

Koleżanki i koledzy,

Ten tekst zacząłem opracowywać ponad 5 lat temu, gdy wraz ze studentami eksplorowaliśmy Ostrów Tumski, ale w pewnym momencie musiałem przerwać (bieżące granty, artykuły, referaty, dydaktyka, biurokracja, kongres IUAES 2019, życie...). Niedawno znów po niego sięgnąłem i uznałem, że otaczająca nas rzeczywistość powoduje, że jest w nim wciąż jakiś niepokojący potencjał. Pytanie tylko, w którą stronę pójść. Jak pogodzić nadmiar danych historycznych z potrzebami analizy bieżącej sytuacji społecznej; jak antropologicznie pójść naprzód, by uzyskać tekst objętościowo pasujący do czasopism (zatem krótszy niż obecnie), strawny dla osób nieznających historii Polski i Poznania, a tłumaczący zawilóści relacji władzy w naszym fyrtlu, mieście, regionie.

Dlatego postanowiłem upublicznić ten szkic na seminarium i posłuchać Waszych refleksji, komentarzy, sugestii. Poprosiłem o komentarz Zbyszka, bo tematyka władzy w przestrzeniach zurbanizowanych nie jest mu obca (niedługo ukaże się podwójny numer Prac Etnograficznych ZNUJ pod jego współredakcją poświęcony tym zagadnieniom w Azji Środkowej), a poza tym, to z nim byłem w Żółtym Baloniku, gdy usłyszałem, że ss. Urszulanki postanowiły ten pub zamknąć, gdy tylko „odzyskały” budynek, w którym się mieścił.

Jako, że tekst jest na etapie brudnopisu, język nie jest jeszcze ułożony i skorygowany, za co przepraszam. Podobnie jest z niektórymi myślami. No i nie ma jeszcze konkluzji;-)

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Power Relations in Urban Space: Sacred Profanum and Profaned Sacrum in the Landscape of ‘The Cradle of Poland’

Any arm raised against the Catholic Church is an arm raised against Poland!

Jarosław Kaczyński, leader of the ruling party on 24th anniversary of founding “Radio Maryja” radio-station, 05.12.2015.

Clearly, Maori are cunning mythologists, who are able to select from the supple body of traditions those most appropriate to the satisfaction of their current interests, as they conceive them. The distinctiveness of their mythopraxis is not the existence (or the absence) of such interests, but exactly that they are so conceived. The Maori (...) "find themselves in history"

Marshall Shalins, *Islands of History*, 1985, p. 55

In the opinions of most people to whom I talked about Poznan Church-city dwellers relations, even when Church representatives try to communicate their situation and decisions, they take for granted that everyone shares their vision of the past legitimating their attitudes and actions. Therefore these explanations take form of “preaching to the insiders”, to some extent ignoring or displaying the fact that the substantial part of the addressees does not fully comprehend the theological and historical rationale, and do not know much about nuances of the Canon law and legal situation of the Church in Polish law.

Therefore in this essay I decided to give short description of the rationale standing behind mytho-praxis¹ justifying attitudes of the Church, municipal and governmental authorities in the context of local influence of the Public Culture discourses on an urban space of Poznan, and its dwellers. In this sense Poznan is understood here as a spatial and social locality that have been shaped throughout the centuries as a junction of discourses which actors have been drawing from a rich ‘storehouse’ of imaginaries – “those most appropriate to the satisfaction of their current interests, as they conceive them” (Sahlins 1985: 55). Poznan prominent social actors recalling selected facts from the past find themselves in history, just like the Maori described by Jørgen Prytz Johansen (1954: 163). History of Poland is mythologised to a high extent because of a scarcity of early historical sources that created a mytho-practical ‘tradition’ of storytelling in order to construct the past such as it should look like to facilitate demanded interpretations, legitimacies and implementation into practices. In the context of Catholic Church belongings and privileges, stripped of the nuances, this storytelling mytho-praxis is utilised in the current post-communism circumstances to construct three powerful representations that constitute rationale of the Church attitudes. That Church and Polishness are inseparable, because Poland could not have been created without baptism of its first historical ruler, that Church have been suffering like Polishness itself in time of Poland’s partition in 19th Century, and that in time of Communism the Church was persecuted by the very same regime that oppressed Polish nation. This argumentation is a direct instruction that in the Polish state ruled by proud, independent and real Poles, the Church should be treated with

¹ Mytho-praxis, called also stereotypical reproduction is a set of historical relationships that allows to reproduce the traditional cultural categories and give them new values out in the pragmatic context (Sahlins, 1985). In short, these values can be reconstructed and utilised again according to the needs of people who have authority to convince political actors to accept the new version of a myth.

esteem and solicitude, and should be given back what the foreign and inner enemies have deprived it, not to mention compensation of moral and material nature.

