the last few years has seemed so ineffective. One of the reasons is precisely this: the deep-seated romantic myth of culture, which is treated as an ivory tower, a sacrum detached from the rapidly changing reality. The fact that culture is still seen as a non-produc-

2. *Final Documents and Proposals Submitted by the Delegations of the Participating States*, Kraków 1991.

tive sector in a way fans the flames of the conflict between what we define as heritage and what we define as development. Effective, all-embracing preservation of cultural heritage involves creating what the Germans call the *Kulturgesellschaft*. We must not forget that the cultural sector also has an economic dimension.

Heritage protection has to mean first of all the wise management of changing function and changing potential. It also requires an integrated approach to the question of the cultural landscape as a vastly complex system of communicating vessels. As such, not only the form of historic monuments – whether individual objects or systems – which the previous mode of heritage preservation thinking already encompassed, but also their function, today determine the effectiveness of preservation. Heritage is not only the sum of the preserved historic objects within an area. On the one hand it is a symbolic dimension, connected with the interpretation of heritage as a *sacrum*, but on the other it is also a market product. In this sense effective management of heritage resources means providing accurate answers to the questions of its availability and its consumers.

Modern heritage preservation must consist in the wise management of heritage potential and in a continuous search for compromise between preservation doctrine and inevitable change. This requires increasing knowledge of economics, management theory, marketing, and also law and public administration on the part of the conservation services. At the same time the new

philosophy of preservation – which should be free of cultural nationalism – should strongly accentuate the issues of identity, individual tradition and the vernacular character of individual cultures.

The contemporary standard of state policy on monument preservation in Europe boils down to a few principles. The first is equality between the notions of "cultural assets" and "cultural heritage". The aim of this approach is to create, on a state scale, an objective system of monument classification based on a tradition dating from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, devised by Max Dvorak. This should preclude the menace of selective monument preservation according to ideological or political criteria and guarantee equal rights for all monuments, including those belonging to national and religious minorities, for instance[3].

Another key issue for effective monument preservation in a democratic state of law is the principle of restricted ownership for the sake of the public interest. This restriction of ownership must not, however, violate its essence. If it subordinates private interests to the public interest, the state must also create a system of aid as recompense for the additional obligations that this imposes on the owners of monuments. Different European countries use different practices in this respect. It often means employ-

3. For more on this subject see also: A. Tomaszewski, "Cultural Identity and Diversity in an Integrating Europe. Cultural Ecumenism?", *International Cultural Centre Yearly*, No. 11, 2002, pp. 7–10.

ing tax mechanisms (tax breaks for monument owners) and creating a legible system for subsidising preservation work on historic monuments out of public funds.

The high standard and apoliticism of the conservation services is also a precondition for effective state policy in the area of monument preservation. Monument preservation cannot be separated from its broader context – it should include not only state patronage of culture, but also the principles of town planning policy, social education on heritage preservation, and systemic factors.

The Constitution of the Republic of Poland provides a natural foundation for creating a state monument preservation strategy in Poland. In articles 5 and 6, which refer to the preservation of cultural assets, we read that "The Republic of Poland [...] guards the national heritage", and also that it "creates conditions for universal and equal access to cultural resources. Culture is the source of the identity of the Polish nation, its survival and its development". Other constitutional principles that should also be taken into account in constructing the statutory model of cultural asset preservation include the following:

**1.** The principle of a democratic state of law practising social justice (art. 2)

**2.** The principle of a state guaranteeing environmental protection based on the principle of sustainable development (art. 5)

**3.** The principle of the decentralisation of public authority (art. 15 par. 1)

**4.** The principle of local government participating in the exercise of public authority (art. 16 par. 2)

**5.** Binding constitutional standards also formulate the principle of protection of ownership and the right of inheritance (art 21. par. 1). The constitutional legislator introduces an exception to this right in the institutional form of expropriation, which "is permissible only in the service of public aims and for fair compensation" (art. 21 par. 2). It is important to answer the question of whether the institutional forms of cultural asset protection enshrined in the act and incorporating restrictions on ownership rights in terms of the extent and form of exploitation of cultural assets are consistent with the constitutional standards formulating freedom and human and civil rights and obligations.

The issue of monument preservation was in essence codified in the Act of 15 February 1962 on the protection of cultural assets. This act has been amended several times, and a few years ago issues relating to museums were struck out of it. As such, in comparison with the original text, it constitutes a disordered, internally inconsistent system of legal standards. Moreover, economic development has rendered it more inconsistent still with the reality of the contemporary state. It has therefore become a matter of pressing urgency that a new model for contemporary protection of cultural assets be formulated. The system currently in place is a typical example of administration by regimentation, functioning chiefly on the basis of orders and bans. It takes no account of economic mechanisms that could improve the efficacy of cultural asset protection.

The new Monument Preservation Act passed by the Polish Parliament on 23 July 2003 provides only a partial foundation for a new model of monument preservation in Poland. However, it does introduce new material and legal concepts that will significantly broaden the scope of cultural heritage preservation. Pursuant to the act, cultural heritage is not simply a national legacy, but rather a joint achievement of the European community. The concept of "cultural parks" is among the new notions for which specific institutional protection mechanisms have been put in place. The broadening of heritage preservation to include intangible cultural assets, something long requested by conservation circles, should also be stressed.

The new act approaches contemporary conservation doctrine in the Polish context in a modern way, but it fails to settle a fundamental issue, change to the legal and financial aspects of monument preservation in Poland. It is worth noting that the original draft of the act drawn up by the Office of the General Conservator of Monuments and dated 11 January 1999 did incorporate proposals for implementing such mechanisms [4].

The lack of a tax relief system that would provide a real incentive for the protection of cultural assets is of particular importance. Moreover, in recent years the

4. Cf.: J. Purchla, P. Dobosz: "Cultural Resources Preservation Act. Opinion on the bill of 11 January 1999, commissioned by the Legislative Council" [in Polish]. Parts of this opinion are used in this article.

system of financing monument preservation in Poland within the national budget has practically collapsed. There is still a striking asymmetry between the system of protection of natural resources, based on the Environment Protection Foundation, and the lack of such a mechanism in the area of monument preservation. The 1999 draft included the proposal to establish a National Monument Preservation Fund in order vastly to increase the effectiveness and scope of authority of the General Conservator of Monuments. The introduction of tax relief on tourist services could make this an instrument of a new heritage preservation philosophy in Poland, based on active management of heritage potential. This question, however, still remains one of the fundamental objectives of state policy waiting to be implemented.

