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This book tells the story of monuments in two cities that share a parallel and turbulent history: Strasbourg and Poznan. With the Franco-Prussian War begins the well-known story of the destruction and erection of memorials. This book not only explains the mechanisms related to how memorials have functioned in the past, but also contributes to our understanding of current modes of their perception. It analyzes their material shape, the problem of affect, and their meaning, not only in relation to the political context and the work of memory. This book shows how the form of monuments reflects the social understanding of such basic questions as the perception of nature, gender issues and the image of those who are in power, and how, and in which aspects, those kind of objects actually change the city space we live in.

The Author

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Reading Monuments

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Reading Monuments

A Comparative Study of Monuments in Poznań and Strasbourg from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Translated by Marcin Tereszewski

PETER LANG

PETER LANG
open

To my Parents

Architecture has its own realm.
It has a special physical relationship with life.

Peter Zumthor

*Wherever something stands, something else will stand
beside it.*

Igbo proverb

Contents

Introduction

Among the cities located on the opposite ends of the Hohenzollern Empire, there are two whose parallel histories had a particularly strong influence on their urban space: Strasbourg, located in the Alsace region and Poznań in Greater Poland. The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw the expansion of the Prussian Hohenzollern Empire, whose western border reached the Rhine. As a result, after the Franco-Prussian war, the borders of the empire were absorbed by Alsatian Strasbourg. Already at the end of the eighteenth century, Poznań was located on the opposite end of this huge state. Near the end of the nineteenth century, both borderland centers were connected by a common history, one that is reflected by the history of erected and destroyed monuments. The history of monuments envelops changes in the political, social and cultural situation of these two, seemingly different and distant cities, and especially the communities that inhabit them. The history of Strasbourg's and Poznań's monuments is not only an extremely sensitive indicator of what has happened in cities and with cities, but above all, is an interesting example of how such objects function in public space, their role and the extent of their social impact.

Monuments are not, contrary to what Robert Musil claimed, neutral or passive actors in public space[1]. In exceptional, liminal moments of history, they evoke and channel powerful human emotions, whilst entering mainstream political events. This is what happened on the night of November 20–21, 1918, when Prussian monuments disappeared from Strasbourg, and when, on the night of April 3–4, 1919, the residents of Poznań dragged the plinths of German monuments onto Wilhelm Square. Anger and outrage mixed with joy and satisfaction were channeled in the act of destruction, undoubtedly serving as an emotional safety valve.

However, it is not only in liminal moments that monuments actively participate in the life of cities and their inhabitants. They also play important roles on a daily basis when, seemingly unnoticed, they complement the surrounding space. They serve as meeting places, appear in photographs, you can climb them or wear them on the shirts of your favorite sports teams. They are, in effect, the companions of city dwellers, passers-by, tourists in everyday life, not only during celebrations dedicated to events or people who they commemorate.

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1   R. Musil, *Denkmale*, [in:] R. Musil, *Gessamelte Werke*, Hamburg 1957, pp. 480–483.

   In this book, I attempt to approach monuments from the perspective of the
relationships that take place between them, the people and the space in which
they are located. These considerations will center around three main levels of
interpreting monuments: firstly, their shape, secondly, the politics of commem-
oration, and, finally, the problem of affect. I consider these levels crucial if one is
to understand the complexity of monuments. Examples of monuments analyzed
here are located in two cities: Poznań and Strasbourg in the nineteenth and twen-
tieth centuries. For the purposes of these considerations, a monument is defined
as an object that functions actively in public space and which communicates
meanings both on the level of its materiality and on the level of the commemo-
rated content that immerses it in history[2]. I intend to show that monuments are a
kind of performative objects, whose agency is manifested in their material shape
and when they constitute a catalyst for social and political change.
   I find the comparison of Poznań and Strasbourg interesting for several reasons.
The first has to do with their history[3]. Poznań was annexed into the Kingdom of
Prussia as a result of the Second Partition of Poland in 1793, whereas Strasbourg
was annexed after Prussia's victory in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). The
same conflict gave rise to the German Empire, on whose western border the cap-
ital of Alsace was located, and on the east – the capital of Greater Poland. Both
cities shared a common nationality for over forty years. Both of them gained the
rare status of imperial residences (*kaiserliche Rezidenzstadt*). It was during this
period that representative German districts were built around carefully designed
squares, where monuments manifesting the Germanic spirit were erected. These
monuments were meant to demonstrate that these cities belong to one national

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2   It is worth noting that the way I understand monuments emerges from my adopted
    research perspective. It is, therefore, not my aim to create such a definition of a monu-
    ment that can be universally applied in all research. Its definition depends on what dis-
    cipline is represented by the researchers who formulate it, which is something Witold
    Molik already drew attention to in *Poznańskie Pomniki w XIX i na początku XX wieku*,
    "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 2001, no 2, pp. 7–10.

3   For more information about the history of Strasbourg and Poznań, see. *Histoire
    de Strasbourg des origines à nos jours*, vols. I – IV, ed. G. Livet, F. Rapp, Ed. des
    Dernières Nouvelles de Strasbourg, Strasbourg 1982; M.-Ch. Périllon, *Histoire de la
    ville de Strasbourg*, Éditions Horvath, Roanne 1980; B. Jordan, *Histoire de Strasburg*,
    Éditions Jean-Paul Gisserot, Paris 2006. *Dzieje Poznania do roku 1793*, vols. 1 and 2,
    ed. J. Topolski, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa – Poznań 1988 and
    Dzieje Poznania w latach 1793–1945, vols. 1 and 2, ed. J. Topolski, L. Trzeciakowski,
    Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa – Poznań 1994 i 1998, and also:
    P. Maluśkiewicz, L. Szurkowski, *Poznań*, Wydawnictwo Miejskie, Poznań 2000.

organism. Then, after 1918–1919, both cities became part of separate states, France and Poland; however, already during World War II, they found themselves again within German borders as part of the Third Reich. After 1945, they once again were returned to France and Poland, but this time their histories were divided for a longer time, as for over forty years these cities found themselves on the opposite sides of the Cold War Iron Curtain. This situation changed after 1989, when Poznań, together with all of Poland, entered the European democratic realm. The next event that brought these cities together as part of a larger political body was Poland's accession to the European Union.

Poznań and Strasbourg also have similar characteristics. Both are provincial cities, each of which is its own way also a borderland city, which meant that, in their turbulent histories, they had to struggle with multiculturalism, the changing nationalities and national identities of the people inhabiting them. However, this does not mean, of course, that both cities share the same problems regarding nationality and identity issues. Undoubtedly, a strong sense of Alsatian identity is clearly felt in Strasbourg. In the case of Poznań, it is difficult to talk about the Greater Poland identity of Poznań's inhabitants, although there persists a sense of separateness, rooted in the region and its history, in particular in relation to nineteenth century history. In Poznań, identification with Polishness is certainly more pronounced than Strasbourg's identification with France.

Regardless of these differences, two centuries of parallel histories shed an interesting light on the issue of locality and peripherality. German heritage, which has left its mark on the topography of both cities, making itself known also through Prussian architecture, places their history in a wider European context, for which the Prussian heritage is an important reference point, and one which is now an important component of the urban identity of Strasbourg and Poznań. This heritage is defined by three factors: locality, Europeanness and nationality[4]. The transition of cities from hands to hands, which is a sign (and often the essence) of cross-borders, allows us to notice the unique phenomena associated with the impact of cultures. Monuments that are their products are, in turn, a perfect exemplification of the processes taking place in these frontier worlds.

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4   This problem was recently noticed by a group of Strasbourgian and Poznań researchers: Alexander Kostka, Volker Ziegler, Hanna Grzeszczuk-Brendel, Piotr Marciniak and Małgorzata Praczyk, are realizing a project dedicated to the German heritage of both cities. The project is entitled: "Imperial affinities: Strasbourg/Poznań and their unwanted 'Germanic' heritage. Stagings and appropriations of urban space, from 1880 to the present. An interdisciplinary research and exhibition Project".

The juxtaposition of Strasbourg and Poznań in terms of their monuments is especially evocative. Reactions to existing or erected monuments, as well as tensions that surround them, provide information on how the political is intertwined with the social. Comparisons of the monuments in Strasbourg and Poznań reveal that they represent similar events in the political history of cities, albeit in a different way. This comparison also allows one to see different versions of reality emerging from monuments, often – which is very important – independently of their political context.

The proposed juxtaposition of monuments found in Poznań and Strasbourg also situates these considerations within the scope of historical comparative studies. By positioning the researcher as the observer of the compared cases, a comparative analysis makes it possible to create a framework defining the analyzed phenomena on a more general level[5]. Thanks to this, it is possible to identify the properties that characterize the monuments in a broader perspective, thereby extricating them from a strictly predetermined context. Wherever similarities do emerge, one can speak about the general rules of their functioning, rules that can also be applied to other monuments not analyzed here. A certain value is revealed here, one which Ewa Domańska calls the "integrating potential" of comparative studies[6]. The differences emerging from the analysis point to the special features of monuments, which are firmly rooted in the political and social context. This, in turn, makes it possible to extract what is unique, not only about the examined cases, but also about the history of cities where these monuments can be found. In addition, a comparison of monuments, which often serve as barometers of the political and social situation, yields many conclusions also about the history of cities and the communities inhabiting them.

The chronology of this book basically ends in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, I deal with the monuments found in Poznań and Strasbourg in detail, beginning with the Franco-Prussian War, which brought Poznań and Strasbourg into the German Empire, and finish my analysis with contemporary monuments. I treat the entire nineteenth century as an important context, as it was during the very beginning of that century when important trends for later monuments emerged, manifesting themselves in the growing phenomenon called "statuomania". Monuments from before 1871 appear sporadically in this

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5   M. Dąbrowski, *Komparatystyka kulturowa*, [in:] *Komparatystyka dla humanistów*, ed. M. Dąbrowski, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2011, p. 223.
6   E. Domańska, *Jakiej metodologii potrzebuje współczesna humanistyka?*, "Teksty Drugie", 2010, no 1–2, p. 52.

book. In the case of Strasbourg's monuments, they constitute only a contextual reference to the issues under consideration. In Poznań, this situation applies only to the monument of Adam Mickiewicz erected in 1859. It was the first monument in the urban space of Poznań[7]. The next one was built 11 years later, the year the Prussian-French war erupted, and it was a German monument of an approaching lion[8]. I have a broad understanding of the limiting time frame of the twentieth century and recall a number of examples that date back to the first decade of the next century.

The presented considerations are of a transdisciplinary nature; therefore, they require a methodology derived from various fields of the humanities. Generally speaking, the work is situated in the field of cultural research. I consider the "material turn" in humanities to be particularly inspiring, along with gender studies, memory studies, anthropological studies of urban spaces, and the study of emotions and affect. The concepts relating to the theory of politics as a space of conflict, the theory of the nation as a political imaginary community and the theory of tradition as a practice were also inspirational for me. The theoretical approaches that I use verify the examination of specific cases – monuments.

This book primarily belongs to the field of research concerning monuments and memorials, where the issue of the monument as a cultural phenomenon is of key importance. The examples of cities quoted above provide the basis on which I formulate observations regarding the monuments function in culture.

Monuments have so far been analyzed primarily as part of research on monumental sculptures, mainly in the history of art, as well as memory studies, and less frequently in relation to the study of emotions or, finally, materiality studies. The research perspective proposed in this book takes into account the traditional themes of research dedicated to monuments, which focus on phenomena associated with commemoration, and thus is related to research on memory and the political life of monuments. It also takes into account rarely analyzed issues related to the social function of monuments connected to issues of affect and their form. Form is understood here primarily not as an expression of artistic value but as causative potential, conditioning specific behaviors and prompting specific reactions, not only because of what the monument commemorates but because of its location in public space and what physical shape it assumes.

The history of monuments has experienced a significant turn in modern times, that is, in the era constituting the chronological framework of this work.

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7   W. Molik, *Poznańskie pomniki*, pp. 12–13.
8   Ibid. p. 15.

With the rise of modern nation states, the multiplying monuments legitimizing the political aspirations of governments and rulers of individual countries have prompted researchers of modernity to critically consider the role and functions of monumental commemorations.[9] In the nineteenth century, and especially in its second half, a significant number of monuments were created, commemorating not only rulers, but also less significant people, who were nonetheless important for the region. This process was to involve local communities in nationwide and patriotic narratives.[10] Such practices can be observed not only in France and Germany, but also everywhere where nation states were created and a gradual secularization of societies ensued, thus granting "entrance to the pedestal" to a greater number of subjects (e.g., local heroes) who participate in constructing the collective identity of residents.[11]

The tragic events of the First World War were another important step in expanding the commemorative functions of the monuments, allowing universal identification with experienced suffering. Monuments created in Europe during the interwar period were supposed to correspond not only to the politics of memory propagates by the authorities, but also (necessarily excluding the first) to the needs of the citizens of individual countries, and especially the residents of particular cities and villages who had experienced the traumatic events of the Great War.[12] This period brought about reflections not only on the past understood in terms of history written with a capital "H", but also in terms of the memory of it, which helped to situate debates on monuments in a new context. They began to embody grief, they became a sign of the mourning and suffering, with which whole communities and individuals affected by the tragedy of war, could identify, as monuments were perceived as an emanation of personal experiences and individual memory. As the scope of people, events, and also the experiences represented by means of monuments expanded, the way monuments were understood as carriers of meanings significantly deepened. The official discourse, which had hitherto imposed itself on monumental performances, gradually began to unravel. A good example of such a monument

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9   Cf. S. Michalski, *Public Monuments. Art in Political Bondage 1870–1997*, London 1998. See also: R. Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces. Artifacts of German Memory, 1870–1990*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 2000.

10   M. Agulhon, *La 'satuomanie' et l'histoire*, „Ethnologie francaise", no 8, 1978, pp. 145–172.

11   Cf. This fragment concerns the history of monuments: M. Praczyk, *Pomniki i Ziemia*, [in:] *Pomniki w epoce antropocenu*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań 2017, pp. 14–19.

12   D. J. Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France*, Chicago 1999.

is Strasbourg's *Monument aux Morts*, which will be discussed in more detail later in the book.

Events of World War II thoroughly reconstructed the humanistic understanding of man, his history and identity. The attempt to find a language that could express the Holocaust experience, the previously unimaginable lethal potential of technology (above all in the realm of nuclear warfare), the mass death of millions of people, was also reflected in monumental art. As Agnieszka Gębczyńska-Janowicz notes, "the traditional form of the places of remembrance, which marks the sculpture with the function of the main element, and architecture – the background for it, seemed insufficient to the artists. At the same time, society regarded statues raised on pedestals with great reservations, because they were a too painful reminder of the nationalist regimes that disseminated their propaganda with such means."[13] The Western world, where after the war modern democracies were emerging, sought other, non-traditional ways of commemorating the traumatic past of World War. The departure from the typical figurative form of constructing monuments, so common in the second half of the twentieth century, radically changed the way of thinking about what a monument can be. Not only the change regarding what the monument commemorates was important, but also the way in which the monument is commemorated. How monumental sculptures had been regarded in undemocratic regimes was not much different. Here, apart from the conservative forms of commemoration imposed by the totalitarian regime (monumental, huge forms of communist leaders on plinths), other means of expression were being sought. A milestone, changing the traditional perception of monuments, was the unrealized but successful project of the Monument of the Way, by a team working under the direction of Oskar Hansen, a figure also important for the theoretical considerations in this book. A design of the monument commemorating the victims of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp was sent to a competition in 1958.[14] Monument designs were created (and sometimes realized), which incorporated the spatial context, sound, etc. into the assumptions underlying the idea of monuments.

Subsequent traumatic events that occurred after the Second World War changed the means of expression used by the designers of monuments who were tasked with commemorating them. The famous Vietnam Veterans Memorial

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13 A. Gębczyńska-Janowicz, *Polskie założenia pomnikowe. Rola architektury w tworzeniu miejsc pamięci od połowy XX wieku*, Warszawa 2010, pp. 39–40.

14 P. Piotrowski, *Auschwitz versus Auschwitz*, [in:] *Sztuka według polityki. Od 'Melancholii' do 'Pasji'*, Kraków 2007.

Wall by Maya Lin is another example of the radical change that has taken place
in how war can be commemorated.[15] Cut in the ground, a gradually descending
path carved into the ground, accompanied by a black wall strewn with alphabet-
ically engraved names of fallen heroes, reverses the dominant, hierarchical and
vertical way of commemorating the victims of wars and re-evaluates the idea of
monuments.

With the development of new trends in the humanities, such as studies on
memory, post-memory, etc., artists sought such means of expression that would
correspond to ongoing theoretical debates. New forms of expression were sought
not only to rework the form of monuments, but also to question the reasons
underlying monumental structures. Many artists turned their attention to work
that contested the very idea of commemoration made possible by monuments
as signs of commemorated events and people in accordance with the current
assumption of the commemorative art. As a result, counter-monuments began
to emerge, where the key category, as James Young writes, was memory working
through negation.[16] Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz, Christian Boltanski
and Horst Hoheisel have created important counter-monuments meant to acti-
vate the memory of their recipients; however, these counter-monuments were
to affirm themselves through their absence.[17] Such monuments have reversed
the traditional layout characteristic of commemorative monuments, in which
the monument itself is the central object (in various ways) watched by viewers.
In the case of the counter-monument, the viewer and his presence are crucial to
the commemoration, and the counter-monument creates a context in which this
presence can materialize and in which the repressed past can be worked through.

When discussing modern commemorations, such as counter-monuments, we
are still immersed in a culture that aims at contemplating past events, without
questioning the very idea of commemoration. Such monuments constantly
negotiate commemoration by incorporating previously undervalued subjects
and attempt to change how they are remembered. The list of objects intended for
commemoration is expanding. In addition to monuments, museums, because
of their architecture, are often seen not only as places waiting to be filled with
exhibits, but as monuments themselves (as is the case of the Jewish Museum

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15 Cf. D. Abramson, *Maya Lin and the 1960s: Monuments, Time Lines, and Minimalism*,
    "Critical Inquiery", vol. 22, no 4 (1996), pp. 679–709.
16 J. Young, *The CounterMonument: Memory Against Itself in Germany Today*, "Critical
    Inquiry", no 18, 1992, p. 270.
17 Cf. J. Young, *At Memory's Edge. After-Images of the Holocaust*, New Haven and
    London, 2000.

in Berlin designed by Daniel Libeskind[18]). Monuments sometimes also include unintentional works of art or selected geological formations.

One of the most important contemporary monuments, one that has evoked important discussions about monuments and in the field of memory studies, was The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe by Peter Eisenman. Regardless of the controversy surrounding it today[19], this monument is considered an evocative project directed at individual experience, which is meant to commemorate the memory of the tragic past. The purpose such a monument is to create a personal emotional response by placing the viewer inside the commemorating edifice.[20] However, as Agnieszka Gębczyńska-Janowicz noted, "Peter Eisenman's concept introduced the phenomenon of a symbolic flaw in the urban structure. Such an idea of the monument strongly interferes in the urban landscape, finding in it a permanent place. It is difficult to overthrow such a monument or move it somewhere else."[21] Such a scar, as Gębczyńska-Janowicz observes, is not only symbolic, but also very tangible and physically experimental. Monuments of this

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18 Cf. ibid. pp. 152–183.

19 Discussions about the degree to which such a monument facilitates individual experience of the past is taken up by, among others, an interesting project "Yolocaust", created by Shahak Shapira (yolocaust.de). It presents photographs of contemporary visitors to the monument and photographs of the Holcaust, on which photos of the visitors are juxtaposed. When we see the original photograph, its altered verion appears, supplemented by dramatic photographs of corpses. This project askes the question to what extent the space of Peter Eisenman's monument evokes the experience of the Holocaust and to what extent it is merely a "playground" for tourists, who mindlessly take pictures of themselves in its space. Certainly, similar questions can be posed in relation to other monuments, even less repetative, which also become places for various games and controversial behavior of tourists and residents. Cf. https://yolocaust.de/ (accessed: 09.12.2019). Cf.: N. O'Neill, *Artist shames Holocaust salfie takier with 'Yolocaust' website*, https://nypost.com/2017/01/20/artist-shames-holocaust-selfie-takers-with-yolocaust-website/ (accessed: 09.12.2019); *Author Shapira stellt "Yolocaust" – Aktion ein*, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/debatten/shahak-shapira-stellt-yolocaust-ein-14770299.html (accessed: 09.12.2019).

20 For more information about the category of experience in relation to monuemtns and indexal fucntion of a monument, see: F. Ankersmit, F Ankersmit, *Remembering the Holocaust: Mourning and Melancholy,* [In:] F.R. Ankersmit, *Historical Representation.* Stanford University Press, Stanford 2001, pp. 176–193.

21 A. Gębczyńska-Janowicz, *Polskie założenia pomnikowe*, p. 53.

type imprint a clear mark on the place where they are located.[22] Another example of a monument that encroaches on its location is the "Memory Wound" project, the winner of a competition for a monument commemorating the victims of the crime committed by the right-wing extremist Anders Breivik on the island of Utøya in Norway. It entailed shutting off a several-meter-long end of a peninsula located across the island of Utøya. Ultimately, this project was never completed due to protests of the local community, but it sparked a broad discussion on the shape of contemporary commemorations and the limits of their reach.[23]

Designers of contemporary monuments use a variety of forms of commemoration that are far from traditional. For example, some take into account, and sometimes even incorporate, the landscape and the natural environment in the presentation of a monument. Monuments are thus created with the possibilities offered by the surroundings. Natural elements are used, affecting the various senses; it is now not only the visual aspect of the monument that is filled with meaning, but also the attendant smell or sound. Such monuments expand the range of memory references, forcing the recipient to actively participate in the commemorative process, thereby enriching the experience commemorated by the monument. Sensory monuments exemplify forms that in an interesting way depart from occulocentric culture. These monuments can be grouped into what are called ephemeral monuments.[24] These are forms that play with the notion of presence, crucial to the art of monuments, a notion that has already been challenged by counter-monuments. In the case of these monuments, however, their essential feature is they can appear and disappear, and their lack of rootedness in a specific place. This way, as a temporal object locally acts on the principle of intervention in the social tissue of the places in which it appears, leaving nothing or little of itself forever. Ephemeral monuments, sometimes regarded as a variant of counter-monuments, differ significantly in that they manage to break free from the trap of existence in a specific place; they are an emanation of a "placelessness" which Rosalind Krauss wrote about in relation to modernist

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22 For more information about the category of monumentality and memory, see: A. Huyssen, *Monumental Seduction*, [in:] *Acts of Memory. Cultural Recall in the Present*, ed. M. Nal, J. Crewe, L. Spitzer, Hanover – London 1999, pp. 191–207.

23 M. Praczyk, *Rana w Ziemi. O paradoksach i kondycji antropoceńskiej*, [in:] *Pomniki w epoce antropocenu*, ed. M. Praczyk, Poznań Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2017, pp. 147–160.

24 Monuments affecting the senses involve sight, hearing, smell, touch and of course do not have to take on ephemeral forms. Many contemporary monuments make use of what appear fleeting or temporary materials or materials that affect the senses.

sculpture.[25] The interactivity of ephemeral monuments, their ability to create a kind of relationship with the viewer that is filled with various meanings is the main value of this particular type of commemoration. It is through drawing relations and using the category of experience that the ephemeral monument is created.

In the case of Poznań and Strasbourg, one can find many examples that fit into the above summarily sketched historical outline of monuments. However, they do not always adhere to the chronological order outlined above, because even today monuments are made that conform to traditional forms of "figures on a pedestal". Nevertheless, in both cities one can encounter various types of monuments, from the dominant traditional monuments raised on pedestals to delicate and ambiguous monuments or sculptures, which appear in contemporary urban spaces. Many of them not only reflect the general trend of implementing nontraditional means of commemoration, but they also elude classical categorization, or they are so strongly rooted in the local community that assigning them to one of the above-mentioned categories of monuments would only impoverish their significance.

The basic research material used in this book are, of course, monuments: both those that I had the opportunity to see myself,[26] as well as those whose photographs can be found on postcards, in albums, in scientific studies or on websites. In the case of monuments that no longer exist, I tried to collect as many photographs and engravings depicting them as possible in order to best reflect their shape and spatial location. In addition, the descriptions of monuments made for the purposes of this work are not descriptions typical of art history. As I mentioned above, I do not examine monuments in the context of their artistic value; the form is important to me inasmuch as it represents the culture and mentality of the times that have created it. In my research I used press materials published about the construction and destruction of monuments, as well as films that recorded these moments.

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25 R. Krauss, "Sculpture in the Expanded Field", [in:] *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* , The MIT Press, USA, 1996, pp. 276–290.

26 My observations derived from more of a field study at the time, which were based on a detailed analysis of the material aspect of the monuments. There are only a few photographs illustrating the backs and sides of these monuments, or the pedestals. They usually present the monument from the front. They do not include what is generally considered insignificant, but several times proved very important in the context of this work.

Literary works that approach the subject of monuments in Strasbourg and Poznań usually focus on the historical aspects of their creation, reception, artistic values and remarks about their important role in bolstering patriotism. The proposal put forward here assumes a wider view of monuments. The most important works I use include the texts of Maurice Agulhon, and, above all, his oft-quoted article, "La 'statuomanie' et l'histoire", published in 1978 in *Ethnologie française*.[27] There, he analyzes the problem of the French nineteenth-century "mania" for monuments in the context of politics, history and ideology. Other important works on this subject include the work of Daniel J. Sherman,[28] who analyzes the French monuments of the interwar period, as well as the works of Annette Becker[29] and June Hargrove[30] also devoted to this subject. The essential monographs devoted mainly to German monuments include undoubtedly the work of Rudy Koshar *From Monuments to Traces. Artifacts of German Memory, 1870–1990*[31] dedicated to monuments in the context of collective memory. Then, the work of Stephan Spohr referring to the monuments in the context of the nascent national idea in the nineteenth century "Das deutsche Denkmal und der Nationalgedanke im 19. Jahrhundert"[32] and the work of Bernhard Böttcher "Gefallen für Volk und Heimat. Kreigerdemkmäler deutcher Minderheiten in Ostmitteleuropa während der Zwischenkriegszeit"[33], in which he shows the importance of monuments in the production of the political identity of the nations concerned. On the other hand, an important synthesis regarding the relationship between politics and monuments of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can be found in Sergiusz Michalski's *Public Monuments.*

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27 M. Agulhon, *La 'statuomanie' et l'histoire*, "Ethnologie française", 1978, no 8, pp. 145–172.

28 D. J. Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1999.

29 A. Becker, *Les Monuments aux Morts. Memoire de la Grand Guerre*, Éditions Errance, Paris 1988.

30 J. Hargrove, *Qui vive? France! War Monuments from the Defense to the Revanche*, [in:] *Nationalism and French Visual Culture. 1870–1914*, ed. J. Hargrove, N. McWilliam, Yale University Press, London – Washington 2005.

31 R. Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces. Artifacts of German Memory, 1870–1990*, University of California Press, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 2000.

32 S. Spohr, *Das deutsche Denkmal und der Nationalgedanke im 19. Jahrhundert*, VDG, Weimar 2011.

33 Bernhard Böttcher, *Gefallen für Volk und Heimat. Kreigerdemkmäler deutcher Minderheiten in Ostmitteleuropa während der Zwischenkriegszeit*, Köln – Weimar – Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 2007.

Art in Political Bondage 1879–1997, where he thoroughly analyzes the symbolic, political and social discourse of an era, which was characterized by a considerable increase in monuments erected in the public space.[34]

Titles that take up this issue, broadening it also considerably with references to memory, include the works of James Young, especially *The Texture of Memory Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*[35]. Simon Texier *Les architectes de la mémoire*[36] is also an important work included in this study.

The theme of monuments is also addressed by a number of articles that are usually found in collections concerning the issue of commemoration and public art. The following collections are the most valuable: *Les Lieux de mémoire*[37] or *La mémoire des français. Quarante ans de commémorations de la seconde guerre mondiale*[38]: there are volumes containing fundamental analyses pertaining to the national dimension of commemoration. The national formation of memory is a topic addressed by an important volume, *Politics of National Identity*, in which much attention is devoted to specific monuments and the role they play in shaping identity and memory in connection with war.[39] Other fundamental works include *Polish-German memorial sites*,[40] four volumes dedicated to the memorial dimension of the most important objects, concepts and cultural phenomena in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Poland and Germany, often shared by both nations, but subject to different interpretations. The next important collections were devoted mainly to the problem of memory functioning in the context of important and traumatic experiences of the twentieth century. Among them, *Acts of Memory Cultural Recall in the Present*[41] and *The Politics of War Memory and*

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34 S. Michalski, *Public Monuments. Art in Political Bondage 1870–1997*, Reaktion Books, London 1998.

35 J. E. Young, *The Texture of Memory. Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1993. See also: J. Young, *At Memory's Edge*, Yale University Press, New Haven – London 2000.

36 S. Texier, *Les architectes de la mémoire*, Les Éditions du Huitième Jour, Paris 2007.

37 *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 1, ed. P. Nora, Gallimard, Paris 1984 and the remaining volumes (vol. 2: 1986 and vol. 3: 1992).

38 *La mémoire des français. Quarante ans de commémorations de la seconde guerre mondiale*, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris 1986.

39 *Commemorations. The Politics of National Identity*, ed. J. R. Gillis, Princeton University Press, Princeton – New Jersey 1994.

40 *Deutch-Polinische Erinnerungsorte*, ed. R. Traba, H.H. Hahn, vols. 1–4, Padeborn [etc.] : Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh 2013–2019.

41 *Acts of Memory. Cultural Recall in the Present*, ed. M. Bal, J. Crewe, L. Spitzer, University Press of New England, Hanover – London 1999.

Commemoration[42] are very important positions. More attention to monuments as examples of art is devoted in the following volumes: *Critical Issues in Public Art Content, Context, and Controversy*[43] and *Art and the Public Sphere*[44]. However, a more comprehensive analysis of the impact of monuments not only through the prism of art history, but also in terms of their materiality and sensory dimension can be found in the collective work *Pomniki w epoce antropocenu*.[45] The authors of the texts collected in this volume undertake unconventional analyzes of monuments, referring to, among others, from the currents of new materialism, posthumanism, forensic return or research on ecolodicide.

Dissertations devoted to the analysis of monuments in relation to emotions associated are extremely scarce. The issue of public emotions in the context of erecting, worshiping and destroying monuments is important, though it rarely is a subject of research on public sculptures. This topic is dealt with comprehensively only by Erik Doss in *Memorial Mania. Public Feeling in America*,[46] which deals entirely with an analysis of particular emotions in relation to particular monuments and with other types of public commemoration that are important for certain social groups. Doss shows how permanent and spontaneous monuments allow public expression of an emotional attitude towards selected events from American history and how they help to unload social tensions related to the past. Another book devoted to the emotional dimension of attitudes towards the past, this time in the European context, is Jay Winter's *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: the Great War in European Culture History*,[47] where he analyzes the ways of experiencing and expressing grief and commemoration in relation to the First World War.

Thus far, only a few works dealing with monuments have been published in Poland and even fewer that engage in a thorough analysis of them. Most of these analyzes tend to glorify monuments. Among the most interesting works

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42 *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*, ed. T.G. Asphlant, G. Dawson, M. Roper, Routledge, London – New York 2000.

43 *Critical Issues in Public Art. Content, Context, and Controversy*, H.F. Senie, S. Webster, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington – London 1998.

44 *Art and the Public Sphere*, ed. W. J. T.Mitchell, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago – London 1990.

45 *Pomniki w epoce antropocenu*, ed. M. Praczyk, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań 2017.

46 E. Doss, *Memorial Mania. Public Feeling in America*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago – London 2010.

47 J. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: the Great War in European Culture History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1995.

are Irena Grzesiuk-Olszewska's *Polska rzeźba pomnikowa w latach 1945–1995,*[48] which presents a comprehensive and valuable introduction to the subject of Polish monuments preceded by their catalog, and works which offer contextual analyzes of monuments, for example in Lech Nijakowski *Domeny symboliczne. Konflikty narodowe i etniczne w wymiarze symbolicznym*,[49] works by Robert Traba,[50] Marcin Kula[51] or Aleksander Wallis.[52]

There is only a modest amount of studies concerning monuments in the cities analyzed by me. There are no critical studies, and the monographs dealing with this topic are devoted primarily to the historical description of the monuments.[53] In addition, these monuments are also included in studies devoted to the monuments of both cities and their history. Information about the Strasbourg monuments can be found primarily in the following works: *Les statues de Strasbourg,*[54] *La Neustadt de Strasbourg. Un laboratoire urbain. 1871–1930,*[55] *Strasbourg. Panorama monumental et architectural et architectural des origines à 1914,*[56] *Connaître Strasbourg: cathédrale, musées, eglises, monuments, palais et maisons, places et rues*[57] and *Strasbourg insolite et secret Deus mille de métamorphoses.*[58] Among the works on monuments of Poznań, one

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48 I. Grzesiuk-Olszewska, *Polska rzeźba pomnikowa w latach 1945–1995*, Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warszawa 1995.

49 L. M. Nijakowski, *Domeny symboliczne. Konflikty narodowe i etniczne w wymiarze symbolicznym*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Warszawa 2006.

50 Cf. R. Traba *Ostpreussen : die Konstruktion einer deutschen Provinz. Eine Studie zur regionalen und nationalen Identität 1914–1933*, Fibre, Osnabrück 2010 and R. Traba, *Historia. Przestrzeń dialogu*, Warszawa 2006.

51 Cf. M. Kula, *Nośniki pamięci historycznej*, Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa 2002; *Religiopodobny komunizm*, Nomos, Kraków 2003.

52 A. Wallis, *Socjologia i kształtowanie przestrzeni*, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warszawa 1971.

53 By noncritical work, I understand books that are descriptive, not analytical.

54 S. Dufour, *Les statues de Strasbourg*, Coprur, Strasbourg 1992.

55 *La Neustadt de Strasbourg. Un laboratoire urbain. 1871–1930*, ed. M. Pottecher, H. Doucet, O. Haegel, Lyon 2017.

56 G. Foessel, J.-P. Klein, J.-D. Ludmanu, J.-L. Faure, *Strasbourg. Panorama monumental et architectural des origines à 1914*, Contades – le temps des cités, Strasbourg 1984.

57 R. Recht, J.-P. Klein, G. Foessel, *Connaître Strasbourg: cathédrale, musées, eglises, monuments, palais et maisons, places et rues*, Éditions Alsatia, Colmar 1976.

58 L. Maechel, Th. Rieger [en collaboration avec L. Daul, R. Matzen], *Strasbourg insolite et secret. Deus mille de métamorphoses*, Éditions Jean-Paul Gisserot, Paris 1999. Cf. also D. Betzinger, *Retour à Strasbourg. Les mêmes lieux photographiés d'un siècle à l'autre*, Les Beaux Jours, Paris 2007.

should enumerate the thematic volume of the "Chronicle of the City of Poznań" entitled "Monuments"[59], which contains a number of articles devoted to the analysis of Poznań's monuments. Some of these texts have also been published in the German-language volume "Denkmäler in Kiel und Posen".[60] There is also the work "Monuments of Poznań"[61], which is a de facto descriptive catalog of Poznań's monuments and a doctoral dissertation by Lygia Wilkowa, devoted to the history of Poznań's monuments from the nineteenth century.[62] Information on Poznań's monuments can also be found in such works as Zofia Ostrowska-Kębłowska *Architektura i budownictwo w Poznaniu w latach 1790–1889*, Jan Skuratowicz's *Architektura Poznania w latach 1890–1918*,[63] *Architektura i budownictwo w Poznaniu w latach 1790–1889*[64] edited by Teresa Jakimowicz[65] and Zenon Pałat's book *Architektura a polityka. Gloryfikacja Prus i niemieckiej misji cywilizacyjnej w Poznaniu na początku XX wieku*[66] In addition, a number of minor studies have been published about Poznań's monuments, which were published to mark the unveiling of monuments or anniversaries of their unveiling or of the people and events they were meant to commemorate.[67]

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59 "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 2001, no 2. Some of the included articles are the fruit of an academic session devoted to monuments, which convened in 2000 in Kiel by Witold Molik and Rudolf Jaworski. The materials from the proceedings were also published in: *Denkmäler in Kiel und Posen. Paralellen und Kontraste*, ed. R. Jaworski, W. Molik, Ludwig, Kiel 2002.

60 *Denkmäler in Kiel und Posen. Paralellen und Kontraste*, ed. R. Jaworski, W. Molik, Ludwig, Kiel 2002.

61 E. Goliński, *Pomniki Poznania*, Quadra, Poznań 2001.

62 L. Wilkowa, *Rzeźba w Wielkopolsce w XIX wieku. Od romantyzmu do secesji*, Poznań 1984. [print manuscript available at BG BUUAM].

63 Z. Ostrowska-Kębłowska, *Architektura i budownictwo w Poznaniu w latach 1790–1889*, Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Wydawnictwo PTPN, Warszawa – Poznań 1982.

64 J. Skuratowicz, *Architektura Poznania w latach 1890–1918*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań 1991.

65 *Architektura i urbanistyka Poznania w XX wieku*, red. T. Jakimowicz, Wydawnictwo Miejskie, Poznań 2005. See also *Miasto na pocztówce. Poznań na tle porównawczym*, ed. R. Jaworski, W. Molik, Instytut Historii UAM, Poznań 1999; M. Warkoczewska, *Poznań na starej fotografii*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 1967; *Atlas architektury Poznania*, ed. J. Pazder, Wydawnictwo Miejskie, Poznań 2008.

66 Z. Pałat, *Architektura a polityka. Gloryfikacja Prus i niemieckiej misji cywilizacyjnej w Poznaniu na początku XX wieku*, Wydawnictwo PTPN, Poznań 2011.

67 Cf. H. Kondziela, M. Olszewski, *Pomnik Tadeusza Kościuszki w Poznaniu*, Wydawnictwo Artystyczno-Graficzne RSW „PRASA", Poznań 1967; *Pomnik Armii „Poznań" w Poznaniu. Kronika budowy i uroczystości odsłonięcia*, red. M. Olszewski,

A clear disproportion between the number of studies referring to the monuments in Poznań and Strasbourg is evident. Unlike in the case of Poznań, there are no papers discussing Strasbourg's monuments. Moreover, in the literature devoted to monuments and the architecture of Strasbourg, less attention is paid to monuments than is the case with similar works referring to Poznań. There is also no comparative work addressing the monuments in Poznań and Strasbourg. Also, I can add that there are not many comparative studies addressing monuments located in different cities. Such comparisons, however, appear in comprehensive studies on monuments of a selected country, for example, in the above-mentioned *Polska rzeźba pomnikowa…*[68] by Irena Grzesiuk Olszewska or *Les Architectes de mémoire* by Simon Texier.[69] Most studies on French and Polish monuments are devoted to the capitals of both countries. Paris has many publications about monuments, such as *Art ou politique? Arcs, statues et colonnes de Paris*[70], *Le Nouveau Guide des statues de Paris*[71] or *Statues of Paris*.[72] In the case of Warsaw, these are, inter alia: *Warsaw monument sculpture*[73], *Monuments of Warsaw*[74] or *Warsaw monuments*.[75]

To sum up, I must say that studies on monuments are scarce, and those that try to critically address monuments are rarely encountered. With respect to monuments in Poznań and Strasbourg, there are, first and foremost, books that focus mainly on their history and artistic value, with Poznań's monuments being the most researched.

This book consists of three parts. The first part concerns the material shape of the monuments, where I present the basic issues related to the form of the analyzed monuments and their location, which constitute the sphere, with

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Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa – Poznań 1983; *Pomnik Powstańców Wielkopolskich 1918–1919 w Poznaniu*, ed. W. Jakóbczyk, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 1965; *Pomnik Poznańskiego Czerwca 1956. Symbol pamięci i sprzeciwu*, ed. E. R. Debertowa, M. Lenartowski, Komisja Zakładowa NSZZ „Solidarność", Poznań 1996.

68 I. Grzesiuk-Olszewska, *Polska rzeźba pomnikowa...*

69 S. Texier, *Les architectes...*

70 *Art ou politique? Arcs, statues et colonnes de Paris*, ed. G. Brese-Bauties, X. Dectot, Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris, Paris 1999.

71 P. Kjellberg, *Le Nouveau Guide des statues de Paris*, La Bibliotheque des Arts, Paris 1988.

72 J. Hargrove, *Statues of Paris. An Open -Air Pantheon. The History of Statues to Great Men*, Vandome Press, New York – Paris 1990.

73 I. Grzesiuk-Olszewska, *Warszawska rzeźba pomnikowa*, Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warszawa 2003.

74 T. Sobieraj, *Pomniki Warszawy*, Sport i Turystyka, Warszawa 1985.

75 W. Głębocki, *Warszawskie pomniki*, Wydawnictwo PTTK "Kraj", Warszawa 1990.

which the observer encounters first. The history of both cities and the political circumstances that influenced the creation of monuments are not central here. This section is divided into four chapters, in which I address in detail the following problems: location of monuments in public space, analysis of the shape of the monument in the perspective of studies on things, gender dimension of monuments, where I show how monuments reflect and contribute to the construction of male and female social roles and I am taking up the problem regarding the significance of monuments in relation to nature.

The next part of the book is devoted to politics. I am introducing issues that link the analyzed monuments to the political context. I deal with what is the content of the commemoration and what is perceivable when the observer of the monument performs an additional work resulting from the desire to get acquainted with the message carried by the monument. I am also interested in the circumstances and reasons that determine the erection and removal of monuments. This part is divided into two chapters. In the first part, I analyze in detail the issue of historical policy in relation to monuments, and in the next one – the problem of identity in the local and national dimension.

The third and final chapter of the book is devoted to the issue of emotions often arising from political motives. Familiarity both with the historical context and with the history of the monuments themselves allows us to understand both the positive and negative emotional reactions to the monuments. This chapter is divided into three subchapters, the first of which refers to positive emotions – the celebration of special events and holidays and the ways in which monuments help to experience positive emotions. The second subchapter deals with aspects related to the unloading of negative and suppressed emotions that are revealed in the practice of destroying monuments. The third subchapter refers to various types of activities accompanying the daily life of monuments, such as acts of vandalism, social campaigns that take place with the help of monuments, or manifestations of attitudes towards events important for a given community by means of monuments.

This book is an updated and slightly changed version of the Polish-language edition from 2015.[76]

I would like to warmly thank all those who have supported me in the work on this book and its translation. Without their help, I would not have been able to write this book. In the first place, I would like to thank the supervisor

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76 M. Praczyk, *Materia pomnika. Studium porównawcze na przykładzie monumentów w Poznaniu i Strasburgu w XIX i XX wieku*, Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 2015, p. 195.

The Shape of Monuments

Space and Place

The space and place where monuments are located determine the basic framework in which they function. Spatial perception of the world, as Edward Soja notes, is, alongside temporal and social approaches, one of the key elements defining the horizon of human activity.[77] Such a perspective enables us to go beyond the historical and social paradigm of describing the world and supplements it with a now legitimized category of space. The space in which we move about is a significant element that creates the context of how we function and often determines our specific actions. To understand how monuments function in the history of societies requires an analysis of the space and place where they are located.