Tradition of mytho-practical story-telling

Using sacrum in order to gain the power, makes the sacrum and profanum spheres inseparable, and this dichotomy - problematic. It usually has a character of profaning the sacred and sacralising the profane. Since the half-legendary and mythologised act of baptism of Mieszko I, called 'the first historical ruler of Poland', in 966, the Christian sacrum has been routinely used in order to increase and preserve the earthly power of the main actors on the political and economic stage, often in contradictory meanings and directions. As a potential place of the baptism of Mieszko and the locum of the first missionary bishopric in Poland, urban tissues of Poznań symbolically reflect relations of power both, in implicit and explicit ways. Catholic church has been consistently active participant of Poznań and Poland social, political and economic life especially in time of the communist secularisation - which could be also called 'communist Counter-Reformation' - after World War II. In spite of official 'antireligious' doctrine of the state that resulted in reduction of the Church properties and loss of the Catholic Church openly privileged position in Polish law and politics, the latter had accompanied the nationalistic communism regime in 're-Polonisation' of former German territories, now called 'Recovered Territories', and it had been granted with a significant part of ecclesial property that has been left by displaced Protestant communities², as well as it has been provided with new lots designated for the new churches and parishes construction.

During on-going post-socialist transformation in Poland the political and economic position that Catholic Church had occupied in the pre-war Poland has been officially reassured and reinforced. Subsequently, in my opinion, in a face of domination of the 'Polish Catholicism' in the country's public culture, we can rather talk about escalation of instrumental and political use of the power of institutionalised religion than of resacralisation in urban space. There is not much holy or sacred in the pragmatic approach characterising church land ownership, multiply principals of which have been variously constituted throughout over 1000 years of presence and domination of the Church in geopolitical and historic context that we used to call "Poland". Despite reluctance of the church institutions to inform openly about its economic situation and wealth, this knowledge, though fragmented and imprecise, is spreading in a 'media-saturated' (Ortner 1998) society of 21st Century Poland causing growing criticism and undermining social

² It refers to the communities suspected to be "not Polish enough" like Masurians in the former East Prussia, as well as German Catholic communities, e.g. in Lower Silesia and Silesia region.

position of the Church and trust toward it. In this context Poznań is a significant case of worsening society-Church interrelation. The city that for ages was considered a stronghold of Catholicism (and catholic parochialism) after the death of archbishop Jerzy Stroba, called “the last prince of the church”, has passed through crisis when the next archbishop was compromised for his sexual relations with young clerics and his presently incumbent successor decided to openly sue the city and government in order to take over valuable properties and to win huge compensations. In the preceding years such issues were negotiated rather silently, and according to my knowledge, with no harm to church. In addition, such proceeding raised Poznan dwellers’ attention to church material and moral condition.

In this essay I briefly describe a spatial and social display of power deriving from imaginaries and practices related to history and religion that are implemented into the process of public and private negotiating the landscape, identity and power relations in order to demonstrate complexity of multiply discourses and mythopraxis (Sahlins 1981; Friedman 1992) associated to the Poznan past, present and future as seen from the perspective of Poznan dwellers, authorities and clergy. Imaginaries that form the rationale for the practices of different actors in this social process are deeply rooted in historicism rather than in history, since the latter is too scattered, complex, and it contains too many gaps, both in sources and in knowledge of the actors involved in this relation. Thus, only some selected ‘emblems’ of history are instrumentalised and omnipresent in social discursive practice.