Organisational issues of cultural asset preservation in Poland still remain an open matter. This is a fundamental structural question concerning the definition and position of "conservation administration" within the framework of the public administration system. It is of prime significance, since equipping provincial conservators of monuments with certain categories of entitlements and powers, and above all with organisational independence, is the guarantee of the effectiveness of their work. It could even be said that the effectiveness of conservation depends on a combination of the conservator's independence and the extent of his jurisdiction. Ideally, cultural asset preservation should not be the domain of the

provincial governor, since such a systemic solution makes the provincial conservator of monuments (the governor's subordinate) entirely dependent on his superior. The optimum solution and that postulated for the position of the provincial conservator of monuments is therefore the principle of separate authority (specialisation), instead of the principle of linking conservator and governor that has been adopted in legal regulations including the above mentioned new act. The rule of voluntary devolution of cultural asset preservation to local government and in particular to the gmina [borough] is, however, both rational and consistent with the constitutional principles of decentralisation. The currently binding act on government administration in the province enforces a dual system of competences accruing to the provincial conservator of monuments. On the one hand he has statutory competences that he performs on behalf of the governor, and on the other he has his own sphere of authority, also defined in the act, in which the governor may not interfere; liability for taking the correct decisions is the conservator's, while the governor's liability is exclusively political.
In this respect, recent years have seen the position of the conservation services in Poland weakened considerably. Not only has the "autonomy" of the separate authority of conservation administration at provincial level been withdrawn, but the office of the General Conservator of Monuments, until 1998 a specialist position, has also been politicised, which is unprecedented.

As regards spatial planning, for the real and effective protection of cultural assets the introduction of a powerful model that would secure the active, direct participation of the provincial conservator of monuments in protection of cultural assets in local zoning plans at borough level is indispensable. In this context, the effectiveness of conservation depends on the active participation of the provincial conservator of monuments at each stage of the procedure of drawing up and approving the local plans. It also depends on the extent of his entitlements and powers in terms of formulation of the content of these plans. As such, the introduction of a system of effective conservation instruments into the area of town planning is vital.

Spatial planning in Poland today exposes all the weaknesses of the so-called "soft state". The weak system of control of public space and the consent of the state to the degradation of that space (such as the recent attempt to legalise illegally built structures!) show clearly that problems of monument preservation go far beyond the competences of the minister of culture. On the other hand, however, the conservation services are today the last bastion of law and order in the area of monument preservation. In comparison to other countries, they are relatively understaffed (about 700 employees). Yet it is a special branch of administration with the highest percentage of staff with a university education in Poland; it should be well-paid, depoliticised and independent.

The return to such a situation should be one of the strategic aims of state policy in monument preservation in Poland.

I am profoundly convinced that the most important strategic aims of the state in terms of monument preservation should include first of all • the design of an effective legal and financial system of monument preservation; • commencement of work on a comprehensive system of heritage education; • the search for instruments that could improve the effectiveness of the work of the conservation services; and, in the longer term, • the preparation of a national programme of cultural heritage preservation. This programme should become one of the pillars of the cultural policy of the state. The last such document – drawn up by the Suchocka government in 1993 – is of but historical significance now.

The new strategy of monument preservation should be based first of all on a mechanism that would link monument preservation both with the development of the tourist market and with the process of decentralisation of the state and the strengthening of local government. Still unregulated ownership relations (including the issue of the reprivatisation of many monuments) remain a major barrier in this area; others result from "the dictates of ministerial Poland".

Monument preservation strategy cannot be addressed in isolation from the fundamental issue of institutional

crisis in culture. This crisis particularly affects many museums that house movable objects of historical significance. The asymmetry between the achievements of transformation and the increasingly anachronistic model of sponsorship of culture is growing, revealing a glaring contradiction with contemporary views on culture as one of the most important factors in development. The lack of a modern cultural policy in Poland is a simple result of the ignorance of the political classes in this area ("everybody knows about culture!"). It is paradoxical that in comparison with educational or health reforms the reform of cultural policy is a relatively easy political and economic task. It just needs to be tackled!
The lack of a conception for harnessing the enormous potential of the cultural sector as an agent for development in the broadest meaning of the word is more and more damaging not only to culture itself, but also to Poland[5]. This is especially true of cultural heritage.

Tourism, which to a large extent is rooted in the cultural context of heritage, is today – especially for our historic cities – both an opportunity and a threat. It also has the opportunity to become not only an important mechanism for the development of many centres, but also an effective instrument of protection. This, however, requires an integrated approach to the questions of cultural heritage, urban functions and

5. Cf.: J. Purchla, A. Rottermund, "The Reform Project of the Public Cultural Institutions in Poland", *International Cultural Centre Yearly*, No. 8, 1999, pp. 58–67.

market. The local authorities in historical cities and regions in Poland realise that tourism is an important factor in economic growth. They often do not see, however, the related risks and negative effects. Tourism is a dynamic element in such a system. The speed and selectivity of tourist consumption presents a serious hazard to heritage. If heritage is a stock of values, then tourist consumption of heritage can cause that stock to dwindle seriously. Authenticity, that which constitutes the value of heritage, is today also forced to confront the globalisation and macdonaldisation of cultural space. Uniformisation is not only a threat to heritage; it can also reinforce its value and importance, even in the market dimension. In the face of globalisation, "local" becomes a value in itself.

Therefore, the skilful combination of heritage with the sphere of the economy is a guarantee of the effective preservation of the cultural heritage of historic cities and regions in the free market system. The creation of a new financial and legal framework is vital if historic areas are to function properly. This entails the necessity of finding a compromise between the canons of preservation and the demands of life and economics. Today, effective monument preservation is impossible without an effective strategy for managing heritage potential. In this respect we should remember that heritage is a non-recyclable resource.