The mere placement of a monument in a public space entails certain consequences. The monument may alter the meaning and destiny of the surrounding space, but this space may also change the meaning of a monument itself. Space is therefore crucial for the way in which we read a monument. Often, it also determines the reactions that a particular monument prompts in us before we know what the monument is exactly about. The place where the monument is located, next to its very form, defines and determines the first contact between the pedestrian and the monument.

The notions of space and the equally important notion of place are being developed by researchers in various fields of science and both are very differently understood. For our investigation, however, it will suffice to look at these issues only through the prism of their significance for the examination of monuments. Thus, space can be treated as an instrument for maintaining the existing order of social or class divisions. This interpretation of space was outlined by Henri Lefebvre[78] and later by Doreen Massey[79], who approached it through a feminist perspective. Edward Soja, representing the postmodern trend of humanistic geography, who was also a continuator of Henri Lefebvre's thought, drew attention to the fact that space is imaginary and is constituted by the constantly

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77 E. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*, Blackwell Publishing, Malden 2009, pp. 2–3. See also: U. Hannerz, *Exploring the City. Inquiries Toward an Urban Anthropology*, Columbia University Press, New – York Chichester, 1980.

78 Cf. H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Blackwell, Oxford and Cambridge 1998.

79 Cf. D. Massey, *Space, place, and gender*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1994.

changing way it is perceived and experienced.[80] Yi-Fu Tuan draws attention
to the abstract dimension of space: "Space' is more abstract than 'place'. What
begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and
endow it with value".[81]

In practical terms, however, space can also be understood more broadly as an
area that requires movement and which can consist of a number of places that
are already known to us. As Michel de Certeau observes: "Space is a practiced
place. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed
into a space by walkers."[82] For de Certeau, movement is what actualizes space,
especially walking. In his opinion, traffic "spatializes" the city[83], although at the
same time it is also elusive, leaving only traces of such activity. For de Certeau,
walking is a form of expression and is for urban space what speech is for language.
A statement limits the spatial arrangement of places that organize city walks,
create a system of references and stabilize space. De Certeau points out that our
everyday life is organized around spatial practices. Space does not exist without
activity. Residents of cities create their pathways, thus bring into existence the
urban streets and urban architecture.[84]

In the light of the above-mentioned theories, monuments can constitute ref-
erence points for city dwellers, ones which determine the trajectories of their

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80 E. Soja, *Thirdspace*…, pp. 5–12.

81 Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, London: Edward Arnold,
1977, p. 6.

82 M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life. Trans. Steven Rendall.* Los
Angeles: California UP, 1980, p. 117.

83 Ibid. p. 98.

84 This style of "practicing" the city brings to mind Benjamin's *flâneur*, aimless wan-
dering around the city, discovering its laberinthine structure, but also "reading" the
city, treating it as if it were a text and critically approaching its structure. A. Zeidler-
Janiszewska, *Dryfujący* flâneur*, czyli o sytuacjonistycznej transformacji doświadczenia
miejskiej przestrzeni*, [in:] *Przestrzeń, filozofia i architektura. Osiem rozmów o
poznawaniu, produkowaniu i konsumowaniu przestrzeni*, red. E. Rewers, Poznań 1999,
pp. 115–134. See also: H. Paetzold, *Miasto jako labirynt. Walter Benjamin i nie tylko*
[in:] *Przestrzeń, filozofia i architektura. Osiem rozmów o poznawaniu, produkowaniu i
konsumowaniu przestrzeni*, ed. E. Rewers, Wydawnictwo Fundacji Humaniora, Poznań
1999. The residents wandering around the city, which was characteristic of the nine-
teenth century, undoubtedly allowed the city to be investigated in more depth. It is
worth noting also, that Benjamin's use of the term *flâneur* was borrowed from Charles
Baudelaire.

movement. They can also demarcate divisions of urban space, defining its affiliation to particular social groups. This happens in the case of not only representative places, such as squares, but also neighborhoods, which, when containing monuments, can be associated with the values represented by these monuments and can contribute to the division of space, resulting in the appropriation of certain places by particular groups interests. By means of what they commemorate, they can also mark places with content that contributes to the creation of a symbolic image of a given space. They co-create the imaginary space, which depends on the way people interpret the ideas contained in the monument.

A place can be treated as a special case of space. The manner in which it is received and understood is constantly constituted by people associated with it.[85] Place plays an important role in shaping the local identity of those enter it. This identity, however, is fluid, transmitted in the process of political and social discourse concerning a given place and perpetuated by the meanings that are assigned to the objects that are in it.[86] Monuments play a special role here, as they clearly mark the given place. Oftentimes, the meaning (e.g., the subject of commemoration) underlying the monument may deviate from the meaning given to it by people visiting the place of the monument. It is often the case that they endow these places with new meaning. The example of the Poznań Army Monument shows how the place that was created to commemorate the memory of the Poznań army fighting the Nazis in 1939 began to be treated as a meeting place for skateboarders who use the monument to improve their skills.[87] The practice of everyday life, which, according to Michel de Certeau, is necessary for the actualization of a given place, thus creates a new space of meaning for the monument.

The relationship of space with the production of identity was noticed by the above-mentioned Yi-Fu Tuan, who regarded the human senses as crucial in the experience of space.[88] It is through the senses that one creates a personal and emotional relationship with a given place, thus allowing one to identify

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85 *Key Thinkers in Place and Space*, ed. P. Hubbard, R. Kitchin, Sage Publications, London 2004, p. 5.

86 For more information on this subject, see: W. J.V. Neill, *Urban Planning and Cultural Identity*, Routledge – London – New York 2004, pp. 1–16.

87 On the websitewww.andegrand.pl. The Poznań Army Monument is listed as one of the most important skateboarding "spots". It is described in the following way: "huge stepps, gaps and some small walls". *Spot Check – Armii Poznań*, https://www.andegrand.pl/nws/1200390811-spot-check-armiipoznan.html (accessed: 09.12.2019).

88 Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place*…

with it. The way the place is experienced is also associated, as Dolores Hayden notes, with the memory of the body that reacts to the place.[89] A place is tamed through physical, bodily communion with it. This kind of experience is often prefigured by knowledge about history shaped by socio-political discourse.[90] Juhani Pallasmaa refers in this context to memory, noting that "body memory plays a crucial role in remembering space or place. It transfers (…) all the places we have learned into the corporeal memory of our body".[91] However, being in a given place, as William J.V. Neill emphasizes, binds a person to it and guarantees a sense of rootedness.[92] Such rootedness, conditioned by psychological needs, is associated with the social process of constructing a sense of belonging to a given group through a place.[93]

It is extremely important to appreciate all the senses, not just the eyes – which tend to have primacy – in the context of understanding their significance and the degree of their influence on our reception of space, and therefore also of the monuments immersed in it.[94] As Juhani Pallasmaa notes:

> every moving experience of architecture is multi-sensory; the quality of space, of the material, of the scale are measured equally by the eye, the nose, the skin, the tongue, the skeleton and muscles. Architecture reinforces the existential experience, the individual sense of being in the world, which significantly constitutes an enhanced experience of subjectivity.[95]

The monument immersed in space is experienced by on equal footing with other architectural objects that co-create the experience of our everyday life and participate in the constitution of our subjectivity.

If a given monument is associated with a selected location, removing it from its spatial context may lead to a sense of harm and discomfort among people who have grown attached to an important component of their environment. Devotion to a place or an empty pedestal that remains after a monument may indicate not only fondness people had of the idea conveyed by the monument,

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89 D. Hayden, *The Power of Place. Urban Landscapes as Public History*, MIT Press, Cambridge 1997, p. 48.

90 Cf. M. Praczyk, *Poznańskie pomniki początku XXI wieku jako forma wytwarzania tożsamości lokalnej*, „Sensus Historiae", vol. VI (2012/1), pp. 134–136.

91 J. Pallasmaa, *The Eyes of the Skin. Architecture and the Senses*. New York: John Wiley, 2012, p. 76.

92 W. Neill, *Urban Planning*…, p. 14.

93 D. Hayden, *The Power*…, pp. 15–16.

94 For more information about occulocentrism, see: J. Pallasma. pp. 21–41.

95 Ibid. p. 45.

but also to the very place where it was located. An example of such devotion is the empty pedestal from the nineteenth-century monument of Adam Mickiewicz in Poznań. Even though the monument is today located in a different place, the continuity of the idea it embodied has been preserved, and the pedestal from the first monument is still cared for and commemorated. In this situation, the monument, which serves to commemorate, is itself an object of commemoration. Its meaning is thus doubled.

Another important reason to consider the topic of place is its relationship with memory. Taking care of a given fragment of space, organizing ceremonies, laying flowers, restoring monuments, ensures continuous interest in particular monuments. These activities help to restore the social and political significance of monuments, which includes them in the dominant discourse. The decision about which monuments are to receive this type of treatment is often crucial for the preservation of the political value of the chosen object and its social significance. Neglecting certain monuments is, therefore, not a meaningless, passive act, but a form of action contributing to the marginalization of the significance of such objects.[96]

Place plays a vital role in the way we remember reality. This happens not only on the individual level, but also on the collective level. What is significant here are undoubtedly the already classic concept of social frames of memory developed by Maurice Halbwachs, who saw in social practices the main reason for remembering events on the level of collective memory.[97] It is place that constitutes a concrete point of reference for these practices. In this context, one cannot fail to mention the famous project of places of memory developed by Pierre Nora, who points to the national dimension of memory. Though Nora understands the concept of place broadly, it also functions as a metaphor for a given subject, person or event, everything that constitutes an element of constructing collective memory. However, as Hillary Jenks notes,

> (…) although Nora did not necessarily conceive of these 'sites' as solely spatial, his work on lieux de mémoire that are critical to the ongoing reproduction of French identity during periods of great political aspect of collective memory – the creation of narratives about the past to define belonging and motivate action in the present – with its spatial

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96 Cf. D. Hayden, *The Power*…, pp. 11–13.

97 Cf. M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. L. A. Coser, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1992.

aspect, that is, the physical space required to *do* (enact, perform, represent) the remembered narratives.[98]

The memory of the physical place, and thus also of what is located in such a place, seems to be an unavoidable part of forming not only individual experiences and relations with space, but also collective experiences that define the universal way of reading it. The importance of space for memory becomes all the more important when we consider remembering as inextricably linked with the physical activities of individuals and, as Paul Connerton claims, we notice that at the level of the community "images of the past and the recalled knowledge of the past are transmitted and sustained by (a more or less ritual) performance".[99] The human body inextricably coexists in the space with the material body of the monument, creating an important relationship not only on the level of experiencing space at the moment of being in it, but also with regard to the way of it is remembered. Ignoring the corporeal and relational sphere of the monument's existence in public space is ignored strips it of an essential capacity to influence the people who identify with it.

In our considerations concerning the relation between memory and place, the monument is a very important reference point not only because of its direct relationship with space, but also because of its specific connection with the past, which is in a sense part of its very idea. We are dealing here with the work of memory on two levels: the memory of the place and the memory of the past. This fact was already pointed out by James Young, who noted that the monument is for those who remember an important element of the spatial layout and "creates meanings in both the land and our recollections".[100] Young emphasizes that the monument remains in an inevitable relation with the surrounding objects and the landscape in which it is located and perceived in its geographical perspective.

A monument is a carrier of memory.[101] With its help, a given image of the past is created, an image which is then perpetuated in the consciousness of the observers. In this case, the role that monuments play in the process of remembering is not unambiguous. They focus on the tension between memory and oblivion. Adrian Forty notes that since artifacts play an important role in the

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98   H. Jenks, *Urban space, ethnic community, and national belonging: the political landscape of memory in Little Tokyo*, "GeoJournal", 2008, no 73, p. 234.

99   P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1989, p. 40.

100 J. E. Young, *The Texture*…, p. 7.

101 M. Kula, *Nośniki pamięci historycznej*, Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa 2002, pp. 7–31.

process of forgetting, which is considered necessary for the healthy functioning of the individual, the same phenomenon also occurs on the level of the community.[102] In this process, memorials would be "amnesiacs", being active actors no longer of memory but of forgetting.[103] On the one hand, the monuments allow us to remember whatever is being commemorated, on the other hand, "they bear memory" – they "remember" for us and thus the responsibility of remembering is transferred onto them. They are, therefore, not only a means of remembering, but also a means of forgetting. As a result, they start to play an active role in the life of a given community, which, by creating a monument, is no longer obliged to cultivate the memory of what is commemorated. They already possess a monument they cherish, which is a sign of this memory and to which they can always refer. Remembrance is, therefore, often carried out through the monument – a storage medium. It is worth noting that such a transfer of the obligation to remember also brings with it a threat. When the monument disappears, so will the memory of the event or person it commemorated. Awareness of this process is evidenced by the need to destroy monuments that are considered hostile in a given era.

Forgetting, to which monuments contribute, takes place not only on the general level related to the need societies have to forget in order to be able to function peacefully. Monuments also contribute to forget in the narrower sense. As Forty notes: "they allow only certain things to be remembered, and by exclusion, other things to be forgotten".[104] They represent only one of the various remembered narratives about particular events or people and they always represent only a fragment of the commemorated past. An uncomemmorated past, which does not have its own material references (e.g. in monuments), is more difficult to cultivate, particularly on the collective level and, as a consequence, it can be forgotten altogether. All the battles waged to erect a monument are often battles for a chosen version of the past to survive in the collective consciousness.

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How we perceive monuments is determined not only by broadly-understood space, but also by a specific, selected location. Nineteenth-century designs of representative German districts, both in Strasbourg and in Poznań, assumed the existence of large squares, which were to be crowned with a monument. The

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102 A. Forty, *Introduction*, [in:] *The Art of Forgetting*, ed. A. Forty, S. Küchler, Berg, Oxford – New York 1999, pp. 1–2.

103 Ibid. p. 8.

104 Ibid. p. 9.

Imperial Square (now called the Place de la République) was designed so that its centerpiece would be the statue of Emperor Wilhelm I on horseback. Adding a monument to an already large reprehensive square extended the function of both the square as well as the monument. With the appearance of the statue, celebrations attracting many people were held in this place, which facilitated the control of social attitudes that accompanied these public occasions. The values a given statue represented were additionally strengthened by the name of the square itself. The monument imbued the square with ideological content and established associations with the emperor himself, which allowed the meaning assigned to the monument to be partially transferred to the place itself. The Strasbourg monument of the emperor also exemplifies how the location of a monument testifies to the importance of the person or event to which it is dedicated. That the square was chosen as a location for a monument proves that such a monument merits special attention. The most important person for the Empire could only be commemorated in the most representative part of the city. A similar approach was used in Poznań, where the monument of Emperor Frederick III was erected, and later during the construction of the "imperial quarter", with regards to the monument of Chancellor von Bismarck.

Where a monument is to stand in the city space also reflects the rank of the person or event to which the monument is dedicated. It seems that the monument dedicated to Karol Świerczewski could not have been erected in the central part of Poznań, as the general was not a key figure in the political hierarchy of the Polish People's Republic. Such a place could be reserved only for the most important dignitaries of the socialist pantheon, such as Joseph Stalin or Feliks Dzierżyński. If, however, for whatever reason, their monuments were not erected in these representative places, no other monuments were erected there either for fear of suggesting the dominant role of whoever would be commemorated.

The mechanism of endowing a place with the idea represented by the monument is revealed in many ways. These ideas may be used to influence people visiting a given place, but the ways they are understood depends to a large extent on who is interpreting the ideas embedded in the monument. Thus, the location may become, in the spirit of Lefebvre's work, a field of conflict between individual social groups competing for a given space in the symbolic sphere. The values and ideas with which such a space is associated can also be included in the semantic framework of the monument's design. Competing for control over a place allows for the mutual identification of various social groups demonstrating their strength by attempting to dominate or appropriate it. A monument as a "significant" place can be an object through which such appropriation is

made.[105] The Poznań June 1956 Monument located in Adam Mickiewicz Square in Poznań exemplifies how the values included in the formal framework of the monument are used as a tool to appropriate the square and how these values give rise to conflict over the symbolic space of the monument.

This location of the monument was a *sine qua non* condition for the Construction Committee of the Monument. Its adopted form made the square not only a place of remembrance, but also a "sacred" place. Janusz Ziółkowski wrote about the Poznań June 1956 Monument that:

> it grew to the rank of the sacred. The space on which he is located has also been sacrificed. Space is not only a physical object or a geometric system for humans. Space is a component of the value system, for which it has specific content and meaning.[106]

Thus, Adam Mickiewicz Square regained its spiritual dimension.[107] This was primarily a Catholic spirituality, which had serious consequences: if Adam Mickiewicz Square is to be considered a sacred place, it should be respected in a manner befitting of such places. If a person or a community which does not hold the values represented by the monument wants to make use of this space, they will be profaning it. The controversy incited by the Equality March in November 2006, which had chosen the Adam Mickiewicz Square as its starting point, showed that the mechanisms of spatial appropriation play a significant role. The participants of the march, whose declared views are in partial contradiction with officially accepted worldview of the Catholic Church, are often wrongly labeled as opponents of Catholic values and, therefore, had to fight for their right to assemble and speak in this place. This example illustrates the role that a monument located in a public space plays in the socio-political discourse. And yet, as Chantal Mouffe argues in her conception of agonistic democracy, the point is not to share the same values, but to accept the existence of opposing views.[108]

The importance of the location of monuments is also revealed in how accessible a particular place is. Restricted or barred access to a monument may be

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105 I use the term "significant" in a way that was used by the structuralists and semioticians. This term was coined by Ferdynand de Saussure, who introduced the concepts "signified" and "signifier" as the two basic components of a sign.

106 J. Ziółkowski, *Poznański Czerwiec i jego pomnik,* "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 2001, no 2, p. 192.

107 The "spiritual dimension" of the square was determined already in the interwar period by Monument to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

108 For more information on this subject, see: E. Laclau, Ch. Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards Radical Democratic Politics*, Verso, London – New York 1985.

intentional, motivated by the desire to appropriate this place for only one idea. Doing so determines who is or is not allowed access to a particular place. In this way, such regulations become tools that exclude some and favors others. Placing the monument in an inaccessible place may also mean that there is fear of possible contention to the represented ideas. The weakness of such a solution is revealed in the fact that places function in the social sphere precisely because they are physically accessible to people. This is how they are remembered; they function realistically in the consciousness of people and are subject to the process of acquiring meaning, necessary for shaping human subjectivity. As I emphasized above, places create memories, constituting a material reference for our memory.

It is also possible that a monument goes unnoticed because of its location. For example, in Poznań there is a statue of Cyril Ratajski, the respected president of the city of Poznań in the inter-war period. The statue is located near a heavily trafficked area, but outside the city center in a place that is less frequently visited, which means that few people have an opportunity to see it. Because the monument of Cyril Ratajski is located in such a place, it is excluded from the everyday movement of the city residents and prevents people from gathering around it during celebrations connected with the person the monument commemorates. As a result, the monument is absent during ceremonies that could contribute to the consolidation of its image in the consciousness of Poznań's residents. This monument does not serve as a meeting place, as the nearby Stary Browar shopping center more successfully draws the attention of pedestrians. Though the popularity of Stary Browar could be conducive to the popularity of the nearby monument, its form does not encourage interaction. The monument itself is not attractive enough to compel anyone to visit it and so, as it currently stands, it is a dead spot on the city map.

The surroundings of a monument can also be intentionally constructed in order to achieve a desired effect, as is the case of using high stairs to elevate a given object above the level of streets or squares. This is something we encounter with regard to the obelisk – Monument to the Heroes of the Poznań Citadel. The stairs leading to it are supposed to intensify the impression of the size and sublimity of the monument and to further the distance between the object and the visitors. To get to the monument, one has to overcome an additional obstacle, in this case the stairs leading the obelisk. The relationship between the observer and the monument is uneven here not only because of the shape of the object, but also because of the stairs, which give the impression of a pilgrimage taking place under the monument. Stairs also require additional activity from those who want to see it closely. People must make an effort to get closer to the raised

obelisk. Space designed in such a way suggests that we are dealing with an exceptional place that requires special respect. Access to the monument is possible, albeit difficult, due to the construction of the space surrounding the monument.

The form of the obelisk in Strasbourg, i.e., the monument of General Leclerc, communicates a similar idea as that that of the Monument to the Heroes of the Poznań Citadel[109]. However, in this case, instead of reinforcing its rigid form, the environment in which the monument is located mitigates it. This is because high-density tenement housing surrounds Broglie Square and the obelisk does not rise above the surrounding environment. This spatial context somewhat tempers the sharp purport of the monument itself. The tall buildings surrounding the square partially neutralize its dominant form and counterbalance it. In addition, a trade fair is often held in this square, which means that the residents of the city are in close contact with the monument, further cutting the distance between them and the monument itself. The examples of both obelisks illustrate the influence of a monument's spatial context on how it is perceived. Despite having a similar form, these monuments can be perceived differently depending on their surrounding space. The place, the monument and the people create a space of interaction and coexistence, which together makes up the perceived reality. A monument removed from such a context and interpreted outside its relation to it has little to do with its multidimensional real existence.

Monument as a Thing

The monument is a thing. It is of interest to me primarily as an active object, a thing that participates in the lives of people, is produced by them, is used and observed in various ways. Such an approach attempts to include in the field of cultural research on monuments other elements constituting this culture by referring to the monument's material composition, not just to the meanings of which it is a carrier.[110] This perspective makes it possible to look at the materiality of monuments and their form, and not only the political context, which imposes a reading of monuments primarily in relation to the their symbolic content and

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109 General Philippe Marie Leclerc (1902–1947) commanded the division that liberated Strasbourg in 1944. During WWII, he commanded divisions fighting the Axis power armies in Africa with many victories. He also represented France at the surrender of the Japanese Empire, and after the war he took command of French forces in the Pacific. He died in an airplane accident in Algeria and was posthumously awarded the title Marshal of France.

110 K. Abriszewski, *Rzeczy w kontekście…*, p. 104.

strongly determines the way they are perceived only through the prism of their political message.

The world in which we live is filled with objects that participate in our daily lives. Therefore, the relationship between things and people is an unavoidable element of how humans function. These relations also often determine the possibilities of our activities (something is heavy or light), our feelings (something is beautiful or ugly) or the way we think (something is in line with our worldview or not).[111] The field of Humanities involved in researching things assumes that they are an essential component of our culture.

The return to things is not only about including objects in the area of humanistic reflection, as this has been rooted in the humanities for centuries. The difference in the approach presented here consists in a more symmetrical treatment of the non-human and people.[112] Such an attitude is, therefore, critical of the anthropocentric order based on the understanding of objects only in in terms of the human perspective – that is, making use of them insofar as they are related to direct human initiative. Such an approach omits many elements that constitute the object itself by disregarding them as irrelevant from the human point of view. A position which assumes a more symmetrical treatment of things taking part in a given culture requires looking at them in the fullest possible way imaginable by a by a human being. Such a position, therefore, requires focusing attention on aspects that may seemingly seem irrelevant. The thing is in itself a sufficiently important subject of research to merit equal attention as that which is given all other subjects of analysis.

This approach is based on Bruno Latour's work on the valuation of objects, flora and fauna and placing them in the role of equal actors functioning in the network of connections. Within this framework, people come into contact with what is non-human by creating jointly complex relationships (Actor-Network Theory known in short as ANT) defining the scope of human activity and enabling a fuller description of the world in which we exist.[113] Such an analytic

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111 For more information about the relationship between things and humans, see: M. Krajewski, *Ludzie i przedmioty – relacje i motywy przewodnie*, [in:] *Rzeczy i ludzie. Humanistyka wobec materialności*, ed. J. Kowalewski, W. Piasek, M. Śliwa, Instytut Filozofii UWM w Olsztynie, Olsztyn 2008, pp. 131–151.

112 E. Domańska, B. Olsen, *Wszyscy jesteśmy konstruktywistami*, [in:] *Rzeczy i ludzie. Humanistyka wobec materialności*, ed. J. Kowalewski, W. Piasek, M. Śliwa, Instytut Filozofii UWM w Olsztynie, Olsztyn 2008, pp. 85–86.

113 Ibid. pp. 90–91; K. Abriszewski, *Rzeczy w kontekście Teorii Aktora-Sieci*, [in:] *Rzeczy i ludzie. Humanistyka wobec materialności*, ed. J. Kowalewski, W. Piasek, M. Śliwa, Instytut Filozofii UWM w Olsztynie, Olsztyn 2008, pp. 103–105. See also: B. Latour,

model proposes the abolition of the culture-nature opposition by focusing on the relationships of humans and non-humans, thus creating an indivisible reality in which we live.[114] The shape of this reality is determined by both humans and non-humans, who also participate in its creation and cause events. That is why things are called actors here, objects possessing a real capacity to influence.[115]

The field in humanities that deals with researching things, as Ewa Domańska observes, raises some doubts, because it is alter all a human being who undertakes the task to describe objects.[116] Looking at things from the perspective of things is, of course, impossible, but looking at things in their perspective, i.e. focusing on their materiality, on what creates them and allows them to be as they are, allows us to better understand the reality in which we live, and the material culture that we surround ourselves with. Undoubtedly, they exert a strong influence on our lives.

The monument is a thing in public space. Public space renders public everything contained within it. Thus, the public dimension of space generates concrete consequences, allowing both people and things in it to become part of a public discourse subject to criticism, attack, debate or celebration. Public space makes it possible for others to be confronted, imposes game rules that are different from those that are characteristic of private space. Public space then acquires a political dimension and becomes a broadly understood political forum for the exchange of views. Chantal Mouffe, treating politics not only as a zone of political power or administration, but as the sphere of all public statements, including the grassroots initiative of particular social groups or individual subjects, explains the essence of the public in the following way:

> Public space is the battleground where different hegemonic projects are confronted, withot any possibility of final reconciliation. (…) I need to specify straightaway that we are never dealing with one single space. According to my agonistic approach, public spaces are always plural; the agonistic confrontation takes place on a multiplicity of discursive surfces.[117]

Reassambling the Social. An introduction to Actor-Network Theory, Oxford, OUP, 2005; B. Latour, *Politique de la nature. Commen faire entrer les sciences en démocratie*, Paris, La Découverte, 2004.

114 Cf. E. Domańska, B. Olsen, *Wszyscy jesteśmy…*, pp. 87–91.

115 Cf. E. Domańska, *Historie niekonwencjonalne…*, pp. 110–111.

116 Cf. ibid. pp. 123–126.

117 Ch. Mouffe, *Some Reflections on an Agonistic Approach to the Public*, [in:] *Making Things Public. Atmospheres of Democracy*, ed. B. Latour, P. Weibel, MIT Press, ZKM Karlsruhe, Massachusetts – Karlsruhe 2005, p. 806.

To be in public space means, therefore, playing the game with all those who participate in it: both people and objects. The essence of the monument is it public, because only in this way can it fulfill its functions and constitute itself an object of socio-political references. Therefore, a monument is subject to all the rules of the game, characteristic for the public space, which takes place on many levels. For example, the monument can be the spokesperson for the official discourse and subject of confrontation, thus becoming an active participant in public space affecting all other of its actors. It allows the space to be appropriated by one group of interests, thereby making it legitimate by another group.

The significance of activities in public space is also subject to change depending on who is interpreting them and when. The public context of a given activity or a given subject depends not only on those who produce such a public situation, or on those who contest it, but also on the era which prompts changes in this context in terms of the ideas as well as the material surroundings of the monuments. As Mitchell notes:

> The very conditions that allow art to come into being – the sites of its display, circulation and social functionality, its address to spectators, its position in systems of exchange and power – are themselves subject to profound historical shifts.[118]

Together with these changes, the perception of the monument itself changes. The myth of a monument erected "for eternity" stems not only from the possibility of it being overthrow, but also from the fact that a monument erected today is no longer exactly the same tomorrow, because its meaning and reception change.

The broadly understood dimension of the public space of monuments understood as objects that, together with people, actively and inseparably create public space is also reflected in the work of Bruno Latour. Analyzing the role of things in the political life of the community, he noticed that it is things that help people to gather. The monument is an object that undoubtedly fulfills this function. Defining the concept of *Dingpolitik*, Latour noted that "Politics is no longer limited to humans and incorporates the many issues to which they are attached".[119] It is things that create networks of connections with people who co-define public space. The fact that the gathering of people takes place just in the vicinity of a monument that has a given form and communicates the

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118 W.J.T. Mitchell, *Introduction: Utopia and Critique*, [in:] *Art and the Public Sphere*, ed. Mitchell W. J. T., The University of Chicago Press, Chicago – London 1990, p. 3.

119 B. Latour, *From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik or How to Make Things Public*, [in:] *Making Things Public. Atmospheres of Democracy*, red. B. Latour, P. Weibel, MIT Press, ZKM Karlsruhe, Massachusetts – Karlsruhe 2005, p. 41.

given content, and which people look at, is therefore important for the merits of the assembly itself. In this sense, the monument becomes an active participant in the public, and therefore political, space and in this sense has the causative power.[120] As Latour noted, *Res Publica* is only half-made by people and "the other half lies in the issues themselves, in the matters that matter, in the *res* that creates a *public* around it".[121]

Another consequence of making the monument public is the incorporation of spectators as an element of its conceptual foundation. The mere fact of its location in the public space means that the monument is addressed to the public. Even if a pedestrian does not pay special attention to the monument, a physical relationship is inevitably formed between them. If a human-like statue is massive, it functions in a spatial relation to the viewer, suggesting the dominant role of the monument. Its domination is revealed thanks to the whoever is observing it. Therefore, in this case, the human is a condition for the monument to exist as a gigantic object.

It is also worth noting that the monument can revive the space around itself, even if by means of the very fact that its existence is separate from the public space. Even monuments, whose form does not invite interaction, can constitute a convenient place where one can sit down or where a meeting can be arranged.[122] In this sense, all monuments, regardless of their type, can enliven the city space and be "things for people". This does not have to have anything to do with the monument's role as a commemoration or its political activities.

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A monument is something that has a definite, material shape. Only a detailed examination of the monument's materiality will yield a relatively comprehensive understanding of how it affects people and how its real agency manifests itself.

The materiality of the monument is the first thing that a pedestrian confronts. Although the general shape and place of the monument often remain unchanged, the political context accompanying its creation over time ceases to be readable or relevant to the average recipient or tourist visiting a foreign city. Familiarization with the message contained in monument (reading the inscription, becoming curious about what the monument commemorates, etc.) may or may not take place and usually does not happen at all. Thus, the message is mainly conveyed

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120 Cf. E. Domańska, *Historie niekonwencjonalne*…, pp. 108–109.

121 B. Latour, *From Realipolitik*…, p. 16.

122 Cf. J. Gehl, *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space*, trans. Jo Koch. Island Press, London 2011, pp. 129–197.

through material shape of the monument. Peter Zumthor accurately addresses this, noting that "the concrete experience of architecture means touching, seeing, hearing, sniffing its body".[123] It is the material from which the monument is created, its structure and form, which we experience through multiple senses, determines how we perceive such an object, not the content commemorated.

The shape of the monument is what the observer faces and its materiality requires from the pedestrian a certain action (e.g., bypassing the object), triggers a reaction (e.g., it draws attention when it is in the central place of a square), makes one look up (when it is placed on a high pedestal). The monument can be huge or small; it may allow entry into it or not. Even ignoring the monuments is also a reaction to its existence. The monument, by its very physical existence, forces us to take a stance toward it, creating a relationship between the observed object and its observer. The very thing, located beyond the symbolic level, contains a great potential of influence.

The significance of the materiality of monuments is revealed literally in direct contact with them. Of particular importance here is the material from which the surface of the monument is made.[124] Bronze, stone or concrete are cold materials that do not encourage touching. A more touch-friendly material is wood, but this material is not used for monuments. There is a belief that wooden monuments are impermanent, although contrary to appearances, other materials also do not guarantee eternal life for monuments. Nevertheless, wood is a more human-friendly matter. A wooden monument is one that we would be likely to lean against, one that would be more pleasant to sit next to. The cold surface of metal or stone discourages touching it. It is hardly surprising, however, that monuments are not erected from materials that would bring them closer to people. Touching (often fenced in) monuments does not comply with their traditional definition of objects built in such a way that they exist somewhere above the order of everyday life of the city and its inhabitants. The fallacy of this belief is evidenced by the various everyday practices of people who, in their own way, try to "use" monuments.

The material from which the monument is made is significant not only the context of the impact it has on the observer. It is also important for the very life of the monument. The obvious, but compelling example of this is the monument erected in Poznań in 1929 of Tadeusz Kosciuszko. It was created in a hurry

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123 P. Zumthor, *Thinking Architecture.* Birkhäuser, Basel 2006, p. 66.
124 Cf. S. E. Rasmussen, *Experiencing Architecture*, MIT Press, Cambridge 1962, pp. 159–185.

using a plaster cast covered only with a brown patina for it to be ready in time for the opening of the General National Exhibition, which took place in the city later that year. Despite the efforts of the sculptor, Zofia Trzcińska-Kamińska, to replace this cast with a bronze statue, the city authorities failed to take action. As a result, in the spring of 1930, a damp plaster fragment fell to the ground. The effects of weather revealed themselves with full force when confronted with a material that succumbed so readily to them. On the other hand, in the case of materials such as stone, bronze or concrete, monuments require maintenance that conserves their original shape. Arjun Appadurai, speaking about works of art, architecture and monuments, accurately noted that "despite their aspiration to the illusion of permanence, they are only temporary collection of materials such as paint, brick, glass, acrylic, fabric, steel or canvas"[125] and that is why they require constant care.[126] Conservation practices related to security, cleaning, renovation, etc. are therefore excellent proof that things by themselves, in this case monuments, are not immutable objects and do not exist "for all time". They are objects brought to life and created from matter and are subject to change in time or, as beautifully and aptly described by Appadurai, "corrosion of history". Similarly, Tim Ingold pointed out that, despite the efforts to conserve these objects, in the long-term "materials always and inevitably win with materiality".[127] The material from which the monument is made is subject to unintentional gradual, temporal decomposition, because it is part of the ecosphere.[128]

The involvement and role of all the senses in the experience of architecture encourages us to reflect not only on how sight and touch determine our perception of monuments. What are we to do with smell or hearing? Can a monument smell bad? Can we hear it? I have not encountered a monument that could be experienced with smell; there are no such monuments in Strasbourg or Poznań. Yet the sense of smell is also part of the senses, which are involved in how we perceive a monument. The smell of stone or concrete is not strong enough that we would be able to smell it on a daily basis, but trees that are an element of the monument's design or in which a monument is embedded may be of importance. If the monument is blended between strongly fragrant shrubs, the place itself, and thus the monument, will attract our attention. If, in turn, a monument

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125 A. Appadurai, *The Thing Itself* , "*Public Culture*", 2006, no 18 (1), p. 15.

126 Ibid. 15.

127 T. Ingold, *Materials Against Materiality*, "Archaeological Dialogues" 2007, no 14(1), p. 10.

128 Ibid.

is placed near shrubs or other objects give off an unpleasant odor, it would rather act as a deterrent.

The sense of hearing is directly involved in experiencing the monument, although it is also easy to imagine that a very noisy place does not encourage one to stop at the monument. One of the elements of the Poznań Army Monument are discreet, invisible at first glance, speakers playing sounds imitating the call of eagles. These sounds are an attempt to broaden the monument's field of influence, making it fuller. The interactive spatiality of the monument, its visual dimension, along with the sounds, encloses the pedestrians in its space, enriching and complementing how it is perceived.

If one is to analyze just the shape that material assumes, one is compelled to employ interpretation tools that are not commonly used when describing monuments. In this context, the concept of Open Form and Closed Form proposed by Oskar Hansen, which has its pedigree in the "formal" history of art of Heinrich Wölfflin, seems to be interesting. The closed form of Hansen's character is characterized by a lack of dialogue, oppressiveness, chaos, confrontational attitude, and domination. On the other hand, Open Form implements the idea of partnership, it is anti-dogmatic, it is based on decentralization, lack of aggression expressed through visual representations. Hansen also places the Closed Form in the epoch of patriarchy, in which he also locates the modern times. Patriarchy, understood broadly, as the era of man's domination of nature and, consequently, of its resulting crisis.[129] He does not describe patriarchy in the perspective of feminist theories.[130] Patriarchy understood in this way is opposed to matriarchy, defined as the time when man lived in harmony with nature, when he did not subordinate it to himself, but treated himself as its integral part.[131] Matriarchy is based on an egalitarian democratic order, the will to make conscious and authentic choices, individualism, the desire to know, not to possess.[132] Patriarchy

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129 O. Hansen, *Zobaczyć świat. Forma Zamknięta czy Forma Otwarta? Struktury wizualne. O wizualnej semantyce*, Zachęta Narodowa Galeria Sztuki, Muzeum ASP w Warszawie, Warszawa 2005, p. 29.

130 The concept of patriarchy appears in this work not only in Hansen's definition but also in its general meaning, referring to feminist discourse. In order to preserve the clarity of this text, any use of this term in the context of Hansen's understanding will always be prefaced with the author's surname.

131 Cf. C. Klimaszewski, T. Kozak, T. Malec, *Forma Otwarta jako passe-partout patriarchatu? Pawilon Stabilnej Formy*, https://archiwum-obieg.u-jazdowski.pl/teksty/1988 (accessed: 10.12.2019).

132 O. Hansen, *Zobaczyć świat…*, p. 30.

is an expression of a consumer lifestyle oriented towards dominance through possession and a hierarchical social system, which is reflected in the products of material culture surrounding people.

On the microscale, almost every monument can be understood as an expression of Hansen's Close Form. In the classical sense, a monument is an object meant to be permanent, clearly visible wherever it is located; it is meant to be monumental. The shape which monuments usually assume is also located in the ideological patriarchal order described by Hansen. Monuments are one of the material manifestations of the system that produces them. The obelisks mentioned above can serve as an example of objects of this nature, which a subject we will now turn to.

On November 18, 1945, the Monument to the Heroes of the Poznań Citadel was unveiled at the Poznań Citadel.[133] It was part of the cemetery's design, for which a competition was announced on July 4, 1945.[134] The competition was decided on August 18 of that year, and one of the two projects that won the first prize *ex aequo* was to be implemented. This was a project by Tadeusz Płończak and Jan Cieśliński. Its modified version was implemented in the form of an obelisk. The 23-meter high obelisk was placed on an iron-concrete shaft[135] covered with gray Silesian granite slabs.[136] The base of the obelisk consists of military bas-reliefs carved in sandstone. On the sides of the bas-reliefs are plates with Joseph Stalin's order, engraved in Polish and Russian, issued to commemorate the liberation of Poznań on February 23, 1945.[137] The obelisk was topped with a red star made of ruby glass that was illuminated at night. The star disappeared from the obelisk in 1990. A newly made bronze star was reinstalled in 1997. The new star this time was placed at the bottom of the obelisk.[138] The monument can

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133 The Monument to the Heroes also appears under the name: Monument to the Brotherhood or Monument to the Brotherhood of Polish-Soviet Brotherhood and Friendship.

134 W. Olszewski, *Cmentarze na stokach poznańskiej Cytadeli*, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Poznań 2008, p. 195–201.

135 W. Deja, K. Otto, *Pomniki pamięci narodowej miasta Poznania*, Poznań 1991, p. 20. [print manuscript is available in the library of the History Institute of UAM].

136 P. Maluśkiewicz, *Cytadela Poznańska. Park-Pomnik Braterstwa Broni i Przyjaźni Polsko-Radzieckiej,* Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, Poznań 1981, p. 10.

137 Initially, the slabs were made of sandstone; however, after their deterioration, they were replaced in 1975 with metal plates. W. Olszewski, *Cmentarze…*, p. 200.

138 For more information about the disappearance of the first ruby star and its discovery in 2010, when it was transferred to the Poznań History Museum, see the article written by P. Bojarski, *Akcja Cytadela*: https://poznan.wyborcza.pl/poznan/1,36001,8793455,Akcja_Cytadela.html (accessed: 10.12.2019).

Fig. 1: Monument to the Heroes of the Poznań Citadel. Poznań. From the collections of the University Library in Poznań

be reached by stairs, on top of which is the star. These stairs are one of the most representative entrances to the Poznań Citadel.

Unveiled on November 23, 1951[139] in Strasbourg, the obelisk, designed by Georges Saupique,[140] commemorates the liberation of Strasbourg by General Leclerc on November 23, 1944.[141] In its lower part there is a bronze sculpture

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139 *Histoire de Strasbourg des origines…*, p. 755.

140 L. Maechel, Th. Rieger, *Strasbourg insolite…*, p. 56.

141 This is the first monument commemorating gen. Leclerc, even though he also liberated Paris. The monument in Paris was erected later. J. Toureille, *Les Lieux de*

placed on a raised pedestal, which depicts General Leclerc, standing and looking ahead, as well as two cast female figures marching forward, symbolizing the victorious allies.[142] In addition, the obelisk has an inscription: on the back there are the engraved names of places marking the trail taken by the general, while the front has the date of his death and the posthumous title of marshal, along with the date it was granted. The obelisk was made of sandstone excavated from the nearby the Vosges and was placed on Broglie Square.

The use of obelisks as monuments was widespread in Europe in the early nineteenth century, and their use dates back to antiquity.[143] Using obelisks, therefore, meant adopting a form known for commemorating and honoring important events. The monument in honor of General Leclerc, erected to celebrate the liberation of Strasbourg, thus falls under the general practice of using the obelisk. They were also often used in authoritarian and totalitarian countries, which is why it is not surprising that they were prevalent in the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries. The Poznań obelisk, therefore, should not be treated as an isolated case. Obelisks were created in many other Polish cities[144] and proliferated in all the countries occupied by the Red Army.[145] One reason why they were used was because of the affordability of the structure, which allowed designers to use an already well-known and popularized model of monumental commemoration. The project was limited only to composing elements complementing the existing schematic form of the monument. Because of the repeatability of the form, it was also possible to build such monuments in a very short time. The

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mémoire dédiés à *Leclerc* à *Alençon. Paris et Strasbourg*, "La Lettre de la Fondation de la Résistance", 2009, no 56.

142 J. Toureille, *Les Lieux…*, p. 4.

143 Obelisks were first erected by the Egiptians ca. 2700 B.C. Later, the Romans and the Bizantine Empire adopted this type of monument. Obelisks fell out of favor during the Middle Ages, when few were erected and the existing ones neglected. The fascination with obelisc returned in modern times, with its apogee in in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *Obelisk. A History*, ed. B. A. Curran, A. Grafton, P. O. Long, B. Weiss, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 2009.

144 For example, The Monument of Gratitude to Soldiers of the Red Army in Szczecin, Obelisk in The Soviet Military Cemetery in Warsaw, or the Monument of Gratitude to the Soldiers of the Red Army in Zielona Góra.

145 I. Grzesiuk-Olszewska, *Polska Rzeźba…*, pp. 46–47.

Fig. 2: Monument to General Leclerc. Strasbourg. Photo. M. Praczyk

universal shape of the obelisk corresponded in this case with the idea of unification of societies and significantly limited any individual initiative of the artists designing it.