The task I assigned for myself here is therefore of anthropological rather than historical nature. In order to illustrate current situation referring to bottom-up perspective, I study the sources that are accessible for the non-specialists interested in Poznan past and present, and I base on Poznan dwellers opinions concerning this fragment of their reality, including my autoethnographic insight. I am dealing with social facts (understood following Rabinow 1986) elicited from my personal review of socio-political practices concerning spatial presence of Catholic Church in Poznan, my birthplace and home for all my life. However, in spite of witnessing development of the current situation since the 80-s. of twentieth century, and despite my vital interest in Poznan history and politics, I decided to start my “multi-sited ethnography at home” project focusing on City-Church relations relatively recently, in 2014, when I moved to a flat in the historical city centre, and when the Ursulines decided to terminate the lease of “Żółty Balonik”, the pub that for about 20 years was an important place for moral and intellectual development of many anthropology adepts. I also commenced the couple of research courses for students of anthropology devoted to ethnography of urban topics, including one focused specifically on the Cathedral Island area (Cendrowski, Januszewska, Pospieszna

2018)³. The students' explorations, and my everyday hanging out with my neighbours, friends and casually chatting with people proved that most of us, Poznan dwellers, know that numerous properties and huge parts of the city belong to Catholic Church, but few of us know how big part of our city is owned or used by other means by various Church institutions.

Almost every day in Poznan we are informed about new ideas to fund a new church, to erect a new sacred monument or to reconstruct the old one. Archdiocese is very active (and efficient) in legal struggles to regain the properties "lost in communism time" including taking over the buildings of well-known public schools and cultural institutions that are evicted in the consequence and replaced with the Catholic ones. According to the law, the costs of those proceedings and of compensations sentenced to the Church are paid from the public money. Simultaneously, the Church – as an institution or community of people using Catholic affiliation - execute 'just' that is preferential and affirmative treatment from the local municipal and governmental administration, claiming for reduced rents for catholic schools and organisations, demanding new lots in newly developed divisions, commenting public policy and sometimes performing 'preventively censorship' of artistic events held in campuses or other spaces considered as public. Catholic activist, sometimes openly supported by the archbishop or other Church hierarchy's prominent representatives, have forced lay authorities to resign from organisation of various concerts and theatre performances (e.g. Koziółek 2014). Sometimes the politicians have been also keen to anticipate the will of the 'catholic electorate' mistaken with the right-wing radicals and noisy 'conservative' activists representing mainly themselves, and they have been blocking initiatives that could symbolise pluralistic – that is not exclusively Catholic – worldview, like artistic installation of a 'minaret' on the high chimney that stands on the view-line between the cathedral and the former synagogue (Buchowski 2016: 58-59), or forbidding the "Equality March" (claiming for the vulnerable groups rights, including but not limiting to LGBT) in 2005 (Amnesty International 2006: 11).

Such a public activity of social actors representing or directly associated with Catholic Church creates atmosphere in which this particular denomination appears dominating, privileged, overwhelming, and in many cases – also for many Catholics I talked to – it appears contrary to Christian values and principles of democracy. Characteristically, in our conversations, the Church and its people are described as "them" in spite that almost all of us are baptised and raised in Catholic faith, and majority of people I talked to still observe liturgical

³ Courses took place in the academic year 2014-15: (05-OTP-f-etn) 'Ostrów Tumski in Poznań: negotiating discourses - Laboratory classes'; (D05-WEIMME-11-EtnU) 'Ethnological workshop I: Urban ethnographic microprojects – Seminar'.

year, attend Sunday masses and they still accept sacraments as important rites in their lives (“because it should be done”; “because that's what you are supposed to do”; “because it’s a tradition”). In these conversations people did not express the feeling of the ecclesial union, the community of faithful, which the Church is supposed to be according to theological doctrine and usual declarations of the hierarchs. Especially when the talks were about church involvement into politics, wealth and properties, the conversations participants manifested lack of an insight and comprehension of the Church belongings, decision-making and control mechanisms as they were not a part of the same community (“I don’t know what else belongs to them, it seems they own half of the city”; “Our pub was shut down after 20 years of activity because the Ursulines terminated lease, damn, we didn’t know that building belongs to the nuns.”).

Catholic Church in historical landscape of Poznan

Poznan appears on the charts of history together with the beginning of the Church authorities interest. In an entry for 970 AD, Thietmar of Merseburg mentioned about *episcopus Posnaniensis* (bishop of Poznan), and for 1005 AD - *ab urbe Posnani* ("from the city of Poznań"). There is no historical nor archaeological evidence of pre-Christian sacral objects in Poznan. In time of Baptism, Poznan was a strategic stronghold, existing since 9th Century, surrounded by several settlements. It was also the site of the first missionary bishopric in the region. Archaeological discovery of palladium from the late 10th Century associated with Tietmar vague note about the bishop of Poznan, fuelled a hypothesis that Poznan could have been one of the main – if not the most important one – centres of the first historical ruler’s power (Kocka-Krenz). However, the first archbishopric in Poland was created in a nearby Gniezno in 1000 what causes further speculations about the mode of organisation of the Piast Dynasty’s state (Kara).

