



**EUROPEAN
CITIES**
IN THE PROCESS
OF CONSTRUCTING
AND TRANSMITTING
**EUROPEAN
CULTURAL
HERITAGE**

EDITED BY
ELŻBIETA M. MACH
PAWEŁ KUBICKI

*European Cities
in the Process of Constructing and Transmitting
European Cultural Heritage*

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EUROPEAN CULTURAL HERITAGE

Edited by
Elżbieta M. Mach
Paweł Kubicki



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Elżbieta M. Mach

Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland

📧 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8361-6633>

✉ elzbieta.mach@uj.edu.pl

Paweł Kubicki

Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland

📧 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9493-8283>

✉ pawel.kubicki@uj.edu.pl

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Review: dr hab. Marcin Rebes

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Multicultural Krakow

The Role of International Heritage in Creating the Narrative of the City

JOANNA SONDEL-CEDARMAS 

Jagiellonian University in Kraków

Cracow's historical and architectural urban centre, which has evolved over a period of practically one thousand years, constitutes one of the most remarkable artistic and cultural complexes in this area of Europe [...]. The city of Cracow, one of the major centres of Central European trade, was at the same time a focal point of art and craftsmanship. A number of eminent European artists worked there. The art of the Italian Renaissance exerted a strong influence on Cracow, but was enriched by local variations of style which added an important dimension in the artistic vision of Europe.¹

ABSTRACT

As the former capital of Poland and an important centre for the development of culture and science, for centuries Krakow has attracted foreigners who have helped to develop its economic might and cultural riches. Today, we can admire the traces of the material heritage of multiculturalism in terms of architecture, painting, and sculpture, both secular and religious. Equally important is their non-material contribution, which can

¹ “Cracow’s Historic Centre”, in: *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, July 18, 1978, Justification for inclusion in the World Heritage List. Cultural property, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/29/documents/>, accessed September 8, 2021.

be discerned in Krakow's cuisine, language, legends and traditions. Examining Italian, Jewish and Austro-Hungarian influences, this text aims to present the role and use of this multicultural heritage in creating the contemporary image of the city. It is also an attempt to analyse the current strategy of the local authorities in the field of multicultural management and creating the image of an open and tolerant city.

Keywords: Krakow, multiculturalism, social memory, intercultural cities

1. Introduction

In Krakow, the former capital of Poland, the heritage and memory of many different cultures has accumulated in a particularly discernible manner. Its history is connected with the presence of Jews, Germans, Italians, Scots, and Armenians, who all contributed to its cultural and socio-economic development by settling in the city. Their influence was particularly marked in the heyday of Krakow, from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth century. As the seat of the royal court, the bishop's court, the Krakow Academy, and being the centre of international trade contacts, it was open to the world, as evidenced by its multi-ethnic character. After enjoying a period of spectacular development in the second half of the 17th century, it entered a phase of long-term crisis, characterized, among other things, by the loss of its multi-ethnic riches and increasing provincialisation.² The transfer of the Polish capital to Warsaw and the destruction of the city twice by the Swedes in the 17th century contributed to the gradual abandonment of Krakow by foreigners. The Third Partition and Poland's erasure from the map of Europe found the city within the borders of Austria, as part of Western Galicia. After a period of decline related to policies pursued by the Austrian authorities – apart from its brief interlude when it functioned as a free city (1815-1846) – it began to revive in the 1860s, during the so-called Galician autonomy. As with the rest of Galicia, it once again became a city strongly diversified in terms of ethnicity and religion. At the same time, due to the favourable conditions prevailing here for the development of Polish culture and national identity, its symbolic character and significance for the broader national culture began to take shape. As the former capital of Poland, the place

² Jacek Purchla, 2017, "Kraków od wieków międzynarodowy", in: *Kraków międzynarodowy: Materiały z sesji naukowej 7 maja 2016 roku*, Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, p. 6.

of the coronation and burial of Polish monarchs, it rose to the rank of a symbol of the Polish national idea, which was particularly important in the context of the then non-existent state.³ The multicultural and multi-ethnic character of the city persisted after Poland regained independence in the interwar period. It was not until the years of the Nazi occupation (1939-1945), and then the period of the Polish People's Republic, that the multicultural wealth of the city would be erased by the deliberate actions of fascist and communist authorities alike.⁴ As a result of the political and economic transformation in 1989, and in particular following Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004, the attitude and approach towards Kraków's multicultural memory began to change significantly.⁵ Trying to create an image of a more open and tolerant city for the purposes of tourism, and to attract investment capital, local government authorities began to increasingly refer to its multicultural heritage.⁶ Like Wrocław and Gdańsk, Kraków is one of Poland's most frequently visited cities thanks to its historical attractions. Not only is tourism rapidly developing in the city, but it is also pursuing a very extensive "industry" of external promotion, becoming an important centre of the so-called "creative economy."⁷ By showing Kraków's Italian, Jewish, and Austro-Hungarian influences, which had a particular impact on its architectural, urban, cultural and social shape, this text aims to present the role and manner in which this multicultural heritage has been exploited to create the contemporary image of the city.⁸ It is also an analysis of the current strategy of local authorities in the field of multicultural management.