At this point, it is worth recalling the definition of the monument proposed by Oskar Hansen:

> most often symmetrical, unambiguous, domineering, massive, often vertical; a tool of influence which serves to dominate man, nature and surroundings; it is the art of violence. Its philosophical foundation is to **possess** [the author's emphasis] – extreme formal juxtapositions – especially in the context of the *size contrast* [author's emphasis]

expressing mystery, suggesting infinite strength; supernatural, exceeding the limits of perception, in incapacitating. Its synonym in language is dictatorship.[146]

The obelisks referred to here correspond to the characteristics of the monumental Closed Form as defined by Hansen. Regardless of the ideas conveyed through them, the form of obelisks contains a set of meanings and visual messages, which are characterized by their large size and a vertical shape. They stand in contrast with the surroundings by virtue of their size and atypical shape, thus projecting the impression of power and unavailability. The extreme juxtaposition between the size of the observers of the monument, the surroundings and the monument itself may give the impression of oppressiveness. Observers stand in front of an object that can be overwhelming with its monumentality, and can even cause discomfort in the viewer who is unable to visually grasp the monument in its entirety. Obelisks are, therefore, a perfect example of objects dominating their surroundings. Located in the central place of Broglie Square, the obelisk constitutes the center of the square, and the obelisk located at the entrance to the Citadel of Poznań towers above its surroundings. This highlights the tremendous significance of both monuments and expresses the desire, described by Hansen, to appropriate and subdue the space in which they are located, although in the case of Broglie Square, the fact that the square is used everyday by the residents of the city somewhat weakens its significance.

The above features are characteristic of dictatorial ideology as described by Hansen. The use of the obelisk makes it possible to demonstrate strength and provides a visual representation of the dominant value system. Obelisks are tools for establishing a relationship with man and the environment on the basis of subordination. Their shape actively communicates to "feel small", "look up". In this sense, they impose the rules of the game on observers and gain agency in the sense that they incite action. This particular obligation becomes a sign of symbolic violence. Although the creation of the above-mentioned monuments was motivated by opposing ideologies, the form which was utilized remained the same. Paradoxically, therefore, the visual message of both the public obelisks located in public spaces is similar. Only a closer look at the idea that completes the monuments and an awareness of the context in which they were created leads to a different reading. At the level of materiality, both historical events commemorated by these monuments are an expression of a dominant ideology that imposes an unambiguous understanding of the past reality. An obelisk monument imposes itself on the environment and its recipients and demands that the

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146 Ibid. p. 43.

past be understood in a certain way. The formal idea is synthetic and unambiguous, so it does not engage in any discussions with the past and leaves no doubt as to how it should be understood. In this sense, it expresses the ideology of possession, because it claims the right to "have a past" in the form it has designated. The synthetically commemorated past does not invite dialogue and does not pose questions; it is not open to reflection.

The visual message contained in these monuments functions above the political context and is part of the mental horizon that is characteristic of both democratic France and communist Poland. Both of these systems have produced material testimonies of their history, reaching for similar aesthetics. The size of the obelisks, the location and the accompanying details affect, of course, the degree of oppressiveness communicated by the monuments. The monument in Strasbourg is not as big as the one located at the Poznań Citadel, so it is tempting to say that the more totalitarian the system, the larger the obelisk and the more monumental the form. Both obelisks are, however, a product of systems that fall within the broadly understood category of Hansen's patriarchy.

An important feature of the monumentality mentioned above by Hansen is, moreover, the violence connected directly with the Closed Form. It is expressed both through the shape of the monument (the aggressive form of the object mentioned earlier) and in its symbolic space. W.J.T. Mitchell sees this issue similarly. Recognizing violence as an inherent part of the monument, he notes:

> Much of the world's public art – memorials, monuments, triumphal arches, obelisks, columns, and statues – has a rather direct reference to violence in the form of war or conquest. From Ozymandias to Caesar to Napoleon to Hitler, public art has served as a kind of monumentalizing of violence (…).[147]

The ideas accompanying the underlying concepts of the monument usually express the desire to demonstrate certain values in confrontation with others and represent values that are relevant for only a part of the given community. Whenever a monument is erected, violence appears on the symbolic or material level. Obviously, it can never be an object that represents a vision of reality that suits all people; also, very often it refers to violence through its form. An obelisk can serve as an example here too.

On October 11, 1975, a monument to General Karol Swierczewski was unveiled in Poznań. It was an obelisk made of reinforced concrete 18 meters in

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147 W.J.T. Mitchell, *The Violence of Public Art*, [in:] *Art and the Public Sphere*, ed. Mitchell W. J. T., The University of Chicago Press, Chicago – London 1990, p. 35.

height. The pedestal stands at 3.10 meters, on which there are two sculptures representing the general, a group of soldiers and plaques.[148]

The violence referred to be Mitchell and Hansen was included in the intentions of the monument's design. The co-founder of the monument, Anna Krzymińska, stated, for example, that:

> (…) the eight-meter-high obelisk symbolizes the idea of struggle and victory, personified precisely by the figure of the General. The dynamic form of the monument expresses movement and struggle. The main body of the monument is to be reminiscent of a soldier's bayonet stuck in the ground or a banner unfolding in the victorious march.[149]

The second artist co-creating the monument, Ryszard Skupin, emphasized instead:

> The monument has an enduring and lofty character. It was erected from reinforced concrete. A four-meter sculptural figure depicting the figure of the General was incorporated into the top of the main obelisk. One of the main ideas of the monument was to ensure the maximum connection of statue of the General with the crowd of soldiers surrounding him.[150]

The above statements indicate that the relationship with violence (ideas of struggle and victory, the representations of soldiers and the general, the obelisk itself which was meant to resemble a bayonet, etc.) was clearly outlined in the concept of a monument that was to express such values. The designers of the project emphasized the relationship between the shape of the monument and its symbolic message: it had to be a dynamic form that could express movement and struggle. The desired effect is obtained here, therefore, by means of the monument's shape that communicates the abovementioned content. Of note is also the fact that the designer of the project also emphasized the monumental and enduring nature of the concept. These features are associated with values that are inscribed in the idea of the project. Durability and monumentality, together with the supernatural size of the sculptures, which include the reference to violence, are here an inseparable element of the monument.

On the general level, the idea of confrontation and violence characteristic of the Closed Form is enchanted not only on the symbolic level, but also in the shape of the monument. The confrontational nature of a monument can be revealed regardless of whether the observer knows the content that the object

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148 T. Świtała, *Pomnik generała Karola Świerczewskiego*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 1976, no 3, p. 144.

149 Qtd. in ibid. p. 144.

150 Qtd. in ibid.

commemorates. This contentiousness should not, however, be understood only negatively. In conflict one can find the strength of a monument's purport. According to Chantal Mouffe's agonist theory, conflict is an immanent feature of communities functioning in public space, also in democratic systems. In this sense, the monument, cumulating within itself the conflict, may be considered a safety valve, which I will refer to in a more developed way in relation to the affective dimension of monuments.

Another type of monument with a similar role as that of obelisks, although not in such an extreme form, are statues. They also contain the features of the monumental Closed Form. In case of statues, pedestals have significance, as they raise the commemorated statue above people observing the monument, thus strengthening the "size contrast", about which Hansen writes.[151] The impression that there is dialogue with the monument appears only at the moment the statue "descends" from the pedestal, as in the case of the statue of Pierre Pflimlin in Strasbourg or the statue of Krzysztof Komeda in Poznań. Placing a sculpture on the same level as its observers brings it closer to pedestrians and literally "builds" a horizontal, more democratic and egalitarian relationship.

Jan Gehl also draws attention to the importance of the horizontal relationship, claiming that horizontal vision is much wider than vertical. When walking around the city, we tend to pay attention to what is located on the ground level. Anything above does not attract our attention, and it can only be contemplated in an intentional way when we consciously turn to an object to see it. As Gehl writes:

> human movement is inherently limited to mainly horizontal motion, at a speed of about 5 kilometers per hour, and the sensory apparatus is perfectly adapted to these conditions. The senses are in fact oriented frontally, and one of the most developed and most useful senses – the sense of sight – is definitely horizontal. The horizontal visual field is much wider than the vertical (…). The field of view towards the bottom is much narrower than the horizontal, and the vertical field is even narrower.[152]

Gehl's remarks, therefore, overthrow the established myth of the importance and visibility of a massive, soaring monument. If we really want the monument to be included in the space of everyday life of the city's inhabitants and to be "noticed", we should design it horizontally, at the level of pedestrians.

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151 For more information about the significance of the pedestal, see: M. Praczyk, *Poznańskie pomniki*…, pp. 141–143.

152 J. Gehl, *Life Between Buildings*, p. 63.

Taking account of the considerations above, The Poznań Army Monument, designed by Anna Rodzińska-Iwańska, Józef Iwański and Julian Boss-Gosławski, is a very interesting case study. The monument commemorates the Battle of the Bzura led under the command of Gen. Tadeusz Kutrzeba by the "Poznań" Army in 1939. It was unveiled on September 1, 1982 on the 43rd anniversary of the invasion of Poland by Germany. This monument is cast in an abstract architectural form. It is 10 meters in height, and with the soaring metal elements reaches a height of up to 15 meters.[153] The five poles symbolize bayonets of Polish soldiers, which lean against German armored units, symbolized by four soaring but more massive metal blocks. There is an architectural interior in the monument, resembling a mausoleum, in which the Cross of Virtuti Militari was placed with an inset hull of an artillery shell and an urn containing the soil from the battlefield.[154] The interior of the monument, which can be accessed from three sides, is decorated with reliefs, showing the weapon and the course of the battle, as well as a list of the fallen. The monument was made of concrete and natural stones, while the pillars were made of stainless steel and copper sheet.[155]

The Poznań Army Monument partly conforms to Oscar Hansen's concept of the Closed Form. It is monumental in size, it is based on the principle of size contrasts, and it contains many vertical elements. It refers to violence both on the level of ideas and the materials used to express it. As the authors of the project explain: We wanted a flash of polished steel blades to express the truth of those days in 1939.

"Tragedy, heroism, resistance, fight against an overwhelming force, battle and victory."[156] However, it is difficult to consider its form closed. It is an abstract monument. The main difference lies in the fact that it has an interior open to observers. The pedestrian does not only look at the monument, but can enter its space. When one finds oneself in the interior, one becomes a real element of the whole concept. A person is not located in opposition to the monument, he or she passes onto "its side", thus taking an active part in the commemoration.[157]

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153 T. Bartkowiak, *Idea budowy pomnika na łamach prasy*, [in:] *Pomnik Armii "Poznań" w Poznaniu. Kronika budowy i uroczystości odsłonięcia*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa – Poznań 1983, p. 34.

154 W. Deja, K. Otto, *Pomniki pamięci…*, p. 16.

155 T. Bartkowiak, *Idea budowy…*, p. 34.

156 Qtd. in: I. Grzesiuk-Olszewska, *Polska Rzeźba…*, p. 149. It is worth mentioning that, when speaking of victory, the creators of this monument meant victory in the moral sense. The Poles were defeated at the Battle of the Bzura.

157 Cf. L. Wilkowa, *Pomnik Armii "Poznań"*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 2001, no 2, p. 174.

Fig. 3: The Poznań Army Monument. Poznań. Photo. M. Praczyk

As Michel de Certeau would say, the space of the monument can be "practiced" here. Such a practice depends on the viewer, who decides to which elements of the monument to pay attention and from which side to enter its space. The monument thus opens up to a human being, invites one to participate in the commemoration by entering and getting to know what is inside. From the outside, it is impossible to see the all the underlying assumptions of the monument, which means that its meaning is not immediately obvious. To understand the monument, one has to start a dialogue with it. The "practice" of the monument is also carried out in time, because the observer inside its spacious interior can visit it, strolling around the mausoleum. As Irena Grzesiuk-Olszewska remarks, "This is a space-time monument – the time and path of the spectator's movement is on equal footing with the form of the block".[158] This is in conflict with the static and unambiguous nature that is characteristic of the Closed Form concept. The monumental form favors the feeling of being overwhelmed, but thanks to enabling interaction, it is not, as Hansen writes, "incapacitating in action".[159] The

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158 Ibid. p. 150.
159 O. Hansen, *Zobaczyć świat…*, p. 43.

Fig. 4: The Poznań Army Monument – interior. Poznań. Photo. M. Praczyk

monument itself is thus characterized by an opening that does not fit clearly into the monument's criteria as set by Hansen.

The example of The Poznań Army Monument, therefore, proves that it is worth looking at the category of monumentality from a different perspective. A different reading of monumentality was proposed by Andreas Huyssen, for whom it is an aesthetic category (expressed both by means of form and the content contained in it), which is subject to change and contextualization, similarly to all aesthetic categories.[160] Although its name suggests eternal duration, the way of understanding and using monumentality is subject to constant change. Huyssen sees monumentality not only in traditional nineteenth-century monuments and their contemporary variants, which are often considered the only objects representing this aesthetic value, but also in monuments, installations or artistic happenings carried out by innovative artists of contemporary art. Huyssen, therefore, perceives monumentality in contemporary realizations, such as

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160 A. Huyssen, *Monumental Seduction*, [in:] *Acts of Memory. Cultural Recall in the Present*, ed. M. Bal, J. Crewe, L. Spitzer, University Press of New England, Hanover – London 1999, p. 199.

the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin or in the "Wrapped Reichstag" by Christo and Jeanne-Claude.[161]

According to Huyssen, contemporary projects are not considered in terms of monumentality because of the negative associations this concept raises on many levels of contemporary culture:

> The monumental is aesthetically suspect because it is tied to nineteenth-century bad taste, to kitsch, and to mass culture. It is politically suspect because it is seen as representative of nineteenth-century nationalism and of twentieth-century totalitarianisms. It is socially suspect because it is the privileged mode of expression of mass movements and mass politics. It is ethically suspect because in its preference for bigness it indulges in the larger-than-human, in the attempt to overwhelm the individual spectator. It is psychoanalytically suspect because it is tied to narcissistic delusions of grandeur and to imaginary wholeness. It is musically suspect because, well, because of Richard Wagner.[162]

The category of monumentality has not been completely removed from the aesthetic canon of modern times. And although today this term is avoided because of the above-mentioned negative connotations, it still functions and is, according to Huyssen, a desired form of human expression.[163] Looking at the Poznań Army Monument in its monumental form through this prism, we can see in it an attempt to confront the material presentation of an event that escapes everyday experience, one that is overwhelming, associated with the enormity of suffering, oppression and chaos. The form of the monument refers, of course, to events that fall within the categories of Hansen's patriarchy and the Closed Form and refer to the monumentality within the framework of the "philosophical base" mentioned above by Hansen. In his opinion, monumentality has reflected the culture in which we live for hundreds of years.[164] The aesthetic language used by the authors of the project draws on such values. Following Hansen, it can be assumed that the trace of monumentality is immanent in the phenomenon of a monument in general, because the very idea of erecting monuments is a product of such a culture. In this sense, monuments are always monumental and this applies to both nineteenth-century monuments and those that are created in the twenty-first century, considered innovative. On the level of materiality and the effect its form has, we are always dealing with the closure that Hansen writes

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161 Ibid. pp. 197–198.
162 Ibid. p. 198.
163 Ibid. pp. 204–206.
164 O. Hansen, *Zobaczyć świat…*, p. 67.

about. That the Poznań Army Monument is monumental does not necessarily mean that it corresponds to the categories of the Closed Form.

Its openness is also evidenced by the way it is integrated into the surroundings. Despite its massive size, it does not dominate the surroundings in which it was located. It was not located in the central point of the St. Wojciech Hill, but on its gentle slope. The shooting metal elements do not rise above the existing buildings on the hill. This monument is in dialogue with the natural landscape of the area without trying to appropriate it. The trees have covered and overgrown the monument which is surrounded by green lawns. The monument harmonizes with the natural cycle of the seasons, harmonizing in this way with nature. Drawing on nature also helps to tame the commemorated, tragic event and strengthens the symbolic significance of the monument. As in the cycle of changing seasons after winter, spring comes, so in the cycle of history comes time for death and rebirth. This inevitable succession in the natural world also exists in the world of historic turmoil. Even when inevitable time of failures comes, after it – as nature shows us – comes a time to rise and win. Such a cyclical reference contained in the Poznań Army Monument helps it escape the time trap, chronology and the context of World War II. They give the commemorated event a more universal and metaphysical dimension.[165]

This openness to the natural environment is a feature that aligns it more with Hansen's Open Form. The fact that the monument invites you to enter it, that it is gently integrated into the hillside, and that its spatial shape is clearly horizontal, align it with Gehl's remarks about the visibility of objects placed on the horizontal axis. Poznań's residents not only "see" the Poznań Army Monument, but by making use of the ground level and the spaciousness of its interior, they can also "use it", which again confirms Gehl's observations that "everywhere where people move and engage in activities, they do it on horizontal levels. It is difficult to move up or down, it is difficult to talk up or down and it is difficult to look up or down."[166]

The importance of horizontality is similarly highlighted in the case of the Janus Fountain, a very interesting monument located in Strasbourg. It was created to celebrate the 2000th anniversary of the creation of Strasbourg and was unveiled in the presence of the mayor of Strasbourg, Marcel Rudloff, in 1988. The concept and the general design of the monument was created by the famous

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165 Cf. M. Praczyk, *Monument o bogatym wnętrzu,* http://kultura.poznan.pl/mim/kultura/news/historia,c,8/monument-o-bogatym-wnetrzu,64036.html (accessed: 10.12.2019).

166 J. Gehl, *Life Between Buildings,* p. 64.

Fig. 5: Janus Fountain. Strasbourg. Photo M. Praczyk

Alsatian illustrator Tomi Ungerer,[167] born in Strasbourg, and the architectural structure was designed by Paul Ziegler, with the sculpture of Janus's head was designed by Denis Roth. The monument consists of an aqueduct propped up on two brick arcades, as if removed from a larger whole. They are located in a basin slightly below ground level, and at the foot of the supportive structure of the central column is a bronze, slightly green sculpture, depicting the Roman god Janus with faces turned in opposite directions. The sculpture of the head is lowered to the level of the mouth, into which the water from the pool is poured. The aqueduct measures about 3 meters.

The fountain is a monument that gently fits in with the surroundings and is not an object dividing the space in which it is located. The opening of the arcades

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167 Tomi Ungerer was born in 1931 in Strasbourg. He was a famous Alsatian illustrator, known for his illustrations in children's books and his erotic and political drawings. Ungerer is interested in French-German relations, which is reflected in his exhibition "Marianne and Germania", which in 2000 was opened in Berlin. The Tomi Ugerer Museum was opened in in 2001 in Strasbourg. He died in 2019 in Corc, Irland. Cf: http://www.tomiungerer.com/ (accessed: 10.12.2019).

makes it possible to see both what is "in front of" the monument and what is situated "behind" it, although the spatial "before" and "behind" indicators are not fully applicable here, because the monument does not have *de facto* its own front and back. Thanks to the double presentation of the god Janus' head and the arcades, the monument can be seen in the same way from both sides. The fountain is not a monument that unambiguously establishes its position towards the viewer. It does not impose a predetermined way of viewing it and it is not meant to be approached from a particular side, which would be a pilgrimage destination. It also does not dominate the space in which it is place, but is its harmonious element. This monument can be considered a democratic object, leaving the viewer the choice as to the way in which to view it, which is an important element of the Hansen Open Form concept.

This openness is also based on the very concept of the monument's design. It is meant to symbolize the two-dimensionality of Strasbourg's culture: Latin and Germanic, French and German, South and North. No tradition is distinguished here, and both are represented equally by the sculpture of Janus's head, simultaneously looking in both directions.[168] The reference to the god revered in ancient Rome is not accidental either. According to this tradition, the double head of the deity represents the past and the future.[169] Janus is also the deity of city gates, passages, entry and exit. This reference does not valorize any particular culture that influenced the history of Strasbourg, but emphasizes the importance of them both in the history of the city. Thus, this monument distances itself from the tensions and conflicts of political history and focuses on its cultural history, in which multidimensionality is seen as enriching the city. This idea also conforms with the Open Form, which, according to Hansen, is characterized by a partnership characterized by "the multiculturality of the search".[170] Cultural pluralism, which is inscribed into the concept of the monument, attempts to transcend a commemoration of the city's history that would favor one culture and appropriate its history.

Another element of the monument that allows it to be construed from the perspective of the Open Form is its dialogue with nature. The monument is situated parallel to the bank of the Rhine.[171] The proximity of the river was a

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168 L. Maechel, T. Rieger, *Strasbourg insolite*…, p. 59.

169 W. Kopaliński, *Słownik mitów i tradycji kultury*, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warszawa 2000, p. 424.

170 O. Hansen, *Zobaczyć świat*…, p. 30.

171 L. Châtelet-Lange, *Strasbourg*, "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", 1992, vol. 51, no 1, p. 101.

deciding factor in the location of the city and its founding. The form of the aqueduct is connected to water, which is an important symbol of Strasbourg. The aqueduct also refers to the manner in which water was transported there in the beginning of the city's history. This way, the monument commemorates two thousand years of the city's history and refers to water, which symbolizes life and the establishment of Strasbourg, not to specific people or events of its political history. By doing so, the monument avoids representing anything marred by conflict and symbolic violence, turning instead to a representation symbolizing the city's water as an important part of its history, emphasizing its integral importance for man. Thus, the categories of culture and nature are not opposed to each other, but harmoniously arranged and placed in a "longue durée". Though the nationality of the city may change, the life-giving water of the city remains invariably an important motor of its existence. In addition, the natural surroundings of the monument are not subordinated to it. The surrounding trees are taller and the bench placed next to it reveals its "light" park character, so the monument is not as marked with pathos. The naturalness of the monument is also emphasized by the color of the materials used to make it. The red brick, the greenish brown, are not associated with monumental, gray monuments, usually made of concrete or granite. Nature enters the very foundation of the monument by way of the plants growing over the upper part of the aqueduct and of the fountain inside the monument, animating it with a stream of water.

The Janus Fountain is a monument whose structure is dialogic and does not constitute a material manifestation of an ideological reference to violence or conflict, which is why it can be treated as an example of Hansen's Open Form. It is an exceptional monument that escapes the formal framework characteristic of traditional monuments.

An interesting example of a memorial that, thanks to its shape, challenges the oppressive and traditional forms of monuments is a non-monument in Poznań by Norbert Sarnecki. It is worth mentioning here, although its presence in Poznań's urban space was by definition temporary.

The monument depicts a male body portrayed from mid-calf in an oversized suit and coat. The second part of the monument is a plinth with the body's "cut off" legs and a Latin inscription: "Lector" (Reader). The descending statue looks back at its pedestal with its body partially turned. Next to it is a third sculpture, showing more of the pedestal with the further part of the inscription: *Si monumentum requiris circumspice* (If you are looking for a monument – look around). The monument was exhibited in Dąbrowski Park near

Stary Browar, where it was located from the summer of 2010 until the autumn of 2013.[172]

The concept of a non-monument was developed in Norbert Sarnecki's doctoral thesis defended at the University of Arts in Poznań in 2010.[173] A non-monument is constructed out of the standard material used in traditional monuments, i.e. bronze. Similarly, its form draws on that of traditional statues which commemorate rulers and commanders. However, this kind of monument questions the sense of such representations by means of three very interesting measures. First, the traditional statue on the pedestal is cut into three parts. Secondly, the presented person is anonymous. Thirdly, the very title of the work "Non-monument" explicitly challenges what is traditionally understood by the concept of a monument. This sculpture is therefore a kind of monument of a monument that critically encourages reflection on its traditional form. The places where the body of the statue is intersected provoke many different readings. The figure descending from the pedestal is portrayed with his legs partly on the pedestal and the pedestal itself, which is also divided into two parts, pose the following questions: is not the plinth a kind of border for the figure that stands on it? Perhaps, just as an inscription placed on sculptures would suggest, a plinth makes it difficult to see the statue on it and distances us from it? Maybe this figure would like to come down from the pedestal today? This is precisely what the portrayed man is doing. His descent, however, is not simple and devoid of consequences. The legs partly remain on the pedestal, suggesting that they belong to this part of the structure. The creator of the non-monument draws attention to the fact that the composition of the monument is supposed to give the impression of being unfinished, doomed to impermanence. He also argues that the inscription and composition is "a kind of textual game with a formal representation of a statue looking for its own monument".[174] This is a game that is intended to provoke pedestrians to reflect on the meaning of the monument in urban space. Sarnecki's non-monument tries, therefore, to establish a dialogue with the viewer, and he does so by means of his dispersed form, which the author of the monument assumed would attract the attention of pedestrians.[175]

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172 Currently, this non-monument is in the artist's workshop.
173 N. Sarnecki, *Nie-pomniki w przestrzeni miejskiej*, unpublished doctoral thesis, print copy of a doctoral thesis. Courtesy of the Author.
174 N. Sarnecki, *Nie-pomniki w przestrzeni miejskiej*, print copy of a doctoral thesis, p. 27.
175 Ibid. p. 28.

Undoubtedly, Sarnecki's work should be considered an interesting voice in the discussion of monuments. It could also be stated somewhat playfully that a non-monument is a monument that, with the help of the Closed Form, establishes a dialogue with the idea of what a monument is and somehow contests it. It is characteristic that this non-monument appeared at a time when traditional statues on plinths began to appear in the city.[176]

Monuments from a Gender Perspective

One of the important functions performed by monuments is to reflect the social order that is based on the sexual division of social roles. Monuments are not only a visual example of such a division, but, thanks to their location in public space, they also contribute to its construction. Placing monuments in public space required the use of a form that would legitimize the accepted social order and present positive role models of masculinity and femininity.

Any analysis of the materiality of monuments requires taking into account the gender perspective as one of the levels necessary to describe their function and effect in the time period under consideration in this work.[177] Understanding gender as a separate category in historical research inaugurated new studies and interpretational perspectives, which contributed to the recognition of what traits, due to gender differences, were attributed to both women and men. The most important symptom of this change was the realization that current historiography depicted only the masculine point of view as the only possible perspective. Billie Melman stressed that:

> (…) the cultural construction of sexual identities and of differences between the sexes has been a potent agent of change [of the research paradigm – M.P.], as potent as, or

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176 Cf. M. Praczyk, *Ibid.* p. 133–150.

177 For more information about research concerning urban and public space and its elements, such as monuments from a gender perspective, cf. D. Massey, *Space, place…*; H. Lefebvre, *The Production of…*; M. Miles, *Art, space and the City: Public Art and Urban Futures*, Routledge, London – New York 1997. See also work concerning monuments in public space from a gender perspective: M. Warner, *Monuments and Maidens. The Allegory of the Female Form*, University of California Press, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1985, *Memory and Memorials 1789–1914. Literary and cultural perspectives*, red. M. Campbell, J. M. Labbe, S. Shuttleworth, Routledge – London – New York 2000, R. Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces. Artifacts of German Memory, 1870–1990*, University of California Press, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 2000.

perhaps more powerful than, class, nationality and ethnicity; that the recapitualtion of the female experience has changed our optics of the past and helped us re-vision it.[178]

This revision makes it possible to see gender-based social differences in the material manifestations of culture, which, as in the case of monuments, consolidate and define sexual affiliation to particular roles.

The use of urban space by women and men and their different attitudes to it underwent changes in the period analyzed here. Due to their location in urban space, monuments become automatically an element of public discourse, which, in the nineteenth century, traditionally belonged to men. Women represented what was private, located in the comfort of the home and usually did not undertake political actions in the public space. The state, whose strength and value was legitimized by, among others, monuments, was governed by men, who were responsible for creating and guarding it. When women appeared in a public space and were embodied in monumental sculptures, they were portrayed through the prism of the male gaze and the roles which had been traditionally assigned to them. Because monuments of men were completely different in form from those of women and far more numerous, women found it difficult to identify with them, which only further confirmed their exclusion from public space and their relegation to the private sphere. Although in the twentieth century, and especially in its second half, women were included in public discourse, cities still remain dominated by monuments depicting men, which makes the symbolic urban space primarily a male space.

<p align="center">***</p>

Examples of how men were portrayed are provided by monuments – statues. The prevailing notion of masculinity in Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries required portraying a man as strong, responsible, and self-confident.[179] A number of artistic measures were used to achieve this goal, such as gestures, postures, clothing or attributes to create the sculpture. Monuments of men, therefore, depicted them primarily in the role of rulers or warriors. In the twentieth century, this pattern of representation of men began to gradually change, and was partly transcended in the twenty-first century.

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178 B. Melman, *Gender, History and Memory: The Invention of Women's Past in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, "History and Memory", 1993, vol. 5, no 1, p. 5.
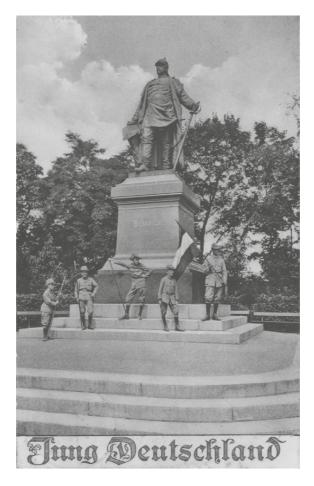
179 For more information on this topic, cf. Ch. E. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West. Gender, Civilization and the Body*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2008.

The Bismarck Monument in Poznań erected in 1903 depicts an unapproach-able upright man; this is achieved as a result of how he was presented on the pedestal as well as his posture. The figure was clad in a Cuirassier uniform with a cloak and a characteristic pointed helmet. The raw expression on his carved face expresses seriousness, as he looks forward into the far distance, thus distancing himself away from pedestrians looking at him. Moreover, his power was symbol-ized by the strength of the oak, on which Bismarck leaned with his right hand.[180] Bismarck thus portrayed was an example of a ruling politician who was the most important man in the country. His appearance perpetuated a pattern of mascu-linity that other men saw as worth imitating. The fact that strength and domi-nation were put to the forefront by means of his presentation indicates that such values were considered to be male virtues, in particular when they concerned leaders of the nation. The lack of similar images representing women reinforced these features as pertaining unambiguously to men. In addition, these values were combined with the public function, indicating that only men with those characteristics can claim exclusive membership to the public sphere. Gender domination has been combined here with social domination.

The fact that the chancellor in power was also meant to indicate that he pos-sessed traits that were considered masculine, but at the same time, one of the prerequisites of having power was the unambiguous identification with such features. Belonging to the social elite assumes having to adjust to the existing model of masculinity. We are dealing with such a set of values in the case of all the leaders presented on monuments in Strasbourg and Poznań at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We can find them, for instance, in both monuments of Emperor Wilhelm I, in Poznań from 1889 and in Strasbourg from 1911, or in Poznań's monument to Emperor Frederick III from 1902.

The social order at the time granted men the role of guarantors of state secu-rity, active defenders of the nation and warriors. This function is reflected in the monuments of men, where weapons are a significant element of the sculptures depicting men. Weapons do not appear only in the context of monuments com-memorating specific battles, as in the case of the commanders of the Battle of Nachod, placed on the sides of the base of the invading lion. Bismarck is wielding a broadsword in his left hand, Emperor Frederick III is leaning against a saber,

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180 The oak as a symbol of masculine attributes is addressed by Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments…,* p. 46.

Fig. 6: Monument to Otto von Bismarck. Poznań. From the collections of the University Library in Poznań. Courtesy of the University Library in Poznań

which Kellermann is, in turn, holding by his side.[181] Weapons are also displayed in later monuments, such as, for example, the Tadeusz Kosciuszko monument in Poznań. The clearly masculine strength demonstrated in these monuments,

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181 The monument of Marshal Kellermanna was unveiled in Strasbourg in 1935. https://www.archi-wiki.org/Adresse:Monument_du_Mar%C3%A9chal_Kellermann_(Strasbourg) (accessed: 01.12.2019).

Fig. 7: Wilhelm I. Statue. Strasbourg. From the Collections of the Bibliotèque national et universitaire de Strasbourg. Open licence

strength that women could never possess, could have perpetuated passivity among women, who themselves did not have the means to actively engage in a battle. Such an image of men could have exasperated the sense of weakness and anxiety felt by women by inscribing them into the familiar binary opposition: a strong man – a weak woman. As a consequence, it also prevented women active confronting men, which relegated her to the losing side. On the other hand, this image was a guarantee of personal security for women. It obliged women to focus their attention on the private sphere, i.e. raising children, taking care of the home (placing them in the role of a housekeeper), but it also did not require them to be ready to sacrifice their lives at a time of potential danger to the state.

Men in the role of soldiers are also characteristic of monuments showing anonymous men. The Poznań monument to the Brandenburg Warrior from 1911 presents a man holding a banner on a plinth at the center of the fountain.[182] It is worth noting that this way of portraying men is also commonly continued in the twentieth century. For example, there are the nameless soldiers from the

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182 W. Molik, *Poznańskie pomniki*…, pp. 15–16.

Monument of Greater Poland Insurgents unveiled in 1965, or the brothers from *Monument aux Morts* from 1936. For most anonymous men, being ready to be a warrior and defending their homeland is a commitment that defines their nobility and masculinity and it is one that they cannot evade. The role they play is greater than their individuality and is a guarantee not only of national security, but above all a social order, based on a clear division of tasks, in which men are assigned functions considered to require the most responsibly and to be the most difficult, but also the most honorable.

Masculine privilege can also be seen in the kind of gestures performed by the men portrayed in the statues. The figure of Marshal Kellerman is shown with his right hand up and proudly clenched in a fist. The statues of Emperor Wilhelm I in Poznań and Strasbourg and Strasbourg's Goethe, whose monument was unveiled in 1904, are also portrayed with their chests pushed out. These gestures communicate the confidence that a responsible, nineteenth-century model male had to characterize. This feature enabled him to exercise power and govern at various levels of the social ladder. The extended foot of the standing figures also suggests the self-confidence and the courage necessary to engage in confrontations. This attitude also represents stability, indicating the continuity of power, and at the same time the dynamism and readiness to take the first step. Gestures that men perform do not suggest readiness for dialogue; they rather are focused on demonstrating the features that communicate their strength. Of course, these gestures have an important political dimension, which consists in demonstrating power in relation to the enemy. However, the form that men's representations take also reflects a visual message about how masculinity is presented in general.

The traditional paradigm of presenting men on monuments underwent a gradual shift in the twentieth century, although there were still some examples that conformed to the traditional pattern. The statue of Tadeusz Kosciuszko erected in 1929 shows the commander standing in the central place of the monument high atop a column holding in his hand a weapon at chest height. This monument affirmed the continuous popularity of the earlier model of presenting male characters. Interpreting the model of masculinity from the interwar period only on the basis of this image is insufficient and misleading. Another monument was created at about the same time, which rejected the aesthetic canon. I am referring here to the statue of Thomas Woodrow Wilson unveiled in 1931. It showed the American president in a spontaneous pose with a smile on his face. He is wearing a simple coat, which did not connect him directly to his role as an authority figure. Its standing posture was not further reinforced by a raised plinth, although the statue was clearly oversized. The extended right

hand suggested openness and made the statue more accessible. The monument depicts a self-confident man giving a public speech. This model of an honorable man in this case does not stem from inaccessibility, severity or a demonstration of strength. Wilson was here depicted as he was delivering the famous 14-point speech.[183] Presenting Wilson at a specific point in a sequence of events places him in a precise historical context. Such a historical contextualization of the statue incorporates it in a narrative that is shared by the commemorated president and observers. This convention deviates significantly from previous images of rulers who were depicted as existing somehow "beyond time", thus suggesting their eternal presence. This monument still reflects the social order in which the man performs the most important of public functions, but his political role does not require a rigid representation of features conditioning his public activity. The image of a man taking part in the public sphere becomes more capacious in this way, thus broadening the scope of how a man can be identified. He is still a confident statesman, but in order to fulfill this role, he no longer has to demonstrate his strength.

The juxtaposition of the monuments of President Wilson and General Kosciuszko perfectly illustrates the social transformations characteristic of the interwar period. Why, then, are the monuments created at about the same time so different from each other? Kosciuszko's monument shows a warrior fighting for freedom at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The visual language used by Zofia Trzcińska-Kamińska, the author of the sculpture, corresponded to the nineteenth-century canon of presenting men. Presenting Kosciuszko in another way would not have conformed to the epoch from which this person hails. President Wilson comes from an era characterized by a different social order, which is why it was possible to avoid presenting him according to the traditional canon. President Wilson is no longer a ruler, but a politician in a modern state; General Kosciuszko, on the other hand, was a warrior from the imperial times. The Wilson statue is already a harbinger of a different visual representation of men, while the Kościuszko statue is still constrained in a rigid corset in which a man of the nineteenth century was placed.

It is only with the twenty-first century that we see subsequent changes in the way men are presented. The statue of the mayor of Strasbourg and the president of the European Parliament,[184] Pierre Pflimlin, unveiled in 2007, is an example of a

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183 J. Pazder, *O Poznańskich pomnikach po 1918 roku*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 2001, no 2, p. 44.

184 Pierre Pflimlin (1907–2000) was the mayor of Strasbourg (1959–1983) and President of the European Parliament (1984–1987). He was a Christian democratic politician.

different way of portraying men and is proof of another change taking place: men are beginning to come down from pedestals.[185] The sculpture is slightly larger than life, but it was placed on a plate located at ground level. Pflimlin is presented walking, with his right hand outstretched in a greeting gesture with a hat in his left hand. His face expresses calmness. The man, despite his public functions inscribed on a plate placed into the ground, is presented in a way that was typical for many men of his era. He is not adorned with any attributes characteristic of power and he is not distinguished with specific features that would place him in the role of a public figure. The model of a man who performs important public functions and who deserves respect does not have to be characterized by any special qualities required to fulfill this role.

Another representation can be found in the monument of Cyril Ratajski, unveiled in 2002. The president of the city is presented on a small pedestal, sitting on a comfortable chair. This armchair was not sculpted in the shape of a throne; therefore, it suggests a place of rest or work and a semi-private space. However, his outfit, an elegant jacket and toga, and the fact that the statue is holding a scroll of paper testify to the fact that the portrayed scene is of a professional nature. The sitting posture may somewhat soften his image, but it still does not break the mold of how a man in an official role is depicted. The same could be said about the monument of Karol Marcinkowski, designed by Stanisław Radwański, which was unveiled on June 29, 2005. The 3-meter statue was placed on a 2.5-meter pedestal made of red granite. The statue of Karol Marcinkowski, although cast in a sitting position, is placed on top of a high pedestal, thus drawing on traditional nineteenth-century monuments. Although the cheerful face of Karol Marcinkowski is turned towards the pedestrians on the street, the statue, as a result of its exaltation, presents an image of an inaccessible man observing what is happening below him and not, as in the case of the Pflimlin monument, an image of a person open to a dialogue.[186]

He also held out public offices, e.g. deputy to the European Parliament, was a member of the French government many times and the Prime Minister for a short time. See: Christian Baechler, *Pflimlin Pierre*, "Nouveau dictionnaire de biographie alsacienne", vol. 29, p. 3002.

185 On more information about male statues, cf. G. E. Karpińska, *Pomniki bez cokołów – realizacje przedstawiające mężczyzn*, "Journal of Urban Ethnology" 2013, no 11, pp. 105–116.

186 It is worth noticing that Poznań also has another statue of Karol Marcinkowski. It has a more loose form and presents Marcinkowski sitting on a rock without a pedestal. This statue is located on the grounds of I Liceaum Ogólnokształcące. Access to it is much

The monument devoted to Krzysztof Komeda, unveiled in Poznań on November 19, 2010, depicts a gradual shift that takes place in the manner in which men are portrayed. The Komeda monument was designed by the Gdańsk sculptor Adam Dawczak-Dębicki[187] and was unveiled in celebration of the 90th anniversary of the Medical University in Poznań. The two-meter tall statue was cast in bronze and presents Krzysztof Komeda in a relaxed pose, looking at scenes from his life immortalized on film.[188] The statue was placed on ground without a plinth. Komeda is wearing a casual outfit and is holding a tuning fork by his right ear, an attribute of his profession. The statue is not constrained in any way, which can be explained by the fact that the commemorated figure was an artist, not a politician whose immortalization would obligate the creators of the statue to use a more formal approach. Traditionally, however, monuments of artists have also been cast to appear lofty and full of gravitas (as shown by examples of the monument of Mickiewicz or the monument of Goethe).[189]

The statues of the politician Pierre Pflimlin or the artist Krzysztof Komeda, both in Strasbourg and in Poznań, exemplify that breaking the traditional canon of presenting men does not happen without difficulty, but it does happen successively and is indicative of the changes taking place in the social perception of men. The now common monuments of "benches" (such as the bench of Heliodor Święcicki, the first rector of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań unveiled in 2010), on which both men and women sit in similar poses, also testify to this shift.

more difficult that to the monument located on Marcinkowski Alley and its location may be explained by the fact that the school grounds is a place occupied by children and is not associated with seriousness. This is perhaps why the monument located in the public space is more traditional in form.

187 *W Poznaniu odsłonięto pomnik Krzysztofa Komedy*, http://muzyka.wp.pl/title,W-Poznaniu-odslonieto-pomnik-Krzysztofa-Komedy,wid,597081,wiadomosc.html (accessed:10.21.2019).

188 Statue presents Krzysztof Komeda as he is receiveing his diploma from the Medical Academy, a scene from *Innocent Sorcerers*, where he played one of the main parts as well as well as photographs from a concert and private photographs depicting the composer as he is creating the score to *Rosemary's Baby*.

189 One could invoke here the Adam Mickiewicz Monument in Poznań or the Monument to Johann Wofgang Goethe in Strasbourg. Among commemorated composers, one can recall the bust of Stanisław Moniuszko in the park in Poznań, where he is represented in a traditional style.

Fig. 8: Statue of Pierre Pflimlin. Strasbourg. Photo. M. Praczyk

At this point, it is worth returning to obelisks, which, like statues, express the masculine aspect of the monument.[190] At the level of materiality, masculinity is communicated not only by means of figurative representations, but also by means of an abstract form. Obelisks also have a strong sexual connotation, as their shape is often interpreted as phallic.[191] Many monumental sculptures have

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190 These are: The Monument to the Heroes (Poznań), The Monument to General Leclerc (Strasburg), The Monument to Jan Kochanowski (Poznań), non-existent *Denkmal des Grenadier-Regiments Graf Kleist von Nollendorf Nr. 6* (Poznań), non-existent Monument to Karol Świerczewski (Poznań), First version of the Monument aux Morts (Strasburg), and La Fontaine Stoeber, Stœberbrunnen(Strasburg).

191 Cf. e.g. S. Žižek, The Sublime Object of Ideology, Verso, London 2008.

Fig. 9: Statue of Krzysztof Komeda. Poznań. Photo. M. Praczyk

phallic shapes, but obelisks are examples *par excellence* of such objects. Thus, these monuments represent masculine potency; they celebrate the victorious, masculine strength and vitality. Though seemingly neutral, due to their abstract shape, obelisks serve to reinforce the patriarchal dimension of the commemorated events. They can be perceived as representing not only strength and power in general, but also the strength and power of men who are often commemorated with their help. In this way, obelisks identify power with men and thus become objects that exclude women from the sphere of power, which further reinforces the patriarchal division of roles in society. In addition, the fact that these monuments commemorate historically important events also identifies history

as a male domain. Both the Poznań and Strasbourg obelisks are characterized by a patriarchal dimension, which characterize the societies in which they were created, regardless of the fact that the events commemorated with their help come from a completely different ideological order and from different eras.