Poznan of this time was most likely the conurbation consisting of a modern stronghold located on the island on the Warta river and surrounded by the net of settlements situated on the island, outside the walls, and spread on the both banks, ranging in character from hamlets to townships. The first cathedral (lat. *tuum*) has been funded inside the rammed-earth walls of the stronghold (lat. *castrum*). Therefore the site has been latter called Ostrów Tumski - Cathedral Island - while name “Poznan” has been transferred in 1253 to a new town funded in the nearby St. Gotard’s estate. Township of Śródka on the eastern bank of the river, could have been the main economic part of Poznan and locum of its first obtaining city rights before 1231 (Bogucka, Samsonowicz 1986: 84-88) since in 1288 act of donating it to the bishop, it has been

referred to by Przemysław II - who already lived in the new city of Poznań located by his father on the other bank of the river - as “our former (or older ŁK) city, situated around the church of St. Margaretha in Poznań, commonly called Śródka”⁴.

Until the early 13th Century the lay and religious authorities coexisted on the island and in the surrounding mosaic of townships and settlements, some of them owned by ruling dynasty and its vassals, and some by multiply ecclesiastical institutions – such as bishopric, cathedral chapter, parishes or monasteries as Dominicans and Order of Saint John – gaining more and more lands, both from the grants of the ruling family and the gentry, and purchasing properties in many ways. Many local churches had been private, funded by the lay proprietors who often had hereditary power to nominate priests (e.g. family members).

When the western part of the country had been destroyed by Czechs in 1038, the political centre of the Piasts’ state, called Polen or Polonia in the contemporary chronicles, has been displaced from Greater Poland to Kraków. Poznań conurbation and the burned cathedral church were reconstructed. In 1138, realm of Piast dynasty had been partitioned between the sons of prince Bolesław III and it has not been reunited under the king rule until the coronation of Przemysław II of Poznań in 1295. This fact caused regaining the rank of a kingdom by Poland. Przemysław II had also chosen Poznań his capital city but after his murder in 1296, in effect of war for succession, the city fell into relative decline until the late 14th century.

In the first half of 13th Century, father of the future king, Przemysław I, had significantly reorganised Poznań. He exchanged the estates with the cathedral chapter and bishopric, granting a nearby township controlling trade on the eastern bank, and gaining in exchange a vital trade settlement of St. Gotard on the western bank of Warta river in 1244. In this place he funded the newly designed city on the Magdeburg Law in 1253. He employed a professional manager with the experience in starting villages and towns in Lower Silesia, *locutor*, Thomas von Guben in order to conduct the process smoothly and attract the demanded profile of new city dwellers, many of whom flew from German speaking communities of Lower Silesia and Eastern Reich. Started in 12th Century in Lower Silesia, this process of urbanisation of the region backed with Magdeburg Law and its later modifications has commenced a dynamic and multidimensional connection with German-European realms and reshaped Western Poland into a cultural and socio-economical borderland area. Western, mainly German but complemented by Netherlands

⁴ „(...) civitatem nostram antiquam, sitam circa ecclesiam sancte Margarethe in Poznań, Srodka vulgariter nuncupatam, in persona venerabilis patris nostri domini Ioannis episcopi Posnaniensis libere ac liberaliter ecclesie Posnaniensi, cum omni iure quo ipsam possedimus et tenimus, contulimus perpetuo possidendam patifice et optinendam” (Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski, t. II, nr 625).

and subsequently Jewish settlers gradually saturated villages, townships and cities to such extent that in 15th Century German was a dominating language of urban administration and trade (Abt 1988: 446-448; Gašiorowski 1988: 246-248; Wegner 1860: 225).

Poznan area still existed as a conurbation though the power relations within its framework have become increasingly clear – left bank of Warta was largely owned by secular lords, and the right one and all islands belonged to the church. Almost whole Cathedral Island has been exclusive property of the church institutions and no later than in 14th Century it was granted city rights (renewed in 1425 and 1444 [Gašiorowski 1988: 230-232]). Śródka has also been granted in 1288 by Przemysł II to the bishop of Poznan who took an active part in his future coronation. In 1444, the king granted location privilege to further Church owned small towns located between Śródka and Poznan. Most of the extensive lands to the east from Warta had largely belonged to the church. From the Poznan city-walls in 16th Century one could see several other towns, some of them walled as well, most of which belonged to the Catholic Church and often openly economically competed with Poznan, offering however complementary services that have added to the city meaning, like specialised or higher education schools funded by archbishop Jan Lubrański⁵ in Ostrów Tumski.