Today the complexity of cultural heritage issues in Central Europe is forcing rapid progression from

directed conservation and preservation to systemic heritage planning, to a change in the hitherto passive philosophy of preservation. It is also forcing significant broadening of the scope of heritage preservation, in both the chronological and spatial senses, i.e. both material and non-material heritage. In this sense it is a continuous process, founded on constant reinterpretation. Therefore this is not the end, but rather the beginning of a new era, where heritage will cease to be only ballast, a problem, one that often pushes peoples and nations into conflicts, and will prove to offer potential for development. On condition, however, that it will be our common heritage.

*Translated by*
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# Heritage and development – the experience of Cracow

Is development a form of escape from heritage, in a sense its antithesis? Nowadays certainly not. In Cracow, the final episode of heritage being set in opposition to development, at that time in the form of Stalinist industrialisation, was the building of Nowa Huta. Today, in the quest for a new relationship between heritage and development, which it is now fashionable to label "sustainable development", it is vital to recall the varying balance in this relationship over the last 200 years. For in Cracow it has undergone a telling evolution, without knowledge of which it is hard to understand contemporary issues of preservation of the city's monuments.

## An overpotential of heritage

The unique place of cultural heritage became an issue in the expansion of Cracow as early as the first half of the 19th century. Although formally the city was the capital of the Polish state until the end of the 18th century, in reality it lost its role as primary royal residence and home to the Sejm to Warsaw back in the first half of the 17th century. It was also in economic decline, and hit rock bottom at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, during the first Austrian occupation of 1795–1809. The city's urbanised zone at this time did not extend beyond its medieval centres of Cracow and Wawel, Kazimierz and Stradom, and parts of Kleparz and Garbary.

This protracted crisis meant that Cracow at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries was unaffected by the conflict between urban function and form that was already characteristic of many metropolises. The prolonged "freeze" on expansion reinforced the medieval shape of the city. Disasters, pillage and poverty notwithstanding, Cracow retained more of its Gothic and Renaissance fabric than any other Central European city. But the deep economic crisis and population drain brought marked disurbanisation, symptomised by trends such as demolition, which did not spare monumental buildings, including the Little Scales House on the Square, the Gothic churches of St. Szczepan and St. Maciej on what is now Szczepański Square, and Kleparz Town Hall, and marked the beginning of the razing of the city's medieval walls and towers. Hence at the threshold of the 19th century, Cracow was regressing rather than developing, suffering from an overpotential of heritage.

## The sacralization of heritage

The age of romanticism and the romantic conception of history saw a reinterpretation of the myth of Cracow, the former capital of Poland, as a symbol of the great historical past of a nation stripped of its sovereignty, a holy place for Poles. The solemn funerals of two heroes of the Napoleonic era – Prince Józef Poniatowski and Tadeusz Kościuszko, in 1817 and 1818 – confirmed Wawel's function as the national Pantheon. Cracow was conceived not only as a history book but also as a "progenitor city", the "Polish Rome", and on occasion even the "Polish Troy".

A salient feature of Cracow's development in its period as the Free City, then, was the romantic interpretation of its past and the birth of piety in its approach to its heritage. Within a short time Cracow progressed from demolishing its ruined monuments to restoring them, becoming the cradle of Polish conservatorship. Key projects include the restoration of the Barbican, the Florian Gate and Collegium Maius, undertaken by Karol Kremer at the turn of the 1830s and 1840s. A unique instance of creation of nationalist mythology and the sacralization of Cracow was the erection in 1820–1823 of the Kościuszko Mound in Sikornik. It was Wawel, however, that was the prime focus for sacralization in the first half of the 19th century. This process also included Francesco Maria Lancia's plans, never realised, for the restoration of Wawel Castle, drawn up in 1830–1833. The sacralization of monuments, then, was the first phase of the complex relationship between heritage and development. But placing heritage in the realm of the *sacrum* naturally detached it from the sphere of economics and development.

## The museumification of Cracow

The 19th century – "the age of steam and electricity" – was also the century of historicism. Allusion to proven values and recourse to the past were significant contributors to the alienation of societies in this age of dynamic economic and technological progress. For Poles it was also a time of struggle for national survival, and ultimately for independence. The restoration of this independence was never doubted. The process of national revival was accompanied not only by an obsession with

the bulwarks of Christianity – the antemurale of Latin Europe – but also by the domination of historicism. This harking back to the past, this cult of history, had by the mid-19th century become a natural line of defence of the Polish identity, and a remedy for the Poles' growing inferiority complex with respect to the west of Europe. The lack of sovereignty entrenched the cult of the glorious past and intensified the quest for a national style in art, thus reinforcing and prolonging the survival of historicism. Cracow became a prime example of this trend in the second half of the 19th century.

The period of Galician autonomy was essentially a time of conscious exploitation of the heritage of the past in order gradually to pull the city out of the mire. It was a time when Cracow took stock of its entire past, reinterpreted it, and deliberately adapted it to serve its contemporary and future survival. No other city in Central Europe delved so deeply into its past and focused so intensely on it. Stanisław Tomkowicz, an eminent figure in the conservation of Cracow's monuments, wrote at the time:

"If in every other Polish town reminiscences of the past constitute an incidental, supplementary embellishment – in Cracow they are matter of the essence, they play a leading role, constitute the hallmark of the entire town, influence the education, thought and feelings of its inhabitants, influence all who reside here for even a short time and are not inherently handicapped, and create and nurture in people a separate sense: a sense of the past and its legacy. Elsewhere the past is a kind

of dead inventory; in Cracow it speaks to us, lives, and quickens life. Where – with the possible exception of Nuremberg – is there another town whose monuments enjoy such protection, where such effort and cost go into their restoration, maintenance and salvation, where they are so much talked of and with such concern asked after?"[1]