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The arrangement of roles based on the patriarchal social order also finds its clear confirmation in monuments depicting women. As noted by Rudy Koshar, monuments in the urban space dominated by male subjects "both reflected and ensured the subordination of women."[192] This submission was perpetuated by images of women which placed them in their traditional roles. The change discussed above in the way men were portrayed in the early twentieth century does not apply to monuments of women. Monuments depicting women were created significantly less frequently in relation to those of men, and they are still rather scarce in urban spaces, a fact which emphasizes the marginalization of women. There are only three female monuments of this type in Poznań and Strasbourg.

It is also possible to interpret the massive size of statues depicting men in the context of male domination. Although sculptures of women often appear together with those of men, they nonetheless constitute an element of the monument's design, wherein men play the main role. The sizes of such statues depicting women are also significantly smaller.

An example of such a representation is the monument of General Leclerc in Strasbourg, which consists of an obelisk with statues placed on it. The central place among the sculptures is occupied by the general, who can be seen from the front of the monument. On his sides he is accompanied by two slightly smaller sculptures of female figures, which play the role of the allegory of Victoria – victory. A similar arrangement can be found in the monument of Kaiser Wilhelm I in Poznań. The Wilhelm I monument, also called the Provincial War Memorial, was unveiled on September 22, 1889. It was located in front of the Main Army Headquarters Building (exit of L Wilhelmian Alley today Marcinkowski Alley), and was designed by the Berlin sculptor Robert Bauerwald. The monument was erected not only to commemorate Emperor William I, but also to commemorate the Prussian victory in the Franco-Prussian war. The statue of the emperor was placed on a three-meter plinth. The Emperor was immortalized in a general's uniform, an overcoat, and a helmet with feathers attached to it. The front of the plinth was decorated with a Prussian eagle. The sculptures were made of

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192 R. Koshar, *From Monuments…*, p. 70.

marble. Placed on a pedestal, the two-and-a-half-meter statue of the emperor was contrasted with the pedestals placed on the sides, and thus under the sculpture of the emperor, with female sculptures less than two meters high, depicting allegories of Victoria.[193] The contrast of the size of the sculpture is, therefore, visible not only in the difference in size, but also in their position in relation to each other. Female performances serve a servant role. The fact that the central place of the monument is occupied by the emperor or general is not surprising and seems obvious, as images of women are part of a long tradition of presenting women as an allegory. The way they function in the urban space is not altogether clear. Paradoxically, therefore, the Victorias in the statue of Emperor Wilhelm, thanks to their location, were closer to the pedestrians. They were not as visible from a distance as Wilhelm I, but it was possible to look at them more closely, which reduced the distance between them and the inhabitants of the city.

One of the main ways to depict women on monuments was to use them allegorically in order to demonstrate abstract values.[194] This issue was already pointed out by Maurice Agulhon, who considered the nineteenth century as "fallocentric" and "marked by extreme inequality between the sexes" and thus emphasized the problem of the instrumental use of the female body just as an allegory.[195] Victoria's representations on the Wilhelm I monument in Poznań and the Strasbourg obelisk are examples of such use of female images. Victoria only complements particular people and event and thus constitutes a depersonalized addition to monuments, which depict particular men. The allegory of victory was also used to strengthen the values characteristic of a reality filled with men's actions. Victory ended the fight waged by men in the name of national values, which were primarily a field of male activity. Victoria is, therefore, only a confirmation of the courage and heroism of the commemorated figures.[196] However, if Victoria represents victory that is characteristic of men, the question may

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193 L. Wilkowa, *Rzeźba w Wielkopolsce*…, p. 245.

194 For more information about the subject of female allegorical representations, see: M. Warner, *Monuments*…, and M. Agulhon, *Marianne into battle, Republican imagery and symbolism in France, 1789–1880*, trans. J. Lloyd, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1981 and M. Agulhon, *Marianne au pouvoir. L'imagerie et la symbolique républicaines de 1880 à 1914*, Flammarion, Paris 1989. Both books provide a exhaustive analsyis of multiple uses of the French Marianne figure.

195 M. Agulhon, *Marianne into battle*…, p. 1 and 185. See also: R. Koshar, *From Monuments*…, p. 70–71.

196 A similar function was fulfilled by the German Germania. For more information about this subject, see: R. Koshar, *From Monuments*…, pp. 70–74.

arise: are these Victorias truly women and to what extent do they really appeal to femininity? Victoria is desired by men as a woman, but at the same time she desirable by virtue of her masculine qualities. One can, therefore, be tempted to read them as queer-Victorias, which are neither unequivocally masculine, nor uniquely feminine. The presentation of such figures as attractive and sensual also suggests the narcissistic desire for masculinity by men themselves, which is only presented in the traditional female form.

Another monument which exemplifies the allegorical use of a female figure is a well decorated with the statue of Hygieia by Albert Schultz,[197] unveiled in 1908 in Poznań. The monument is crowned by a bronze figure sitting on a pedestal meant to be an allegorical representation of Hygieia. Although the features of the sculpture were modeled on Constance Raczyńska, the monument was not intended to commemorate her.[198] The statue of a woman is only an element of a well unveiled to commemorate Wincent Priessnitz. His image is found on a medallion placed on a pedestal.[199]
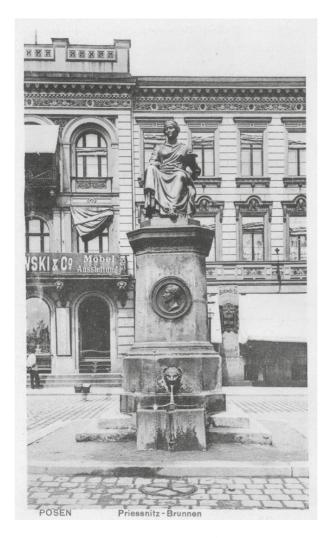
The allegory of Hygieia binds a woman to a traditionally feminine role. According to Greek mythology, Hygieia was the daughter and assistant of the medicine god Asclepius, and in her capacity she was responsible for cleanliness, hygiene and health. Traditionally, Hygieia is primarily associated with disease prevention, whereas Asclepius is identified more with an active role.[200] The muses placed alongside the monument of Johann Wolfgang Goethe in Strasbourg have a similar function. The statues of women depict the muses of tragedy and singing, Melpomene and the muse of poetry and dance, Polihymnia. Their role, however, is limited to inspiring the poet. He, in turn, is represented as an active artist worth commemorating. The Hygieia monument could, therefore, be regarded as another example of male activity contrasting female passivity. However, the visual message that emerges from the material form of the monument is more

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197 L. Wilkowa, *Rzeźba w Wielkopolsce*…, p. 65–75. See also: Z. Ostrowska-Kębłowska, pp. 209–212.

198 Count Edward Raczyński, who commissioned this statue, decided that it was to be modeled on his wife, Constance. The statue was completed in 1844, but was not transporeted then to Poznań. After Edward Raczyński's suicide, Constance placed the monument on his grave in Zaniemyśl, where it can be found today. A copy of the statue made its way to Poznań in 1908 and was placed on the Priessnitz well. E. Goliński, *Pomniki*…, pp. 69–70. For more information about the Raczyński family, see: B. Kosman, M. Kosman, *Sylwetki Wielkopolan*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 1988.

199 E. Goliński, *Pomniki*…, p. 69.

200 W. Kopaliński, *Słownik mitów*…, p. 58.

Fig. 10: Vincent Priessnitz statue with the sculpture of Hygieia. Poznań. From the collections of the University Library in Poznań

complicated, as the monument illustrates the reversal of the traditional model of the female/male dichotomy. The dominant, meaning the largest, element of the monument, is a woman. The Priessnitz appears only in a bas-relief of a bust in a small medallion, which can be seen only from a small distance. Hygieia,

Fig. 11: Monument aux Morts. Strasbourg. Photo. M. Praczyk

however, is central and visible from a distance. When looking at the monument without knowing the subject of its commemoration, we cannot be certain that it is in fact devoted to a man.

The use of Hygieia, seen in opposition to Asclepius, takes on an additional dimension in the context of Poznań's history. Founded by Edward Raczyński, the waterworks, which were necessary for hygiene maintenance in nineteenth-century Poznań, are a symbol of modernity and progress. This progress is personified by a female figure, who in this context is given an active role, as she creates new pathways for the future. The Priessnitz monument is thus more a well of Hygieia, associated with a woman, and not a man who was originally the subject of the monument.

Another example of using a woman as an allegory is provided by the Monument aux Morts in Strasbourg. In this monument a woman is depicted as an allegory of the Alsatian mother. The white statue was erected on the Republic Square on October 18, 1936.

The sculpture was created by Léon-Ernest Drivier, a student of August Rodin and depicts a mother holing on her knees two naked, dying sons, symbolizing soldiers fighting against each other in a fratricidal struggle. One of the

brothers is looking towards France, the other towards Germany. The monument represents the moment when the dying brothers are shaking each other's hands.[201] The figure of the mother is also emphasized by a reference to *the pieta*, often used to illustrate sadness and grief caused by the loss of relatives,[202] a reference that is additionally rooted in the Christian tradition. The woman appears here in the traditional role of the mother, who is free to express her grief and pain in public. Such behavior is not widely accepted among men and is, therefore, not identified with them, which is why there is no such thematic equivalent in monuments depicting men. While the model of femininity allows women to experience such emotions, the model of masculinity prevents men from succumbing to them, thereby excluding them from the sphere of life related to the emotional experience of pain associated with mourning. This arrangement of accents thus contributes to a clear determination of behaviors proper to both men and women. Daniel Sherman, describing monuments created in France after the First World War, draws attention to the ambiguity of such an allegorical figure. He argues that:

> The most profound and subtle way in which monuments and the attendant ceremonies inscribe gender codes as part of their political signification lies in their presentation of mourning not simply as a distinctly feminine activity for women, but as a tribute paid by women to men.[203]

What could have thus privileged women and become their distinctive feature becomes yet another political declaration of masculine domination.

A statue of Bamberka in Poznań is also part of a series of traditional nameless monuments depicting women. Unveiled in 1915, this monument is a well on top of which rests a bronze sculpture depicting a girl wearing a traditional folk Bambrzy costume.[204] She is carrying a shoulder yoke. Bamberka is slightly hunched under their weight and looks slightly downward. Her left leg is extended.

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201 J. Daltroff, *Henry Lévy (1871–1937) et son rôle comme president du comité de construction du monument aux morts de la Place de la République à Strasbourg en 1936*, "Annuaire de la Société des Amis du Vieux Strasbourg", 2004–2005, XXXI, p. 144.

202 J. Winter, *Sites of Memory…*, pp. 90–91.

203 D. J. Sherman, *Monuments, Mourning and Masculinity in France after World War I*, "Gender and History", 1996, vol. 8, no 1, p. 98.

204 For more information about the functions of well monuments and about the controversies concerning the characteristics of Bambrzy clothes, see: J. Pazder, *Wędrujący pomnik, czyli dzieje poznańskiej Bamberki*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 2001, no 2, pp. 109–115.

ORANGERIE — GÄNSELIESL

Fig. 12: Gänseliesel Statue. Strasbourg. Photo. J. Manias. From the collection of the Bibliotèque national et universitaire de Strasbourg. Open licence

Also nameless is Strasbourg's Eliza, who is depicted taking care of geese. This statue was created in 1898 by Albert Schultz and is located in a conservatory and depicts a bronze figure dressed in traditional Alsatian garb.

The girl has her head turned to look downward at a goose. Gänseliesel symbolizes local folklore, a traditional, rural Alsatian girl.[205] Like Bamberka,

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205 R. Recht, J.-P. Klein, G. Foessel, *Connâitre Strasbourg…*, p. 226.

Fig. 13: Bamberka Statue. Poznań. From the collections of the University Library in Poznań. Courtesy of the University Library in Poznań

Eliza is just one of the many girls who look after the house. The affiliation of the portrayed girls to the private sphere is clearly emphasized. They do not stand proudly erect and they do not look forward, the way men are usually depicted in monuments. Both are focused on their duties and on what they are currently doing. Such an image, however, is not limited to merely preserving the current model of women's activities. It makes the figures appear more natural, closer to the everyday life of the city dwellers looking at them. Deprived of a name, they can assume the role of the proverbial "everyman", which allows for a wider identification with the portrayed characters. Observers could see themselves in Eliza or Bamberka. Enriching public space with these statues made it easier for women familiarize themselves with these images. These monuments were also an interesting variation from mainstream monuments. These commemorated figures were unrelated to important events in the construction of national identity, but they reflected scenes from everyday life, which is an unusual theme for monuments.

Statues of women serve another function: they are the decoration of monuments. Bamberka and Hygea are decorative additions to the well. Victoria and the Muses are elegant and voluptuous women surrounded by men, and are

portrayed through the prism of a male gaze.[206] In the case of women's statues, the idealized external appearance, in line with the contemporary aesthetic canons of beauty, was the main theme of the female representation. It was the one that was exposed, whereas in the case of the sculptures of men the question of appearance was of secondary importance. The decorative function of women's sculptures imposed on women's images the obligation to dazzle with beauty per se. On the other hand, the focus placed on appearance associated women with what is corporeal and, therefore temporal and less valuable. Women were primarily meant to be the adornments of men, who were responsible for matters of great importance, and the background contributing to their social display. The decorative function presented here partially reflects the way of thinking about women in public space and emphasizes the place intended for them.

The above examples prove that the social order based on the division of gender roles was reflected in the monuments and contributed to its own consolidation. The monuments emphasized and continue to emphasize the masculine status of public space. The political changes that took place in the twentieth century, affecting the position of women in contemporary societies, are still not sufficiently reflected in the public space of Poznań and Strasbourg. The way female imagery is used and its presence in the urban space has not undergone a significant change since the nineteenth century. Although new monuments are still being erected in the city, statues of women are still rare. The way men are represented in statues has changed during the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, but the nineteenth-century model of representing women has unfortunately gone unchanged.

The image of women and men preserved in monuments presents a simplified image of the two sexes as well as a schematic and imperative model of the division of social roles. This image, located in public space, communicates how men and women should see their place in society. Monuments become in this way a tool for privileging some and excluding others.[207]

I would like to emphasize that the different representations of women and men escape simple categorization and definitions based only on opposition.[208] Although many monuments clearly exemplify different characteristics and values

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206 Almost all the monuments in Strasbourg and Poznań during the time period analysed here were men. The exception was a monument of Tadeusz Kościuszko, which was designed by Zofia Trzcińska-Kamińska.

207 D. J. Sherman, *Monuments, Mourning*…, p. 84.

208 This issue is also addressed by D. J. Sherman. *Monuments, Mourning*…, p. 82.

attributed to women and men, some monuments show that sometimes both men and women are expressing similar values. These include, for instance, male and female nameless monuments, in which their main theme is the social role, which in this case is the primary consideration in relation to women and men.

The analyzed examples also prove that the monuments in Poznań and Strasbourg function similarly in terms of gender considerations and form a similar visual message, regardless of the differences in the intended commemorated subjects. They are also objects that send a visual message with their materiality, often significantly enriching the colloquial impressions of the issues discussed here. Monuments are an historical source that allows us to look at these problems through a different prism, one that is not readily noticeable beyond the visual sphere of material culture.

A Bio-graphical Attempt

The division into the sphere of culture and nature is one of the most lasting paradigms of describing reality. It is based on separating the human from the sphere of nature and recognizing that our activity is un-natural and different from any other activity present in the natural world. This division, however, is controversial and seems artificial, though it is undoubtedly useful in describing certain phenomena in the world. It is impossible to regard the human as anything but a natural creation, and therefore our activity seems to be part of this sphere. However, if the concept of culture is to be considered appropriate in describing all human activity, it will follow that it will also include what we consider as belonging to the natural world. The very moment when a man defines the concept of nature culturally legitimates this sphere of reality. So even if we were to consider nature as a phenomenon that objectively separate from culture, determining the boundary between them proves impossible, and the very fact of attempting to describe it (which is a cultural activity) makes it impossible to separate it from the cultural area. As Simon Schama notes:

> Although we are accustomed to separate nature and human perception into two realms, they are, in fact, indivisible. Before it can ever be a repose for the senses, landscape is the work of the mind. Its scenery is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock.[209]

The way in which we perceive nature is, therefore, dependent on cultural baggage that has been accumulated over history. The way the concept of nature has

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[209] S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, Vintage Books, New York 1996, p. 6–7.

traditionally functioned, starting from the original beliefs or origins of the history of art, forms the interpretation framework in which we place it and which influence how we interpret it. Such an interpretation, like all cultural phenomena, also changes over time and depends on the socio-political context.[210] The inability to separate both spheres is also manifested in the shaping of nature by man. This is the case, for example, when we are separating parks or when we place products of material culture in the natural environment.

Nature has played an important role in how monuments have been created. This can be seen on two levels. On the one hand, monuments often contain images of nature in the form of animals or plant ornaments, which play a symbolic role and constitute an important visual message that contains specific content. On the other hand, the natural surroundings of the monument are used to create the desired perceptual impression of the monument. For example, natural elevation or tree planting of the selected place is taken into account.

The monument together with its natural surroundings creates a cultural landscape.[211] Treating the monument as an element of such a landscape enables a fuller description of the way it is perceived by people. Therefore, the examination of the visual impact of monuments cannot be limited to the analysis of the materiality of the object itself.[212] The cultural landscape is a concept defined very widely and commonly used in both the humanities and natural sciences.[213] As Arnold van der Valk points out, it means, among others: "a place where we give meaning to our everyday existence"[214] and "<<living history>> which derives its characteristic features from human activity combined with Mother Nature and combines the past with the present".[215] An important element of research on the impact of the monument is therefore the natural component, which together with the analyzed object forms a whole that affects the observer of the monument. The monument is also an object that can significantly determine the

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210 P. Macnaghten, J. Urry, *Contested Natures*, Sage Publications, London – Thousand Oaks – New Delhi 1998, p. 1–31.

211 Cf. R. Traba, *Społeczne ramy czytania historii*, [in:] *Przemiany pamięci społecznej a teoria kultury*, red. B. Korzeniewski, Instytut Zachodni, Poznań 2007, p. 56–59.

212 Cf. D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1990, p. 287–288.

213 A. van der Valk, *Multiple Cultural Landscape: Research and Planning for Living Heritage in the Netherlands*, [in:] *Cultural Landscape – Across Disciplines*, ed. J. Hernik, Oficyna Wydawnicza Branta, Bydgoszcz – Kraków 2009, p. 31–35.

214 Ibid. p. 32.

215 Ibid.

perception of a chosen landscape, because the message it contains is often also transferred to the area in which it is located. Oaks growing in the forest can be read differently than oaks, which are planted next to the Prussian monument.

Nature combined with architecture also creates a particular biography of the landscape. The term refers to the historiographic method, wherein the description of a past reality is included in research on the "genesis and development of the designed, all-comprehensively understood landscape".[216] Such a description allows us to see that the landscape is a "mental construction – a phenomenon created in the human mind" and thus becomes an important part of the history of given nations, societies or events subject to historical reflection. The term "biography" itself also contains an accurate combination of the nature (bio) sphere with the sphere of culture (graphy) and seems to serve well as a description of objects in the perspective of both these components. Its capacity means that it can be used not only to describe the landscape, but also seems to me adequate to describe the representations of nature contained in the artifacts discussed below.

Ignoring nature or treating it as a sphere separate from the products of material culture would mean omitting the analysis of a significant element of the reality that surrounds us, including the part that concerns the manner of functioning and the influence of monuments. As Phil Macnaghten and John Urry note, researchers recognize that there is not one "nature" but "nature's ideas" that constitute a mental construction depending on the historical and cultural context:

> Once we acknowledge that the ideas of nature both have been and still are fundamentally intertwined with dominant ideas of society, we need to address what ideas of society and of its order become reproduced, validated, and so on, through appeals to nature or the natural…[217]

Monuments are a perfect example of the use of the idea of nature that is valid in a given socio-political context, to emphasize and legitimize the values considered important in this context.

<p align="center">∗∗∗</p>

In nineteenth-century Europe, with the development of interest in the Middle Ages, mysticism and prehistory, the fascination with nature also developed. The return to nature was an important component of the national identity of contemporary Europeans, founded on sentimental descriptions of their native landscapes. As in the case of the poetic tradition of "la douce France", or longing

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216 Ibid. p. 48.
217 P. Macnaghten, J. Urry, *Contested Natures*, p. 15.

"to these forest hills, to these green meadows", it fulfilled the function of per-
petuating a sense of belonging to the community.[218] Appeals to nature made it
possible to use the rich sphere of symbolic references, allowing for convenient
interpretation within various nations and different political environments. The
cyclically regenerating nature could be treated, for example, as a promise of the
immortality of the nation or a symbol of faith in the possibility of rebirth after
the defeat.[219] The use of such a metaphor could therefore be accurate for both
Germans, Poles and the French.

In the Prussian state of the nineteenth century, nature was an important ele-
ment of the symbolic space of the German nation.[220] It was an element of patri-
otism that manifested itself in attachment to the land, understood as Mother
Nature.[221] What originated from nature was "natural" and primitive, and there-
fore also true. This concept gave nature the role of a guarantor of nationalist
political concepts. Appeal to her legitimized the legitimacy and truthfulness of
the actions taken by the authorities and proved their authenticity.[222] Patriotic
fight in defense of the homeland meant, among others, fight for motherland,[223]
and the law became indisputable when it gained the status of natural law.[224] The
role of nature in the formation of the nineteenth-century German identity was
manifested in many areas of culture, of which monuments were an important
part. Prussian monuments provide a perfect example of objects that by nature
have made one of the basic tools used to illustrate the current ideology.

On June 6, 1902, a fountain personifying the Rhine River was unveiled in
Strasbourg.[225] This fountain was designed by a Munich sculptor, Adolf von
Hildebrand, and was funded by a Strasbourg attorney, Sigismund Reinhard. It
was placed in front of the Municipal Theater on Broglie Square. On top of the
fountain was a bronze statue of a god, the father of the Rhine (Vater Rhein), set on
a pedestal with the following inscription: "Argentorato" (Latin for Strasbourg).
The statue was cast in a slightly leaning forward position with the left hand

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218 S. Schama, *Landscape*…, p. 15.

219 Ibid. p. 6.

220 A. Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Heimat, National Memory and the
     German Empire, 1871–1918*, "History and Memory", 1993, vol. 5, no 1, p. 56.

221 T. J. Żuchowski, *Patriotyczne mity i toposy. Malarstwo niemieckie 1800–1840*,
     Wydawnictwo PTPN, Poznań 1991, p. 7. See also: A. Confino, *The Nation as a*…, p. 56.

222 Cf. S. Schama, *Landscape*…, p. 17.

223 Ibid. p. 9.

224 Cf. ibid. p. 17.

225 H. Welschinger, *Strasbourg*, Libraire Renouard, H. Laurens, Paris 1908, p. 96.

Fig. 14: The Father Rhine Fountain. Strasbourg. From the collections of the Bibliotèque national et universitaire de Strasbourg. Open licence

holding the harpoon and the right hand holding the salmon. The monument was destroyed in 1919. Only the bronze sculpture survived and it was transferred to the city of Munich, where it was unveiled in 1932.[226]

The crowning element of the fountain in Strasbourg is a statue of the father of the Rhine, which meant to express the patriotic declaration that the river along with the land of Rheineland belongs to the German homeland.[227] Its defense was an important element of the nineteenth-century anti-French political campaign in which the Rhine River acted as a defense barrier against the French.[228] The

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226 *Vater Rhein Brunnen*, https://stadt-muenchen.net/lexikon/lex.php?fw=Vater-Rhein-Brunnen (accessed: 10.21.2019); *Fontaine de Reinhard (Strasbourg)*, https://www.archi-wiki.org/Adresse:Fontaine_de_Reinhard_(Strasbourg) (accessed: 10.21.2019) and(accessed:10.01.2015). It is worth adding that Munich sent Strasbourg another statue of a young boy with a flute, which is now located on Saint-Etienne Square.

227 Cf. B. Halicka, *Rhein und Weichsel. Erfundene Flüsse oder Die Verkörperung des »Nationalgeistes«*, [in:] *Deutsch-Polnishe Erinnerungsorte*, ed. R. Traba, H. Hahn, vol.3, *Parallelen*, Padeborn [etc.] : Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011, pp. 80–89.

228 T. J. Żuchowski, *Patriotyczne mity i toposy…*, p. 69.

river already had a status of a barrier and a border river in the Roman times, when it constituted the border of the territory occupied by Germanic tribes. The nineteenth-century approach to the Rhine as a river constituting a component of the German identity was also tied to the renewed interest in the history of the Germanic tribes, their myths and legends, which Prussian propaganda extensively utilized for their political ends. The Rhine River played an important role in these myths; it was believed that these waters hid the Nibelung treasure.[229] Building this fountain was not a politically neutral decision, but an ideological act that politicized the river and granted it special status in the history of Germany. This was possible by incorporating nature into history and recognizing that it just as immutable as nature.[230] Such an assumption made it possible to treat the river as belonging to the history of the German nation, an active element of its history and its representative.

Another element of nature, which often appeared on monuments or in their immediate vicinity, was trees. An example of a monument making use of this symbolism is the Bismarck monument in Poznań. The chancellor is depicted holding a map of Poznąń with his hand on an oak trunk.[231] The symbolism of the tree corresponded to the ideals propagated by Prussian propaganda in the occupied areas. Thanks to its longevity and powerful roots, the tree is a metaphor for durability and stability. It symbolizes being rooted in a new place or a new tradition rooting itself. The tree also signifies a strong relationship with the earth and a sense of security, as it gives shade and shelter.[232] Using oak specifically extends this symbolism even further, as oak is also identified with power, durability, steadfastness and prosperity.[233] All these features corresponded to the ideological message of the German Empire, which sought to strongly mark its presence in the areas under its control. The oak as a metaphor of rooting oneself in the new territory and the power of the Prussian state became a symbol of the Second German Reich. The popularity of the oak motif is also evidenced by the fact that it was utilized in the design of the monument to Emperor Frederick III, although the depiction of the oak shooting its branches was removed from the

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229 *Wielka Encyklopedia PWN*, vol. 23, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2004, p. 252.

230 Cf. T. J. Żuchowski, *Patriotyczne mity i toposy…*, p. 21.

231 W. Molik, *"Straż nad Wartą". Pomniki Bismarcka w Poznaniu 1903–1919*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 2001, no 2, pp. 100–101.

232 J. Young, *The Texture…*, p. 219–220.

233 L. Impelluso, *Nature and Its Symbols*, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2004, p. 62.

final design.[234] The monument to Frederic III was already incorporated into the surrounding trees; therefore the symbolism, for which the trees were signifiers, was the frame for this concept. The monument was also located on Wilhelm Square (today Wolności Square), which was planted with trees at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was adjacent to the Wilhelmian Alley (today Marcinkowski Alley) planted with a row of chestnut trees.[235]

The use of tree symbolism, therefore, was not limited to depictions of still life. In the period of the German Empire, such plants were used not only for practical purposes (e.g. providing shade), but also for symbolic reasons. Already in 1871, after the Franco-Prussian war, "trees of peace" were planted, which were to forever commemorate the Prussian victory. They often appeared in the vicinity of monuments dedicated to these events.[236] It is not surprising then that trees were planted as a symbol of the sacrifice solders made for their homeland, a symbol we see even in the case of the monument of an approaching lion.

We are also aware of the concept of the "Heroes Grove" created for the fallen soldiers, which appeared in 1914.[237] These groves were to be filled with oaks planted throughout the country to commemorate their memory and dedication. As Robert Traba notes:

> The idea of heroic groves encompassed the whole complex of images of death and duty towards the homeland. In its center stood Germanic mysticism, the unity of life and nature, and the national idea of the durability and strength of the German nation. The symbol of the idea was an oak that embodies the sanctity and eternity of nature. No plant, no detail of the plant layout and the whole park assumptions was accidental but had its own idea and symbolism.[238]

The idea of creating "heroic groves" was the result of such thinking about nature, which placed it at the center of the symbolic representation of the German nation. It gave the nature not only a political but also a mystical dimension, making it legitimate to the policy of the sacred state.

One example of nature being used in such a way is the monument of the Lion of Nachod, in which nature is doubled. An inanimate object was used in

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234 W. Molik, *Poznańskie pomniki w XIX i na początku XX wieku,* "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 2001, nr 2, p. 25.

235 W. Karolczak, *Parki publiczne, skwery i promenady dawnego Poznania (do 914 r.),* "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 1993, 3–4, p. 49.

236 R. Koshar, *From Monuments…*, p. 50.

237 R. Traba, *Ostpreussen : die Konstruktion einer deutschen Provinz. Eine Studie zur regionalen und nationalen Identität 1914–1933*, Fibre, Osnabrück 2010, p. 344.

238 Ibid.

the form of an animal sculpture and animate objects in the form of four trees planted around the monument. The Nachod lion was erected in Poznań on June 27, 1870, on the anniversary of the Battle of Nachod and was the first German monument in this city.[239] It was devoted to the memory of German soldiers who fell during the battle of 1866. This monument was located on Wilhelm Square, in front of the Municipal Theater and presented a lion, raised on a plinth, whose front paws were placed on a gun carriage. The lion was facing east. Sculptures made of brown cast iron and zinc were placed in the corners of the pedestal, which presented the four commanders of the battle,[240] representing four types of weapons.[241] The monument was additionally surrounded by the four above-mentioned trees and a low fence.

The image of a lion conformed to an established canon of presenting ideological values through nature. Monuments of lions (the so-called Löwendenkmäler) or eagles were some of the most popular in the Second German Reich.[242] At the symbolic level, the lion connoted strength and pride,[243] and as the legendary king of animals, he also had power and courage,[244] making it an apt metaphor for fulfilled Prussian ambitions. Placing a lion on the first German monument in Poznań carried a message from the perspective of the invaders, but also referred to the bravery of the soldiers fighting in the battle. The lion was turned to the east, which symbolized the victorious conquest of the eastern territories and the power of the German Empire. This, in turn, corresponded to the ideological message then in force (dominating the representations of commanders, and also suggested the superiority of the idea over the sacrifice of specific people). The portrayal of a lion in a triumphant pose reinforced the ideological message of the monument. The lion looking to the east could also be a sign of a further Prussian march in this direction and the continuous development of the Prussian state. By means of the reference to the courage with which a lion was associated, the heroism of ordinary people was also emphasized, which in turn allowed for a more personal identification with the message carried by the monument. In

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239 A. Kronthal, *Poznań oczami Prusaka wzorowego. Przyczynki do historii zabytków oraz życia artystycznego i umysłowego Poznania*, Wydawnictwo Miejskie, Poznań 2009, pp. 120–121. Kronthal gives the wrong date of 1869. The monument was unveild in 1870. See: "Dziennik Poznański", 28.06.1870, XII, no 145.
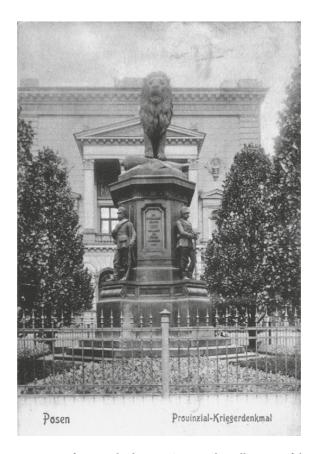
240 W. Molik, *Poznańskie pomniki…*, p. 15 and 22–23.

241 A. Kronthal, *Poznań oczami…*, p. 121.

242 R. Koshar, *From Monuments…*, p. 50.

243 L. Impelluso, *Nature and its Symbols*, p. 213.

244 W. Kopaliński, *Słownik mitów…*, pp. 593–594.

Fig. 15: Lion monument from Nachod. Poznań. From the collections of the University Library in Poznań. Courtesy of the University Library in Poznań

the context of erecting a lion monument in Poznań, it was all the more important because many Poles fought in the Battle of Nachod. The broad symbolic nature of this monument allowed the Poles to find in it the symbol of their valor. Moreover, thanks to the inclusion of the animal in the creation of the monument, the values communicated here have become part of not only the historical order, but also – natural, and therefore eternal and real, more durable than the one that at the symbolic level refers only to a specific political context.

Other animals that often appear on monuments are horses, usually as part of the so-called horse monuments or monuments depicting the ruler or sometimes

the commander in a triumphant pose on a horse. The tradition of their use dates back to antiquity, but they gained more popularity in modern times.[245] However, this imagery is not limited only to aesthetic values, where the horse is an artistic figure, inscribed in the classic canon of the rulers' performances. Reaching for the image of this animal meant also a reference to the rich mythological tradition, which gave him special values. Horses in Greek mythology appeared as draft animals of deities. In Germanic mythology, the horse gained supernatural power thanks to the charger Odin – one of the most important Germanic deities – on which he roamed the heavens and the world. The horse symbolized m.in. vitality, endurance, faithfulness, speed and pride.[246] The ruler, portrayed on the horse, became a proud triumpher, who drew from the strength of the animal, and at the same time ruled over it. The Wilhelm I statue by Ludwig Manzel, which was unveiled in Strasbourg in 1911, referred to such a classic canon of rulers' performances.[247] The sculpture made of bronze was placed on a high pedestal with an inscription with the name of the emperor. Placing the emperor on a horse emphasized his triumphaly and special strength, which would not be expressed only by the statue of the emperor. The monument thus emphasized its active role – active participation in acquiring subsequent territories. He also emphasized the courage and confidence of the emperor and carried him over the crowd of people standing on the ground. The use of the horse's figure enriched, therefore, the substantive message of the monument with further content indicating the dominant role of the emperor.

After Poland regained its independence in 1918, Polish monuments began to appear in Poznań. One of them was a monument to the 15th Poznań Uhlans Regiment.[248] This monument is dedicated to the memory of the Uhlans unit formed during the Greater Poland Uprising. The regiment also played an

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245 L. Impelluso, *Nature and its Symbols*, p. 257.

246 A. Krzemińska, *Kopytem wybite*, „Polityka", 24.05.2008.

247 J.-M. Le Minor, *L'éphémère statue équestre de l'empereur Guillaume Ier, place de la République, ancienne Kaiserplatz, à Strasburg (1911–1918)*, "Annuaire de la Société des Amis du Vieux Strasburg ", 2004–2005, XXXI, pp. 133–140. As mentioned by the author, there are sometimes discrepencies as to the authorship of the monument. Sometimes, Louis Tuallon is credited with creating the statue, but the inscription under the statue reads Manzel.

248 The regiment was first called (in 1919) 1st Greater Poland Uhlans Regiment. It was granted the name 15th Poznań Uhlan Regiment upon special requrest from Poznań's government. Z. Zalewski, *Pomnik 15. Pułku Ułanów*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania. The quarterly is devoted to issues concerning the city of Poznań".1927, no 4, pp. 403–404.

important role in the Polish-Bolshevik war of 1919–1921, for which it was awarded the Virtuti Militari Order.[249] It was then led by Lt. Col. Władysław Anders. The initiative to create a monument appeared in 1923 among the officer corps of the 15th Regiment, who wanted to honor their comrades-in-arms who fell in the struggle for independence. The project was co-financed by the City of Poznań and the City Council.[250] Together with the executive committee chosen by the officer corps, it was decided to place the monument on Ludgardy St. in front of the Franciscan church, near the Old Market Square.[251] The monument was constructed by Mieczysław Lubelski based on Adam Ballenstaedt's design. The monument was placed on a column and showed an uhlan on a horse that pierces the dragon with a lance. In the original version on the dragon's head there was also a military soviet cap with a five-pointed star – so the project referred to the Polish-Bolshevik war.[252]

The use of the image of the dragon carried with it a huge symbolic baggage that enriched the metaphorical message contained in the monument. The dragon – an animal-like creature – has a rich, symbolic tradition rich in meaning. In European culture, however, it usually functions as a creature representing negative values.[253] He is, therefore, bound up with chaos, darkness or destruction, and the Judeo-Christian tradition supplements this set of pejorative meanings associated with Satan.[254] In the Middle Ages, the dragon appeared in many messages, legends and hagiographic writing, in which he usually acted as a dangerous, evil monster and was a significant motif of presenting the heroic struggle between good and evil.[255] The triumphant pronunciation of the uhlan who fought with the dragon was additionally emphasized by the fact that the sculpture was placed on a column, traditionally a sign of triumph.[256]

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249 E. Goliński, *Pomniki…*, pp. 25–26.

250 Z. Zalewski, *Pomnik 15. Pułku…*, pp. 403–408.

251 The monument was demolished by the Nazis in September of 1939. The current one is a copy that was created in 1982 by M. Lubelski and is located in the same place as the original.

252 T. J. Żuchowski, *Pomnik 15. Pułku Ułanów Poznańskich*, Towarzystwo b. Żołnierzy i Przyjaciół 15. Pułku Ułanów Poznańskich, Poznań 2009, p. 27; J. Pazder, *O Poznańskich pomnikach…,* p. 43.

253 T. Margul, *Zwierzę w kulcie i micie*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 1996, p. 218.

254 Cz. Deptuła, *Archanioł i smok*, Wydawnictwo Werset, Lublin 2003, pp. 9–14.

255 Ibid. p. 10–17.

256 T. J. Żuchowski, *Pomnik 15. Pułku…*, p. 41.

The dragon on the Monument to the 15th Poznań Uhlans Regiment is also full of positive associations. It personifies the evil the Uhlans faced in battle with the Germans and the Bolsheviks, and represents not only the particular hostile forces, but enemies in general, while the Uhlan symbolizes the heroic struggle in service of virtue. A man on horseback piercing a dragon with a lance is also portrayed in a pose typical of Saint George – the patron of soldiers. The commemorative struggle for independence was thus elevated to a universal level, and the victory of uhlans was raised to the rank of sanctity.[257] The reference to the Polish-Bolshevik war, whose victorious Warsaw battle is described on the rhetorical level in terms of "the miracle on the Vistula", also highlights the supernatural character of the commemoration. The anonymous Uhlan, as a symbol of St. George waging battle with the dragon, represents the eternal struggle between good and evil, which transcends real time. Such a monument allows the struggle for independence to attain a mystical dimension and to be understood in absolute terms.

Symbolism of animals that exist outside the rational order is also to be found in other monuments in Poznań. Fascination with animals is often characterized by admiration, conviction about their mystery and belief in supernatural power.[258] Multiple symbolic references by people to individual animals may, therefore, indicate a special type of relationship in which the animal is paid homage. Such an animal becomes a sign of a given community and begins to perform a quasi-totemic function.[259]

It acquires special features because it embodies values that important for this group. The desecration of the symbol of the animal is an attack on the identity of the community and, by profaning a symbol of sanctity, it is also a violation of a taboo. The chosen animal also differentiates the given community from others and shows that it belongs to a selected group.

In Polish culture, the role of such an animal is played by the eagle.[260] It appears already in legends describing the creation of Poland, and since the Middle Ages

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257 Por.: T. J. Żuchowski, *Pomnik 15. Pułku…*, p. 42.

258 T. Margul, *Zwierzę w kulcie…*, pp. 13–17.

259 The category of totemism is controversial and researchers differ in their opinions about what it is. There is, however, no doubt that this culturally-specific phenomenon of worshiping animals has many characteristics, which can be contained in the term "totemism" cf.: C. Lévi-Strauss, *Totemism*, trans. R. Needham, Beacon Press, Boston 1971. See also: Stewart Hilary, *Looking at Totem Poles*, University of Washington Press, Seattle 2003.

260 The connection between animals appearing in Polish heraldry and totemism is addressed by Alexander Kraushar. A. Kraushar, *Totemizm w rozwoju dziejowym*

Fig. 16: Monument to the 15th Poznań Uhlans Regiment. Poznań. Photo. M. Praczyk

it has functioned as a full-fledged symbol of this country.[261] The eagle is legally protected by the constitution as the emblem of the Polish nation.[262] Poles,

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społeczeństw pierwotnych i jego objawy w genezie społeczeństwa polskiego. (Próba hipotezy historycznej), Wydane Nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego, Warszawa 1920.

261 The image of an eagle also appears in many national emblems of countries, e.g. in Germany as a two-headed eagle and derives from pre-Indoeuropiean times, where it functioned as a symbol of one of the gods.

262 Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, chapter I, art. 28, p. 1.

however, use the image of the eagle freely, not only in the context of strictly defined national purposes. For example, monuments often bear the image of an eagle. Placing a symbol of an eagle emphasizes the significance of a commemorated event or person, and identifies the values represented by this symbol with the subject of commemoration. Incorporating the image of an eagle into the design of a monument imprints the values represented by the emblem into the entire monument and elevates it to the rank of an object requiring special honor. In Poznań, the image of the eagle is used in almost all Polish monuments. It is present on the monument of the 15th Poznań Uhlans Regiment, the monument dedicated to the Greater Poland Insurgents, on the Poznań 1956 Monument or on the Monument to the Polish Underground State. The eagle performs the function of a national totem, which unites the commemorated values with national values and symbolizes belonging to the nation of all those who share these values. Placing the image of the eagle on monuments, however, has specific consequences. The eagle, as it is subject to special protection and worship, is taboo in the sense that violating it in any way is considered an infraction of the social order which is also transferred to the object bearing such a symbol. The values represented by the monument are, therefore, elevated to the rank of sanctified values, and identifying with the ideas embedded in the monument is evidence of belonging to a community that uses this symbol. Disregarding the ideas represented by the monument may, therefore, be considered grounds for social exclusion. The eagle thus serves not only to build a sense of national community, but also to mark it.

The attitude towards nature, which emerges from the monuments erected in Poznań after 1918, leads to the conclusion that we are dealing here with a different idea of nature than that which was prevalent in the Prussian state. It is no longer an important component of state propaganda and does not create a coherent system of ideological references. It still reverts to a romantic set of ideas about nature, emphasizing its mystical character.