Lay authorities up to late 18th Century had to cooperate closely with the clergy whose prominent representatives, themselves members of the most powerful gentry of the country or the city's richest families, influenced directly the position of the local aristocracy and the development of the city itself. According to Jacek Wiesiołowski, in the beginning of 16th Century the income of Poznan clergy alone already exceeded the income of this relatively reach⁶ royal city (1988: 315). In late 16th Century, the Jesuits started to play important role in the city Public Culture. They had taken over the city's main church and the only high school, Gymnasium Ad Sanctam Magdalenam and funded Jesuit College. They also commenced the passionate campaign against the local Protestants that in 1616⁷ finished violently with burning by the students of Jesuit College the Protestant churches in the suburb of św. Wojciech. Since then, up to 1777 the Protestants could not erect any new temple in Poznan conurbation, and for

⁵ During the Reign of bishop Jan Lubranski – who is presentet nowadays as a very illuminated person, „the true man of Renaissance” – in his bishopric town of Chwaliszewo the first women on territory of Poland have been sentenced to death and publicly burned in 1511

⁶ Poznań in the end of 15th Century was reach only in relation to other Polish cities. Annual income of Krakow, the then Polish capital was c. 1750, Poznan – c. 7000, and Wrocław (Breslau) then important city of the Bohemian Kingdom – up to c. 18000. The juxtaposition - in a different context - was made by E. Maleczyńska (1959: 198—199; see also Maleczyński 1948: 268).

⁷ Many Protestants decided to leave Poznań in the atmosphere of break of 16th and 17th Centuries. One of them was Samuel Hartlieb's father who moved to Elbing.

the demands of religious observance they had to commute to town of Swarzędz. The spatial symbols of power in the conurbation area were the towers of the most important churches – two of the cathedral, one of St. Maria Magdalena collegiate that collapsed in late 18th Century, tower of the city-hall and the royal castle upon the hill, that after the death of Przemysł II, has been gradually losing significance and fell into ruins in 17th Century (Rezler2015: 10). Cathedral Island, though formally separated from Poznan, had jealously guarded and extended own privileges and actively influenced the politics in whole conurbation.

Militarism, colonialism and modernity – Prussian mythopractical project

The catholic church invincibility had been largely terminated with the partition of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by Prussia, Austria and Russia. Poznan had become a part of Prussian Kingdom whose authorities initiated the process of reorganisation based on systematic urban planning according to Enlightenment ideas. The Prussian authorities sold city-walls to city dwellers in order to destroy them and open the urban space towards the new opportunities, as well as they incorporated whole conurbation into one larger organism ruled by Magistrate of Poznan influenced strongly by the Prussian military authorities will. Prussian government also deprived the Church of numerous properties and terminated activity of many Catholic institutions and monastic orders confiscating their possessions. However, in the effect of ongoing militarisation of Prussia receiving new impulse in an aftermath of Napoleonic wars – city's further development had been inhibited after 1828. It was a direct result of decision to turn it to a gigantic fortress, Festung Posen, which polygonal core enclosed town and its northern suburbs, while its external 18 forts encompassed outskirts within the radius of almost 5km on both banks of Warta river in 1870'.

Official economic and political power of the Catholic Church has been successively marginalised but simultaneously it has been seeking the new ways of influence using its religious authority and economic resources. An obvious opportunity had become a recently maturing idea of nationalism connected with religious imaginaries so vigorously promoted by Prussians seeking to affirm Protestant House of Hohenzollern legitimation to play important role in Germany itself and its right to colonize the sized lands in the East. Consequently the Prussians have promoted Pan-German ideology positioning non-German cultural entities below in terms of 'civilisation'. It added new stimulus to rising new, exclusive national distinction consideration that has been intellectually influenced by Romanticism and Orientalism basing on the empiricism of 18th and 19th Centuries literature and science. Notions of 'nation', 'culture', 'race', 'people', 'identity', 'tradition' and 'language' have been promoted as the

naturalised features enabling description of the mankind diversity and right to be recognised and to occupy a territory. Prussia's public culture was among the leaders of implementation of such a language into the politics and law. Using other worlds, Prussia was one of the first modern nation-states in the world.