The victory of the conservative ideology of the Stańczyks and the revival of the Sarmatian culture determined the nature of the city's development in the second half of the 19th century. The quasi-feudal structure of its society was reinforced. A proto-industrial, fearful mentality triumphed, which was characterised by "attachment to an old system of values, routine, prejudice, and antipathy towards industrial pioneers and new forms of economic activity."[2] Drawing on the national tradition became a tool legitimating the existing status quo and the defence of old values. Tradition in its various aspects, the "natural habitat" of the conservative, and the conservative "need for history" found their deepest fulfilment here at the foot of Wawel. Stanisław Tarnowski, one of the main ideologists of the Cracow brand of conservatism, wrote: "No nation can have material strength without an awareness of itself, without the spiritual substance and essence that its history shapes."[3] The conservatives' recourse to the past implicated cult status for the

1. *Czas*, 1905, no. 293.
2. J. Purchla, *Matecznik Polski*, Kraków 1992, p. 35.
3. S. Tarnowski, *Z doświadczeń i rozmyślań*, Kraków 1891, p. 303.

historical heritage accumulated in Cracow and sent out a challenge to quest for new symbolic substance. This was the basis for the process of the museumification of Cracow pursued deliberately by the Polish aristocracy.

Jan Matejko, Poland's greatest historical painter, became the symbol of the unique atmosphere of Cracow in the second half of the 19th century. His work was not only great painting, but perhaps above all great national psychotherapy, a settling of accounts with the past. This was why the phenomenon that was Matejko became so intimately interwoven with the phenomenon that was Cracow of the 1870s and 1880s, a city where time had stood still, a living museum of early Poland. The creation in Cracow of a "history industry" coincided with Matejko's mature period, and his work fitted perfectly with the ethos of Cracow's latest stage of development in the time of Dietl and Zyblikiewicz.

The present-day image of Cracow's city centre and its monumental complexes of historic structures was created in the 19th century as the result of deliberate urban planning and conservatorship. Protection of the assets of 19th-century heritage is thus synonymous with protection of all Cracow's historic assets. This characteristic "merger" was effected not only on the aesthetic, idealistic and material planes, but also in the functional sphere. In the 19th century many existing monuments were adapted to meet new functional needs. An example of a symbol of this reinterpretation of the historical monument is the restoration of the Sukiennice [Cloth Hall] undertaken by Tomasz Pryliński in 1874–1879.

This building, marking the central point of the city, was assigned the role of both *Palais du Commerce* and temple of the arts, the home of the collections of the recently established Polish National Museum, and where the vast canvases of Master Jan hung.

## Tradition or modernity

The museumification of Cracow, this treatment of Poland's former capital solely as a focus for a mass national process of dealing with "the nightmares and fears of the past", could not last long. A harbinger of the growing dissonances was the dramatic conflict over the new building of the Municipal Theatre between Matejko in the role of the interrex, and the municipal council. Matejko's death in the autumn of 1893 coincided with the opening of the monumental theatre building. This takes on a symbolic dimension, and 1893 marks a clear caesura in the city's history. The new theatre heralded a new age – capitalist modernity and flair were marching on the city's gates. Tangible symptoms of this included the installation of electricity in the theatre building, more than ten years before the city gained a power station. Hence the conflict between Matejko and the City Council had a wider context. Locating the theatre on the site of the medieval monastery complex of the Order of the Holy Spirit, which was demolished for the purpose, was to Matejko an incomprehensible, iconoclastic decision. The Council's resolution contravened the previous convention of virtually unbounded piety with regard to the past. It was a deliberate violation of the city's medieval

structure, which, however, was easier to immortalise on Matejko's canvases than in reality. This conflict was symbolic of the new phase of relations between heritage and development in Cracow at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The model of the city as a closed enclave focused on reinterpreting the past that had been developed by the Stańczyks on the threshold of autonomy was becoming outmoded. The process began of "defrosting the refrigerator" that the "Polish heartland" had become – this protected reserve that shocked visitors from places such as Warsaw. The favourable economic climate of the 1880s brought rapid expansion and modernisation of the city, which continued into the next decade. By 1900 Cracow numbered 100,000 inhabitants, and 150,000 including the residents of the surrounding suburban districts. The social structure of the city was revolutionized. The rapid population increase once again reinforced the liberal bourgeoisie.

In this period the dilemma of "heritage or development" had its roots not only in the natural quest of the modernists to break with tradition, but also in the mounting conflict in Cracow in the early 20th century between the city's form and function. Its expansion brought greater dynamism to its economic functions, and this directly provoked increasingly insistent attempts at replacing historic substance with new architectural form. The conflict between the "bulldozers" and the "guardians of tradition" came to a head in the interwar period.

Particularly controversial at this time were the first attempts to introduce high-rise construction into the city centre. On each occasion this ignited lively debate and vociferous protests (such as in the case of the erection of the exchange building in the Gródek district and the KKO [Cracow Savings Bank] "skyscraper" on Szczepański Square). The most violent storm, however, broke out over the building of the Phoenix House on the corner of the Main Square and św. Jana Street in 1928–1932. The architect, Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz – nota bene the then conservator of Wawel – had dared to propose for Cracow's Main Square a modern, intentionally avant-garde solid that was intended to correspond to the Vienna Looshaus. It took the personal intervention of the Polish president, Ignacy Mościcki, a friend of Szyszko-Bohusz's, to break through the controversy and protests of conservator circles. There is no doubt that Szyszko-Bohusz created a masterpiece on the Square (unfortunately it is no longer extant in its original form). The Phoenix House, or the Chimneys House, as it was dubbed by Cracovians in view of its stylised attic, was not modern only in terms of its avant-garde form. It was the first building in Cracow whose luxury apartments were fitted with air-conditioning.

## The monument – form, function, substance

As the ultimate in centralisation and detachment from the principles of economic accounting, the communist system favoured successes in conservatorship. It permitted large-scale reconstruction work. As such, Poland developed a vast market for preservation work, and

built up an army of excellent conservators and massive preservation potential. The rebuilding of Warsaw became a symbol for the success of the political diktat. But this recipe, this method of managing historic cities, brought with it many negative consequences. A look at the Old Town in Warsaw shows clearly that its reconstruction was uncoupled from natural economic mechanisms, and its social fabric was the result of administrative decisions. Obviously, this was connected with the significant broadening of the symbolic functions of historical monuments that ensued after World War II. It is important to remember in this context that in the new reality the historical monument became a key tool in the legitimisation of the new authorities, to an extent that went far beyond economics and with consequences not confined to the economic.