Strasbourg monuments created after 1918 do not stress such a relation to nature which can be found in Poznań. They are not characterized by mysticism. The rooster – the symbol of France – does not appear on monuments, although there are also monuments that use the image of animals in a traditional way, in harmony with the figurative representation of nature. This is even the case with a monument of a child with a fish.[263] Such images of nature, however, have

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263 *L'enfant et son poisson dans l'Hôpital Civil à Strasbourg*, http://www.petit-patrimoine. com/fiche-petit-patrimoine.php?id_pp=67482_77 (accessed: 10.12.2019).

a predominantly aesthetic function. The symbolic use of animals is based on showing the connection between the city and the element of nature that had played a significant role in its history. The dragonfly on the statuette of a young bathing girl in Zurich Square accentuates the earlier presence of the river's arm in the place of the square,[264] just as the fish from the statue of the boy emphasizes the earlier existence of a swimming pool in its place.[265] The monuments that began to appear in Strasbourg at the end of the twentieth century present a different idea of nature than the one traditionally used in the canon illustrating nature. Though it is true that they are basically park sculptures, not monuments, they nonetheless illustrate a remarkable process. In the 1980s in Strasbourg a project was developed that saw the placement of a number of sculptures in the Pourtalès Park, where there is an eighteenth-century palace. From the time Mélanie de Bussière, Countess de Pourtalès tended to the palace at the end of the nineteenth century, when it became an important cultural center of Strasbourg. However, it was not until after the German annexation of the city in 1870 when it began to play a special role as a venue for meetings of the French cultural circle hosted by the Countess. Over the years, the palace brought together eminent personalities of the world of politics and culture, and was closed in 1939 by the countess's granddaughter. After the war, the palace became the property of one of the universities, and the park, which became the property of the city, was opened to the public. Per Jean Arp's wishes, it was filled with contemporary sculptures as part of the European Center for Contemporary Art.[266] This project was guided by the idea of using monumental sculptures to unite uniting the space of nature with the space of culture.[267] This idea resulted in a series of very interesting compositions that value nature as an important component of human identity. The sculptures were meant to reflect on the relationship between man and the surrounding nature. The heritage of the palace located in the park was supposed to emphasize the indissolubility of the space of nature and culture.

The sculpture "Il bosco guarda e ascolta" – "Las sees and hears" by Claudio Parmiggiani merits particular attention. It consists of seven bronze elements depicting ears and eyes growing out from the tree trunk. They are located in

264 *Place de Zurich*, http://www.archi-strasbourg.org/adresse-_place_de_zurich_krutenau_strasbourg-2581.html (accessed: 10.12.2019).

265 *L'enfant et son poisson dans l'Hôpital Civil à Strasbourg*, http://www.petit-patrimoine.com/fiche-petit-patrimoine.php?id_pp=67482_77 (accessed:10.12.2019).

266 Centre européen d'actions artistiques contemporaines (CEAAC).

267 "*Ce n'est pas ici*" *Parc de sculpture de Pourtalès*, https://www.petit-patrimoine.com/fiche-petit-patrimoine.php?id_pp=67482_25 (accessed: 10.12.2019).

places where the branches had been cut off.[268] This concept combines natural elements with products of material culture, creating an indivisible whole. The nature we hear and see in the "Forest …" Parmiggiani listens to and observes people.[269] The roles are reversed and nature becomes an active actor in the human world. The world of nature is not outside the world of man who rules and controls it, rendering it passive and subordinate to human activity. The world of humans and non-humans is connected, and the human takes part in a conscious relationship between him/her and nature. Therefore, the forest also bears witness to the presence and activity of man, one of the elements of its surrounding environment. The eyes, the remains of the branches, being a trace of human activity, abolish the division into the space of culture and nature, and the boundary between becomes impossible to determine. This is an excellent example of a project, where the environment plays a key role. Both the surrounding trees and the fact that they are located in the Park de Pourtalès complete their message and together with the sculpture create a bio-graphy of this place.

In Poznań, there is also an example of a monument that represents an attempt to turn to nature. In the Citadel Park there is a sculpture by Anna Rodzińska-Iwańska (the co-creator of the Poznań Army Monument) entitled "Animal". This sculpture was erected in the seventies and is part of a series of sculptures devoted to animals.[270] Rodzińska's "Animal" does not represent any particular animal, but a "oddity" created by a sculptor, which is meant to be a representative of nature, its incarnation. Because there are no details identifying it to a specific species, the sculpture is excluded from symbolic discourse, which is subjected to the human world. It does not symbolize a particular saint, virtue or value. The "animal" harmonizes with the surroundings, it is simple, focused on itself and its place in the world. It is not turned towards the viewer, but to the ground and does not try to attract anyone's attention. It simply is. Alicja Kępińska notices that the world of Rodzińska-Iwańska's animals "is a world that is favorable and obvious in its existence, built according to some convincing order, absent of artificial emotions

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268 Initially, the statue continued 8 elements, but as a result of a severe storm in 1999 it was somewhat damaged. The bronze ears were relocated and some of the trees collapsed. After the storm, the statue was relocated to another part of the park. *"Il bosco guarda e ascolta" Parc de sculpture de Pourtalès*, http://www.petit-patrimoine.com/fiche-petit-patrimoine.php?id_pp=67482_26 (accessed: 10.012.2019).

269 *Route de l'art contemporaine en Alsace*, broushure CEAAC, ed. Ph. Weiss, P. Guérin, Strasbourg 2006, p. 53.

270 A. Rodzińska–Iwańska, *Rzeźba*, Wydawnictwo Galeria "Profil", Poznań 2000.

Fig. 17: Anna Rodzińska-Iwańska sculpture 'Animal'. Poznań. Photo. A. Topolska. Courtesy of the author

and false dramas."[271] The simplicity of the sculpture testifies to its authenticity. However, this authenticity is built on a return to nature, which does not exceed the sphere of culture (as it is itself culture), but, being self-sufficient, it stands alongside it.

Although the sculpture itself is an expression of an empathic view of nature, emphasizing its meaning, it is not, as is the case in Strasbourg, one of the elements of a larger premise, which would encourage reflection on the relationship between man and nature. It is one of the many sculptures in the Citadel Park, and is unfortunately not indicative of any particular interest in this subject.

The idea behind the creation of the park of sculptures in Park de Pourtalès testifies to the significant change that has taken place in the perception of nature in the twentieth century. This change involves exposing the relativity between nature and the human being, who is subject to it and is only its element. The sculptures in the park de Pourtalès are not a simple reproduction of flora and

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271 A. Kępińska, *"Zwierzęta" Anny Rodzińskiej*, [in:] A. Rodzińska–Iwańska, *Rzeźba*, Wydawnictwo Galeria "Profil", Poznań 2000, p. 7 [no pagination].

fauna, the meaning of which can be decoded on the basis of the tradition of using their images, as in the case of Leo from Nachod, but they serve to extract and show a specific relationship that connects nature and man into a holistic unity. A testimony of the change taking place here is also the aforementioned Janus monument, which uses the water and the proximity of the river to convey completely different contents than those we had to deal with during the fountain of the god of the Rhine. Nature is treated here as a universal value, serving not to divide, but to combine, releasing the formula of the monument from the political color. The juxtaposition of two Strasbourg assumptions thus proves the existence of various ideas of nature, even within one age and one city, and shows the dynamics of change in man's approach to nature. In Poznań, there are no monuments re-evaluating the traditional understanding of nature. The image of flora and fauna still plays a servile role, according to which nature is used, unfortunately, only as an element symbolizing the desired values. A good example of this practice is the monument of the Polish Underground State established in 2007, where eagles are a reflection of national values.

Monuments and Politics

Politics of Memory

The focal point of the considerations presented here revolves around the question of why certain events and people are commemorated, and how these monuments present the various previously negotiated representations of the past. The parallel history of Poznań and Strasbourg allows us to juxtapose the similarities and differences in how the identity of their inhabitants was shaped as manifested through monuments.

There is no denying that a monument can be used as a political tool. However, the way it is used depends on the political context in which it is created. During authoritarian rule, monuments were an apodictic manifestation of the current political concept of reality in a given country. In democratic conditions, monuments are usually in the center of conflict between various social and political interest groups. Public awareness of these groups depends largely on the extent to which they are represented in public space.

Therefore, following Chantal Mouffe, I understand politics as a field of conflict, in which various political forces clash and which take various forms depending on the political system. In the concept of radical democracy proposed by her and Ernesto Laclau, this conflict is characterized by agonism,[272] which involves changing the political enemy into a political opponent. Instead of dangerously escalating a particular dispute, opponents, realizing that they are radically different, fight for hegemony.[273] Consensus is not possible, but in democratic conditions disputes acquire a more civilized form. The concept of radical democracy proposed here leaves no illusions that society is capable of creating a rational compromise that will be satisfactory to all. Mouffe considers such a project of a democratic society utopian and dangerous, because under the illusion of universal consent resides "unrecognizable violence".[274]

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272 L. Koczanowicz, *Antagonizm, agonizm i radykalna demokracja*, [in:] Introduction to the Polish edition of Ch. Mouffe's *The Democratic Paradox*: Ch. Mouffe, Paradoks demokracji, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej Edukacji TWP in Wrocławiu, Wrocław 2005, pp. 10–16.

273 Ch. Ch. Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox*:, Verso, London – New York, 2000, p. 5.

274 Ch. Mouffe, *Democracy, Power and 'The Political'*, [in:] Ch. Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox*, p. 20.

Public space is one of the areas where communities representing various political worldviews clash. The appropriation of space is a form of demonstrating political power. The monument, which belongs to the material manifestations of power, is often one of the elements of such political conflict. In a political situation marked by violence, it often becomes an object of political oppression, as it symbolizes power, or an object at which violence is aimed. This usually happens during wars or revolutions, when monuments are destroyed. In more peaceful conditions, when there is no armed conflict, as is often the case in authoritarian states, communities that fight for the possibility to assemble in public space often use the monument as a sign of their presence. Similarly, in democratic countries, a monument is a tool for demonstrating political power. As an object symbolizing power, it often becomes an instrument of political pressure.

Clifford Geertz noted in an article about the symbolism of power:

> At the political center of any complexly organized society (to narrow our focus now to that) there are both a governing elite and a set of symbolic forms expressing the fact that it is in truth governing. No matter how democratically the members of the elite are chosen (usually not very) or how deeply divided among themselves they may be (usually much more than outsiders imagine), they justify their existence and order their actions in terms of a collection of stories, ceremonies, insignia, formalities, and appurtenances that they have either inherited or, in more revolutionary situations, invented.[275]

Geertz sees in these appurtenances and rituals for exercising power the basic source of power as such. The rituals and objects surrounding the rulers adorn their governments in a costume without which governance would not be possible. The forms in which power manifests may change, but the very fact that they are a *sine qua non* of its functioning is beyond doubt. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, both in France, Germany and Poland, there were various political systems of power. In all these systems, material testimonies were used to confirm the current political order, and monuments were one of the most important tools of political performance. As Geertz observes in relation to the royal ceremonies, the symbolic takeover of domination over a given area was manifested in "stamping the territory with ritual signs of dominance".[276] Monuments are a perfect means of marking territory in such a way, and the

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275 C. Geertz, *Center, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolic of Power*, [in:] Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*, Basic Books Inc., New York 1983, p. 124.

276 Ibid. p. 125.

practice of using them for this purpose can be seen not only in the monarchical systems of power, but also in the realities of democracy.

The monument is a particular example of an object symbolizing power. The ideas it embodies tie it also to history. By combining politics and history, monuments make history into a political tool that marks public space. And since the monument serves to legitimize a given political position, the history it presents must correspond to the political position represented by a given social interest group. In this sense, the monument is a tool of politics of memory.

The term "politics of memory" is difficult to define. Its usage in Poland has little to do with science, and more with journalism and politics itself, which results in the arbitrariness of its meaning. It is often used colloquially, and how it is understood depends on who is using the concept. It can be assumed that this "key word" potentially communicates countless, often contradictory ideas.[277] The danger of applying it also results from the fact that it is strongly ideologically and emotionally charged and evaluated variously by participants of the political scene. In my opinion, the term "historical policy", however, is perfectly suitable for describing a phenomenon that relies on the political use of history, but also, because it is used in so many ways, it seems to be an interesting issue worth analyzing in a scientific manner. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the last decade, scientific studies and conferences have begun to appear that attempt to approach the problem of politics of memory.[278] Krzysztof Zamorski in the article: "Nostalgia and sublime and critical reflection about history. When does 'politics of memory' make sense?" He stated that:

> (…) politics of memory in the sense adopted today is a kind of policy. Like any policy, it is in fact more interested in the present and the future than in the past. It wants to see history as memory, although it does not see that memory appears in postmodernist conceptions as counter-history. The politics of memory wants to control memory.

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277 Cf. A. Wolff-Powęska, *Polskie spory o historię i pamięć. Polityka historyczna*, „Przegląd Zachodni", 2007, no 1. p. 9. Na problem nieczytelności pojęcia polityki historycznej (politique mémorielle) zwraca też uwagę Johann Michel. J. Michel, *Gouverner le mémoires. Les politiques mémorielles en France*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 2010, pp. 2–3.

278 A comprehensive collection of postconference articles devoted to this topic can be found in: *Pamięć i polityka historyczna. Doświadczenia Polski i jej sąsiadów*, ed. S. M. Nowinowski, J. Pomorski i R. Stobiecki, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Łódź 2008. See also: A. Wolff-Powęska, *Polskie spory…*, D. Gawin, *Polityka historyczna – próba bilansu*, "Arcana", 2009, vol. 90, no 6.

History is also a paradoxical springboard for it to jump into the future in the sense in which it allows us to define the goals of its existence.[279]

Zamorski points to the marriage of politics and history that attempts to appropriate memory, and thus a discourse about the past, which is usually alternative and sometimes even oppositional to official history. Monuments are undoubtedly an instrument of politics of memory. The fact that even in undemocratic political systems monuments are erected from funds that do not come directly from the state (although the state often covers them in part) creates the additional illusion that the monument, even if it is a monument of the current ruler of the state, it is borne of the needs of people representing the discourse of memory, not the official discourse of history.[280] Thus, politics of memory attempts to absorb and use all discourses about the past for political purposes and to combine to form a coherent story about past times, which will serve as the foundation of political actions undertaken in the future. Regardless of whether the politics of memory is assessed positively or negatively and how it is defined, it is difficult to deny that it occupies an important place in public life. It is a conscious practice of using history and collective memory for political purposes.[281] The way in which this is done depends on the political and social context.

Drawing on the concept of politics proposed by Chantal Mouffe, one can consider politics of memory as a space of creative conflict, negotiation and the clash of various perspectives of the past. The monument is an object that transfers this political struggle into a populated physical space. The political battles that take place around monuments, their location, shape, depending on the political context, is either a confirmation of antagonistic clashes between the parties to the conflict, or evidence of agonistic rivalry for hegemony between individual social groups. As Kirk Savage notes:

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279 K. Zamorski, *Nostalgia i wzniosłość a refleksja krytyczna o dziejach. Kiedy „polityka historyczna" ma sens?* [in:] *Pamięć i polityka historyczna*, ed. S. M. Nowinowski, J. Pomorski, R. Stobiecki, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Łódź 2008, p. 57.

280 K. Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves. Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, Princeton University Press, Princeton – New Jersey, 1999, p. 6.

281 K. Zamorski provides a comprehensive list of characteristics defining politykę historyczną depending on the attitudes held by those defining it. K. Zamorski, *Nostalgia i wzniosłość…*, p. 56. See also: J. Pomorski, *Ucieczka od historii jako element poprawności politycznej – tezy*, [in:] *Pamięć i polityka historyczna. Doświadczenia Polski i jej sąsiadów*, red. S. M. Nowinowski, J. Pomorski, R. Stobiecki, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Łódź 2008.

> Today we are acutely aware of public space as a representational battleground, where many different social groups fight for access to it and foght for control of the images that define them.[282]

Conflict that is pursued for public space, however, also contains another very important component. The struggle for images that are defined by particular social groups is a struggle for identity. The conviction that monuments presented in the public space have an influence on shaping collective identity is an important element of such clashes for this space. It seems that precisely because monuments are believed to have a great power to influence human identity, they constitute such an important element of the politics of memory defined by the conflict.

Monuments are important building blocks of identity, because they focus on particular tensions between the past and the future. The fact that monuments are one of the tools for practicing historical politics means that the act of commemoration, which is carried out with the help of a monument, is a political act rooted in the past but oriented towards the future. The role of the monument is, therefore, to manifest a particular image of the past, which is meant to create the identity of future generations. The presence of monuments in the urban space demonstrates to the inhabitants of the city the commemorated people and events that are worth remembering. A monument is, therefore, a political statement in public space aimed at educating and informing the public about what version of the past is politically acceptable.

Such a political manufacturing of an acceptable version of the past, carried out with the help of a monument, corresponds with the Hobsbawm's concept of the invention of tradition.[283] Hobsbawm notes that a series of ritualistic and symbolic practices that emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries aimed at the socially empowering newly formed states or institutions in the broader historical context.[284] Referencing the past in these practices was meant to ensure the continuity of norms in effect in the given communities and to legitimize the established order. Monuments, as noted by Hobsbawm, are one of the examples of objects used to produce such traditions. When he wrote about Germany of the Second Reich, he argued:

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282 K. Savage, *Standing Soldiers*…, p. 5.

283 Cf. B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London, New York, 2006.

284 E. Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." [in:] *The Invention of Tradition.* eds. E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008, p. 1.

> Buildings and monuments were the most visible form of establishing a new interpretation of German history, or rather a synthesis of the older, romantic "invented tradition" of German nationalism from before 1848 and the new system: the greatest strength were those symbols in which such synthesis came to fruition.[285]

It is worth emphasizing that creating traditions with the help of monuments also entails creating history. This practice, however, is not only characteristic of the policy of the German Empire, but happens every time a monument is erected. It always presents a particular version of the past times and always only a part of it. The strength and the degree that the idea of history is ideologized in a monument depends of course on who and for whom the monument is erected, but the monument represents a particular history claiming to be the only true one.

Monuments also serve to manufacture traditions in the sense that attendant rituals are held around them, which guarantee continuity. Thus, the monument is often a material reference point for the tradition-producing celebration. Similarly, practices that involve people and bring tradition into being need the formal framework necessary for them to take place. The monument is such an object which helps a new tradition materialize. The monument transports it from the rhetorical sphere into the sphere of physical presence. All these elements: tradition, history and monument, when combined are a tool of political struggle for the identity of those to whom they are addressed.

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Maurice Agulhon in his classic article on the monuments of nineteenth-century France proposed an analysis of the phenomenon of French "statuomania."[286] French "statuomania" was not a homogeneous phenomenon, but it did possess certain dynamics. It had its beginning (at the end of the nineteenth century), its development (times of the Third French Republic, but only until 1918) and its end which Agulhon places even at the end of the first half of the twentieth century. It did not always exhibit the same intensity.[287] This phenomenon, however, consisted of a huge increase in the number of statues erected in the French public space. As Aghulon remarked, "statuomania" was born out of the progressive secularization of nineteenth-century France, where pedestals ceased to be reserved

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285 E. Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914." [in:] *The Invention of Tradition*. eds. E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008. p. 274–75.

286 M. Agulhon, *La 'statuomanie'*…. See also: *Histoire de la France urbaine*, t. 4, red. M. Agulhon, Seuil, Paris, 1983, pp. 425–429. See also: A. Borg, *War Memorials. From Antiquity to the Present*, Leo Cooper, London 1991.

287 M. Agulhon, *La 'statuomanie'…,* pp. 145–146.

only for saints or kings identified with deities, but became open to lay figures.[288] The ideological formation of that society, based on the Enlightenment vision of the world, created, in his opinion, the grounds for monuments as a way of commemoration being disseminated. The decision about the form and content such commemorations assumed, however, was motivated politically.[289] The statues also served a pedagogical function, as they were part of a secular political ceremony and a testament of patriotism. They were an important element in creating French nationalism.[290]

Strengthening the role of the secular state was also accompanied by the validation of the concept of the nation and the emergence of nationalisms, as well as the birth of history as an objective science, which is able to empirically prove the truth about the past. For nineteenth-century historical science in Europe, the key concept was the nation. Writing national history was associated with legitimating the nation and statehood, whose history constituted its importance in the international arena. Leopold von Ranke wrote for example:

> There is no nation in the world that does not come into contact with others. This attitude, depending on the specific nature of the nation, is the relation of the nation to the history of the world, which should be emphasized in universal history. Some nations have power over others walking on earth; they mainly affected the other nations. Thus, we should direct our attention (…) to the nations themselves, actively appearing in history, to mutual influences, to the fights fought, to the path of development which they were influenced by peaceful or military relations.[291]

Directing attention to national history meant reaching for the history of monuments, which were interested in such elements of history that testified to greatness of the nation and its political history. It also meant writing synthetic narratives of national history, which emphasized its genealogy, historical continuation and, as a consequence, validated its existence. The marriage of politics with history proved to be inevitable. History has proved to be a useful tool for legitimizing the state and national policy. Historiography was created, which justified the political aspirations of the ruling countries. Those who were considered national heroes were immortalized with monuments.

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288 Ibid. p. 147.

289 Ibid. pp. 145–147.

290 J. Hargrove, *Qui vive? France!*…, p. 74.

291 L. von Ranke, *Idea historii powszechnej*, tłum. J. Kałążny, [in:] *Opowiadanie historii w niemieckiej refleksji teoretycznohistorycznej i literaturoznawczej od oświecenia do współczesności*, ed. J. Kałążny. Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 2003, p. 95. As mentioned by the translator, the text is based on lectures delivered by Rank in 1831/32.

"Statuomania", however, as the name suggests, did not consist only in erecting statues, but in erecting them up in great, almost obsessive numbers. Thus, statues appeared that not only legitimized state policy but also regional policy in various cities of France.[292] As William Cohen notes in an article on "statuomania" in the nineteenth-century French province:

> Statuary became a familiar form of expression because it was strongly engaged in fostering local patriotism and celebrating the glories of the individual town. Filling a city with monuments was a palpable way of asserting its history and past greatness.[293]

Monuments raised the rank of a given city or region. They also meant the recognition of the person immortalized by them. Having a hero, the city emphasized its value also in the national context – the commemorated hero created the history of not only the region, but also the entire state of which he was a part. The mania of erecting statues worked to strengthen the rivalries between regions, which with the help of monuments tried to prove their superiority, as well as between different sides of the political scene, which were often in conflict as to who deserves a place on a plinth. As Cohen states: "Statues were an immediate and apparently unmediated way to communicating political values to a people who might be wavering in political loyalties."[294] Thus, monuments were used to demonstrate political views and to convince people that they were in the right.

Although the phenomenon of "statuomania" is identified primarily with France, there is no doubt that it also appeared in other countries. Since the rise of the German Empire in 1871, Germany has seen monuments erected in great numbers. This phenomenon reached its apogee in the years of Wilhelm II's reign, even gaining the name of Wilhelmian "statuomania."[295] The role that the monuments had to fulfill in the German Empire, however, was somewhat different from the one in France. Not only did they serve political rivalry and strengthening the national identity, but above all they were meant to support the emergence of a new, coherent national identity, based on a modern German state. As Rudy Koshar notes, the German Empire, newly united under Prussian hegemony, needed a unified version of history, which all citizens of the new state could identify with.[296] German identity was located not so much in the awareness

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292 Cf. W. Cohen, "Symbols of Power: Statues in Nineteenth-Century Provincial France," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1989, vol. 31, no 3.

293 Ibid. p. 495.

294 Ibid. p. 495.

295 S. Michalski, *Public Monuments…*, p. 66.

296 R. Koshar, *From Monuments…*, p. 20.

of belonging to a single, cohesive state organism, but to as a specific cultural community. As Koshar pointed out, in Germany:

> The cultural landscape was already suffused with reach and tangible historical associations, though they were neither automatically conducive to the historical legitimacy of the new nation state, nor indicative of a special Prussian mission to resolve the contradictions of German history. (…) They were, in short, linked to the idea of 'Germany' as a cultural, ethnic, and historical *place* [emphasis – R.K.] in Europe rather then as a unitary political structure.[297]

The newly erected monuments, therefore, were meant to attest to a new, coherent, state identity that no longer only invoked the cultural community (although such monuments were still being made, testified to the superiority of German culture), but also the political community. Following the Franco-Prussian War, many monuments commemorating this event appeared in the Empire, as it constituted an important starting point for the emerging, new German political community. It was during this time that monuments of politicians and rulers began to appear, with their numbers reaching their apogee at end of the nineteenth century.[298] At that time, over 300 monuments dedicated to Otto von Bismarck were created, and almost double that amount was dedicated to commemorating Wilhelm I. The number of all monuments commemorating the new German nation state is estimated at over a thousand.[299] Such monuments were, of course, also erected in the cities analyzed by me. Both Poznań and Strasbourg were received monuments to Wilhelm I and Friedrich III. Bismarck was also commemorated in both cities. In Poznań, the chancellor's statue can be considered the most important Prussian monument, while in Strasbourg he was depicted only in the form of a bust located in the university.[300]

Commemorations of war-related events were common at the end of the nineteenth century: particular battles and generals, rulers and politicians; this was all in accordance with the nineteenth-century historiographic practice, which traditionally was based on the description of wars, battles and rulers, relied on dates and undeniable facts, and praised national heroes. This "History", with a capital H, was reflected in the monuments of the then era.[301] In the monuments

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297 Ibid. pp. 120.

298 Por. S. Sphor, *Das deutsche Denkmal*…, pp. 95–124.

299 R. Koshar, *From Monuments*…, pp. 30–31.

300 M.-N. Denis, *Les statues de l'Université impériale de Strasbourg et la pédagogie du pangermanisme*, "Revue des sciences sociales", 2005, no 34, p. 90.

301 Cf. J. R. Gillis, *Introduction*, [in:] *Commemorations. The Politics of National Identity*, ed. J. R. Gillis, Princeton University Press, Princeton – New Jersey 1996, pp. 9–10.

erected at that time, such a version of history was used that was in accordance with the official interpretation. Monuments, therefore, served the purpose of presenting a particular version of history in public space and to inform people of what elements of their history were considered politically important. The monuments reached a wider audience than historiography and contained a relatively easy to read message. They were part of the project of creating a "landscape of remembrance", which was an important part of the cultural politics fostered by the German Empire.[302]

In the interwar period, the phenomenon of "statuomania" gradually began to subside. In France, people became indifferent to the large number of monuments erected in the previous era; the overabundance of monuments detracted from the uniqueness of the commemorated event or person, and sometimes even caused resentment.[303] Although monuments were still erected, both the form and the content of the commemoration changed. The main theme of the monuments was, therefore, the "Great War". However, monuments not only commemorated generals and politicians, but also the suffering of rank-and-file soldiers. Also in Germany and the area inhabited by the Germans, *Kriegerdenkmäler* was created.[304] Monuments became a sign of both local and national mourning. This fact, however, did not diminish the role of the political dimension of commemoration. As noted by Daniel J. Sherman:

> The political dimension of commemoration resides in the way it channels mourning in a direction that conforms to dominant perceptions of the national interest.[305]

Individual tragedies could find their reflection in the public space only in a form that corresponded to the official, political commemorative discourse, and the thematic framework remained invariably one of national values: patriotism and the state. In addition, as Maurice Agulhon emphasizes, the form by which it was expressed was universalized.[306] The commemoration of the Franco-Prussian war

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302 R. Koshar, *From Monuments*…, p. 24. "Memory landscapes" ("Erinnerungslandschaft") is a German concept referring to material cultural objects found in the landscape which evoke certain associations with history on a communal and individual level and together create a memory map of a particular place.

303 M. Agulhon, *La 'statuomanie'*…, p. 146.

304 B. Böttcher, *Gefallen für Volk*…, pp. 218–219.

305 D. J. Sherman, *The Construction*…, p. 7.

306 M. Agulhon, *Reflexion sur les monuments commemoratifs*, [in:] *La mémoire des français. Quarante ans de commémorations de la seconde guerre mondiale*, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris 1986, pp. 41–42. See also: A. Prost, *D'une guerre mondiale a l'autre*, [in:] *La mémoire des français. Quarante ans de commémorations de*

was, in his opinion, characterized by greater diversity, while the commemoration of the First World War was usually carried out by reproducing several models of the so-called monuments to the dead (*monument aux morts*), which dominated the monumental landscape of France in the interwar period.

In Poland, things were quite different. Its political situation in the nineteenth century meant that little public space was occupied by Polish commemorative architecture. Polish historians were not able to describe contemporary Polish history from the perspective of the history of Polish statehood. With independence regained, this paradigm gained the greatest interest among Polish historians. Stanisław Zakrzewski wrote about the need to focus on the "right political history",[307] and Michał Bobrzyński on the need for a synthetic account of the history of Poland, which culminates in regaining independence, and the focus is put on the question "how we rose after the fall".[308] Andrzej Feliks Grabski also emphasizes that Polish historians in the inter-war period adhered to the idea of objectivization of Polish history and a sober view of history, deprived of emotionalism. Nevertheless, he points out that the need to educate Polish society in the spirit of independence and in respect for Polish statehood has been a guiding light for many representatives of Polish historical science of this era.[309]

This attitude to history was the background to the public debate on the history of Poland, which was also expressed by the representation of the past through monuments. In Poznań, ideas for founding new monuments began to appear in 1919.[310] However, their implementation was often delayed, and the choice of the people to be commemorated proved more contentious. The ideas that the monuments were to present were not a simple translation of the discussions between historians and politicians, but also a political dispute between the

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la seconde guerre mondiale, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris 1986, pp. 25–27. D. J. Sherman warns against universalizing this idea of commemoration as used by Agulhon, which we encounter in France durinig the interwar period. He claims that commemoration was full of differences and niuance, which are worth sutyding and which change way interwar commemorative practices are understood. (D. J. Sherman, *The Construcion*…, p. 5).

307 A. F. Grabski, *Zarys historii historiografii polskiej*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 2003, p. 168.

308 Qtd. in. A. F. Grabski, *Zarys historii*…, p. 167.

309 A. F. Grabski, *Zarys historii*…, pp. 165–184.

310 W. Karolczak, *"Wychodek tyłkiem", czyli repolonizacja wyglądu miasta w pierwszych latach II Rzeczypospolitej*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 1998, no 4, p. 169.

parties of the political scene who wanted to fight for primacy in urban space, and consequently in the historical consciousness of the city's inhabitants.

Another important event in the history of Europe, which was to be commemorated in both Strasbourg and Poznań, was the Second World War. In this case, what became problematic were not only the form that the commemoration was supposed to take, but also its subject. In France after the Second World War, the political conflict faced by the French society was much more pronounced than that of the first half of the twentieth century. As Antoine Prost aptly noticed:

> World War I was an event concerning a united nation, despite the divisions that characterized the beginning of the century. So there were pacifists who in 1917 considered negotiating with Germany and a compromise peace, but nobody would have thought of wishing for themselves, let alone wishing Germany's victory, as Laval did in 1942. (…) The memory of World War II was therefore split into many contradictory memories. The memory of the Gaullists did not harmonize with the memory of the communists, and those who were in favor of Marshal Pétain in 1944 did not find themselves in either of them or in the second. Commemoration was therefore endangered by this absence of shared memory.[311]

After World War II, fewer monuments were erected in France than after the First World War. Those that were erected, for the most part, conformed to the existing model of monuments. More monuments dedicated to the deceased appeared, and new dates were often simply added to the existing "monuments aux morts". A small number of monuments commemorating the liberation of France and the extermination of Jews also appeared. Definitely fewer monuments were devoted to particular people, politicians or commanders who distinguished themselves in World War II, and the debate over who to commemorate and what their monument would look like waged in France long after the war. One of the first monuments erected in honor of a distinguished general from World War II was the obelisk commemorating General Philippe Marie Leclerc, unveiled in Strasbourg in 1951. However, this monument is an exception. Greater interest in monuments began to appear in the seventies, and in particular in the eighties, thanks to François Mitterand, although even then there were few noteworthy monuments commemorating important figures of the recent history of France.[312] The exceptions include the monument erected in Paris in 1984 in tribute to Marshal Marie Pierre Koenig and his divisions.[313] The conflicted memory of

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311 A. Prost, *D'une guerre*…, pp. 26–27.
312 S. Michalski, *Public Monuments*…, pp. 167–168.
313 Ibid. pp. 169–170.

World War II and the aversion to monuments dating back to the times of the Third French Republic lead to a decline in interest in the monumental form of commemorating the past in the second half of the twentieth century.

Commemorating events or people deemed important in the history of a given country is part of the traditional, historical, social and political discourse. Thus, the form that such a commemoration takes is also usually traditional: a statue or an obelisk. Low interest among city residents in traditional monuments is combined with the crisis of traditional historiography and traditional commemorative rituals.[314] The crisis of historical narratives dominated by the description of "history of victors" is reflected in the anti-monuments[315] emerging after the Second World War, especially in Germany. Monuments are not disappearing from the public space of contemporary France, only the subject of commemoration and its form are gradually changing. However, politics of memory, its educational and commemorative functions still play a considerable role, and the issue of political use of history is still present. Evidence of this is provided by a famous open letter signed by prominent French historians published in the "Libération" in 2005 in protest against laws interfering with the work of historians, in which the authors state, inter alia:

> In a free state, defining the truth, history is based neither on the parliament nor on legal power. State policy, even if guided by good intentions, is not a policy of history. In contradiction to these principles, there remain articles of statutes (…) that limit the freedom of the historian, ordering him to be punished, what to look for and what to find, recommending methods and imposing restrictions.[316]

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314 A. Prost, *D'une geurre*…, pp. 28–29. It is worth noticing that the role of rituals connected to commemorating historical events of particular countries are assumed today by historical happenings. Reenacting history is today the new commemorative practice. The traditional forms of celebrating and commemorative rituals, for which the monument constituted the central position, cease to play an important role and, therefore, less attention is devoted to monuments.

315 These are monuments which challenge the ideological and material dimension of traditional monuments, which have been erected to honor particular people and events. They are directed towards a critical discourse about the past and often constitue such a form of commemoration that is covertly inscribed in the public space. Anti-monuments usually commemorate events connected to the Holocaust. Interesting examples of anti-monuments include The Monument against Fascism by Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz in Hamburg, or the negative fountain for Aschrotta-Brunnena by Horst Hoheisel in Kassel. For more information on this subject see: J. Young, *The Texture*…, pp. 27–48.

316 Qtd in. E. Domańska, *Historie niekonwencjonalne*…, p. 225.

The letter in which historians speak against one example of politics of memory contains a declaration of what history is and what a historian's work entails. Thus, it is also an expression of politics of memory, though it is one that is issued from the other side of this historical-political conflict.[317]

In Poland, commemoration of World War II depended on the policy of the Soviet Union. Monuments in large numbers appeared all over the country and commemorated mainly the "liberation" of Poland by the Red Army. In accordance with the politics of memory in force in the Eastern bloc, statues were erected in honor of Soviet heroes and the "great builders" of the Soviet order. However, the later years of the People's Republic of Poland saw the effects of the opposition fighting for their monumental representation in public space.[318] This is how the Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers in Gdansk and the monument to the Poznań June 1956 Monument came to fruition.

After 1989, issue of commemoration in Poland was subject to new regulations, which often resulted in monuments of the People's Republic of Poland being toppled from their plinths; also, a number of initiatives to commemorate events that could not be commemorated earlier were undertaken. However, it was not until the 2000s when a significant increase in the number of monuments could be seen. A number of factors contributed to this change, such as increasing financial possibilities, initiatives of communities which were not allowed to exist in the officially commemorated history (for example, leading to the creation of monuments devoted to Katyn or the Home Army), and also increased interest in history as a tool used by politicians to legitimize political aspirations. In the second half of the first decade of the twenty-first century, politics of memory in Poland became an element of official political strategy and the subject of public debate, and issue of which monuments to remove and which ones to erect were central in these discussions.[319] History, traditionally understood by politicians,

317 Cf. E. Domańska, *Historie niekonwencjonalne…*, pp. 224–226. See also: J. Michel, *Gouverner les…*, The claims that in contemporary France we are certainly witnessing the politics of memory. He notices, however, that politics has become pluralized and has become a kind of politics that represents certain social groups who reach for it to create a desired idea of the past. Therefore, today we are dealing with not so much polityce historycznej as with historical politicians.

318 Cf. J. Hübner-Wojciechowska, *Społeczno-artystyczne warunki powstawania pomników w Polsce w latach 1945–1980*, Wydawnictwo Instytutu Kultury, Warszawa 1986.

319 Cf.: *Prezydent Komorowski o zadaniach Prof. Nałęcza i polityce historycznej*, "Polityka", 17.10.2010; *Polską rządzą historycy. Rozmowa z Prof. T. Nałęczem o historii i polityce historycznej*, "Polityka", 27.08.2010; M. Henzler, *Polityka historyczna posłów. Sejm pisze historię*, "Polityka", 05.04.2010, D. Gawin, T. Łubieński, J. A. Majcherek, T. Merta,

is also reflected in the traditional forms adopted by monuments that are being erected in Poland. There are very few designs that are open and critical of the idea of commemorating the past. In addition, it is worth noting that the conscious and overt political use of history is also nowadays a public practice and serves as an important political tool, as evidenced by the Institute of National Remembrance in Poland. The marriage of politics and historical science is certified by the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance.[320]

When writing about politics of memory, of which monuments are important tools, it is impossible not to mention another important political practice. Not only is the construction of monuments its essential element, but also their destruction, which is an issue I will discuss in greater detail in the section devoted to emotions.[321] For such reasons, the demolition of monuments was made as part of the policy of the historical communist era, or of the Strasbourg and Poznań monuments destroyed during the Nazi occupation. The practice of destroying monuments has often been focused here, on the border, due to the turbulent history of both cities. It is worth noting that according to Georges Bischoff, the political iconoclasm in France was mainly focused on Alsace, due to its controversial national identity.[322] A similar good example is Poznań.

Robert Bevan, writing about the destruction of cities, uses the term "murder", deriving it from the ancient tradition of urbicide.[323] This term, usually used in relation to man, also finds its application in relation to the products of human culture. An attempt to eliminate selected groups of the population, for example through Germanization, cannot limit itself to activities aimed at only people. Full dehumanization is accomplished when it also concerns what constitutes their identity. Cultural products thus become just as "guilty" as people. Their

M. Jędrysik, *Po co nam polityka historyczna – debata gazety*, „Gazeta Wyborcza", 30.09.2005, A. Michnik, A. Nasalska, K. Pomian, J. Życiński, *Polityka historycznych kłamstw*, "Gazeta Wyborcza", 03.02.2002; P. Machcewicz, *Debata o stosunku III RP do przeszłości. Dwa mity ideologów polityki historycznej IV RP*, „Gazeta Wyborcza", 29.98.2008, A. Szostkiewicz, *Pojedynek na pomniki*, "Polityka", 06.03.2010.

320 Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/o-ipn/ustawa/24216,Ustawa.html (accessed: 10.12.2019).

321 Cf. M. Kula, *Nośniki pamięci…*, pp. 200–221.

322 G. Bischoff, *L'iconoclasm politique au XXe siècle: l'exemple de l'Alsace*, [in:] *Iconoclasm*, ed. C. Dupeux, P. Jezler, J. Wirth, Somogy, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Strasbourg – Zurich, 2001, [exhibition catalogue], p. 400.

323 R. Bevan, *The Destruction of Memory. Architecture at War*, Reaktion Books, London 2006, p. 18.

destruction signifies the removal from the cultural context of societies that have a specific identity, also rooted in public space. Monuments are not political per se, but they acquire this feature and are subject to political consequences because they are produced by specific people in a given political context.[324] They are not treated as having artistic values of a work of art, but as an element of culture to be removed.[325] Representing the values respected by a given community, monuments are an important sign of its presence. By destroying monuments, the memory of what is important is also destroyed and evidence of its history is also erased. In this way, their destruction is also part of the ancient tradition of "damnatio memoria", which consists in removing images of heads or faces of people who have been sentenced to oblivion.[326] There is a break at the level of memory necessary to create a "new man". Such "cultural purges" serve to show the weakness of the destroyed culture, its impermanence and the fragility of the people it represents, and constitute an important political tool.[327]

Identity: From Regional Politics to National Politics

The process of inventing traditions, e.g., with the help of monuments, which is a topic Eric Hobsbawm addressed, corresponds with the concept of the nation proposed by Benedict Anderson, who defines the nation as an "imagined, political community".[328] There are a number of ways to generate the idea of a nation among the members of a community, including by means of the Hobsbawmian tradition. Since the nineteenth century, and especially since the middle of this century, monuments have been an important element of nationalist politics. Using monuments in such a way reveals their causative power. They are used to create a sense of national belonging and are one of the tools by means of which one can imagine a nation. However, the ideas that the monuments convey are not always clear. The political elite, in their attempt to create an unambiguous and coherent image of the nation, sometimes falls short of their desired effect. As

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324 Cf. Ibid. p. 12.

325 Cf. D. Gamboni, *The Destruction of Art. Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution*, Reaktion Books, London 2007, p. 17.

326 Cf. T. J. Żuchowski, *Pomnik 15. Pułku…*, p. 42.

327 R. Bevan, *The Destruction…*, s. 8. The topic of "patriotic purges" of monuments that took place during political shifts in Poland is also addressed by Janusz Tazbir. J. Tazbir, *Walka na pomniki i o pomniki*, "Kultura i społeczeństwo", 1997, vol. 41, no 1, p. 18.

328 B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities…*, p. 6.

a result, we are often left dealing with imaginary communities rather than with one established, lasting imaginary community.[329]

Attempting to create a coherent, political national community entails trying to create a coherent national identity. As in the case of the nation, it is perhaps even more difficult to view such an identity as an established, homogeneous whole, as it is not unambiguous, unchanging set of features that always allows individuals to determine their national affiliation. Stuart Hall aptly describes this problem:

> Perhaps instead of thinking identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a 'production' which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation.[330]

He defines such constantly constructed identity in the following way:

> Cultural identity (…) is both a matter of 'becoming' as well as 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being enternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power.[331]

National identity is also subject to constant changes; it is fluid and impossible to clearly determine. Therefore, in the case of identity in general, and therefore also in the case of national identity, one should speak of particular people identifying with individuals, events or other entities of public life, which can be seen as instruments for the production of a given community.[332] It seems that in the case of monuments that legitimize national values, such identification is possible when they constitute an important reference point for individual communities. This happens when particular people gather under a given monument, erect or destroy it, and when it becomes the source of political conflict. Why are, then,

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329 Cf. D. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton University Press, Princeton – Oxford 2008, pp. 149–179.

330 S. Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." In: *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*. Eds. Williams, Patrick and Laura Chrismas. Hemel Hempstead, UK: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993, p. 222.

331 Ibid. p. 225.

332 Cf. F. Cooper, C*olonialism in Question. Theory, Knowledge, History*, University of California Press, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 2005, pp. 59–90. [Chapter title: "Identity", which I refer to was co-written by Roger Brubaker].

monuments so often important objects participating in this "'game' of history, culture and power"? As Avner Ben-Amos notes, when writing about French monuments and French nationalism:

> Since "the nation" is a cultural and political construct, its symbolic representation in ceremonies, monuments and images makes it a palpable object, comprehensible to a population that has to imagine itself as a unified community. Symbolic representations of the nation, such as monuments, have therefore a creative power as well: they give substance to abstract concepts and enable the spectators to identify themselves with this large and rimote entity.[333]

The tangibility of a monument as well as the fact that it materializes abstract ideas by encapsulating them in a concrete form makes it an attractive object of national politics. People who identify with particular people or events are included in the symbolic space represented by means of monuments. Often, however, it is the case that a proposed idea of a nation is not unambiguous. Consequently, depending on the context, different national identities and different versions of the same national identity are created and compete with one another in public space with the help of monuments.