The Prussians were usually the Protestants while people of Polish and German origins inhabiting Poznan area were prevailingly the Catholics – before the annexation by Prussia, there was only one Evangelical church in Poznan. Catholic Church started to create the martyrologic narrative, promoting view that reducing its influence was an oppression against Polishness, and that Germanisation of public and educational sphere was the attack on both, Polishness and Catholic faith. In the second half of 19th Century, Catholic Church representatives were directly involved in organisation of Polish economic, educational and pro-independence activism in the reaction on Bismarck's Kulturkampf and German imperialism and intensified colonisation conducted in the Province of Poznan, connected with rising militarisation of the city that inhibited its modern urbanistic development till the end of the Century.

Since the commencement of the construction of the fortress, no public utility facilities, apart from the municipal theater, have been built in the city, and the city's technical infrastructure has not been built. As a result, in the second half of the 19th century, Poznań was one of the most backward cities of the Second Reich (31). In 1890, the city was inhabited by 69,627 people with the highest population density in the Reich - 553 people per hectare; as many as 10% of the inhabitants lived in basements, cellars and attics. The lack of flats resulted in high rental prices, which on the one hand caused overcrowding in the Old Town, and on the other hand, city sprawl - uncontrolled development of the suburbs adjacent to the fortress: Jeżyce, Łazarz and Wilda. The difficulty of finding suitable living conditions, especially flats of an appropriate standard, also caused a mass escape of German officials to the western areas of Germany (Skuratowicz 1994: 543). In addition, throughout the 19th century, only three sacral buildings were funded in Poznań - two Evangelical churches and one synagogue. In the beginning of the 20th century Poznań had 26 Catholic and 5 Protestant churches, as well as 2 synagogues (Brockhaus Enzyklopädie 1903: 312).

Later modernisation of the city under the German rule, that gave it new developmental impulse implementing the *Hebungspolitik* - 'politics of lifting up' the standards of culture, welfare and hygiene in the eastern lands of II Reich (see: Polak-Springer 2015: 26), was organised according to the late 19th Century most sophisticated principles of urbanistic thought on the basis of the masterplan designed by H. Josef Stübben, mixed with promotion of German united nation-state and domination of essentialised representations of German history. In 1900,

the Oberbürgermeister of Poznań, Richard Witting, postulated regarding Wielkopolska: ‘aus den Städten deutsche Hochburgen in slavischer Hochflut zu machen [to turn cities into German strongholds in Slavonic flood]’ (W. Jakóbczyk, 1974: 213). In the newly redesigned downtown – to the west from historical city border – in order to show the excellence of German culture and legitimacy of German rule, the urbanists created modern residential district with numerous parks, opera house, museum, Royal Academy, new train station and regional head-quarters of the National Post, Land Mortgage Credit Society of Posnan (*Posener Landschaft*), Royal Prussian Settlement Commission (*Königlich Preussische Ansiedlungskommission in den Provinzen Westpreußen und Posen*), Evangelical Association House (*Evangelisches Vereinhaus*) and the royal residence, the so-called Imperial Castle, a keystone of the entire establishment, which shows the rise of the rank of city from Poznan Fortress (*Festung Posen*) to Poznan Residence City (*Residenzstadt Posen*) (Pałat 2010: 43). In the central point of the district, on the square between the Castle and the Royal Academy, at the intersection of the main streets, a monument to Otto von Bismarck was erected. It is worth mentioning that no new church was designed in this new Imperial Quarter. The only temple in this vast area was the Evangelical Church of St. Paul, founded in the 1860s by Emperor Friedrich Wilhelm IV. A Protestant chapel was also placed in the neighboring Castle.

When Poznań and Greater Poland joined Poland in 1919, the Roman Catholic Church began to quickly regaining influence and property. In the city reorganized by the German authorities, new Catholic churches began to appear, religious congregations returned to their former monasteries or founded new ones. On the site of the Bismarck Monument, which was demolished in 1919, in 1932 a Monument of Gratitude to the Sacred Heart of Jesus was erected as a votive offering for regained independence.