The widening gap between achievements in conservatorship and the increasingly ineffective preservation on the scale of entire urban complexes was a direct consequence of the diseased economics of the system. This disease also gnawed at the fabric of historic cities, which in the 1960s and 1970s were left unprotected from galloping depreciation and dilapidation.
In Cracow an attempt was made to prevent this dilapidation, in the form of a restoration programme launched at the end of the 1970s. This programme was conducted via the central budget and within the centralised administration system. Without detracting from the achievements of the restoration programme in preservation terms, it has to be said that once again

this was a project conducted in dislocation from both its economic and social contexts. It veered sharply away from what is a key discriminator of the historic city and one element of its value – the natural, spontaneous process of its life and the authenticity of its social and material fabric. Even relatively recently the restoration programme in Cracow was threatening to turn the town into a model of itself. The buildings undergoing expensive preservation work were also being depopulated of their original residents, and in many cases also stripped of their former functions and authenticity. This was particularly paradoxical in Cracow, the only large historic city in Poland to have survived the tragedy of World War II not only physically but also in terms of its society. A measure of this absurdity was the fact that as recently as in the 1980s there were economists at the University of Economics engaged in allocating the relevant service functions to particular shops in the city. Aspects that should be regulated by the free market under the control of the conservator had become matter for pseudo-scientific study. This example illustrates well the impotence in approaches to issues connected with historic cities in the final days of the command and control system. It was a road to nowhere, based on a static view of the city and treatment of it as something akin to a protected reserve. This was accompanied by an anachronistic attempt to equate the monument with its form alone, ignoring both its authentic substance and its function.

## The city in crisis

The ultimate incapacitation of Cracow at the turn of the 1940s and 1950s also put its subsequent fate entirely at the mercy of this system founded on vulgar centralism and the already anachronistic Stalinist model of industrialisation. The city's development was to be determined by politics and arbitrary economic decisions, not natural economic processes. The symbol of this arbitrariness, and of the equating of urbanisation with industrialisation, was Nowa Huta. The decision taken by the government in February 1949 to build a vast foundry producing 1.5 million tonnes of steel a year on the outskirts of Cracow (some 10 km east of the Main Square), together with a residential district for 100,000 – Nowa Huta, the first "socialist town" in Poland – had fundamental bearing on the future of Cracow and its monuments.

Nowa Huta – the "Polish Komsomolsk", "cornerstone of socialism" – was a new chapter in the symbolism of Cracow's urbanity. It was perceived as another satellite created in opposition to the old capital, in opposition to the symbol of Polish tradition and sovereignty. The construction of Nowa Huta, the product of belated industrialisation, at once became a symbol of the conflict between heritage and a misinterpretation of progress. It involved the deliberate devastation of the cultural landscape and an attempt to efface the traditions and significance of old Cracow, which was treated like a symbol of a receding past.

The isolation and waste of Cracow's potential was accompanied by an unprecedented ecological catastrophe that reached its apogee in the 1970s and 1980s. This catastrophe was above all the outcome of decision after decision to extend the Lenin Foundry, arbitrarily taken by the party authorities. This industrial expansion was rendering not only Nowa Huta itself, but the whole of Cracow, which was ringed with anonymous high-rise estates, indistinguishable from many other cities in communist Europe. Now a city of more than 700,000, in the 1980s Cracow had quite clearly overspilled its capacity. The foundry, though technologically outdated, had grown into one of the largest plants of its type in Europe. By the end of the 1970s it was producing almost 7 million tones of steel a year and emitting 9% of the entire country's air pollution. Ecological disaster was threatening both humans and monuments.

Although the regime initially attempted to cover up the extent of the danger, in the 1980s Cracow became a symbol of the conflict between ideology and the environment. It comes as no surprise to read Francis Fukuyama's observation in *The End of History and the Last Man* that the real ecological disaster which ensued in the communist countries shows that the system which best protects the environment is neither capitalism nor communism but democracy. Democratic political systems reacted to the rise in ecological awareness in the 1960s and 1970s much faster than dictatorships. For without a political system which allows local communities to protest against the location of a chemical plant producing toxic waste in their neighbourhood; without the freedom

to establish organisations to monitor the activities of companies and businesses; without political leaders sensitive enough to ecological issues to be ready to devote substantial funds to environmental protection – without these factors a nation is prone to disasters like Chernobyl, the desiccation of the Aral Sea, or the infant mortality in Cracow four times the already high national average [4].

The monoculture of the iron and steel industry and its domination in the economic life of the city was even in the 1980s moulding Cracow into a stereotypical industrial centre, often dubbed by visitors "polluted and depressing". The most perceptible and most frequently cited threat to the city's monuments was the ecological catastrophe. This virtually levelled the degree of physical threat to medieval structures (painstakingly restored at the end of the 19th century) with that of buildings often dating back no more than a century. Such physical damage was the lot of 19th-century architectural sculpture, which was traditionally carved in layers of local sandstone and limestone. Just one example of the scale of the problem was the complete overhaul of the stone detail on the façade of the neo-Gothic Church of St. Joseph in Podgórze.

Yet it was not ecology that was the main cause of the disrepair into which the whole of Cracow's historic urban layout fell in the latter decades. The root of the problem lay in the legal and economic system.

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4. F. Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, Penguin Books 1992.

The invisible enemy of Cracow's historic complexes in the latter forty years and the reason behind the inexorable depreciation of the city's entire building stock, including its monuments, was the undermining of the economic foundations of the entire urban system. Paradoxically, this was not at all obvious to public opinion, which considered the main threat to Cracow's monuments to come from the more immediately evident ecological hazard.