<div align="center">⁂</div>

In Poznań, during the Partitions, the subordinate position of the Poles made it difficult to cultivate Polish identity. Strengthening it required, therefore, a number of activities that enabled Poland to mark its presence in public discourse. Public space became an area of political rivalry between the occupiers and the Poles. Accentuating the Polish character of the urban space became one of the means of consolidating Polish national identity.[334]

This conflict was primarily noticeable in the city's urban structure. The first building to serve the purpose of marking the Polish presence in the city was a library commissioned by Edward Raczyński in 1829.[335] The establishment of the Bazaar, Society of Friends of Sciences, and the Polish Theater also manifested

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333 A. Ben-Amos, *Monuments and Memory in French Nationalism*, "History and Memory", 1993, vol. 5, no 2, pp. 50–81.

334 For more information on this topic, see: H. Grzeszczuk-Brendel, *Eine Stadt zum Leben. Städtebau und Wohnungsreform in Posen in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, trans. Sandra Ewers, ed. B. Störtkuhl, Walter de Gruyter und Co., Berlin – Boston, 2018, G. Kodym-Kozaczko, *Urbanistyka Poznania w XX wieku. Przestrzeń. Ludzie. Idee*, Wydział Architektury Politechniki Poznańskiej, Poznań 2017, Z. Ostrowska-Kębłowska, *Architektura i budownictwo…*.

335 Z. Ostrowska-Kębłowska, *Architektura i budownictwo…*, pp. 193–204.

Polish presence.[336] The occupying power did not grant permission to construct many buildings. However, while agreeing for the construction of the above-mentioned buildings, they undertook measures aimed at neutralizing the Polish character of Poznań. In response to the building of the Polish Theater, the German theater was modernized, and after dismantling the fortress fortifications surrounding the city, a new German district was built, which was to become the representative space of the city. With the Germans constantly oscillating between a policy of domination and moderate concessions, Poles were able to implement some Polish projects. Marking the their presence in the public space of the city was undoubtedly one of the most important elements of building the Polish identity in its area, as it meant breaking down German structure of Poznań. This competition for the national character of the urban space was also manifested in the monuments erected during this time. The first to take steps to erect a monument in the city were the Poles.

The impulse to commission a Polish monument in Poznań was the death of Adam Mickiewicz, which caused a stir in all partitions. The Polish population of Poznań reacted positively to the idea of funding a monument dedicated to the poet and thanks to the support provided by the residents, Władysław Oleszczynski's project was realized and the monument was unveiled on May 7, 1859, becoming the first monument celebrating the poet on Polish soil.[337] The German authorities of the city, however, had serious doubts as to whether to allow the statue of the Polish bard to be located in Poznań, let alone in one of the city's public squares, which is why the monument was ultimately located in a private area by St. Marcin's Church.[338] As Przemysław Matusik noted, the initial disagreement over the construction of the monument to Mickiewicz resulted from the full awareness that this monument would not only commemorate the poet, but also a man involved in Poland's struggle for independence, a man who was a symbol of Polishness. The difficulties faced by Poles were commented on as follows:

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336 Ibid. pp. 453–464, pp. 342–347, pp. 458–453.

337 P. Matusik, *Poznańskie pomniki Adama Mickiewicza*, „Kronika Miasta Poznania", 2001, no 2, p. 77. For more information about the cult of monuments to Mickiewicz and the many monuments devoted to him, see also: P. Szubert, *Pomnik Mickiewicza – ołtarz narodu*, [in:] *Materiały do studiów nad sztuką XIX wieku, Pomniki w XIX wieku*, vol I, ed. J. Brendel, Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Poznań UAM, 1993.

338 P. Matusik, *Poznańskie pomniki…*, p. 77.

> In the proceedings of the Prussian authorities it is difficult to find any particular malice. From the Prussian point of view, this decision was fully rational: the political potential inherent in the person and work of Mickiewicz seemed obvious.[339]

Erection of the Adam Mickiewicz monument was not only a matter of respect for the poet. It was also a political declaration and a validation of Polishness in the public space of the city. From the point of view of the Prussian authorities, its erection was dangerous because the statue could be a physical reference point for political activities. Although the Mickiewicz monument was not initially an object around which Polish political demonstrations were held, it, nevertheless, held such potential. It encouraged the cultivation of patriotic values, which Mickiewicz symbolized, even during various Polish celebrations. At any moment, it could have become a hot spot for political clashes. The potential of the Mickiewicz monument appeared only at the end of the nineteenth century, when the Prussian authorities used monuments in the urban space as an element of conscious politics of memory. Public space of Poznań then began to be filled with many German monuments. The first of them was the statue of Leo from Nachod, unveiled in 1870. Another monument, commemorating William I and the Franco-Prussian war, was erected in 1889. The Prussian character of the city was also emphasized with an obelisk in honor of soldiers who died in the Austrian-Prussian and French-Prussian war, which appeared in Poznań in 1899 in the area of military barracks.[340] In the following years, more Prussian monuments appeared in the city. Apart from the monument of Mickiewicz, only the monument dedicated to Jan Kochanowski, located on the outskirts of the city, on Ostrów Tumski (unveiled in 1885)[341], could be identified with Poland. In the public space of Poznań, therefore, there were no Polish monuments of a strictly political purport.[342] Dissatisfaction among Poles with the new Prussian monuments in the city resulted in efforts to rebuild the monument of Adam Mickiewicz.[343] The initiators of this idea wanted to put this monument in a more public place (the intention was to move it closer to St. Martin Street) and they also wanted

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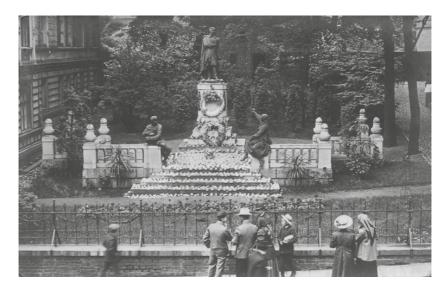
339 Ibid. p. 78.

340 W. Molik, *Poznańskie pomniki*…, p. 15.

341 *Poznań od A do Z. Leksykon krajoznawczy*, ed. W. Łęcki, P. Maluśkiewicz, Wydawnictwo Kurpisz, Poznań 1998, p. 237.

342 The monument of the first Polish kings was this type of monument. It was located inside a cathedral – in the Golden Chapel. The chapel was built in 1837. Z. Ostrowska-Kębłowska, *Architektura i budownictwo*…, p. 215.

343 P. Matusik, *Poznańskie pomniki Adama*…, pp. 81–81.

Fig. 18: Adam Mickiewicz Monument (1904). Poznań. From the collections of the University Library in Poznań. Courtesy of the University Library in Poznań

it to be made of more durable materials to make the monument more distinguished. All these efforts came to fruition in 1904 with the erection of the new statue, while the previous statue was moved to the courtyard of the Society of Friends of Sciences. The second monument of the poet began to play a strictly political role, with the first major Polish patriotic demonstrations in Poznań taking place under it. These demonstrations took place in 1912 and 1913 and were associated with the celebration of the anniversary of the November Uprising and the January Uprising.[344] Thus, the political function of the monument became a reality.

The fact that it was Mickiewicz, a poet, who was commemorated with the help of the monument seems to have had a significant impact on the formation of Polish national identity. Because it was impossible to commemorate anyone directly related to the sphere of politics, national identity emerging from these monuments was based on slightly different values than those presented by rulers or politicians. With Mickiewicz, the image of Polishness acquired a nostalgic and sentimental air.

344 Ibid. p. 82.

This emotional idea of the Polish nation, associated with the poet for whom "feeling and faith" spoke more strongly, favored the creation of a more romantic national identity. Mickiewicz became politicized the moment a statue was erected in his honor, which tied the romantic identity of Poland with a political agenda.[345]

This did not stand in contradiction to Poznań being an important center of "organic work" based on pragmatic activity. The insurgent struggle, whose importance is most often emphasized in Polish historiography, was only one of the many ways to confront the occupier. However, organic work required frequent contacts with Germany, which consisted of negotiations and attempts to reach a mutual understanding. The postulates of "organic work" (joint action of the nation for economic development and the development of national consciousness, as well as deepening relations between the members of the Polish nation) have often been expressed in a number of grassroots initiatives. In Poznań, this was evidenced in the erection of the statue described here. The monument itself was in line with the ideals of "organic work", because it was the result of the bottom-up efforts of the Poles and resulted in strengthening the ties between them. It is worth noting that monuments of Mickiewicz were also appeared in other important Polish urban centers, e.g. in Krakow and Warsaw.[346] The commemoration of the Polish bard was, therefore, not only an important reference point for the consolidation of the national identity of Poles in Poznań, but also a point of reference for all Poles. In addition, the use of Mickiewicz as a symbol of Polish resistance was rather conflict-free and so neutral that almost everyone found in Mickiewicz a message with which he or she could identify.[347] Mickiewicz, being a political symbol of Polish resistance, thus had a significant impact on the general shape of the Polish national identity.

The idea of Polishness emerging from the commemoration of the poet differed from that presented by the Germans with the help of Prussian monuments. Mickiewicz's romanticism was not analogous to the vision of German statehood, embodied by German emperors or the chancellor. This exemplifies how different Poznań's "political imagined communities" of Poles were from those of the

345 Cf. T. Kizwalter, *O nowoczesności narodu. Przypadek polski*, Semper, Warszawa 1999; T. Łepkowski, *Polska – narodziny nowoczesnego narodu 1764–1870*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1967.

346 An interesting analysis of these monuments is presented by Patrice M. Dabrowski. Cf. P.M. Dabrowski, *Commemorations and the Shaping of Modern Poland*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington – Indianapolis, pp. 133–156.

347 Cf. P. Dabrowski, *Commemorations…*, p. 155.

Germans. The German idea of the nation, presented with the help of monuments, was based on strong state power, recent historical figures and a clearly delineated political leadership, while the Polish idea of the nation, in the case of monuments, invoked the poet, it was messianic and, above all, more vague, as it did not stem from any particular political leaders.[348] Of course, it cannot be forgotten that the Polish identity that emerged from the monuments was shaped by the occupying powers prohibiting the construction of monuments of political leaders. The failed efforts to erect Polish monuments after the First World War prove, however, that Mickiewicz's vision of identity suited the Poles and was an important building material for their identity. It is difficult to draw general conclusions about the Polish identity of the inhabitants of Poznań, but the monuments described here show how this identity was revealed in public space.

The political, imagined community of the Strasbourg residents was shaped differently than that of Poles living in Poznań. The cultural diversity of Alsace and the strongly-felt borderland context meant that the inhabitants of the city did not always identify themselves unambiguously with the French or Germans, often emphasizing their Alsatian separateness.[349] This attitude to both Germany and France accurately reflects the statement of one of the Alsatians invoked by John Western, who researched the identity of Strasbourg residents:

> Such were the past problems of Strasbourg/Strassburg, where everyone was forced to choose between being a Frenchman and being a "German," but they could hardly express the wish not to become either of them, or become both.[350]

The fact that from 1681 Strasbourg was part of the French state was a decisive factor in the political affiliation of Strasbourg's residents until 1871.[351] In

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348 It is worth mentioning that in nineteenth-century Poznań initiatives to erect other monuments also appeared. One of the planned monuments was meant to honor the General Jan Henryk Dąbrowski. Despite efforts, it was not erected due to the opposition from the occupying powers. Cf. M. Warkoczewska, *Niezrealizowany pomnik generała Jana Henryka Dąbrowskiego*, [in:] *Materiały do studiów nad sztuką XIX wieku. Pomniki w XIX wieku*, vol. I, ed. J. Brendel, Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Poznań UAM, 1993, pp. 85–94. Another person who was meant to be commemorated was Karol Marcinkowski. Cf. W. Molik, *Z dziejów kultu najwybitniejszego Wielkopolanina. Starania o pomnik Karola Marcinkowskiego w Poznaniu*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 1996, no 3, pp. 121–142.

349 Cf. J. Western, *Neighbors or Strangers and Transitional Identities in Strasbourg*, "Annals of the Association of American Geographers", 2007, vol. 97, no 1, pp. 158–181.

350 J. Western, *Neighbors…,* p. 163.

351 Cf. R. Kleinschmager, *Strasbourg: une ambition européenne*, Economica, Paris 1997, pp. 8–16.

addition, as the capital of the region, Strasbourg was a city in which pro-French sympathies were more clearly visible than in the rest of Alsace.[352] It is worth noting, however, that the most important nineteenth-century secular statues erected here in 1840 commemorated both the French and the German. One of them was devoted to General Jean-Baptiste Kléber, born in this city, and the other to Johannes Gutenberg, who lived in Strasbourg for some time.[353]

After the annexation of Alsace to the German Empire in 1871, the statue of Kléber was not demolished. The policy of the German Empire with regards to the Alsatian population allowed for the cultivation of French culture and language. In connection with the new political affiliation, strong pro-Alsatian tendencies surfaced, which were a safe alternative to both pro-German and pro-German attitudes.[354] There was widespread hope for the political autonomy of Alsace, and the keen love for the Alsatian dialect played an important role.[355]

After 1870, the monument of General Kléber began to act as a French symbol of resistance,[356] while the German status of the city was further solidified by new German monuments: Wilhelm I, Frederic III and Wilhelm II. Leaving the Kléber monument in the public space enabled the Strasbourgians to identify with an important figure in both the history of the city and the history of France. The French national identity thus found a reference point in a specific historical person. Not without significance was the fact that Kléber represented the French army. Thus, the French, with a monument commemorating their general in the public space, could build their national identity based on values of bravery, strength and pride, values which were validated the monument located in the public space.

The monument of the General in Strasbourg and the monument of the poet in Poznań connote different sets of values. Similarly, the communal identity of the French, which after 1871 was located within the borders of the German Empire,

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352 A. Chwieduk, *Alzatczycy. Dylematy tożsamości*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań 2006, p. 118.

353 It should be noted that one of the most important reasons for erecting the Gutenberg statue was a dispute between Strasbourg and Mainz as to where Gutenberg invented the printing press. Also, political conflicts between the republicans and the monarchists contributed to the erection of the statue of Gutenberg. Suzanne Braun, *Le monument de Gutenberg*, http://acpasso.free.fr/archives/photosdiverses/Le%20monument%20 de%20Gutenberg.pdf (Accessed: 10.12.2019).

354 A. Chwieduk, *Alzatczycy*…, pp. 128–129.

355 J. Western, *Neighbors*…, pp. 159–165.

356 L. Maechel, Th. Rieger, *Strasbourg insolite*…, pp. 51–52.

had a different character from that which was represented by Poles living in the same Empire. In contrast, Germans in both cities used monuments that communicated the same political values and, based on them, they tried to create a new, unified German identity.

Stronger anti-German sentiment emerged in Strasbourg during the "Great War." During this period, German repression also intensified in relation to this population, which identified with France, and in particular in relation to the French elite living mainly in Strasbourg.[357] This policy might have been the catalyst for Strasbourg students to destroy, in a spontaneous act, the German monuments in 1918. Though not always holding a clearly defined national affiliation, some residents of the city demonstrated their opposition to the policy pursued by the German Empire. What is characteristic, according to "Le Miroir", the monuments were demolished by Alsatian students, and thus the intellectual elite of the city.[358] Symbolically, the students placed the head from the statue of William I at the Kléber monument. As we can see, they identified with the general, and his statue belonged to the inhabitants of the city, who were constitutive of the French identity.

After the First World War, Strasbourg, which was annexed by the French, became a field of intense political efforts aimed at imposing French national identity on the Alsatians. The local hopes for the autonomy of the region were eliminated. As emphasized by the Asatian quoted earlier:

> At the end of the war, we were wondering if some autonomy could be granted to Alsace? Lloyd George was in charge. But Clemenceau and Poincaré were tough: the answer was "no".[359]

The policy of the French authorities after the First World War was predicated on the cultural homogenization of the country and the strengthening of the French national identity.[360] This policy also concerned Strasbourg and was reflected in monuments erected in Strasbourg in the interwar years. A monument to the Marseillaise and a statue of Joan of Arc appeared in the city.

The monument to the Marseillaise was placed on a pedestal, on which there is an inscription containing the first verse of the hymn ("Allons enfants de la Patrie"). It presents two anonymous characters ("children of the homeland") holding the banner.

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357 Por.: A. Chwieduk, *Alzatczycy…*, p. 133.

358 "Le Miroir", 1918, no 266, p. 1.

359 J. Western, *Neighbours…*, p. 162.

360 A. Chwieduk, *Alzatczycy…*, p. 141.

Fig. 19: The first page of the magazine „Le Miroir" from Dec. 29 1918, presenting the head of a demolished statue of Wilhelm I. Strasbourg. From the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Open licence

Fig. 20: Unveiling of the monument to the Marseillaise (1922). Strasbourg. Photo. Agence Rol. From the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Open licence

This monument is the work of Alfred Marzolff and was unveiled in 1922 in Strasbourg on Broglie Square, near the town hall.[361] The construction of such a monument in Strasbourg was justified by the fact that it was here that Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle wrote in 1792 "La Marseillaise". It became popular in the era of the French Revolution, and the Republic's anthem was proclaimed in 1795. Hence, the song was clearly associated with France and the French national identity, though it was also associated regionally with Strasbourg itself. Unveiling such a monument was an attempt to emphasize the Frenchness of the city and to clearly include it in the history of France. The monument to the Marseillaise accentuated an episode from the history of Strasbourg, which unquestionably connected the city to all of France. In addition, erecting such a monument symbolically doubled the strength of its impact. The hymn itself is already inextricably tied to the production of the French national community. Commemorating

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361 *Allons Enfants de la Patrie à Strasbourg*, http://www.petit-patrimoine.com/fiche-petit-patrimoine.php?id_pp=67482_45 (Accessed: 12.12. 2019).

the national anthem with the help of a monument, which can also be a tool to shape national identity, therefore, reinforced the idea conveyed by the symbol.

In the case of the Marseillaise monument, the object of commemoration was not only a particular figure representing France, but the symbol itself, on which, among other things, it was founded.[362] The monument facilitated the appropriation of not only the political space (which took place when a monument of a politician or general was created), but also the symbolic space, which the monument reified and made palpable. If monuments can be an important element in the process of the formation of a nation as an imaginary community, dedicating a monument to the French hymn is probably the most literal manifestation of this process.

Another important monument in relation to the production of the Strasbourgians' French identity was the statue of Joan of Arc. It was also unveiled in 1922 in front of the Saint Maurice church.[363] This statue was a copy of an earlier Parisian monument by Paul Dubois. In nineteenth-century France, Joan of Arc initially was an important political symbol of the conservatives and the French right.[364] In this spirit, a horse-drawn monument by Emmanuel Fremiet[365] was erected in Paris in 1874. However, its symbolic role was not limited to representing the right wing of French politics. Its popularity also stemmed from a revival of great interest in the ideas of chivalry. The equestrian statue of Joan of Arc had an even broader symbolic meaning. As noted by Sergiusz Michalski:

> Joan's pose, and the role the statue was to play, can be understood properly only when we recall her mission: to liberate and enter French cities on behalf and in the service of her legitimate monarch.[366]

Erecting the statue of the holy deliverer in Paris was associated not only with the manifestation of right-wing attitudes, but also announced the arrival of Henry V, Count of Chambord, recognized in some monarchist circles as the rightful king of France.[367] Henry V's reluctance to compromise, also in the symbolic sphere,

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362 Cf. M. Agulhon, *Politics, Images, and Symbols in Post-Revolutionary France*, [in:] *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics since the Middle Ages*, ed. S. Wilentz, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999, pp. 177–205.

363 *Statue de Jeanne d'Arc*, http://www.archi-strasbourg.org/adresse-_place_arnold_ orangerie_strasbourg-2977.html?check=1&archiIdAdresse=2977&archiAffichage=ad resseDetail&archiIdEvenementGroupeAdresse=7713&debut= (accessed: 10.21.2019).

364 Cf: T. Schramm, *Francja w oczach własnych w XIX i XX wieku*, "Dzieje Najnowsze", 1990, no 1–2.

365 S. Michalski, *Public Monuments…*, pp. 14–15.

366 Ibid. p. 15.

367 Ibid. p. 16.

ensured the survival of the Third Republic. Joan of Arc as a symbol of France survived despite Henry V's failed attempt to enter Paris. What is more, in the 1880s, a decision was made to once again commemorate her. A new sculpture was created by Paul Dubois, and it was that copy that was subsequently unveiled in Strasbourg. Although the second commemoration of Joan of Arc had a different theme, as it referred to her religious visions,[368] the background motif of liberating French cities remained unchanged. In the above context, placing a statue of a French saint in Strasbourg, which had just been reclaimed from German hands, has a clear meaning. The "Virgin of Orleans", an important symbol of the French right, was also a symbol of France and it primarily played this role in Strasbourg. Not without significance was the fact that as a saint of the Catholic Church she created a counterbalance to the anti-Catholic policy pursued by Bismarck. Thus, this statue symbolized not only the liberation of the city from German rule, but also its spiritual liberation.

Both monuments described above commemorate important national symbols rather than people who represent a strictly political idea of the French nation. It must be remembered, however, that this type of monument already existed: the monument of General Kléber,[369] located in one of the central squares of the city. Moreover, the role this monument played during the German Empire (as the French symbol of resistance) and the events of 1918 (placing the head of the Wilhelm I statue at its feet), strengthened its position as the monument constituting the French political community. Both the monument to the Marseillaise and the statue of Joan of Arc gave the city a French national character on a strictly symbolic level.

When describing Strasbourg's statues of the interwar period, it is impossible not to mention probably its most important monument: The Monument aux Morts, erected in 1936 and located in the Square of the Republic. This monument depicts a woman allegorizing the mother of Alsace, who is holding two naked men in her hands, symbolizing the sons of Alsace. One looks towards France, the other towards Germany. The monument shows the moment when the brothers, dying, shake hands.[370] Monument aux Morts was the second monument dedicated to the dead in Strasbourg. The first one was erected in 1919 in the shape of an obelisk, was of a temporary character and was also located on

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368 Ibid.
369 Also, as mentioned earlier, a monument was also erected in 1935 in Strasbourg to Marshal Kellerman, who played an important role in French political history.
370 Ibid. p. 144.

the Republic Square. It was replaced by a new Monument aux Morts, which was commissioned by Henry Lévi, the deputy mayor of Strasbourg and an important participant in the social and political life of the city, who was interested in presenting a subtle and pacifist commemoration of the war.[371] It was designed by Léon-Ernest Drivier, a student of August Rodin. The monument is white and bears a modest inscription: "à nose morts" (our dead).[372]

This monument perfectly reflects the identity of Strasbourg's dilemmas and the drama as a border city. It illustrates the internal tear of the Alsatians, who for political reasons were forced to decide on their national affiliation. He exposes this extremely important problem for the Alsatians and removes the unambiguous vision of national belonging imposed by other monuments. It does not force Strasbourg to imagine themselves as French or Germans – it leaves them a choice or suspends it in favor of regional identity. This monument therefore also fits in the martyrdom typical of the region,[373] which is based on the feeling of harm resulting from the conviction that Alsace is an age-old field of rivalry between the great powers. The decisions regarding the political affiliation of Alsace made by the superpower elites are understood in terms of suffering for the Alsatians. It results from the coercion of accepting the imposed identity and the resulting dilemmas. The monument thus inevitably also affects emotions, which I will mention below.

After Poland regained its independence in 1918, Poznań was part of the Second Polish Republic. The identity dilemmas characteristic of Alsace were not present there, as Poznań's inclusion within the boundaries of the newly created independent Poland was enthusiastically received. This fact was associated with the change in the shape of the city's public space. Already in 1919, steps were taken to restore its Polish character. It was then decided that German monuments were to be demolished (which could not be officially carried out, because the monuments were destroyed during the patriotic demonstration on the night of April 3, 1919), that Polish names were to be restored or given to streets and squares and that new Polish monuments were to be erected.[374] The first Polish

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371 This text comes from the speech deliverd at the unveiling of the monument: Jean Daltroff, *Henry Lévy (1871–1937) et son rôle comme president du comité de construction du monument aux morts de la Place de la République à Strasbourg en 1936,* „Annuaire de la Société des Amis du Vieux Strasbourg", 2004–2005, XXXI, p. 144–145.

372 Later, the following dates were added to the inscription: 1914–1918; 1939–1945; 1945–1954; 1952–1962.

373 J. Western, *Neighbors…*, p. 159.

374 W. Molik, *Z dziejów kultu…*, pp. 131–132. See also: W. Molik, *Straż nad…*, p. 106.

monuments founded in the city were devoted to Tadeusz Kosciuszko and Karol Marcinkowski. Therefore, the intention was to commemorate people that would embody the values that are important to cultivate the idea of independence in the new, free Poland and for the region. Although Kosciuszko never came to Greater Poland, his command and involvement during the 1794 Insurrection had a great impact there. The people of Greater Poland became involved in the struggle for liberation.[375] Democratic and independence ideals, as well as chivalric values and extraordinary bravery, which Kosciuszko demonstrated in the Polish and American struggles for independence, made him a great national hero during the partition period. His memory was cultivated in many ways, e.g., through journalistic and scientific publications as well as iconographic representations.[376] Karol Marcinkowski, in turn, was personally connected to Poznań. Both as an outstanding physician, organizer of the Association for Scientific Aid for Youth and as a promoter of Polish culture, he promoted the "organic work" in the city. As a doctor he also distinguished himself during the November Uprising and immediately after it. Bilki was the ideals of the struggle for independence. After his death in 1846, his memory was cultivated in the city with high intensity.[377]

Building a coherent national identity of Poles living in Poznań based on these two figures seemed justified. In both, Poznań residents could find concrete, tangible, national heroes that embody the values cultivated in free Poland. It seems, however, that the interest of Poznań residents in founding such monuments was extremely modest. After making the decision to build monuments by the Poznań People's Council, efforts to build them have brought moderate results. Karol Marcinkowski in 1922 exhibited not so much a monument, but rather, as Witold Molik writes, a "monument" – a small bust, which, moreover, located not in the central point of the city, but in the arbor gardens near Bukowska St.[378] However, the statue of Kościuszko stood in the city only in 1929. The Universal Exposition that took place in Poznań this year in Poznań was about its display and location in the center near Poznań's buildings. However, it disappeared from the city space in 1930, because it was cast from plaster. It was only after the collapse of the plaster model that the right monument was made, which was unveiled on the anniversary of the outbreak of the Greater Poland Uprising on December 27 of the same year.[379]

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375 H. Kondziela, M. Olszewski, *Pomnik Tadeusza Kościuszki*…, pp. 11–12.
376 Ibid. p. 14.
377 W. Molik, *Z dziejów kultu*…, pp. 121–131.
378 Ibid. p. 132.
379 Ibid. p. 16.

The attitude of the inhabitants of Poznań to the erection of both monuments described above seems to indicate that there is no greater commitment to cultivating patriotic values with the help of monuments. If we accept that monuments are an important political tool for perpetuating and cultivating national values, the lack of special interest in Polish monuments immediately after regaining independence may arouse astonishment. All the more so because the practice of using monuments for political and educational purposes was now widely recognized and appreciated. Lack of much interest in erecting monuments could result from the way in which the inhabitants of Poznań were cultivating independence ideas in the spirit set by the monument of Mickiewicz. The lack of a tradition of commemorating specific figures from the recent political history of Poland in the public space could have caused a distance to new monuments of this type. The emotional load of independence ideas, which the Mickiewicz monument carried with it, seemed to satisfy the needs of the inhabitants of Poznań. The vision of the Polish nation turned out to be less political and more romantic. Karol Marcinkowski, in spite of enormous merits for the region, and the sympathy he received, was not a politician whose activity could form the basis for building a political vision of Polish statehood. Tadeusz Kosciuszko – an important figure in Polish political history and the hero of independence – was the leader of an unsuccessful insurrection. The headman undoubtedly personified independence values and bravery and heroism, but he was not a figure on which to build a coherent political vision of the Polish state.

The concrete political leader was dedicated to Ignacy Jan Paderewski, unveiled in 1931, the statue of American president Thomas Woodrow Wilson.[380] This monument not only commemorated the figure of an eminent politician, but also symbolized the democratic values important for Poles, which represented the United States. This monument was ideologically connected with the concept guiding the statue of Tadeusz Kosciuszko, but it was not erected in honor of the eminent Polish politician, but the American president. So he was just an ideological political declaration. In addition, the inscription on the monument: "President (…). Grateful Poles "can be considered abusive. The monument was funded by Ignacy Jan Paderewski, and not grateful Poles. Their gratitude was expressed with the help of the monument of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which was founded on public donations.[381]

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380 E. Goliński, *Pomniki*…, pp. 122–123.
381 Ibid. p. 117.

The decision to erect the monument of the Sacred Heart of Jesus was made in 1920 during the First Catholic Congress in Poznań, which was convened by the Catholic League. It was at this time that the Monument Committee was established. Construction, however, was delayed due to conflicts with the Poznań magistrate, regarding the location of the monument. In 1927, a competition for the monument was finally announced, and in 1930 the municipality issued a building permit in the place chosen by the Committee. In 1932 the monument was ceremoniously unveiled in the square between the Imperial Castle and the university building, which was where the Prussian statue of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck was located earlier. Lucjan Michałowski's design was selected, and Marcin Rożek was the artist who created the main sculpture depicting the figure of Christ. The monument took the form of a triumphal arch, with the sculpture of Christ located in its central part. This monument was designed to unite state and Catholic values.[382] It was also supposed to be a dominant structure in this part of the city and thus create a counterbalance to the neo-Romanesque architecture of the imperial castle.[383]

Choosing the center of the representative German district, where the Bismarck monument once stood, as the location for the monument of the Sacred Heart of Jesus was meant symbolically abolish the German character of this space.[384] It was a way of manifesting the Polish presence in areas previously occupied by the Germans. However, the triumphal arch form, as the author of the project pointed out, was meant to emphasize its monumental nature.[385] It was also a symbolic "gate to freedom", a place of glory. Placing the figure of Christ in its central point broadened its meaning with religious content. As Jan Skuratowicz noted, this shape bore the hallmarks of an altar.[386]

If the inhabitants of Poznań really associated the monument with the altar, they could have treated it as a place of worship and prayer. "Dziennik Poznański" published a fragment on October 29, 1932 stating that the massive shape of the monument was made:

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382 H. Hałas, *Pomnik Najświętszego Serca Pana Jezusa*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 2001, no 2, p. 135.

383 The Imperial Castle was built as the residence for the Prussian king and was, therefore, called the Royal Castle. However, with time was commonly referred to by the name „Imperial Castle", which is why I use this name in this book.

384 W. Molik, *Poznańskie Pomniki*…, p. 15.

385 H. Hałas, *Pomnik Najświętszego*…, p. 135.

386 J. Skuratowicz, *Pomnik – wotum za odzyskaną wolność*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 2001, no 2, p. 119.

Fig. 21: Monument to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Poznań. From the collections of the University Library in Poznań. Courtesy of the University Library in Poznań

> (…) no longer to express pride and arrogance, as was the case with the buildings erected by the occupier, but to demonstrate the victory of God over the recent evil ruler. The monument was erected in the place where Bismarck, the enemy of the Catholic Church and the enemy of our nation, stood during the time of slavery.[387]

In the quotation above, it is God who admits the causative power in the history of the Polish nation. Such a picture of regaining independence by Poland gave rise to consequences. He suggested that it is God who makes final decisions about the Polish nation. Thus, it decides about the recovery, but also the loss of independence. In this way, the responsibility for Polish history was handed over to Christ, and at the same time partly depersonalized. It endured the responsibility of specific historical figures and meant a possible justification for the failure of the Poles. The erection of a monument of this form also involved a political event (regaining independence) with religion, it gave it a mystical character, transferred it to a context functioning outside the rational order and beyond temporal

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387 Qtd in. J. Pazder, *Miejsce pomnika*, [w:] *Materiały do studiów nad sztuką XIX wieku. Pomniki w XIX wieku*, vol I, ed. J. Brendel, Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Poznań UAM, 1993, p. 13.

time, in a way it made sacrifice to Polish history. In this vision, the nation became an exceptional being, which was connected with the messianic, Mickiewicz vision of Poland. The Monument of Gratitude was the most monumental and the most representative object of this type, which was decided in the interwar years in Poznań. It was one of the main objects with which Poles could imagine themselves in Poznań as an independent nation. The combination in the monument of independence values with Catholic values determined the image of Poles as Catholics, also in the political area. First of all, precisely on the basis of this monument, and not for the monuments of specific political leaders, the Poznanians were building their independence identity.

Speaking of building the national identity of Poles in Poznań, the interwar period, it is worth mentioning one more thing that gave testimony to the valor and ideas of independence. This was the 15th Poznań Uhlans Regiment Monument, erected in 1927. This monument, instead of a specific character, depicted an anonymous soldier embodying the ideas of Uhlans. For the community of people imagining themselves as a nation in a state that had just regained independence, the figure fighting for Poland was unquestionably an important reference point, played an important educational role and helped to create a model of a heroic soldier. The monument cherished the valiant attitude that was the subject of Polish pride. The fact that the 15th Uhlans Regiment fought in both the Greater Poland Uprising and the Polish-Bolshevik War caused in Poznań not only pride at the regional, but also national level. This monument, therefore, contributed to the strengthening of the independent identity of Polish inhabitants of Poznań in the national context. He allowed them to imagine them not only as part of the regional community, but also as a great national community. The image of the nation included in the shape of the monument, however, complemented other values. The message contained in the shape of the monument also referred to religion. The monument of the 15th Uhlans Regiment was another object next to the monument of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which combined national values with Catholic values and transferred the commemoration also to the space of ideas.

The idea of Poland that was created in the interwar period by means of monuments underwent a complete reappraisal after the Second World War. The destruction of monuments by the Nazis, which was an important element in their politics of memory in the occupied territories, led to the disappearance of all Polish inter-war monuments in Poznań. The politics of memory practiced within the space of monuments by the new authorities after 1945 was divorced from Catholic values, as it emphasized the "internationalist" struggle for a new socialist homeland. The cityscape was filled with such monuments as: Monument

to the Heroes of the Poznań Citadel (obelisk located on the citadel commemo-
rating soldiers of the Red Army participating in the battles for Poznań), Victory
Monument located in the park at Grunwaldzka and Reymont Street (unveiled
in 1968), the Bell of Peace and Friendship Among Nations located on the
Citadel (unveiled in 1986), monument to General Świerczewski (once located
at Grochowska Street, unveiled in 1975) or the monument to Marcin Kasprzak
(located in Wilson Park, at that time bearing the name Kasprzak, unveiled in
1963). The image of Poland and Poles created using the above-mentioned
monuments was based, on the one hand, on specific figures embodying socialist
ideals, on the other, it emphasized the role of the Red Army and the Soviet Union
as dominant forces in the fight against the Nazis, leading to the "liberation" of the
oppressed Poles. Christ's eastern "big brother" now took over the role of Christ's
restoring independence. However, many Poznań residents did not identify with
such a vision of Poland, who gradually began to fight for a different shape of
national identity expressed in monuments. The most spectacular example of
such an attitude was the founding of the Poznań June 1956 Monument.

With all the signs of changes to come appearing in 1980, the idea to commem-
orate the events of the June 1956 came about. The initiative to do so was brought
to life in October 1980 during the meeting of representatives of the Inter-
Enterprise Founding Committee of Wielkopolska NSZZ "Solidarność". A Social
Committee for the Construction of the Poznań June 1956 Monument was estab-
lished under the leadership of Roman Brandstaetter. Many of the participants
of the June events could be found among its members. It was decided that a
monument would be unveiled during the upcoming 25th anniversary, so a com-
petition for the best design was announced. The winners of this contest were
Anna and Krystian Jarnuszkiewicz and Marek Sarełło. Their proposed monu-
ment was met with controversy, especially among the workers, mainly due to its
horizontal form and the lack of Catholic references. However, a significant part
of the artistic community supported the winning concept and advocated for its
realization. Nevertheless, another concept entitled "Unity" was created by Adam
Graczyk. It presented two monumental, intertwined crosses, with the taller one
being 21 meters high and the lower one being 18 meters tall. They are connected
with polyester ropes and a horizontal beam.[388] Two crosses were complemented
with a seven-meter-tall eagle's head.[389] Time played an important role in making

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388 *Od pomysłu do realizacji. Pomnik Poznańskiego Czerwca 1956 w fotografii Jerzego
      Unierzyskiego*, Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, 2005, [exhibition catalogue],
      p. 17 i 29.
389 Ibid. p. 28.

the final decision regarding the shape of the monument, because the Solidarity community wanted the construction of the monument to be completed before the celebration planned for June 1981.[390] Most importantly, however, NSZZ "Solidarność" had its own idea of a monument that represented a specific view of the past. Thus, the Creative Communities Covenant Committee, taking the side of the workers, issued a statement in which it stated:

> (…) We believe that the most important thing is the social expression of this under-taking. (…) In connection with this, we solidarize with the activities of the social committee for the construction of the monument, with the aim of erecting this monument on June 28, 1981 in Mickiewicz Square and in the form chosen by the committee. This is because it is symbolic for Poznań's workers, whose voice in this matter should be considered decisive.[391]

This statement indicates to whom the right to represent the June events was granted first of all. The workers who decided on the final shape of the monument were undoubtedly the most affected group by the commemorated events, and, in the political situation at the time, they were also a group outside the official political discourse. Poznań June events were, however, an important for all of Poznań, and, in a broader context, an important event in the history of Poland. That the monument was built by workers representing a kind of Foucaultian "counter-history" was important for the constitution of their identity as a group and their vision of Poland. Without engaging in a broader dialogue with the artistic community, they began to exclude any other version of the past. One cannot ignore the context which gave the workers a deciding voice in this matter. This voice had to be respected, and "the workers wanted the monument to be clearly visible, just as in June their protest was visible."[392] Nevertheless, the conflicts that emerged during the discussions leading up to the installation of the monument not only testified to two different ideas of Polish identity (the ideas voiced by the opposition and those of the People's Republic of Poland), but also revealed a conflict regarding what the opposition is to be in Poland.

Piotr Piotrowski, while writing about the Poznań June 1956 Monument drew attention to one more important issue. A paradox emerged from erecting the

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390 P. Piotrowski, *Między totalitaryzmem i demokracją. Pomnik Poznańskiego Czerwca 1956 roku*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 2001, no 2, p. 201. An altered version of this text was published as: P. Piotrowski, *Krzyż na placu Stalina*, [in:] P. Piotrowski, *Sztuka według polityki. Od Melancholii do Pasji*, Universitas, Kraków 2007.

391 E. Najwer, *Jak powstawał Pomnik Poznańskiego Czerwca. Decydujące spotkanie – marzec 1981*. "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 2001, nr 2, p. 177.

392 Ibid. p. 179.

monument in this shape, which had to do with the fact that it was not an expression of a democratic attitude towards the past, something for which Solidarity was fighting. This was an attitude that promoted dialogue and openness towards various views on the event represented by the monument. As Piotrowski notes:

> "Solidarity", while proclaiming the slogans of democracy, advocated ideological unification, at whose source resided Polish Catholicism and a conviction about the undisputed role of the Christian religion in constituting social values. Such an attitude is naturally understandable because of the resistance to the forced atheism in social life, the mechanisms of domination of a particular ideology, and not the equal rights of difference and consent to the original conditions of democracy, that is, ideological conflict. The ideology of Solidarity, the ideology of national unity, religious identity, and the primacy of values expressed by the Roman Catholic Church, constituted a kind of reversal of communist ideology, a negative reflection of the imposed dominance of Marxist understanding of reality, the domination of the Communist Party.[393]

He goes on to point out that "it is significant to reject the Jarnuszkiewiczów and Sarełło project, which did not use the symbolism of the cross, and through the horizontal form" silenced "the ideological function of the monument".[394]

The view presented here by Piotr Piotrowski is consistent with the analysis undertaken in this work of how monuments convey ideological content also through their material form – and not just through what is commemorated. The sources of this particular shape of the monument should be sought in what people of the Solidarity movement imagined about what constitutes them as a community. Their axis was "the ideology of national unity, religious identity, primacy expressed by the Roman Catholic Church of values." The most important monument, which was created in Poznań in the era of the PRL, was, to a large extent, a continuation of the ideas represented by Poznań's pre-war monuments.[395] This is also emphasized by the fact that the Poznań June 1956 Monument was placed in almost the same place where the Monument to the Sacred Heart of Jesus was

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393 P. Piotrowski, *Między totalitaryzmem*…, p. 202. An altered version of this text, referenced in this article, was published as: P. Piotrowski, "Krzyże na placu Stalina", [in:] P. Piotrowski, *Sztuka według polityki. Od Melancholii* do *Pasji*, Universitas, Kraków 2007, pp. 139–153.

394 P. Piotrowski, *Między totalitaryzmem*…, p. 203.

395 The construction of the Poznań June 1956 Monument spurred the decision to reconstruct the 15th Ulhan Regiment Monument. Cf. J. Pazder, *Burzliwe życie pomników*, „Gazeta Wyborcza", 09.06.2000. For more information about the reconstruction of the monument after WWII and its fianl unveiling in 1982, see also: T. J. Żuchowski, *Pomnik 15. Pułku*…, pp. 45–59.

Fig. 22: The Poznań June 1956 Monument. Poznań. Photo. M. Praczyk

located earlier. The eagle placed next to the crosses complements the national Catholic values, once again indicating that the imagined political community of Poles is, at the same time, Catholic. However, the proportions that exist between the eagle and the crosses (the eagle sculpture is exactly 1/3 of the height of the upper cross) reflect the eclipse of the component symbolizing Catholic national values.

The "Solidarity" community in the early 1980s existed outside the official discourse of power. Though they were excluded, they received the opportunity to express their views in public space and their attitude to the past by means of a

monument. After the collapse of the People's Republic of Poland, this monument was gradually incorporated into the official version of history, propagated by governments after 1989. This monument may serve as a classic example of the concept proposed by Michel Foucault.[396] Here the "counter-history" is expressed through the erection of the monument; however, in independent Poland it changes into official history.

It is also worth mentioning that apart from monuments that were an element of socialist propaganda and those that were manifestly oppositional in nature, such as the Poznań June 1956 Monument, other monuments were erected in Poznań during the People's Republic of Poland that reside between these two poles. These were monuments that answered the need to commemorate important events for the residents of Poznań, regardless of their political sympathies, but also contained such topics that at least partly would implement the historical politics of that era. The Greater Poland Insurgents Monument commemorated the independence struggle of Poles for the democratic Poland of the interwar period, but also witnessed the fight against the Germans. He was therefore entering into a policy based on anti-German moods. Similarly, the Poznań Army Monument, whose message was in line with such a historical dialectic, and at the same time was also an important testimony to the memory of soldiers fighting in the name of an independent Second Polish Republic. The reconstructed monument of Tadeusz Kosciuszko commemorated the Chief, who on the one hand was appropriated by PRL propaganda, on the other hand – let him identify those for whom independence, democratic ideals represented by, for example, the insurrectionary and American theme of his biography were important.