In Poland at that time, there was a kind of "new wave of the Counter-Reformation" and the desecularization of the state and public space by recognizing in the Constitution that "the Roman Catholic denomination, being the religion of the vast majority of the nation, occupies the leading position in the State among equitable denominations" (Constitution of the Republic of Poland 1921 Art. 114) . In the Concordat of 1925, the Catholic Church in Poland was guaranteed "free exercise of its spiritual power, as well as free administration and management of property matters in accordance with divine and canon law." The state committed itself to the *bracchium saeculare* (state aid in the execution of church decrees). At the same time, it resigned from taxes and all fees on buildings and devices for religious purposes, and undertook to pay salaries and pensions to Catholic clergy - until the property matters of the Church related to the

loss of its property to the partitioning powers were settled (Concordat 1925, Journal of Laws 72, item 501).

Cathedral Island today

According to the narratives of nation-state poetics (Herzfeld 2004), Poznan Cathedral Island is the burial place of Poland first rulers and probable site of their baptism. Thus, it is promoted as a symbolic cradle of country and nation. However, despite central location in Poznan, the Island is barely urbanized and partly neglected. It is divided into three zones – industrial, ecclesial, and residential – bordered respectively by railway tracks and busy transit street. Only the Church-controlled central part that have been site of the stronghold and cathedral, is given any recognition from public culture and provided with finances and maintenance by the authorities. Thus, in the perspective of visitors, it reminds an open-air museum inhabited largely by the clergy.

Authorities cooperate with the diocese in order to take advantage of the local symbolic weave of state history and religion, promoting this area as a tourist destination and patriotic Shrine attracting both school excursions and tourists. They justify investing public money in the Church-owned land, claiming that, on one hand, it is their patriotic duty to maintain historic legacy, and, on the other, developing tourism would rise tax revenues and Poznan dwellers' income. However, the possibilities of running a private business there – either hotel, restaurant or shop – are very limited because of poor infrastructure. The only beneficent of the undertaken actions is the Catholic Church, itself released from most of taxes. Allegorically, exposition in the Interactive Museum of the Cathedral Island History funded by the government of Poland and EU in 2014 (25 mil. EURO), is largely reduced to Christianity issues. Histories of the Polish State and the people of Poland are mostly ignored. It is a memorial of Church domination.

Similarly, other parts of the island are marginalised. Northern, industrial part is uninhabited and rundown. Southern, residential zone resembles poorly populated suburbs of mixed village-town character. Opinion of the area's secular dwellers is hardly considered in the decision-making processes.

In the result of aforementioned symbolism of the Island – as the cradle of Polish state and Christianity – in the City's symbolic landscape only the Church zone of an Island is given any importance and city planners attention. They are carefully consulting every move: maintaining loans and bushes, pavements and surface of the streets; asking for agreement for organization of tourist attractions and events. The authorities have even stop for years

constructing the town-beach and marina, for some influential elite's members decided that view of the half-naked bodies will hurt the feelings of people taking part in religious procession (once or twice a year). Other example of an exaggerated care of the Church's feelings was rejecting the artistic project simulating that Poznan is a multi-religious city: the artist wanted to redesign the bakery chimney into the shape of the minaret to make it possible seeing in one line the Cathedral, the minaret and the Synagogue which was turned to swimming pool by the Nazis and used in this character during the Communist rule. Problem was that the elites did not have a wish that minaret could be visible from the Cathedral, which, moreover is the central point of the state protected, so called landscape-lines in Poznan.

This carefulness is not surprising, given that the Church is one of the biggest landowners in city, still claiming for more and more lots, buildings and preferential space for new churches and religious statues (on Sunday, May 31st 2015, the Archbishop of Poznan has conducted a prayer on the city central square in order to ask God for city authorities agreement to restore the statue of Jesus Christ which was destroyed by the Nazis in the place that's already overpacked with monuments. He does not want to accept other location because it's not central enough). Also the Church zone of Cathedral Island belongs to Church.

The inhabitants of the residential zone also demand some changes and investment. But they are not strong in number (only several hundred souls) and not organized. They are also not integrated since during communism time, the authorities did not restore the city tissue destroyed during the warfare in 1945 – they cleaned part of the space and built there two lines of the terraced houses. Therefore the privileged owners of the houses from the communist time have been neighbouring with descendants of inhabitants of the oldest Poznan “social estate” – public housing project from 1919. Consequently after “decommunisation” the community did not have a wonderful reputation. Certainly, in last 25 years, many things have changed and there's substantial number of the new people who have bought or rent a flat. However people still cannot understand the way they are neglected and ignored.