Very soon after the war Cracow's bourgeoisie became one of the opponents of the new authorities. The battle with the Cracow townhouse landlord was a fundamental local element of the officially ordained class struggle. The flames were fanned by moves including administrative decisions limiting ownership rights and the abolition of the housing market. The legal incapacitation of the landlord class, unrecompensed by proportional outlay on municipal services, meant that already by the 1960s the state of the housing stock was deteriorating markedly. This gradually broadened into what could be termed cultural degeneration, which did not spare cultural heritage. This degeneration involved the partial replacement of the social structure of crumbling townhouses, often including the scattering of furnishings that had been gathered in such apartments over generations. The devil also lay in the detail; fixtures and fittings in porches, hallways, stairwells and inside apartments themselves also fell victim to damage. This was not halted by the compulsory renovations carried out by the administration, which were usually accompanied by the "modernisation" of the building,

often with the deliberate intent of destroying historical structures and the complexes they formed. The legal incapacitation of the owners of such houses and burdening them with the brunt of the costs of maintaining the housing stock upset the functioning of the previous system of meeting housing needs in Cracow. In the longer term it caused the steady decline of the housing stock, which became critical in the 1970s and 1980s. The destruction of the ground rent mechanism also contributed to the collapse of the previous mechanisms by which the city functioned.

## Heritage and transformation

The utopian nature of this approach was rudely laid bare with the breakthrough of 1989, after which the cities of Central Europe found themselves in an entirely new political and economic reality. At the same time, it is important to note that these realities vary depending on the scope and nature of the transformation of the system in the various different countries of the former Soviet bloc. Polish cities since Balcerowicz's reform and the 1990 local government reform are in a different position to historic cities in Ukraine, or cities in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. But one thing is fundamental to this new situation and forms the point of departure in the search for new solutions in this issue, the management of historic cities: the reinstatement of their sovereignty. This is a product of both the decentralization of the state and the rebuilding of local government from the bottom up after 1990. Another vital factor has been the liberation of economic mechanisms.

The experience of Cracow, and my own, dating from 1990 and 1991, when I was responsible for city policy in areas including monument protection, is extremely valuable. The "defrosting of the refrigerator" has put life into urban planning processes. Within Poland, Cracow has played a pioneering role in these processes, retaining as it has its prewar ownership structure, which during the communist period was subjected to mandatory state control. Although this impinged considerably on the rights of landlords and deprived them of income (so causing the depreciation of the urban fabric), it did not rob them of their ownership rights. As such, in 1990, when compulsory state control of private property was relinquished, the owners' rights were reinstated. This altered the previous organization and functioning of the historic city, and new legal instruments had to be sought to exercise effective control over the rapid, tumultuous re-emergence of free market mechanisms in the heart of the old city.

This process inspired the need for a hasty departure from the static mode of thinking about the historic city in favour of a dynamic approach to the urban substance in all its complexity. This need became more pressing still with the genesis of huge conflicts engendered by the transformation of the system, including conflicts of interest between social groups in historic cities. These remain visible to this day, in particular on Cracow's Main Square, which attracts and magnifies the conflicting interests of different lobbies. Each of these groups perceive in the attractiveness of a place

like the Square a place for their own interests, which include exploiting the historic heart of the city to promote and advertise their products. The only remedy for this chaos and spontaneity is to change the mode of thinking about the city's economy and about managing the historic city.

## Towards sustainable development

And so Central Europe has entered a phase long familiar to monument conservators in Western Europe and on other continents. Decades ago the very dynamic urban expansion in the United States enforced a form of monument preservation system that is termed "the management of change". Management of change offers the wherewithal to control and regulate but not plan the spontaneous processes of urban development, which are often impossible to embrace in planning processes. The cities in our region can be said still to be in the process of transformation. And that is the main message that we can pass on to others. The cities in our geographical and cultural zone have become laboratories for experiments on the living substance of historic cities, not only in terms of preservation doctrines but also with regard to approaches to economic and cultural issues and to questions of city management. The replacement of the command and control system with a system founded on the political and economic sovereignty of cities and on economic liberalism offers the opportunity to provide them with effective protection, but at the same time harbours a lot of dangers. Martin Krampen believes that when urban ideologies change, the significance

of the urban environment as a whole also changes[5]. This clear link between the cultural landscape and the social and economic system is particularly visible in the changeover period. The first symptom of it is the appearance in the historic fabric of our cities of aggressive advertisements against which conservators are defenceless. This is not only a sign of the changing ownership relations and the return of the ground rent mechanism, but also evidence of the collapse of previous principles and instruments of protection of our heritage, which were effective in their own way, but within a system founded on economic stagnation and total control. Today they are often unequal to the challenge of confrontation with the changing reality of the life of our cities.

Another issue with a certain significance is the broadening of the chronological field of protection of our cities' fabric to include the architectural heritage of the 19th and 20th centuries. This in itself forces us to rethink our heritage protection philosophy. Even in cities with a medieval pedigree and where the structure from that period has survived – such as Cracow – the 19th-century fabric is in many instances dominant. Berlin, Prague, Budapest and Saint Petersburg can all serve as symbols of the new scale of the issue of heritage protection in our part of Europe, and this new scale is forcing the redefinition of the objectives and scope of that protection and the regeneration of whole vast residential complexes.

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5. M. Krampen, *Meaning in the Urban Environment*, London 1979, p. 69.

The only possible guarantee of success in this process of total protection is to incorporate cultural heritage into the new economic system wisely (and not exclude it from that system). This entails the need to find a harmonious compromise between the canons of preservation and the demands of life and the laws of economics. Comprehensive protection of cultural heritage must also be viewed from the perspective of the creation of what the Germans call a *Kulturgesellschaft*, and also with an awareness that the culture sector has an economic dimension (something we were taught to ignore in recent decades). Culture is part of the system of connected vessels that is our economic and social life, and as such today effective protection of the historic quarters of large cities is impossible without a suitable economic, management and social policy strategy. Key to this issue is the challenge of integrating appropriate urban functions into what are often depressed historic areas.