The situation in which Poznań's residents found themselves after the Second World War generated dilemmas regarding their identities. They were connected to the Polish national identity, which was understood in two different ways. These dilemmas were different than those that affected the Strasburgians, who had been forced to choose between two different nationalities. World War II also significantly changed the situation of Alsatians living in Strasbourg. After the war, the ruling French elites strengthened the policy of cultural unification of France, which was announced by actions taken by French politicians in the interwar period. Such aspirations were manifested in Alsace primarily by the ruthless elimination of the regional dialect.[397] Because of France's problematic

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396 M. Foucault, *Cours du 28 Janvier 1976* [in :] M. Foucault, *Il faut défendre la société. Cours au Collège de France (1975–1976)*, pp. 46–58, https://monoskop.org/images/9/99/ Foucault_Michel_Il_faut_defendre_la_societe.pdf (accessed:12.12.2019).

397 J. Western, *Neighbors…*, pp. 164–165.

history during World War II and the weariness with the "statuemania" of the Third Republic, erecting monuments was not at that time the most popular means of creating a national identity. Of course, this is not to say that this way of commemorating the past was abandoned. Indeed, monuments did appear after World War II, but they were much less numerous and more modest. This was also the case in Strasbourg. The monuments erected there were devoted above all to the casualties the previous war; however, instead of the inscription frequently appearing on the French monuments, "Mourt pour la France", in Alsace we can find the inscription simply stating: "À nos Morts".[398] Monuments in Strasbourg created after World War II reflect the difficult situation of the Alsatians, for example by commemorating "Malgrés-nous" ("against our will").[399] Not many monuments were erected here during the postwar period. A striking exception is the statue of General Leclerc from 1951, located in one of the central squares of the city. It seems, however, that it was erected primarily to emphasize the French character of the city and to reaffirm France's determination to shape the nationality of Strasbourg. Placing the monumental statue of the General in one of the central squares of the city can be interpreted symbolically, according to Geertz, as sealing the city's identity as that of a French city. Only when the seat of the European Parliament was established there did more monuments appear in the city. The monuments that have appeared since then, although referring to a united European continent, seem to be more about their regional identity of the Strasbourg people than about their national identity. Although after the Second World War the Strasbourg people began to more explicitly take on a French identity, they still preserved a sense of individuality. An interesting solution with regard to the complicated topic of Strasbourgians' identity was the decision to place the European Parliament in Strasbourg and create the capital of Europe in Strasbourg.[400] This opened the way for them sidestep the painful and conflicting definition of their national identity as that of French or German.[401]

Unlike in Strasbourg after World War II, there was one more important caesura waiting for Poznań, which significantly influenced the monuments that emerged in the city as a response to, among other things, the problem of national identity. The change in the political situation after 1989 resulted in a series of

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398 Ibid. p. 161.

399 This refers to Alsatians who, following the annexation of Strasbourg in 1940, were incorporated into Wehrmacht.

400 Cf. *Les stratégies internationales des métropoles régionales. L'exemple de Strasbourg*, ed. P. Dommergues, N. Grdin, Syros-Alternatives, Paris 1989, pp. 39–159.

401 Cf. A. Chwieduk, *Alzatczycy…*, pp. 158–160.

political decisions aimed at changing the repertory of monuments in the city.[402] In 1990, the statue of Marcin Kasprzak was taken down. As reported by "Głos Wielkopolski":

> This time, however, it is not the result of hooliganism, but the fulfillment of the will of the majority of society. Pictures of the monument from the pedestal were taken by a team of professionals from Friday to Saturday. The sculpture was not damaged – it was a bit of a problem to cut the feet of the monument from the concrete pedestal – and most probably it will soon be installed in Czołów.[403]

And this is what happened. The monument was moved to Czołowo, near Poznań, where Kasprzak was born, and it was unveiled there in 1995.[404] Another significant political move that was part of Poland coming to terms with its socialist past was the destruction of the monument of Karol Świerczewski in 2009. However, this decision did not reflect the will of the people, which is what "Głos Wielkopolski" suggested when discussing Kasprzak's monument; this was instead a controversial move underwritten by the politics of memory then tenaciously pursued by the Institute of National Remembrance.[405] This policy attempted to create a new image of the nation by destroying the remaining monuments of the communist era, but it was implemented not only by destroying monuments of a bygone era.[406] Another example of this policy took the form of adding a new inscription on the Poznań June 1956 Monument, for the anniversary celebrations in 2006. "For God" was added to the inscription "For freedom, law and bread. June 1956" on the element depicting the sculpture of the eagle. This way, the political and religious significance of the monument was strengthened even more distinctly by this confluence of national and Catholic values. Another example of this politics of memory comes from 2011, when a plaque dedicated to the victims of the presidential plane crash on April 10, 2010 was added to the Monument to the Victims of Katyn and Siberia.

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402 For more information about monuments erected after 1989, see: Figuła-Czech Joanna, Między ideą i realizacją. Poznańskie pomniki po 1989 roku, "Kronika Miasta Poznania", 2001, no 2.

403 "Głos Wielkopolski", 09.04.1990.

404 "Gazeta Wyborcza. Poznań", 02.05.1995.

405 *Wojna o pomnik generała Świerczewskiego*, http://www.epoznan.pl/?section=news&subsection=news&id=5441 (accessed: 01.12.2019).

406 For more information about postcommunist iconoclasm, see: P. Piotrowski, Agorafilia. Sztuka i demokracja w postkomunistycznej Europie, Dom Wydawniczy Rebis, Poznań 2010, pp. 170–182.

The Poznań June 1956 Monument was undoubtedly an important reference point for the national identity of Poznań's residents after 1989. It foretold the story that was unfolding after 1989 by way of the newly erected monuments. Those that directly referred to national values, recalling the struggle for independent Poland or commemorating the victims of World War II, usually bore the cross. Examples of such monuments include the following: the Monument to the Polish Underground State unveiled in 2007 and the Monument to the Victims of Katyn and Siberia erected in 1999. However, not all new monuments were maintained in this spirit. An interesting example of how monuments can be used to reimagine the events of World War II is a monument unveiled in 2007 dedicated to cryptologists who worked on the German Enigma cipher. The monument presents a triangular shape covered with numbers with inscribed names of cryptologists.[407]

Even though monuments have been used to create a particular image of Poland's past, which is then translated into the identity of contemporary Poznań residents, this does not necessarily meant that the past was politically monopolized. In the last two decades, the many monuments erected in Poznań invoke various values, and those that constitute national community were by no means the most important. The most common motif of recent monuments in recent years is the local theme. Monuments are commemorated, thus commemorating important figures from the history of the region (e.g. the monument of Hipolit Cegielski or the monument to Cyril Ratajski) and monuments that emphasize the specificity of the city. A perfect example is the monument of Old Marych – a fictional character, representing a typical Poznanian who uses the Poznań dialect.

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407 This monument, designed by Grażyna and Mariusz Kozakiewicz, was located in front of the Imperial Castle and unveiled in 2007. *Przed Zamkiem stanął pomnik kryptologów*, http://www.epoznan.pl/?id=7784&section=news&subsection=news (accessed: 19.12.2015).

Monuments and Affect

Veneration

I consider emotions to be an important element of the history of societies. Although they are usually not included in the written account of history, they often influence the course of events, in both the political and social spheres. Monuments, in turn, constitute a group of objects on which these emotions are often focalized. These are revealed on three basic levels. Monuments can be an emotional response to specific events, so the decision to erect them is an emotional reaction. They also evoke a variety of emotions when they are already present in a public space and participate in the everyday life of cities. And finally, monuments are objects onto which emotions are unloaded: they are the recipients of affective reactions of individual people or entire communities. Why, though, is it monuments that become either targets of attacks or loci of adoration in defining moments? Why are they often not only the vehicles for collective memory, but also for collective emotions? What relationship is there between monuments and the emotional reactions of the residents of Poznań and Strasbourg? These are the questions I will try to answer below.

Many researchers who deal with this issue underline the relationship between monuments and feelings.[408] They stress that the role of the emotional stance of particular communities towards monuments and of the emotions that are stirred in people thanks to them and through them. Sławomir Łodziński, for example, notes that "monuments always entail massive social emotions that are connected both with their aesthetic and political nature."[409] Similarly, Irena Grzesiuk-Olszewska highlights the importance of social emotions in her discussion on demolishing monuments.[410] Sometimes, researchers also indicate specific

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408 Such an opinion is also expressed by historians. In Poland, one initiative deserves particular attention. It was carried out as part of a series of three conferences devoted to this subject, entitled "Affects and Emotions in the reflection of historical sciences". Uczucia I emocje w refleksji nauk historycznych, <http://uczucia.wordpress.com./> (accessed: 10.21.2019). Also cf.: E. Domańska, *Historie niekonwencjonalne…*, pp. 61–66 and *Meetings with Emotions. Human Past between Anthropology and History. (Historiography and Society from the 10th to the 20th century)*, ed. P. Wiszewski, Wydawnictwo Chronicon, Wrocław 2008.

409 S. Łodziński, *Bitwy o pomniki i pamięć. Spory wokół miejsc upamiętnień mniejszości narodowych w Polsce po 1989 roku*, "Opcje", 1997, no. 1, p. 91.

410 I. Grzesiuk-Olszewska, *Polska rzeźba…*, pp. 36–37.

emotions that monuments evoke. For example, Janusz Tazbir, writing about the Warsaw monuments which were erected by the invaders, noted that "on the anniversaries of events which are important for the nation, Polish citizens visited these monuments to demonstrate their indignation, hatred and contempt."[411]. Scholars, therefore, recognize emotions and understand that they are of great importance to the monument as a cultural phenomenon. However, this issue has not been analyzed and is usually limited to a simple statement of fact. Little space is dedicated to the examination of relationships between monuments and human emotions, and to the investigation of specific emotions that are generated thanks to monuments. Similarly, there are not many studies that scrutinize this problem more broadly. One exception is the work of Jay Winter, who was one of the first authors to devote slightly more attention to the manner of using monuments as a mode of emotional expression (he mainly focuses on grief) in his book *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*.[412] Also, Erika Doss's research focuses on this issue. In her book entitled *Memorial Mania: Public Feelings in America*,[413] she includes a comprehensive analysis of American monuments from the perspective of the emotional reactions that they trigger among Americans. The researcher presents an analysis of particular emotions, embodied in statues, including fear, anger or shame, which, in her opinion, are the basic components of the cultural notion of the monument itself. She takes up this subject due to the increasing number of monuments being built in the United States today and the interest bestowed on them. However, this question still seems unexplored and merits an in-depth discussion in other contexts.

The answer to the question, "What are emotions?" is not obvious. The evalua-tion of this problem and the attempt to coin a definition are the subject of a lively

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411 J. Tazbir, *Walka na pomnik…*, p. 8. Cf: *Wokół niemieckiego dziedzictwa kulturowego na Ziemiach Zachodnich i Północnych*, ed. Z. Mazur, Wydawnictwo Instytutu Zachodniego, Poznań 1997; R. Koshar, *From Monuments…*; S. Michalski, *Public Monuments…*; F. Choay,, *L'Allégorie du patrimoine*, Éditions du Seuil, Paris 2007; J. Young, *The Texture…*; L. Nijakowski, *Domeny symboliczne…*; W. Cohen, *Symbols of Power…*; J. Hargrove, *Qui vive? France!…*

412 J. Winter, *Sites of Memory…*

413 E. Doss, *Memorial Mania…* Cf also: E. Doss, *The Emotional Life of Contemporary Memorials. Towards a Theory of Temporary Memorials*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam 2008; E. Doss, Spontaneous Memorials and Contemporary Modes of Mourning in America, "Material Religion", 2006, vol. 2, nr 3; E. Doss, *Affect*, "American Art", 2009, vol. 23, no 1; E. Doss, *War, Memory, and the Public Mediation of Affect: The National World War II Memorial and American Imperialism*, "Memory Studies", 2008, vol. 1, no 2.

debate and of psychological research. There is also no generally accepted explicit classification of emotions in science.[414] However, without doubt, emotions do exist and have a real impact on people and the relationships that occur between them and the surrounding world. In addition, emotions resting on people's perceptions of reality cause a number of measurable consequences, such as a decrease or increase in energy mobilized by the body, sensitivity to both negative and positive judgements in the sphere of human psychology and biology, and orientation towards performing particular activities and towards the specific expression that accompanies them.[415] Experiencing emotions is also a complex process that consists of several basic steps. In the opinion of Janusz Reykowski, the author of a study on emotions which acquired the status of a classic work in Polish science, the process requires an affective component (i.e., "an affective reaction is a state of pleasure or pain caused by exposure to some factor"[416]), a stimulatory component (the degree of stimulation of the body dependent on how powerfully the factor causing the emotion influences us) and a content-related component (resulting from the assessment of how the factor affecting the human being is perceived, e.g., whether it is regarded by him or her as ugly, beautiful or terrifying).[417] The identification of these components allows us to set up an arbitrary classification of emotions. As Reykowski mentions, according to the theory proposed by Silvan Tomkins, we can distinguish the following emotions: "interest, contentment, delight, surprise, shock, distress, anguish, shame, humiliation, fear, horror, condemnation, repulsion, anger and rage."[418] These emotions, on the other hand, induce further emotional reactions with visible manifestations (e.g. admiration can bring a smile to one's face).

In the contemporary humanities, there has been considerable interest in the issue of emotions, and, in particular, in the emotion of the affect. Constantina Papoulias and Felicity Callard say this interest is warranted by the need to validate the role of the body, its materiality and biology in the field of cultural research.[419] Including the category of the affect in such research does not, however, mean forsaking the intellectual sphere in favor of an analysis of the

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414 J. Reykowski, *Procesy emocjonalne. Motywacja. Osobowość*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 1992, pp. 7–15.

415 Ibid, p. 13.

416 Ibid.

417 Ibid. p. 14.

418 Ibid. p. 15.

419 C. Papoulias, F. Callard, *Biology's Gift: Interrogating the Turn to Affect*, "Body and Society", 2010, vol. 16, no 1, p. 34.

biological functioning of man in culture, but it means ceasing to ignore the latter. As the authors note: "affect signifies the innate dynamism of the body, its biological efficiency, which abolishes the division into the mind and the body."[420] From this viewpoint, the study of culture, including the study of monuments, cannot be conducted without discussion on the affective dimension of their influence. Erika Doss is of a similar opinion: she believes emotions experienced in the public sphere to be vital for the functioning of contemporary American culture. She claims that the avid interest in history and memory, manifested in the creation of a vast number of monuments, among other things, is shaped by the emotions that play a key role in public life today.[421]

The expressive factor, which is a principal component of the emotional processes, is another important element of the emotional relationship that occurs between monuments and the community.[422] Monuments are intended to express a range of different emotions that they inspire on many levels. And yes, emotions are embodied in the substance of the monument and constitute a stimulus which produces affective responses. As Reykowski remarks, "affective qualities (valences) can be attributed to objects and activities that are capable of inducing an affective reaction."[423] This happens, for example, when monuments communicate some emotion (e.g., sadness) by means of their form and when people who look at them begin to feel this emotion under their sway. An effective response to a monument may also take place as a consequence of aversion or pleasure experienced in contact with it. This may occur independently of the official theme of the monument, but may depend on the wider context. For example, a statue of a smiling political leader may receive an affective reaction in the form of aversion, which will invoke further reactions at the level of the body, e.g., it will generate a feeling of rage which, in turn, will manifest itself in the form of aggression.

Because monuments are public artworks, they provoke emotional reactions which are displayed not only individually, but also collectively. The feelings of a single person felt at a site of memory, can, then, be transferred to other people who are visiting the monument at the same time. Reykowski describes such circumstances as "emotional infection."[424] As he observes, "the phenomenon of emotional infection occurs most often when the sender and the

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420 Ibid.
421 E. Doss, *Emotional Life*…, pp. 1–13.
422 J. Reykowski, *Procesy emocjonalne*…, p. 36.
423 Ibid. p. 13.
424 Ibid. p. 158.

recipient of emotions are in a similar situation."[425] Monuments, as focal points of civic celebrations, undoubtedly foster such a mechanism. Thus, monuments and human emotions are inextricably bound on many levels. The history of monuments and their existence in public space is inseparably linked with emotions, which often have a decisive impact on the shape of monuments, on their life and death.

<div align="center">* * *</div>

Monuments may motivate many positive feelings, such as a sense of pride, being emotionally touched, satisfaction, gratitude or joy. These feelings often arise when a monument is erected and it commemorates people or events that are central to a particular community. They renew cyclically and coincide with the ceremonies organized at the memory site. So, emotions are elicited not only by what is venerated, but also by the very existence of the memorial. Therefore, what may inspire the feeling of joy is the very fact of having one's "own" monument with whose message one can identify and which one can admire.

One of the fundamental emotions that accompanies the building of monuments is the feeling of gratitude. The themes of such monuments allude mainly to events connected with war – its ending or liberation from it. Monuments motivated by war usually honor the victims of wars and the fighting soldiers who gave their lives for their homeland. These are also monuments dedicated to army leaders, statesmen or country rulers. In both cities analyzed here, we find many examples of such monuments: in Strasbourg, a monument to the Victims of Strasbourg in 1870 (another Monument aux Morts); Hommage aux Malgré-Nous qui ne revienrent pas, a monument set up in homage to the French soldiers from the Alsace region (Malgré-Nous) drafted by force to Wehrmacht units during World War II; a monument in memory of a group of young French soldiers who liberated Strasbourg: Ils ont Libéré Strasbourg; and a statue of General Leclerc. In Poznań, there are: the monument to the Wielkopolska Insurgents, the monument to the Sacred Heart of Jesus (the so-called Monument of Gratitude), the Bollwerk Operation statue, the memorial to the Poznań Army, the monument to the Poznań Protests of 1956 and the monument to the Polish Underground State. Words of gratitude appear on the occasion of ceremonial unveiling of monuments or observances of anniversaries which take place to memorialize events or people, and are often placed on monumental inscriptions. Acts of paying homage and making statements of respect and pride are often

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425 Ibid.

impelled by gratitude. The construction of such monuments, therefore, spurs many emotions, such as joy, delight, contentment, interest and fulfilment.

According to the dictionary definition, a "grateful" person is one who has "affectionate feelings for his or her benefactor, who would like to thank and reciprocate for the good he or she has received." In Polish, grateful has the additional meaning of gracefulness, or the process of bringing good results and contentment. The notion of debt is also connected with gratitude. The phrase "debt of gratitude" suggests an obligation to someone and prompts reciprocation. Positive emotions correlated with the feeling of gratitude are, hence, blended with a sense of duty and a moral imperative. Someone who is grateful wishes to "thank and reciprocate for the good they have experienced". One can show or extend gratitude. At the individual level, one does it with gifts or words of thanks. The kind of gratitude which is a collective emotion must be put on public display. In a public space, therefore, we need an object that can serve as a sign of collective gratitude.

When discussing the ceremonious unveiling of the Wielkopolska Insurgents' monument, Marian Jakubowicz and Marian Olszewski state that on this occasion "society manifested its gratitude and respect to the veterans for their patriotic service, and for performing a military mission."[426] In a dedication speech at the unveiling of the statue, the then Minister of National Defense, Marian Spychalski, said the following words: "Through this monument to our people's uprising and through honors and medals, our authority on behalf of the whole nation today pays to you, dear Wielkopolska insurgents, our tribute and appreciation."[427] The feeling of gratitude towards the insurgents is articulated here with the help of a monument, which also performs the role of a gift offered as thanks for a heroic act. This is evidenced by the inscription engraved on it, which reads, "To the Wielkopolska Insurgents 1918–1919." This text indicates those for whom the monument was constructed. A similar plaque adorns the monument of the Polish Underground State. The inscription on it reads, "To the Polish Underground State and its armed forces of the Home Army. From the Wielkopolska citizens." In the case of this statue, the group of people offering the gift is also acknowledged.

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426 M. Jakubowicz, M. Olszewski, *W Poznaniu stanął pomnik Powstańców Wielkopolskich. Aneks. Przemówienie Marszałka Polski Mariana Spychalskiego na uroczystości odsłonięcia pomnika Powstańców Wielkopolskich w Poznaniu (19.IX.1965)*, „Kronika Miasta Poznania", 1966, no 1, p. 138.

427 M. Jakubowicz, M. Olszewski, *W Poznaniu stanął…*, p. 139.

The Strasbourg monuments dedicated to the dead (*aux morts*) also include references, though not such precise ones, to those expressing their gratitude. The inscriptions say: "to our deceased, 1914–1918, 1939–1945, 1945–1954, 1952–1962" in the case of the Monument aux Morts on the Republic Square and "to our deceased 1914–1918, 1939–1945" in the case of the Monument aux Morts from Strasbourg – Koenigshoffen. "Our" signifies those with whom we identify and who belong to our community. Commissioning such monuments means fulfilling the moral obligation arising from the feeling of gratitude and can bear the hallmarks of a well-fulfilled duty. However, this obligation is not only satisfied because of the internal, altruistic need of the founders or authorities. An act of gratitude means an execution of a social contract in which respect and commitment to memory are what is duly owed for a sacrifice for one's motherland. The statue becomes a mediator between the state and those who fight for it, so it is a token of reciprocity. It can also be a guarantor of the social consensus based on the values in place.[428] The inscription on the Hommage aux Malgré-Nous monument contains the following words:

> In memory and in tribute to the deceased French Alsatians, victims of conscription by force to the units of the German army in violation of human rights.… Our loyal memory of them will remain a warranty of their honor.

A statue with such an inscription is not only a testimony to commemorating the tragedy of the Alsatians, but also to the gravity with which one views the obligation towards the tragic victims of war and to the importance of honor as an essential value one needs to remain faithful to.

Why is it that a monument functions as a gift? What does it guarantee to those who receive such a gift and to those who offer it? It seems that a monument possesses a number of specific properties that favor its use for this purpose. People who are commemorated with monuments are exceptional, different from other members of society. Placed outside of time, as Verdery claims, they acquire the status of quasi-gods worth veneration and worship, gods who tower over ordinary people. Thanks to statues, these people "go down in history" and become immortal. They are also at the center of commemorative rituals and celebrations and constitute the building blocks of collective identity. Founders of monuments, while fulfilling their social obligation, pay the debt of gratitude and satisfy social needs by creating a useful place for a particular community to perform ritualized practices that maintain the social order. Monuments also allow

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428 Cf.: E. Doss, *Memorial Mania*…, pp. 194–195.

them to feel that they have done something that was expected of them, which is important not only for them, but also for the whole community. In this way, they become spokespersons for a higher cause. Monuments are a source of joy and satisfaction for them.

However, there is yet another ambivalence inherent in monuments motivated by gratitude. As Doss notes:

> Some political theorists argue that gratitude is a problematic source of duty and obligation, primarily because it is too vague and too coercive. Forced virtue, in other words, is inauthentic and despotic; thanks should be expressed because one can express them, not because one is expected – or required – to do so.[429]

Monuments of gratitude on behalf of whole communities suggest that all of its members feel the same emotion in relation to who (or what) is being commemorated. On the day of the unveiling of the monument of General Leclerc, the French media reported that the monument was erected as a tribute of the Alsatians to their liberator. The Poznań monument of Karol Świerczewski was also built in homage to a general. The assumption that the whole community is the sender of positive emotions is based on an overgeneralization. Not everyone on behalf of whom a monument is set up identifies with the same emotions. Such a generalization, therefore, aims to exclude those who have quite different feelings or those who have none. However, if they do not feel grateful, they do not comply with the social contract that obliges them to feel such an emotion towards those who sacrifice themselves in the name of a noble idea, and transgress the normative order in a given society. For the safety of this order, their emotions are not taken into account. Instead, the illusion of universality prevails.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Monuments, as admired and worshiped objects, gain a specific status among the things with which people surround themselves. They become social fetishes.[430] The fetishization of an object takes place through the process of attributing specific features and properties to it. The selected object may be considered a fetish when it becomes an object of worship and when it is equipped with properties that exceed its practical application. Tim Dant writes that:

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429 Ibid. p. 195.
430 Cf.: L. M. Nijakowski, *Domeny symboliczne…*, pp. 95–96.

A photograph of a leader, whether massively blown up or merely given pride of place on the wall, is made into a fetish by the reverence for its value that exceeds its mediative capacity.[431]

The mechanism described here, characteristic of images of beloved characters or celebrated events, also applies to monuments. A monument is honored and becomes the site of celebratory practices precisely because people who revere it invest it with features that go far beyond the physical possibilities of the object itself. The tribute paid to the leader, who is represented in the monument, transfers to the monument itself and, thus, renders it a fetish.

What is, however, crucial for the fetishization of the monument, is its public role. A fetish functions in the social sphere when it is recognized as inimitable to a given culture, when a given community treats it with particular reverence and when it constitutes a means of communicating social values.[432] In addition, as Tim Dant notes:

The fetish quality is attested through ritualistic practices that celebrate or revere the object (…) Expressing desire for and approval of the object and of what it can do, celebrating the object, revering it, setting it apart, displaying it, extolling and exalting its properties, eulogizing it, enthusiastic use of it, are the sorts of practices that fetishize objects.[433]

Monuments are celebrated and observances are held around them: this underscores their special status. The ceremonies regularly taking place at remembrance sites are proof of this sort of behavior and are a universal feature of monuments' functioning in city space, because they occur regardless of the political system that produced the statue. Rites and rituals also constitute basic forms of expressing emotions on a social level.[434] Therefore, fetishization of monuments takes place through emotions that are an inseparable and a very important component of social ritualistic behaviors. The physical involvement of people who participate in the ceremonies also plays an important role here. The emotions that they experience at these events are also felt at the level of the body.[435] The gestures that they may produce allow for a physical release of the emotions they feel. Wreaths are placed at the monuments and speeches are given; these can be

431 T. Dant, *Material Culture in the Social World*, Open University Press, Buckhingham – Philadelphia, 1999, p. 57.

432 Ibid. pp. 43–44.

433 Ibid. pp. 56.

434 J. Reykowski, *Procesy emocjonalne…*, p. 37.

435 Cf: P. Connerton, *How Societies…*, pp. 41–71.

welcomed with applause or with cries of contentment. Such observances, thanks
to their public character, also intensify the participants' emotional responses,
because they provide the perfect conditions for emotional infection to occur,
as defined by Reykowski. Of course, these practices honor events that are com-
memorated by the monument, but it is the monument itself that is usually the
center of rituals and is treated with the utmost reverence, because the recollec-
tion is expressed in it. The destruction of monuments spurs outrage not only
because an expensive object is demolished, but because values are degenerated,
values which people are emotional about and which the monument conveys. The
statue turns out to be as important as these values. Ceremonies held on the anni-
versary of prominent events usually reach the climactic point in the company of
the monument. Without a memorial or statue, they do not have such a lofty and
solemn character as those that take place around one.

It is not surprising, then, that for various social groups who want to make their
mark in the public space, it is so imperative to "own" a monument. It is under-
standable why the memorial to the Poznań Protests of 1956 was so significant for
the Solidarity movement and for the opposition to the authorities of the People's
Republic of Poland in 1956. The monument testifies to the rank and significance
of both the commemorated protestors and of its founders and supporters. The
desire to possess a monument as an object representing the subject of commem-
oration is typical, even when the content – i.e., the subject of remembrance – is
already appreciated and denoted in the public space by means of other objects.
The monument is desired as their symbol and as an item that can summon up
admiration and awe. As reported by "Głos Wielkopolski", during the celebrations
related to the construction of the Wielkopolska Insurgents Monument, one of
the veterans (Jan Maciejewski) "shared his memories of insurgent fighting and
expressed the joy that this patriotic act was memorialised with such a splendid
monument."[436] The emotion (joy) communicated by the veteran was connected
not so much to the event itself but to the fact that it was being honored with the
help of a memorial. The monument sparked joyfulness not only because of what
it venerated, but above all because it was built.

Another defining feature of a fetish is its multiplication, collection or reit-
erated exhibition.[437] Thus, the fetishized item is reproduced and becomes the
reference point for further ritualized practices. In Strasbourg, the Monument
aux Morts, located in the Republic Square, primarily serves as this kind of

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436 "Głos Wielkopolski", 19–20.09.1965, vol. XXI, no 223.
437 T. Dant, *Material Culture*, pp. 56–57.

monument. Reproductions of it are used as one of the symbols of the city; they also appear on the Internet as one of the iconic images of Strasbourg. The monument is also inscribed in the typically French remembrance of the tragic events of war: the Pietà motif employed here is a subject often used in such monuments. When it comes to Poznań, the best example of a monument-fetish is the monument of the Poznań Protests of 1956.

Copies of a monument generate new meanings derived from the object itself, not from the message it conveys. They refer to each other and reinforce the meaning of the object, which gains an advantage over the subject of commemoration and, consequently, acquires the characteristics of a fetish. The mechanism is as follows: not so much the Poznań protests themselves, but the monument to the Poznań Protests of 1956 begins to play a key role in the practices of the public commemoration of the past and the communal expression of the emotions associated with it. It is the monument of the Poznań Protests that is copied in many ways. It appears on the Internet, it is one of the symbols of Poznań, it is shown on leaflets about the celebrations of the 1956 June events, and copies of it circulate throughout the public space, becoming further monument-fetishes. It is worth mentioning here the small copy of the monument located in front of the entrance to the Rail Vehicle Factory in Poznań on June 28, 1956 Street, next to a plaque commemorating the events of the Poznań June of 1956. It was constructed at the initiative of factory workers to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the June protests in 2006. It seems that the other forms of tribute (the street name or the commemorative plaque) do not evoke such emotions. The admiration and awe for the monument make it an object of desire. The special status that a fetish acquires in a given community is also transferred to the one who possesses it. Owning it determines the social status of the owner. The fact that factory workers can boast of a copy of the monument can, consequently, create a sense of pride and satisfaction.

The delight at the monument to the Poznań June Protests or the sense of pride stemming from its presence are emotions that contributed to the erection of its copy. The monument turned out to be attractive enough to become an object worthy of fascination and desire. The past, commemorated through the monument, also grows more popular and attractive thanks to the object of memory, without which the ceremonies and rituals connected with the June events could no longer take place. The creation of the copy forcefully confirms its fetishistic value, resulting from the need to own the desired object.

Another thing which defines the functioning of the monument as a fetish is its relationship to the past: the fetishization process takes place in relation to the past. Nostalgia for the lost past is gratified through a monument which

is a fetish of what has been lost forever. Frank Ankersmit suggests the possi-
bility of interpreting monuments in terms of mourning and melancholy.[438] Some
monuments can be used to complete mourning, overcome trauma and return to
normality – others are designed to constantly re-inflame a traumatic wound (as
should be monuments dedicated to the Holocaust,[439] in his opinion). Emotions
evoked by these monuments correspond to melancholia, which is a patholog-
ical state of deviation from the norm and which makes it impossible to come to
terms with the commemorated tragedy.

Jean Baudrillard also draws attention to the same problem when writing
about the fetishization of the past. The loss of the reference point, which is an
unreachable past, is compensated for by means of a fetish which eclipses the
trauma resulting from this loss.[440] The monument is such a fetish of the lost past
of the events of the Poznań June. The trauma of these events is not a reopened
wound, but the construction of the monument together with copies of it is the
consequence of a trauma. As noted by Slavoj Žižek, "fetishists … are 'realists,'
capable of accepting the way things effectively are, given that they have their
fetish to which they can cling in order to cancel the full impact of reality."[441] The
presence of trauma here is pushed into the realm of the unconscious. A fetish,
which by definition is an object of uncritical worship, precludes critical analysis
of the tragic past, but offers reconciliation with it in return. Its compulsive nature
can be demonstrated by the multiplication of fetishes, which, at the same time,
indicates the melancholic nature of its relationship to the past. There is tension
between mourning and melancholy which comes about through the process of
fetishization of the monument, resulting in the blending of positive and neg-
ative emotions. The cherished, copied monument becomes a source of pride
and joy on the one hand, while, on the other hand, these emotions refer to an
object commemorating a tragedy, the memories of which can kindle feelings of
sadness and suffering. Ritualized practices also serve to complete the process of
mourning (i.e., to bring a ritual closure to the tragic time), but at the same time,
they are cyclical, and thus, they encourage revisiting traumatic memories. The
worshiped monument-fetishes cannot be regarded as things that refer only to a

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438 F Ankersmit, *Remembering the Holocaust: Mourning and Melancholy.* [In:] F.R.
     Ankersmit, *Historical Representation.* Stanford University Press, Stanford 2001.

439 Ibid. p. 192.

440 J. Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation.* Trans. Sheila Faria Glaser, The University of
     Michigan Press, Ann Arbour 1994, pp. 43–44.

441 S. Žižek, *From Western Marxism to Western Buddhism*, "Cabinet Magazine", Issue 2
     (Spring 2001), p. 33.

set of positive emotions because a fetishized object being precisely a monument which often commemorates a tragic past may stir up nostalgia and a melancholic longing.

Demolition

Nighttime is associated with chaos, danger and evil, but also with mystery, mysticism, magic or drama.[442] It is also a time when norms may be suspended and the existing order may be disturbed. At night, not everything is explained, but much can be concealed. Nighttime awakens the emotions which are suppressed during the day. It is at night that spontaneous demolition of monuments usually takes place.

On the night of November 20, 1918, monuments of Wilhelm II, Frederick III and the equestrian statue of Wilhelm I were thrown down from their plinths in Strasbourg.[443] The demolition of the statues was the work of a group of protesting students. The perpetrators dragged the sculpted head of Emperor Wilhelm through the city streets. On the order of the new authorities in 1919, a biplane Fokker – a French war trophy – stood on the plinth in place of this monument.

It was then removed in 1920. Then the plinth was also removed. On the night of April 4, 1919, the Prussian monuments of Poznań were toppled: the monument to Frederick III, Wilhelm I, Otto von Bismarck, the Brandenburg Warrior, the Nachod Lion and the monument to General August N. von Gneisenau. These events took place after a demonstration convened in defense of Poland's rights to Gdańsk and Pomerania on the Vistula. All monuments were hauled to the Wolności Square, from whence they were taken the next morning.[444] They were then transported to the scrap yard at Masztalarska Street.[445]

Group – and sometimes spontaneous – acts of destroying monuments are a yardstick of political changes and often define a critical moment in history.[446] Typically, the first acts of aggression, caused by the need to mark the transformation occurring in the socio-political order, are targeted against monuments.

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442 W. Kopaliński, *Słownik mitów*…, pp. 758–759.

443 J.-M. Le Minor, *L'éphémère statue*…, p. 133–140.

444 "Dziennik Poznański", 05.04.1919, vol. 61, no 80.

445 W. Molik, „*Straż nad*…", p. 106.

446 Cf: A. Jasińska-Kania, *Agresja i przemoc w konfliktach narodowych i etnicznych*, [in:] *Człowiek i agresja. Głosy o nienawiści i przemocy. Ujęcie interdyscyplinarne*, ed. Ł. Jurasz-Dudzik, Wydawnictwo Sic!, Warszawa 2002, pp. 115–135.

Fig. 23: The destruction of the monument to Wilhelm I. Strasbourg. From the collections of the Bibliotèque national et universitaire de Strasbourg. Open licence

Movements of people "going to monuments" result not only from the bottom-up explosion of emotions, but also from political motives, which are often reinforced by top-down actions. In the act of demolishing monuments, the unofficial is mixed with the official. Because of the political function of monuments, they become the victims of such mass outbursts of aggression.[447] Aggression is directed first and foremost against statues of political leaders, or monuments commemorating specific events in political history, rather than against those of artists. The violence of French students in 1918 was targeted at the Wilhelm I monument, not at the memorial of Johann Wolfgang Goethe.

The Strasbourg monument to Wilhelm I evoked strong reactions from the French. Why did it trigger such emotions? Why did the monument become an object of oppression? Was it treated as a real manifestation of what it represented?

The statue of Wilhelm I was a typical representation of rulers from that epoch. It was an equestrian statue, presenting the emperor on horseback in a triumphant pose. It showed the triumph of Wilhelm I: the first emperor of united Germany. Among the French, this created a sense of injustice, averseness and

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447 D. Gamboni, *The Destruction*…, p. 27.

Fig. 24: The Fokker biplane placed in 1919 on the pedestal of the Wilhelm I monument, after the emperor's statue was toppled. Strasbourg. From the collections of the Archives de Strasbourg. Open licence

even hostility. William's victory was their failure. If we assume that the emotions produced by the image of Wilhelm I really did refer to him, the destruction of the monument would mean the symbolic defeat of the German emperor and a rejection of the values that he stood for.

The insight of David Freedberg and Hans Belting seems helpful in understanding this mechanism. Freedberg, in his book entitled *The Power of Images*, reflects on the motivations behind the destruction of these images and states that once removed, the signs of the hated or replaced order are no longer there to remind the beholder of their erstwhile authority to exhort him or her to rebellion.[448] The author does not stop at this thesis but goes on to say:

> But there seems to be more to this kind of removal. Could it be that by assailing the dead images, getting rid of them, one was assailing the very men and women they

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448 D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1989, p. 392.

represented? And if so, were they there in their images, or did the hostile act somehow carry over to the signified by a kind of magical transference or contagion?[449]

The problem raised by David Freedberg makes us wonder to what extent we can treat the likeness embodied in the monument as identical with who or what it represents.[450] He does not unambiguously answer the question of whether such identification is fully legitimate, and when attempting to explain how such a transfer takes place he uses rather enigmatic language. However, he notes that there might be something more to destruction of an image than the simple act of destroying an object. Wilhelm I imprisoned in the monument at the same time is and is not a vivid representation of himself.[451] The act of aggression carried out on the Wilhelm monument is not equivalent, of course, to the belief in the literal presence of the man in the object depicting him. However, this act suggests that the recipient projects additional qualities onto the monument and onto the man. Following this lead, it can be said that the statue of Wilhelm I takes on the characteristics of William I himself and, thus, allows the expression of emotions that might be suppressed when meeting a living person. The interaction that takes place between the monument and the city dwellers who are hostile towards it is possible thanks to personification, which makes the statue more than just an object. How does such a transformation happen?

Hans Belting discusses the fusion between the carrier-medium (the Wilhelm I monument itself) and the representation (the emperor along with the values he represents). He notes that the carrier (the material dimension) and the representation (the psychological dimension) are connected to each other by means of a "sensory impression" of the recipient[452] who brings both elements to life, rendering them an inseparable whole. Belting states:

> In the process, the opaque medium becomes the transparent conduit for its image. Thus the ambiguity of presence and absence extends even to the medium in which the image is born, for in reality it is not the medium but the spectator who engenders the image within him or herself.[453]

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449 Ibid. p. 392.

450 Ibid. pp. 392–392.

451 The dispute over the meaning of images was widely discussed at the theoretical level by iconoclasts and iconods in relation to sacred representations. I omit these issues because of their theoretical nature, as I focus on the area of emotional responses.

452 H. Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body.* Trans. Thomas Dunlap. Princeton University Press, Princeton 2011, p.20.,

453 Ibid. p. 20.

We are dealing here with three elements that create the process of monument interpretation. The material and psychological dimensions of the monument are not separate. The first one serves to activate the second one, while the second one transforms depending on the context, with the monument becoming an object that constantly produces new meanings. At the same time, as abstract values materialize in the physical form of a monument, individual people are able to actively demonstrate their attitude towards the concepts embodied in it. However, the merger of both dimensions is only possible thanks to the sensual perception of the viewer, which is the third element of the process of the interpretation of a monument. It is the spectator that makes the material thing come alive. The fact that a monument is an inanimate object is of no importance: it is important that it is sometimes treated as alive when it becomes so in the eyes of recipients. A monument is the focal point of emotions experienced by people, and actions targeted at monuments prove a magical union of a physical person with his or her commemoration.[454]

The violence which the Wilhelm I monument was subjected to was a consequence of the students' emotions. The feeling of anger is the core reason for destroying monuments by the masses. As Irena Grzesiuk-Olszewska remarks, "in all revolutions, the anger of the crowd exhibits itself most evidently in the act of demolishing monuments of rulers or oppressors."[455] The negative emotions which had been building up during the years of Prussian rule in Strasbourg, marked by uncertainty and fear, found an outlet on that night in November 1918. The outpouring of aggression aimed at the monument was also provoked by a desire to take revenge for Germans' similar toppling of statues after their annexation of the city in 1870.[456] The overlapping of all these feelings inevitably instigated anger, and this was a necessary condition for the outbreak of aggression. As Erika Doss notes:

> Motivated by fear, anxiety, irresolution, uncertainty, loss of confidence, lack of trust, provocation and a sense of slight, among other things, anger is an especially performative affect. Manifest in impatience, frustration, conflict, aggression and violence, and in feelings of rage and hatred, anger is dramatic, dynamic, and heated.[457]

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454 A special example of bringing an image to live are representations of deities and gods. Then the perception of such an image precisely as God is the most literal and the most intense.

455 I. Grzesiuk-Olszewska, *Polska rzeźba…*, p. 36.

456 G. Bischoff, *L'iconoclasm…*, p. 400.

457 E. Doss, *Memorial Mania…*, p. 325.

Anger is usually considered to be a negative feeling.[458] Without it, however, an event that was so important to the Strasbourg people would not have happened. The critical moment of a monument being torn down, which constitutes a symbolic caesura, is physical proof and visible testimony of political change. Political decisions taken in the mainstream trigger emotions that need a public outlet. Demolishing a monument is what people can do "here, from the bottom." Social rage is, then, an important element of politics of memory. It also gives people a respite after bad experiences, which means that anger is no longer treated overtly negatively, but also positively – as a "socially and politically appropriate response to the discernment of national injustice, harm and neglect."[459] In addition, the venting of emotions is simply believed to be an essential element of communicating them, thus to be one form of emotional expression.[460] That this outlet of rage assumed a relatively radical form attests, in this case, only to the power of the monument as an affective factor.

Anger was also the main reason for the destruction of Prussian monuments in Poznań and was also deemed a positive impulse, and even a natural one.[461] As reported by "Kurier Poznański" on 5 April 1919:

> The patriotic impulse of the people arose from the news of a new plot against Poland…, erased the hallmarks of Prussian rule and the stigma of slavery from the face of our ancient town. The Molochs and idols of modern Prussia were toppled from the pedestals, which we were forced to look at for too long. Whatever objections we might have had to the methods in which the abolition of monuments took place, we reckon this impulse to be a healthy one, inspired by legitimate motives, a symptom of an impetuous, but, in fact, normal drive.[462]

The author interpreted the demolition of monuments that took place during the manifestation as positive, though he emphasized the drastic measures that

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458 The attitude to anger is not, however, unambiguously negative. Erika Doss points out that in the ancient tradition, anger was considered a necessary means of revenge.

459 E. Doss, *Memorial Mania…*, p. 327.

460 J. Reykowski, *Procesy emocjonalne…*, p. 37.

461 "Dziennik Poznański" also contains information about the destruction of Prussian monuments. And, although it is described more modestly, it also comments on the indignation and the heated emotions of the crowd of Poznań residents. "Dziennik Poznański", 05/04/1919, vol. 61, no 80.