In this context, a new level of mytho-praxis is obscured – the level of axiological dominance of **utility** and **familiarity** values; Tourism serves as justification of an economic utility of selected solutions and undertaken action; Nationalism serves as legitimisation of the choice of groups benefiting from aforementioned action. Consequently the Church and local authorities – are united in order to achieve one common goal: they want to take advantage of a local symbolism and create, as cheap as possible, the National shrine to attract stream of money from other people and institutions. It would make efficient composition of nationalism, religion and tourism. Sell the legend, promote a place, gain benefits. The problem of the place will

however remain unresolved – without investment and clever urban planning, the tourists who would like to visit Shrine will observe disorder and disaster of surrounding areas, and ordinary people living space neglected, and their needs ignored. Nonetheless the Church has never invested in space unless it would have contributed to ecclesial purposes. And the city does not have money because they were spent for a new stadium built under the national flag and nationalistic justification as an arena for Euro Cup 2012 (now it is utilised by a private football club who rents it for silly money – it will be refunded in 200 years, and credit taken to finance it will be paid in 20 years).

Cathedral Island is divided in several ways – all of them are symbolic, however in some instances this symbolism become physical. The island of course is separated from the city with water. Historically the river was also the border of the independent town: paradoxically, the original part of city was granted to bishops of Poznan after city foundation on the river's left bank on German law in 13th century. It were Prussians who occupied Poznań since late 18th century to terminate this situation: they just adjoined Ostrow to Poznań in 1800 (eighteen hundred). They severely reduced authority of archbishop of Poznań and attached the island to the system of newly developed fortifications occupying northern part of island and building forts also among the Ostrow sacral and residential buildings. In the late XIX century the Germans demolished significant part of fortifications and built first Poznan power plant on the northern part of the island, as well as they constructed railway tracks cutting island in half just two hundred metres from Cathedral. This border of industrial zone was renewed in 2006 by brave Polish engineers with financial help of European Cohesion Fund. The trains can speed over 100 km/hour and there's no pedestrian or car pass. Another border was created by the brave socialist urbanist who decided to cut southern part of island in half (again) by construction of wide, two-lane street with tram tracks to connect two banks of the river. In order to do so, they demolished plenty of tenant buildings in Poznan (not only on the island) during the post-war housing crisis. It was the price of modernity. The possibility to cross the street is strictly limited (and guarded by the police) to two underpasses – one of them can be used by cars. This new border was also treated as manifestation of the communists attitude towards the Church: the archbishop became a pensioner of isolated area between two legs of the river, tracks and busy street. Another proof of victimisation of the Catholic church, very useful in the mythopraxis.

However, after 1989, the archbishops did not do much in order to escape from this form of saptial isolation. The clergy in the Cathedral island do not talk with people if it is not unavoidable – only the provost and the vicars of the Cathedral parish are communicating with

people but there live several dozens of the clergy including bishops, seminar students, nuns. It causes situation similar to one of a plural society in which different sections of the community live side by side but do not combine besides a market place (Furnivall 1948).

I have demonstrated the way the mytho-praxis within the nation-state poetics is appropriated and utilized in order to induce specific relations of power: literary to enforce the influence of the Catholic Church authorities in the city of Poznan, and in the broader context – in Poland.

This is performed in two main ways. On the one hand the history of Poland after some mytho-practical modifications is being tightly attached into Poznan local identity: many people and specially local elites are proudly announcing belonging to the land and community of the Polish nation origin. It is achieved by exaggerating the meaning of two myths: myth of origin of Poznan (as one of the first dwellings of legendary, prehistoric rulers and ancestors of all Slavic peoples: Lech, Czech and Rus); and myth of the beginning of Polish historic state: some archaeologists – members of Poznan elites – are promoting the vision that Mieszko I has been baptised in the place though there are some other, equally good hypotheses. It gives them recognition and local authorities financial and political support. And this version of mytho-praxis we could call an agent narrative of the elites – there is too few historical sources both to verify and falsify it but it is enough to promote it as a social fact. On the second hand, the Catholic Church is promoting a representation that history of Polish statehood is closely connected with Christianity – the first people to ever write about Poland were Christians. And after adopting Christianity, Poland started to be a visible actor on the international stage. Since there was no habit to write in Poland before the baptism of the rulers (and “importing” the scribes) – there is no alternative story other than this one.

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