Another factor that can help to guarantee effective protection is the creation of the right image for the city. Its attraction often lies in its cultural potential and the extent to which its heritage has been preserved. These are issues which the people responsible for taking both political and economic decisions are still too slow to acknowledge. The historic cities of Central Europe have one more valuable resource that needs to be more closely aligned with and more fully exploited within the global strategy of managing historic cities. This is the sum of the vast potential of the people who have made up their artistic and intellectual elites, many of whom are linked

with the state sector, which continues to be based on an anachronistic system of financing. Unfortunately they exploit only a proportion of their potential. The creation of a market for cultural tourism, including big art festivals, should also be part of the broader cultural protection strategy. The first, very positive experience in this respect was the European Cultural Month, a large festival of European art organised in Cracow by the International Cultural Centre in 1992.

There are various types of historic cities, on very differing scales, with very differing characters and ways of functioning. Cracow's experience is the experience not only of a historic city but also of a city where a unique piety in attitudes to the past continued to develop even in the 20th century. Yet Cracow's is a heterogeneous model of functioning. The conflict between form and function remains a fundamental yet controversial issue in the management of the historic city. This is an issue that is present in our discussions, but we draw a clear line between the question of preservation and preservation doctrine in isolation from the laws of economics, and issues of protection, where the engagement of the entire economic mechanism is vital to success.

At the congress of historic cities inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List held in Bergen in June and July 1995, we formulated nine canons for structural change in the approach to protection of historic cities:

**1.** Cities need to be addressed from the perspective of their whole historical process as the sum of their civilisation.

**2.** Cities should be treated as dynamic, complex, multifaceted structures.

**3.** The same principles of protection and preservation must be applied to all the historical buildings in the urban complex. There are no better or worse historical monuments.

**4.** The issue of the authenticity of a monument is decisive.

**5.** The basis for the effective protection of a historical monument is the right function.

**6.** Old town districts are an integral part of the urban fabric. They must not be museumified or allowed to become "culture reserves".

**7.** Tourism should not be the dominant aspect of a city's economy. The domination of tourism leads to excess and has many negative effects, even including the destruction of historical monuments.

**8.** Contemporary architects need to be especially trained to employ modern design in historical interiors.

**9.** The structural change underway in our historic cities should be based on constantly seeking balance, harmony and compromise between the economic reality and the principles of an integrated approach to heritage preservation.

## Heritage planning

The complexity of the issue of protection of historic cities in the conditions of a market economy and ongoing globalisation is forcing a rapid move away from directed preservation and protection towards systemic heritage planning. The rate of transformation that Cracow is

experiencing today is conducive to the fastest possible implementation of an active model of management of its accumulated heritage.

Heritage or development? This conflict remains the fundamental dilemma facing Cracow. Yet we need to realise that it is only an apparent dilemma. After all, it is the heritage gathered on and around Wawel Hill that is one of the major differentiators of the city's identity and its significance on the map of Europe. This being the case, the disagreements that continue to break out in Cracow between the "bulldozers" and the "guardians of heritage" should lead to the search for a wise compromise in order to ensure effective protection of Cracow's heritage in conditions of rapid and inevitable civilisational change. But this requires an active philosophy for protection, which must become an integral part of its new development strategy. Let us reiterate: heritage must be treated not only as *sacrum*, but also as a marketable good, and as such comes within the sphere of operation of economic laws, which need not be concealed as something shameful. For it is in conditions of advancing globalisation that heritage becomes an increasingly attractive resource and a factor in development.

*Translated by*
*Jessica Taylor-Kucia*

# Afterword

Heritage is a term that in recent times has tellingly shot into the limelight and is undergoing a characteristic evolution. Understanding of heritage has emerged from its bastion of 19th-century static thought, where it was constricted by a straitjacket of nationalist myths, superstitions and stereotypes. It is no accident that it was in Cracow in 1991, at a symposium during the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the first important meeting of East and West on culture since the fall of the iron curtain, that the concept of "our common heritage" entered into the international canon of political correctness.

The progress from a world of borders to a world of horizons, to a shared responsibility for the future of our past, is also accompanied by the significant broadening of the field of heritage protection. The 1990s brought developments including • protection of the cultural landscape, • the extension of the timeframe of protection to include the heritage of modernism, • an interest in the heritage of totalitarianism and the heritage of atrocity (the Holocaust), and • the rediscovery of disinherited heritage (e.g. Jewish cultural heritage). Heritage is memory, choice and identity – hence the recent rapid increase in the importance of non-material heritage.

This significant broadening of the issue is already being reflected in international standards of protection. In recent years UNESCO and the Council of Europe have

approved documents as weighty as: the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001), the New Definition of Heritage Landscape (2002), and the Convention on Intangible Heritage (2003), while the successes of the UNESCO World Heritage and Heritage of Humanity programmes offer confirmation of the global dimension of heritage.

The international discussion on the phenomenon of heritage and heritage protection is accompanied by spectacular progress in heritage theory. The English language even has a new term, *heritology*, to define the discipline that embraces areas of knowledge as diverse as the humanities at one end of the spectrum, and economics, management theory, law and spatial planning at the other. Universities in many countries now have Departments of Heritage Studies.

Does all this mean that there has also been a change in Polish thinking on heritage and heritage protection? After all, Poland and Central Europe have a unique experience, which is derived not only from the nature of our road to independence and modernity in the 19th century, the tragedy of Central Europe in the 20th century, and the lesson of communism, but also from the fact of the sudden change that occurred after 1989, the speed and complexity of which is now usually expressed in the fashionable word "transformation".

Central Europe since 1989 is a Europe seeking an identity somewhere between national renaissance and globalism. The restoration of memory is often accompanied by the

conscious creation of new signs and symbols representing the longed-for sovereignty. Is it not characteristic that in the heart of Vilnius the silhouette of the Palace of the Grand Princes of Lithuania is now taking shape, even though the ruins of what was known as the Lower Castle were erased from the city's cultural landscape and its residents' collective memory two hundred years ago? Is this the belated end of the historicist mode of thinking on heritage, or another wave of modernism, which commonly emerges from negation of the ballast of the past? Until very recently, especially in the Polish political reality, the canon of our national heritage appeared to be untouched, and its protection signified first and foremost the duty to defend our own identity. To what extent has transformation altered our attitude to heritage and its place among the priorities of the life of our society?