462 "Kurier Poznański", 05/04/1919, vol. XIV, no. 80. This "new attack on Poland," which "Kurier Poznański" describes, concerned discussions held at the Paris conference in 1919, debating the issues of Poland's territorial rights to Gdańsk and the part of the Pomorania region.

were used to destroy them. In addition, the emotions that drove the crowd and led to the removal of monuments from their plinths were amalgamated with patriotism. Political events stirred up the emotions, which enabled a real, physical reaction, construed in the spirit of a defense of national values. The role of uncontrollable emotions proved to be very important. These allowed the Poles to reveal their true views and to make a symbolic gesture which became a significant element of the founding myth of the free Poznań for the Poles living in the city today. Monuments as objects representing hostile forces constituted the perfect target of a mass assault, because only their disappearance from the public space of Poznań meant the symbolic liberation of the city from the Prussian yoke. They also satisfied people's need for action, which is proof of their active participation in the ever-changing reality.

Taking out negative emotions on monuments corresponds with the psychological concept of the monument by Krzysztof Wodiczko.[463] Wodiczko postulates the transformation of public space into clinical space.[464] As he notes, "democracy needs a clinic. Public space is such a clinic."[465] Wodiczko's projections, by enfranchising the traumatized participants of public space, are supposed to help treat trauma, to "de-frost" it. By mapping projections onto memorials and statues, Wodiczko links people with monuments, creating a special relationship between them. Monuments are often just as traumatized as people, according to Wodiczka, and just as people they need regeneration, the chance for a life in a democracy.[466] People, like figures cast in bronze, are fossilized when they cannot overcome the powerlessness of not being able to voice their truths.[467] People need a tool that will help them express themselves and a monument may become precisely such a tool. However, the "de-frosting" of a monument need

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463 See also: A. Turowski, *Przemieszczenia i obrazy dialektyczne Krzysztofa Wodiczki*, [in:] *Krzysztof Wodiczko. Pomnikoterapia*, ed. A. Turowski, Zachęta Narodowa Galeria Sztuki, Warszawa 2005. Especially pages: 55–62.

464 Clinical space is understood here as curative space, a healing space.

465 K. Wodiczko, *W stronę pomnika aktywnego ("Pojazd dla bezdomnych", "Weterani jako pomnik własnej traumy")*, *Konteksty*, 2010, no 2–3, p. 154.

466 K. Wodiczko, *Miasto, demokracja i sztuka*, [in:] *Krzysztof Wodiczko. Doktor Honoris Causa Akademii Sztuk Pięknych w Poznaniu*, Poznań 2007, pp. 33–47, [brochure published on the occasion of bestowing the title of doctor Honoris Causa of the Fine Arts Academy in Poznań on Krzysztof Wodiczko].

467 K. Wodiczko, *Instruments, Projections, Monuments* [in:] Publiczna prestrzeń dla sztuki/Öffentlicher Raum für Kunst?, ed. M. A. Potocka, Bunkier Sztuki, inter esse, Triton Verlag, Kraków – Wien 2003, pp. 70–74.

not be done by means of projection. Sometimes it occurs spontaneously in the act of demolition. Then, the actions that people undertake are a form of active therapy. The venting of negative feelings occurs not only through speaking, but also through the physical involvement of the body, which undoubtedly happens in the act of toppling monuments. For this to take place, the monuments have to be "animated" because, as Wodiczko notes, "to help yourself and revive yourself, you need to revive the monument."[468] In the eyes of those who destroyed statues, they must have been – as Freedberg presumes – almost the living bodies of those they epitomized.

Katherine Verdery also points to the corporeality of monuments in a study devoted to the political lives of dead bodies. As she notes, "statues are dead people cast in bronze or carved in stone. They symbolize a specific famous person while in a sense also being the body of that person."[469] So, an act of violence means that the corporeality of people is confronted with the "corporeality" of the monument. The aggression aimed at statues is also aggression towards the Hansen's Closed Form mentioned above. The activity of participants in collective acts of monument destruction is a physical struggle with oppression conveyed in material substance. Such spontaneous attacks were, therefore, a democratic attempt to overcome palpable testaments to violence in the form of monuments. Violence directed against monuments is one of the ways of interacting with them and is a desperate endeavor to break through their closed form. Such behavior, because it is grounded in aggression, is also oppressive, and, therefore, similar to the one that gave birth to the monument in its original form. The very fact that this action manifests itself in the fight against a closed-form monument locates it at a symbolic level, while remaining a testimony to the use of those same methods.

The above-discussed projections gave Wodiczko "an opportunity to understand the monument as a body, a symbolic structure with a certain connection to the experience of those who are revivifying it."[470] The projections were supposed to aid the healing of both monuments and people. Taking out anger at the Prussian rule on the Prussian monuments did not breed reciprocal reanimation, but a reanimation of some at the expense of others. This venting of negative emotions was not based on an identification with the petrified body of the monuments, but on a symbolic destruction of the bodies cast in them.

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468 K. Wodiczko, *Miasto, demokracja…*, p. 42.
469 K. Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies. Reburial and Postsocialist Change*, Columbia University Press, New York 1999, p. 5.
470 K. Wodiczko, *Przyrządy, projekcje…*, p. 47.

Monuments, instead of transforming into a constructive medium which would enable collective healing, or working through the trauma (as was the case with Krzysztof Wodiczko's projections), have become catalysts for destructive drives. Although their role differs from the role they play in the projections of Wodiczko, they still have a therapeutic function.

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The monument to Wilhelm I, a perfect example of an object conducive to the release of anger, also stirred up other feelings. The toppling of the statue also caused suffering. Aggression, which was displayed through the physical discharge of negative emotions, is also a group of activities that were

> designed to cause suffering (distress) or harm or to contribute to the destruction of what others considered to be valuable. Thus, they included both physical and verbal attacks, gestures and symbolic acts, and they targeted people, animals, physical objects, ideas, views, norms, etc.[471]

The violence towards the monument was intended at the person who was embodied in it, just like the homage paid to the monument meant homage paid to the person who was depicted by it. Hence, the aggression aimed at the monument could inflict suffering on those for whom it was important. Michael Braubach, a high German official living in Strasbourg, reported on the events connected with the demolition of the monument:

> On Wednesday night, Alsatian students, led by their lecturers, toppled the statue of Wilhelm I onto Kaiserplatz, and the statues of Wilhelm II and Frederick onto Grande Poste. The head of Emperor Wilhelm I was dragged along the street to Kleber Square. Then it was turned into a rubbish bin in the canteen of one of the student organisations.[472]

When reporting this incident, Braubach writes about the head of the Wilhelm I statue as if it was the head of William I himself, dragged through the streets of the city. The constant interweaving of personification and objectification adds a dimension of ambiguity to what is being done to the monument. The suffering of the monument is not neutral and becomes human suffering. Turning the head of a statue into a rubbish bin is, therefore, demeaning for those who identify with the person represented by it. So it is not just the object which becomes the target of aggression. Such actions inflict real suffering on other people.

Destroying the Strasbourg Wilhelm I monument and putting in its place – that is, in the heart of the German district – a biplane, which also became a

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471 J. Reykowski, *Procesy emocjonalne…*, p. 142.
472 J.-M. Le Minor, *L'éphémère statue…*, p. 134.

monument while standing on the pedestal, signified a demonstration of French power and domination. This meant humiliation for the Germans because the significance of the plane located in this place far exceeded its original purpose. So it was possible to cause suffering to the Germans by means of the biplane, but only in a specific context which only the inhabitants of Strasbourg at the time understood and which was associated with the collapse of the German Empire. It ridiculed the previous authorities and was an expression of triumphalism, a form of venting after the German rule and of stigmatizing the city's German popula-tion, and perhaps even of revenge. It seems, however, that in French Strasbourg toppling the statue and replacing it with a biplane fulfilled the role which is char-acterized by Françoise Choay, who recognizes that the monument is "a defence against the trauma of existence, a carrier of security."[473] In this light, actions directed at monuments can be regarded as necessary for maintaining social bal-ance. If it is true that strong collective emotions which appear in a certain group of people must be released, monuments – which usually constitute the main site of spontaneous events – prove to be fuses that allow social tensions to be discharged. The humiliated Germans, when confronted with the new, temporary monument – a biplane – were subjected to emotional pressure and forced to build up negative emotions. It appears that aggressive actions, which are carried out with the help of monuments, are always actions of one social group against another, and not only of people against objects.

The remelting of the head from the Bismarck statue fulfilled a similar task in Poznań. Following the decision of the Poznań City Council from 1930, the statue (without the head) was handed over to the committee for the construction of the monument to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and was remelted into a statue of Christ, one of the elements of the artwork.[474] Bismarck's head, in turn, was torn from the rest of the bronze-cast figure while it was being removed from the pedestal and was used by Władysław Marcinkowski to cast a statue of Jan di Quadro.[475] The resolution of the Magistrate proclaimed, "Give Master Marcinkowski Bismarck's head, for him to use it properly."[476] The term "Bismarck's head" is noteworthy as it suggests that it is part of a human body. The sentence does not say "give him

473 F. Choay, *L'Allégorie…*, p. 15.

474 W. Molik, *Straż nad…*, p. 106.

475 W. Czarnecki, *To był też mój Poznań. Wspomnienia architekta miejskiego z lat 1925–1939 w wyborze i opracowaniu Janusza Dembskiego*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 1987, p. 137.

476 Qtd in: W. Czarnecki, *To był też…*, p. 137. Cf also: Z. Wojtkowiak, *Napisy pamiątkowe…*, p. 6.

Fig. 25: The empty socle and demolished statue of the Friedrich III monument. Poznań. Fot. K. Greger. Courtesy of the Kórnicka Librabry of the Polish Academy of Sciences

the head of the Bismarck statue," but simply "Bismarck's head." The humiliation which was accomplished by destroying the monument and re-casting its head was aimed – as in the case of the head of the Wilhelm I statue – at the chancellor himself, and was meant to be interpreted this way. Removing it from the pedestal, and then recasting the monument, served to express the contempt and satisfaction resulting from a dishonor to Bismarck himself, not from a destruction of an ordinary object. Such handling of the Prussian monument stirred up emotions among the Germans, who were demeaned by the monument. The statue thus became a medium serving to convey a specific emotional message and received an emotional response after the Germans entered Poznań in 1939.

On 18 October 1939, the Nazis began the demolition of the Monument of Gratitude to the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Poznań.[477] Then, almost all Polish monuments within the city were pulled down, including, the statue of Adam Mickiewicz, the monument to Tadeusz Kosciuszko and the monument to the

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477 Cz. Łuczak, *Dzień po dniu w okupowanym Poznaniu*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 1989, p. 45.

Fig. 26: Monument to the Victims of Katyń and Siberia after the plane crash near Smolensk (2010). Poznań. Photo. R. Sidorski. Courtesy of the author

15th Poznań Uhlans Regiment.[478] Likewise, in Strasbourg the demolition of monuments began after the Nazis entered the city. On 30 September 1940, the monument to General Kléber was destroyed, followed by other French monuments, including the monuments of Kellermann and the monument to La Marseillaise.[479]

The systematic destruction of monuments by the Nazis in Poznań and Strasbourg was an element of politics of memory (the Geschichtspolitik program)

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478 M. Rutkowska, *Straty osobowe i materialne kultury w Wielkopolsce w latach II wojny światowej*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa – Poznań, 1984, p. 71.

479 G. Bischoff, *L'Iconoclasm*…, pp. 400–401.

of Nazi Germany.[480] However, it was also the result of the earlier humiliation of German monuments, tantamount to the humiliation of the Germans themselves. It fueled the desire for vengeance not only on the population, but also on monuments. According to Bischoff, these destructions were caused by "'the wrath of the people' (Volkszorn) against the French."[481] They sparked a sense of anger and shame as well as grief and sadness in those members of society who valued the monuments thrown from the plinths, thus intensifying the hostility towards the occupiers. Sorrow, which is usually caused by a loss of a thing or a loved one, was caused, in this case, by a loss of monuments. The destruction of monuments by the Germans was also interpreted as an expression of hatred. Franciszek Jaśkowiak wrote in 1945 that "national monuments … have been pulled down by the enemy, filled with hatred towards everything that is Polish."[482] Actions that were of considerable political importance and constituted a typical element of history politics inevitably also took place on an emotional level in such situations, and that is how this was interpreted. The act of toppling monuments additionally bore witness to the Germans' hatred of the monuments, and, by the same token, the values they represented. The emotional dimension of this destruction defined its emotional impact of this act, which strengthened its symbolic significance.

The first monument to be demolished by Poznań's occupiers during World War II was the monument to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which after World War I had been erected in place of the Bismarck monument. Its obliteration was personally supervised by the son of Arthur Greiser, and Polish prisoners were used to tear it down.[483] This event may have generated powerful emotions because the destroyed monument not only denoted political events (Poland regaining its independence), but also referred directly to religious values. The feelings that it aroused, therefore, had the characteristics of religious elation, and thus its destruction was an attack on religious feelings. Because both these realms (political and religious) were merged in the monument, its emotional impact expanded, and its destruction, along with a political act, was also an act of religious profanation. Katherine Verdery notes that a statue, while immortalizing a

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480 Cf: T. J. Żuchowski, *Pomnik 15. Pułku…*, p. 43.

481 Ibid. p. 400.

482 F. Jaśkowiak, *Zabytki Poznańskie po pożodze*, J. Jachowski. Księgarnia Akademicka, Poznań 1945, p. 18.

483 The practice of using Polish prisoners to destroy Polish monuments was common and reinforced the humiliating message of such acts. Cf .: T. J. Żuchowski, *Pomnik 15. Puku …*, p. 44.

figure of a person, transfers it into the sacred domain and attests to its supernatural properties. The destruction of a statue entails a violation of the *sacrum*. As Verdery states:

> By arresting the process of that person's bodily decay, a statue alters the temporality associated with the person, bringing him into the realm of the timeless or the sacred, like an icon. For this reason, desecrating a statue partakes of the larger history of iconoclasm. Tearing it down not only removes that specific body from the landscape, as if to excise it from history, but also proves that because it can be torn down, no god protects it.[484]

In the case of the monument to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, it was the statue of Christ that made up the monument's sacred character and gave the monument a timeless quality. Its destruction meant desecration, literally and even more strongly than in the case of other monuments. At the symbolic level, the collapse of Christ's statue meant not only a desecration of sanctity, but also the undermining of it. Since, as Verdery notes, the supernatural character of the monument – and thus of the person immortalized in it – is determined by its existence, the destruction of the statue devalues its religious status so that "no god protects it" any longer. The toppling of a statue in which Christ is present is tantamount to questioning his divine power.

The destruction of this monument, however, could also be considered a materialization of martyrdom. The fact that the statue depicted the incarnate God legitimizes an interpretation grounded in the Christian tradition of the Passion of Christ. This reading is also justified by the fact that pieces of the statue were pulled along St. Martin Street by members of the Hitlerjugend.[485] The degradation of the statue and the destruction of the monument were a symbolic repetition of Christ's suffering. In this case, the profanation of the monument by the Nazis did not strip the statue of its sanctity, as happens when secular monuments are destroyed, but it became a corroboration of its divinity, which was to gain life through resurrection. The devastation of the monument thus strengthened its sacred character. The manner in which the monument's remains were treated confirms the special status of this monument. The prisoners working at the demolition saved two fingers from the statue of Christ, which later found their way to the Archdiocese Museum in Poznań. The preserved fragments of the monument were seen as relics worthy of special veneration. Prisoners risked their lives for the symbolic piece of the body of Christ. The sense of humiliation

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484 K. Verdery, *The Political*…, p. 5.
485 T. J. Żuchowski, *Pomnik 15. Pułku*…, p. 44.

and grief, as well as the insult to religious beliefs, that were caused by the demo-
lition of the monument arose because of people's conviction of its extraordinary
character. The monument gained the rank of the subject and became the object
of worship.

It follows from the above considerations that suffering can also be inflicted on
people through actions carried out on monuments. However, suffering can also
be immortalized in the material substance of monuments. The Monument aux
Morts is an example of a monument expressing suffering, sadness and grief.[486]
The contrast between the Wilhelm I monument in Strasbourg and the Monument
aux Morts reveals that different statues can serve different purposes, and that
their construction can result from different motivations. The equestrian statue of
Wilhelm I, which was torn down in 1918, had a limited scope of interpretation
and deepened the division in the cross-border community of Strasbourg. On the
other hand, the form of Monument aux Morts, alluding to different symbolism,
communicated conciliatory intentions. The psychological dimension of the
monument turned out to be much more inclusive, and the emotions that accom-
panied its creation allowed all the inhabitants of the city to identify with it. This
monument was not destroyed by the Nazis after they invaded Strasbourg during
World War II and is still standing in Strasbourg today.[487] Both monuments were
located in the same square. In the case of the statue of Wilhelm I, the location
amplified the triumphant nature of the monument and affronted the French
community of the city. In the case of the Monument aux Morts, there was a dif-
ferent symbolism to its location. The site of the monument in the main square of
the German district suggested a cautionary tale and, underlining the symbolic
divide in the city, constantly switching hands between France and Germany,
strongly influenced the emotions of the Strasbourg residents.

According to the typology of Antoine Prost, the figure of a mother and her sons
was frequently represented on French monuments to the dead. The researcher
points out that such commemoration of a war tragedy is relatively unpolitical: it
does not focus on celebrating the French victory, and it does not justify the sac-
rifice of soldiers' lives. In his opinion, the theme of the *mater dolorosa* gravitated
towards pacifism, and meditation on suffering and pain caused by the tragedy of

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486 Cf.: M. Praczyk, *(Nie)ludzkie cierpienie pomnika. Strasburskie pomniki i strasburczycy
     w pierwszej połowie XX wieku*, [in:] *Zapisy cierpienia*, pod red. K. Stańczak-Wiślicz,
     Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Chronicon, 2011, pp. 162–165.
487 L. Maechel, Th. Rieger, *Strasbourg insolite…*, p. 100.

war.[488] The Strasbourg Monument aux Morts fits this description. Additionally, the lack of uniforms which would allow the identification of the soldiers' nationality reinforces its message of peace. Focusing on fraternal suffering rather than on national divisions also emphasizes the cross-border character of the city and highlights the problem of one's affiliation with a sense of nationality. The mother, who is an allegory of Strasbourg – not of France – stresses the importance of Strasbourgians' regional identity.

The visual message contained in the monument helps its recipients to imagine and experience the essence of its content. The viewer is supposed to feel empathy. Here, the viewers' attention is drawn to the problem of fratricidal struggles in Strasbourg, while the suffering faces of the dying soldiers and the distraught face of the mother conjure up the tragedy of these events. In symbolic terms, the monument told a story in which many people participated. It allowed the Strasbourgians to identify themselves with the represented content and responded to their emotional needs, because it materialized the feelings of pain and grief after the loss of loved ones, emotions that were familiar to the people of Strasbourg in the interwar years regardless of their national origin. The release of grief was an important element of the monument's function.[489] The allusion to the *pieta* also indirectly connoted religious meanings, so the monument could also be construed as a metaphor of a tombstone, or a funeral site. This was all the more significant considering that many of the soldiers' bodies were never brought back from the battlefields, and their burial was not possible.[490]

In the speech inaugurating the unveiling of the monument, Henry Lévy said:

> The beautiful figure of the woman, a symbol not only of our homeland, but also of the tormented mankind, holding the two dying soldiers with poignant care, embodies the suffering which expresses all this tragedy… Everyone will deeply feel the grand thought that emanates from this work. This statue will become a subject of meditation and a moral lesson for those who will come after us.[491]

When talking about the statue, Lévy also mentions the educational function, often named in the context of monuments to the dead. However, the lesson from

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488 A. Prost, *Les Momuments aux Morts. Culte republicain? Culte civique? Culte patriotique?*, [in:] *Les lieux de memoire*, t. 1, ed. P. Nora, Gallimard, Paris 1984, pp. 205–206. Cf also: A. Becker, *Les Monuments*…, pp. 59–92.

489 Jay Winter speaks broadly about this issue. J. Winter, *Sites of Memory*…, pp. 78–116.

490 See also: D. J. Scherman, *Art, Commerce and the Production of Memory in France after World War I*, [in:] *Commemorations. The Politics of National Identity*, ed. J. R. Gillis, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1994.

491 J. Daltroff, *Henry Lévy*…, pp. 145–146.

the Strasbourg monument is not politically orientated but emotionally orientated. The form of the monument, instead of serving the legitimization of a certain political order, was supposed to induce suffering, concern, and poignancy in the inhabitants of the city and to warn them against repeating the tragedy. The monument engaged the recipients' imagination, and this imagination broadened its formal theme. Interpretation is, hence, the effect of an individual's interaction with the object, whose form, nevertheless, suggests which emotions should be felt by the viewer when looking at the monument. The interpretation is the result of a specific interaction with a specific object. The form of the monument is strongly evocative and it guides the viewer's emotions. As Choay writes, in this way the monument guarantees "the protection of the identity of a given community,"[492] but it is not limited to it.

The issue of meditation, which Lévy also discusses, is worth mentioning here. Freedberg notes that the practice of meditation based on images is strongly rooted in the reception of religious art. It was meant to stimulate empathy and required the viewer to become liberated from a rational interpretation of the object.[493] This practice relied on contemplation which enabled the spectator to transcend the physical boundaries of the object. Similarly, the contemplation of a monument allows one to immerse oneself in the emotions triggered by the artwork. The image so produced by the viewer corresponds to the concept of a "psychological dimension" proposed by Belting, and Lévi's statement that "grand thought that emanates from this work" proves that such a dimension exists.

Supplements

To express emotions such as sadness, grief or anger – as well as respect for the events or persons commemorated by monuments – people place a number of objects around them or add inscriptions to them. Under monuments celebrating national heroes or tragic events, flowers, notes, sashes, flags, photos, candles and similar things can be found. Flowers are also left on bare plinths bereft of statues. People dress monuments in clothes and apply stickers or draw pictures on them – all of these gestures bear witness to their emotional attitude towards the monuments.

Lighting candles is one of the most common forms of emotional expression at the site of monuments. An interesting example is the Poznań Monument to

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492 F. Choay, *L'Allegorie…*, p. 15.
493 D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, pp. 161–191.

the Polish Underground State. Created by Mariusz Kulpa, it was unveiled on 26 September 2007 on the square between Niepodległości Street, Wieniawskiego Street and Libelt Street, near the church of Fathers Dominicans. It comprises many parts, including collapsing metal elements which symbolize the ruins of a house, from which eagles are taking off; columns with inscriptions; and rust-covered tombstones.

The gravestones within the monument encourage visitors to place candles at the site. As noted by Włodzimierz Buczyński, the chairman of the Social Committee for the Construction of the Monument to the Polish Underground State, "We want the monument to live, for the people of Greater Poland to visit it, lay flowers and light candles on it."[494] The candles, however, not only reanimate the monument, but also redefine its character. Candles traditionally belong in the cemetery and, when placed on the graves of specific people, symbolize their eternal, posthumous lives. Candles are also material signs of grief and sadness. When we put them under monuments, we publicly express such emotions towards the subject of commemoration. Just like graves in cemeteries allow an emotional experience of private tragedies, monuments in city spaces allow emotions to be experienced in the public domain and in relation to public events. The Monument to the Polish Underground State is a special example of such a symbolic cemetery. After a service is held in the nearby church of Fathers Dominicans, plaques with the names of some victims of World War II are added to the tombstones embedded in the monument.

This way, the monument becomes part of a religious ritual. It is no longer just a place of commemoration, but a place in which one can pray and pay tribute to the dead. Adding a plaque to a monumental gravestone, therefore, becomes a metaphor of a symbolic burial, while inscribing a specific name on the plaque adds an individual dimension to the symbolic grave. The monument performs the function of a crypt in which non-existent bodies are buried. Placing candles under such tombstones is not only an expression of reverence and remembrance for the honored people and events, but it also suggests that the monument – like a grave at a cemetery, which houses the remains of specific people – contains physical remnants of human life. If, however, as Ewa Domańska argues, we assume that caring for a dead body is not so much caring for the physical remains of a living human being as fulfilling a reciprocal relationship between the living and the dead, in which the living fulfil their commitment to the dead, and in return gain a sense of the continuity of life which legitimizes their existence,

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494 "Głos Wielkopolski", 05.27.2007.

then the material presence of the body is not necessary to perform this ritual.[495] The symbolic burial which is carried out through the monument offers a chance to meet the obligations arising from the relationship between the living and the dead. To paraphrase the words of Ewa Domańska, it can be noticed that through the monument people "are and at the same time they are not."[496] The monument, then, plays a very important role: it is the object which manifests the absence of the past. People who are commemorated with it are no longer "non-present," although their physical remnants are absent.[497]

The fact that the monument is a public object causes still further consequences. Caring for the dead is no longer a private concern, but it becomes a public concern that surpasses individual responsibility. According to the decree of the chairman of the Monument Construction Committee, the people of Greater Poland should come to visit the monument and lay flowers and candles under it. The monument at the public level, thus, serves to evoke such emotions which accompany funeral rituals in the private sphere. So it not only enables one to experience emotions publicly, but also – as a grave – obliges one to do so.

Experiencing and sharing emotions publicly is a very important element of modern Western culture.[498] What is necessary for such experiences to be possible, however, is a medium which would allow people to organize gatherings; this medium is often monuments.[499] Placing objects at the site of the monuments plays an important part in public emotional experiences. On April 11, 2010, after the crash of the Polish Presidential plane flying to Katyń, numerous objects appeared at the Monument to the Victims of Katyń and Siberia in Poznań, mainly candles and flowers, but also sashes, photos and flags that the Poznanians brought to the site in order to commemorate those who had died in the accident.[500] The Katyń monument became an object that facilitated the public experiencing of grief caused by a tragedy on a public scale. The real meaning of a monument

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495 E. Domańska, *Historie niekonwencjonalne*…, pp. 171–172.

496 Ibid. p. 172.

497 Ibid. p. 184–187.

498 Cf: E. Doss, *Memorial Mania*…, p. 2.

499 Erika Doss points out that apart from the monuments around which people gather, the temporary monuments (temporal memorials) which usually occur in the place of the tragedy are also sites of – even more frequent – gatherings. E. Doss, *Emotional*…, pp. 5–12.

500 People gathered and left various objects also under other monuments, mainly at the monument of Poznań Protests of 1956 and the Monument to the Polish Underground State. The Monument to the Victims of Katyń and Siberia played the biggest role.

for a given community is exposed precisely thanks to the emotions that make it come alive. With the help of monuments, the individual and personal feeling of grief acquires a public framework that allows us to share our emotions. Participation in a public event, however, produces a sense of being part of history and incorporates individuals into mainstream events. The relationship between the private and the public begins to correspond to the relationship between memory and history.[501] Memory is understood here as an individual perception of events, and history as a negotiated public and unified version of these memories. The blurring of the difference between what is private and what is public at commemorations of a tragic event and the vagueness of these categories dignifies individual experience and elevates the status of individual memory.

Through a person's participation in such an event, his or her public display of private feelings also seems to be perceived as truer and more real. This also amplifies the power and intensity of emotions. Moreover, experiencing feelings related to a historic tragedy provides more proof of its authenticity.[502] The need to experience events this way seems to grow out of the crisis of confidence in visual culture. In an era of Baudrillardian simulations and simulacra, when we are surrounded by airbrushed images broadcast by the media, there may be a loss of confidence in the visual message. Representation of reality is inextricably linked to the process of simulation of reality, which blurs the boundary between what is real and what is fake. Reality, therefore, is neither real nor unreal; it is, as Jean Baudrillard claims, a hyper-reality and, as such, it becomes a simulacrum.[503] What happens surely and remains true is our personal, emotional experience. By visiting a monument or participating in an event, we are reassured that what is happening is really happening. Public experience of traumatic events can, hence, be considered a cure for disbelief in the media and in the visual representation of reality.

The comingling of public and private spaces also occurs through the confluence of grief and the practices of mourning. As Doss observes, mourning is traditionally part of the public domain and is a social behavior based on specific mourning rituals. Grief and sadness are emotions that belong in the private sphere; they are internal, intimate and not integrated into the social framework.[504] Memorials problematize the relationship between mourning and

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501 Cf: E. Doss, *Emotional Life*…, pp. 34–40, E. Doss, *Memorial Mania*…, pp. 61–68.

502 E. Doss, *Memorial Mania*…, p. 52.

503 J. Baudrillard, *Simulacra*…, p. 11.

504 E. Doss, *Memorial Mania*…, p. 80.

Fig. 27: Monument aux Morts with graffiti painted on it (1968). Strasbourg. *Le Jura Libertaire.* Courtesy of *Le Jura Libertaiare*

grief because, as Doss states, they "embody both publicly visible expressions of grief and rituals of mourning."[505] The events that followed the crash of the presidential plane corroborate the overlap of both types of responses to a tragedy. As reported by *Gazeta Wyborcza* from April 11, 2010: "all day Saturday and Sunday, Poznanians lit candles at the Monument to the Victims of Katyń and Siberia. Many people were very moved, with tears in their eyes, it was difficult to talk."[506] In other words, so many Poznanians gathered at the Monument of the Victims of Katyń and Siberia to be able to publicly express their private grief there. The monument in this case also fulfilled the role of a symbolic grave which they could visit, and where they could place candles or pray.[507] The fact that monuments – public objects – convey private feelings indicates how vital they become in a culture characterized by an extroverted need to display one's emotions. This also proves the importance they play in the republic of people

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505 Ibid. p. 80.

506 "Gazeta Wyborcza", 04.11.2010.

507 *Poznań w żałobie*, "Gazeta Wyborcza", 11.04.2010, http://classic.wyborcza.pl/archiwumGW/7197590/POZNAN---W—ZALOBIE, (accessed: 10.12.2019).

and things, as Bruno Latour notes, and as Erika Doss also remarks, quoting Latour.[508]

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Another important feature of publicly experiencing emotions is the ability to communicate them with the help of material objects. Objects placed at monuments serve as evidence of the need for individuals to physically mark their presence in a particular place. It is not enough to just be among others: you need to leave behind a material testimony of your presence. Contemporary Western culture is largely based on material objects with a quantifiable value. They indicate the social status of a person and even his or her identity. Objects also serve as souvenirs, which are given as gifts to make someone happy. In other words, material things matter.[509] Erika Doss calls bringing objects to monuments "the material culture of grief" and notes that:

> These things are central to contemporary public recollections of loss and performances of grief not only because they are inexpensive and easily available but because they resonate with beliefs in the symbolic and emotional power of material culture.[510]

Bringing flowers or photos of the presidential couple to the Monument to the Victims of Katyń and Siberia to commemorate the plane crash stems from the belief that the presence of things is an important testimony to our intentions. As regards remembrance, these things acquire a special meaning and become a symbol of an individual's memory of a tragic event. These items are also a means to soothe our sorrow or grief and create the impression of our being involved, of the belief that we have given something of ourselves. Thus, they not only testify to participation in a collective tragedy, but they also satisfy the need for a personal emotional reckoning with the tragedy. However, bringing objects to memorials also has another function. As Doss notices in her analysis of temporary monuments, "It also suggests a primary motivation in the making of temporary memorials, which is to commemorate grief."[511]

Commemoration takes place here on many levels. The monument, which serves to commemorate the victims of Katyń and Siberia, becomes a symbol of another dramatic event: a plane crash. Objects brought to the monument (exactly here, not somewhere else!) are proof that the memory about both events is alive in society. They are, therefore, a commemoration of our actions and emotions,

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508 E. Doss, *Memorial Mania…*, p. 71.
509 Cf.: Ibid. pp. 68–75.
510 Ibid. p. 71.
511 Ibid. p. 101.

individual grief (a specific object brought by a specific person) and of our rit-
ualized mourning (bringing an object along with other people to a particular
monument at a specific moment). Immediately after the plane crash, the press
devoted a great deal of space to the Poznań residents visiting the aforementioned
monument. One may get the impression that accounts of human reactions to
this tragedy and the emotions associated with it became more important than
the tragedy itself. The key role, however, was given to the monument, which
united different levels of recollection and enabled this emotional experience in
the wake of those dramatic events.

People gather at monuments to share their emotions. Hence, emotions are also
a form of communication. When speech fails and when people feel too powerless
to talk about a tragedy, the language of emotions replaces traditional language.
Those who come to the monument often get emotionally moved by others and
together with others, letting each other know that they are experiencing the same
feeling. In this way, they exchange information about what they feel.

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Another way in which people express emotions through monuments is by adding
inscriptions to them. Monuments can then become vehicles for emotions. This
happens for several reasons. Due to its exposed location, any change to the
monument becomes easily visible. In other words, the monument is a conve-
nient object for the transmission of content. Interference in a monument can
be more shocking than interference in other elements of architecture. Because
a memorial or statue venerates an event or person important to a certain group
and because it embodies certain values, its potential destruction is all the more
outrageous. It implies a violation of a taboo imposed on the monument. As far
as emotions are concerned: it is not only the authors of inscriptions who experi-
ence them, but also those who respond to these inscriptions, by either praising
them or considering them iconoclastic. The perpetrators usually remain anony-
mous, so it is impossible to find out what feelings accompanied the act of making
inscriptions. However, their content and the reactions they trigger bear witness
to their emotional capacity.

On the night of May 20, 1968, the inscription "Révolution" was painted in red
letters on the Strasbourg Monument aux Morts.[512] For the protestors, the atmo-
sphere in May 1968 could certainly have brought to mind a revolution, and the
emotions accompanying the events of that time found an outlet in many actions,
both spontaneous and planned. Making the inscription on the monument also

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512 "Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace", 23–24.05.1968.

meant doubling its content. Not only did the inscription itself read "revolution," but placing it on the monument was also a revolutionary act – dissent against the existing norms which prohibited writing on such objects. It was a declaration of a world-view and at the same time a practical application of an ideological stance. It was also an attempt to usurp the monument and to display the emotions felt by the rebels. The monument with the inscription was their visible, material testimony. In this way, it became a witness to those events: no longer silent, but speaking on behalf of those who identified with its message.

Making the inscription carried much more significance than shouting out the same words, and it became possible thanks to the monument. This provocation was difficult to ignore. "Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace" dated May 24, 1968, reported that the "Monument aux Morts was desecrated by vandals."[513] In reaction to the inscription's appearance, Gaullians organized a demonstration in Strasbourg. On May 28, 1968, around 3,000 protesters congregated in front of Monument aux Mort under the leadership of the then mayor of Strasbourg, Pierre Pflimlin, and the prefect of Alsace, Jean Verdier. Inscribing the word "Révolution" turned out to be not only an ordinary act of vandalism, but also a political activity that triggered an emotional response to the political events of the time.

Another example of expanding the content of a monument is dressing it in clothes. This happened to the Strasbourg Monument aux Morts. In 1953, a protest took place against the decision of the court which convicted the Alsatian soldiers drafted by force into SS units for the atrocities they committed with the Germans against the French population in Oradour and sentenced them to harsh prison sentences and hard labor.[514] This sentence was considered unfair because it did not account for the specific situation of the Alsatian men conscripted into the German army. In response to the verdict, the Monument aux Morts was covered with black fabric.[515] Thus, the monument illustrated the emotions experienced by the demonstrators. The sense of injustice and harm was demonstrated by means of a black sheet, symbolizing the shame and grief that the court sentence ignited in the demonstrators. Thanks to the monument, the emotions felt by people gained a public platform. The mother represented by the monument, an allegory of Alsace, "was ashamed" alongside the protestors and

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513 Ibid.

514 M. Biret, *Le procès de Bordeaux*, < http://www.crdp-strasbourg.fr/data/histoire/alsace-39-45c/proces.php?parent=12> (accessed: 10.12.2019).

515 "Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace", 02.17.1953, no 40.

she validated their feelings, which became common to all who identified with the statue. This emotional involvement of the Strasbourg people in the Bordeaux trial was, however, met with great disapproval by the rest of France. The harm done in the Oradour massacre was so grave that there was no doubt the soldiers who conducted this crime should be punished, regardless of their nationality.

Robing monuments does not always have to entail a manifestation of negative feelings. Monuments are also decorated in order to rejuvenate public space, to bring joy and smiles to the faces of passers-by. For this purpose, the Poznań mechanical billy goats located on Kolegiacki Square were dressed in December 2009[516] in red vests with white trim, conjuring up the festive atmosphere of Christmas. Such events help domesticate public space and make monuments more accessible to the inhabitants of the city. Objects which residents used to pass unnoticed now catch the attention of passers-by. They get media coverage and they are talked about. Even if such decoration of statues is motivated by commercial reasons – as was the case of the statue of Adam Mickiewicz, which one corporation dressed in a T-shirt with the logo of the Polish football team – the reception of such a transformation is usually met with very positive feelings. The humorous graffiti which sometimes appears on monuments plays a similar role. Although it is usually seen as an act of vandalism, it often brings on a smile and causes the monument to be noticed.

Monuments, as vehicles for diverse emotions, constitute very important elements of public space. We need them to manifest the feelings which require public expression. Thanks to them, we learn to appreciate and legitimize individual emotions and to raise them to the rank of public ones. Emotions conveyed with the help of monuments usually become the subject of debate and, thus, take on a political role. Often, it is thanks to monuments that emotions exist in the public sphere.

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516 *Koziołki już ubrane!*, < http://classic.wyborcza.pl/archiwumGW/7329006/ Koziolki-juz-ubrane- (accessed: 10.12.2019).

Conclusion

In this book, I attempted to show the monument in a multidimensional light, taking into account such levels of interpretation that I consider crucial for the existence of a monument in public space. Thus, I have brought closer the plane of its materiality, which often functions independently of the subject of commemoration, the political plane that determines its message, its existence and its possible destruction, as well as the emotional plane that revives the monument, strengthens its impact and enables public expression of social emotions. Describing these spheres of a monument enables a fuller understanding of the phenomenon of the monument and places it in a new perspective. It is worth noting, however, that although this work describes three fundamental problems (the problem of shape, politics and affect), these areas do not function independently of each other and usually overlap. Politics, for example, can affect emotions, and emotions result from the materiality of monuments.

By comparing monuments found in Poznań and Strasbourg, we are able to perceive features that would otherwise not have been visible in an analysis of monuments from one city alone. The most important conclusions drawn from the juxtaposition made here related to the monuments' shape and the affective reactions they trigger. Monuments in both cities and from about the same time were made utilizing very similar designs, although they commemorated completely different events; this was the visual message emerging from such monuments was very similar (for example in the case of obelisks). On the other hand, similar events from the history of both cities were represented by means of monuments in a completely different way (even if the political situation changed in both cities after the First World War). Paradoxically, the differences were often revealed when the monuments commemorated the same events, and similarities between monuments emerged despite them commemorating different historical events. The comparison also showed that, regardless of the city, social mechanisms that emerged during the installation or destruction of monuments proved to be similar, and it was only their intensity that depended on the socio-political context of the city. It also seems that comparing these monuments has allowed us to say a lot not only about the monuments themselves, but also about the history of Poznań and Strasbourg and their inhabitants. This is because monuments embody so many problems concerning the social and political life of the city, such as: the problem of identity construction, the way they reflect the

mentality, the tension between the past and the future revealed in the political use of monuments or their emotional potential.

The topic of this book remains inexhaustible. Problems that I consider worth developing further are those that concern materiality (in relation to "new materialism") and the affective nature of monuments (in the spirit of the "affective turn" in the New Humanities). Many existing monuments are still waiting for analyzes made in these research perspectives. Many other objects functioning in the public space could be seen in a similar light: urban design, commemorative plaques, names of streets or squares. Comparative studies on monuments located in the public space of other cities are also worth considering. Such analyses would verify whether the features of monuments, which appeared universal in the context of Poznań and Strasbourg, remain the same in the context of other cities, and whether this convergence resulted from the particulars of the cities analyzed by me.

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When thinking of monuments I would like to stress that I find them interesting not because they seemed interesting to me, not because I find them very beautiful or because I am particularly moved by the ideas they convey. I found it surprising that they are treated with such indifference, that they are considered passive and insignificant. One of the most frequently quoted statements about monuments, which I included in the introduction, was formulated by Robert Musil, who stated that "the most striking feature of monuments is that you don't notice them".[517] Such or similar beliefs, which seem to prevail universally in relation to monuments, seemed simply untrue to me. Does the fact that, as Musil claims, hardly anyone knows to whom or what a monument is dedicated mean that nobody notices it? Or maybe they are noticed differently? Maybe meeting by a monument, climbing it or using it to practice skateboarding makes a monument stand out from other objects in the urban space and makes it unique? And why is it that, when there is a political revolution somewhere in the world, the headlines present crowds of people knocking down monuments from their plinths? Why are there photos of monuments surrounded by people celebrating important events? They are present after all and they participate in our lives in a very special way.

It was not only the above-mentioned conviction about the passivity of monuments that surprised me. At the other extreme of beliefs about monuments, I found those that were marked by excessive glory, piety and devotion. That

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517 R. Musil, Ibid.

pathos not only irritated me, but it also made me wonder. If they are not noticed, why are they constantly produced, reproduced and copied? Why are people still fiercely fighting for their creation or destruction? Why are they so often treated with such reverence? So they must be important, more important than is often claimed.

In this assortment of questions and doubts, I find the cognitive potential of monuments. I wanted to look at the monuments differently and see how they function among people in their space. I wanted to know what they were saying about this space and the people who lived in it. Probably the answers I tried to give to these questions are not conclusive and cannot ultimately explain the complex matter of monuments (thankfully!). However, I hope that for those who have familiarized themselves with the analysis of monuments proposed by me, from now on they will no longer see monuments as only insignificant, fossilized elements of public space.

From the group of monuments that I have described, only few of them charmed me. Those which were most impressive seemed to correspond with Hansen's Open Form: the Poznań Army Monument and the Janus Fountain. I also liked some of the sculptures from the de Pourtalès Park or the Poznań Citadel, or some statues that emphasized the local character of the cities. I also had the opportunity to see interesting monuments outside of Poznań and Strasbourg. I thus belong to a large group of people who are convinced by the "strong, clear vision" of Mayi Lin,[518] which was realized in the famous Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington. I also consider the Viennese statue of the Victims of the Holocaust by Rachel Whiteread or, the unfortunately unrealized, monument to the road-monument by Oskar Hansen, which was meant to be in Auschwitz. On the other hand, if I were to erect a monument, regardless of what it would commemorate, I would endow it with several characteristics that I feel are important. It would be spatial and horizontal, perhaps wooden, would use color, invite you to interact and, above all, would not give a simple answer to what it commemorates, but would force you to look at it and look for the answer in it…

It would seem that most of the monuments that will be built in the near future, not only in the cities already discussed, but also in many other urban agglomerations, will not go beyond the parameters delimited so far. Therefore, the traditional, widespread patterns of monuments will continue to be replicated. A possible novelty will be that more often we will encounter spontaneous,

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518 I am referring here to a documentary dedicated to Maya Lin: *Maya Lin. A Strong, Clear Vision*, New Video Group, 2003.

temporary monuments that will be created, for example, in a place of a tragedy. However, such "temporal memorials" will appear and disappear. Meanwhile, monuments need our courage. I believe that it is important to break with the existing "monumental" conventions and develop a new, language for monuments, so that they would be able talk to us, since they are going to be created anyway. This much seems unavoidable, because erecting monuments is inscribed in the cultural constitution of humans. Despite the skepticism, I can only hope that it will be difficult to indifferently pass by these monuments, that they will intrigue, encourage dialogue and that there will be fewer of them.

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