It is still too early to expect exhaustive answers to these questions, partly because the process of this far-reaching change is still underway. Transformation is a complex process. "Emerging from real socialism" and building the structures of a sovereign, democratic state are changes that in turn spark off processes affecting society. The rapidity, depth and many dimensions of Poland's transformation are intertwined with the processes of globalisation and European integration.

So what is the nature of the relationship between heritage and Poland's transformation? In recent years opposing tendencies have collided head on in terms of this issue. On the one hand the "area" of heritage

has expanded significantly, and the potential for its protection has also increased exponentially. On the other, the marginalisation and instrumentalisation of cultural heritage, and in particular the crisis in the system for its protection, are becoming increasingly obvious. Transformation has presented heritage in Poland with new challenges and new threats. These latter especially are evident in the centres of our major cities. The rapid changes in their cultural landscapes, often their degeneration, is the result of the triumph of market mechanisms combined with the weakness of the "soft state". Progress from the passive, static way of thinking of heritage as a *sacrum* to its protection amid the reality of the elemental processes of the privatisation and commercialisation of public space requires fundamental changes in the way heritage potential is managed.

The issues of heritage protection and the new areas of conflict and danger that emerged with the transformation cannot be taken in isolation from the serious crisis in the institutional culture sector in Poland. In Poland's case, the tension between politics, economics and culture described by Daniel Bell in his now classic book *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* has above all weakened the position of culture, and caused its political marginalisation and rapid commercialisation.

On the basis of Poland's experience we can already formulate the following basic conclusions:

- Politics is of fundamental importance in balancing relations between culture and heritage.

• The passivity of the state leads not only to waste of heritage potential but also to its degeneration.
• Heritage, which is an asset that is common property, is today falling victim to private interests; the state is demonstrating surprising weakness in its function of guardian of the common good (Cracow, for instance, the symbol of Polish piety towards heritage, is today a city without a plan, its heritage is being subjected to virtually uncontrolled commercialisation, and its "beauty" to officially sanctioned defacement).
• The inevitable process of the marketing and commoditisation of heritage is a new and significant challenge for the state. The key to balancing relations between heritage and culture and economic growth lies with politics (here the role of local government is vital!). The creation and implementation of an integrated national and regional strategy on heritage requires the syndrome of "ministerial Poland" to be overcome. Heritage is more than just culture and education; it is also spatial planning, regional development and tourism.
• The 21st century will be a century of communication through culture. Intercultural dialogue will also mean intercultural rivalry. In this context, too, it is time to perceive the European dimension of our national culture.
• To be able to conduct effective international dialogue in culture, Poland needs to release its institutional culture from state hands into the public domain.

The articles in this publication were written between 2000 and 2003 amid the lively discussions that accompanied the Congress of Culture and on the eve of Poland's accession to the European Union. It was my

intention that this book should form one contribution to the broad debate on the relationship between culture and economics. It is satisfying to note that the new thinking on heritage and its place in the contemporary world is starting to make inroads in Poland. I am convinced that membership of the European Union will accelerate this development. No-one has any doubt that our culture is and always has been a part of the wider European culture. The question is, then, to what extent Polish culture and heritage are already part of the European market of art and cultural assets.

*Translated by*
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# About the author

Jacek Purchla was born in Cracow in 1954. He studied economics and art history. A professor of humanities, he is head of the Urban Development Department at the Cracow University of Economics and head of the Chair of European Heritage, Department of International and Political Studies at the Jagiellonian University. His areas of research are urban development, social history and art history of the 19th and 20th centuries. He has written around 250 academic papers, including many books. In 1990–1991 he was vice-president of the city of Cracow. Since 1991 the organiser and director of the International Cultural Centre in Cracow. His other functions include chief co-ordinator of the European Cultural Month in Cracow (June 1992); editor of the *Rocznik Krakowski* (with Jerzy Wyrozumski); member of the Study of Art Committee and the Committee "Poland in United Europe" at the Polish Academy of Sciences; and titular member and vice-president of the Comité international d'histoire de l'art (CIHA). He is a member of many organisations and associations including the Europa Nostra council. Since 2000 he has chaired the Minister of Culture's Monument Preservation Council.

# Bibliographic note

The articles in this publication are corrected and updated versions of papers given by the author during the conferences listed below.

**Culture vs transformation in Poland**

Paper given during the international conference *Is culture and the cultural industry an opportunity for the development of Poland* organised by the Institute for Market Economy Research in Gdańsk (Warsaw, 13 June 2001)

The text has been published in: *Kultura i przemysły kultury szansą rozwojową dla Polski*, ed. J. Szomburg, Gdańsk 2002 [conference materials]

**Heritage and transformation – the experience of Poland**

Paper given during the conference *Cultural resources and property problems. The experience of Central Europe after 1989* organised by the Stefan Batory Foundation (Warsaw, 30 May 2003)

The text has been published in: *Heritage and the Building of Europe*, ed. S. Quaedvlieg-Mihailović, R. Graf Strachwitz, Berlin 2004

[in Polish: forthcoming]

**Heritage and development – the experience of Cracow**

Paper given during the conference *Heritage and development. The case of Cracow* organised by the International Cultural Centre and the Citizens' Committee for the Restoration of Historical Monuments of Cracow (Cracow, 20 November 1999)

The text has been published in: *Dziedzictwo a rozwój. Doświadczenie Krakowa*, Kraków 2000

[conference materials]

2005.07.07

2005.07.07

Charles de Tocqueville said: "When the past does not illuminate the future, the mind of man wanders in the dark", and the great Polish collector Princess Izabela Czartoryska (née Flemming) ordered the inscription THE PAST FOR THE FUTURE to be set above the entrance to Poland's first museum in Puławy. To this day this remains the primary mission of our heritage protection institutions. And this is the reason why our day-to-day work consists on the one hand in protecting everything that combines to form our identity and often defines the meaning of our lives, and on the other in attempting to prepare the youngest generations of citizens for the challenges presented by the demands of modernity.

(from the *Foreword* by Prof. Andrzej Rottermund)



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