³ Paweł Kubicki, 2010, *Miasto w sieci znaczeń: Kraków i jego tożsamości*, Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, p. 9.

⁴ Paweł Kubicki, 2012, "Pomiędzy pamięcią a historią: Polskie miasta wobec wielokulturowego dziedzictwa", *Pogranicze. Studia Społeczne* 20, p. 54.

⁵ Marcin Galent, Paweł Kubicki, 2010, "An Invisible Revolution: How the Urban Way of Life is Transforming the Identities of Poles", in: Magdalena Góra, Zdzisław Mach (eds.), *Collective Identity and Democracy: The Impact of EU Enlargement*, Oslo: Arena Centre for European Studies University of Oslo, pp. 205–247.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ As correctly noted by Marek S. Szczepański and Anna Śliz, the multiculturalism of cities is manifested both in cultural and social features, as well as at the level of urban architecture, which objectifies urban multiculturalism and consists of both sacred and national buildings. See Marek S. Szczepański, Anna Śliz, 2011, "Wielokulturowe miasta", *Przegląd Socjologiczny* 60: 2/3, pp. 47–66.

2. The multicultural city as a research subject

In some ways, the idea of multiculturalism is inscribed in the very essence of the city: Multicultural cities appeared at the very outset of the urbanization process, with Rome being arguably the oldest documented manifestation of urban multiculturalism. As noted by the Krakow sociologist Paweł Kubicki, cities have always attracted people of different social status, coming from different cultures and believing in different religions. By changing their place of residence, foreigners not only sought opportunities for personal development, but they also contributed to the economic and often the cultural dimensions of cities. As a result, policies of multiculturalism, especially the mechanisms of cooperation and respect for strangers, developed much earlier in local urban societies than in the policies of states.⁹

The term multiculturalism itself first appeared only in the late 1960s, in the Canadian debate on the structure and model of the state, although it initially referred to Canada's official biculturalism and bilingualism.¹⁰ Many researchers have highlighted that it is an imprecise concept, one that can be defined in various ways. In this text, we will use a definition drawn from Polish sociology by Andrzej Sadowski, for whom multiculturalism is a specific category, a theoretical tool helpful in the analysis of the various forms of the coexistence of cultures. Sadowski stresses that we can only speak of the phenomenon of multiculturalism when the following processes take place: 1) permanent, multifaceted and voluntary forms of intercultural contacts are created, which lead to the creation of a new cultural and social whole; 2) the domination of the culture which had the status of the dominant culture in the state comes to an end; 3) the duration, development and regression of a given culture depend on the decisions of the supporters of a given culture themselves; 4) cultures are not dependent on politics, violence, or political and legal regulations, but are regulated by cultural norms; and 5) despite the occurrence of dynamic changes in cultural diversity in society, it maintains integrity to the extent that allows it to achieve the intended goals.¹¹ In other words, multiculturalism does not merely mean the phenomenon (fact) of the coexistence of two or more communities

⁹ Paweł Kubicki, 2012, "Pomiędzy pamięcią a historią" (op. cit.), p. 54.

¹⁰ Edward Możejko, 2004, "Wielka szansa czy iluzja. Wielokulturowość w dobie ponowoczesności", in: Wojciech Kalaga (ed.), *Dylematy wielokulturowości*, Kraków: Universitas.

¹¹ Andrzej Sadowski, 2011, "Socjologia wielokulturowości jako nowa subdyscyplina socjologiczna", *Pogranicze. Studia Społeczne* 18, pp. 5–25.

(groups) equipped with autonomous or separate cultures in a given society, since this would be merely cultural diversity.¹² Multiculturalism means that in a culturally diverse society, on the basis of long-term and permanent intercultural contacts, most often within the framework of common citizenship, socio-cultural integration is so advanced that a qualitatively new society of many cultures is created, capable of achieving common goals. As Kubicki rightly noted, in the case of Polish society, which is rather homogeneous by contemporary European standards, the policy of multiculturalism was realized more on the level of memory than the phenomenology of everyday life. With regard to Polish cities, which, although quite culturally diverse until the outbreak of World War II, it is difficult to discern anything akin to multicultural policy. According to Kubicki, the relations between various ethnic and religious groups were closer to the model of “market pluralism”. During the People’s Republic of Poland, for political and economic reasons, Polish cities did not experience a massive influx of economic migrants, which was a characteristic phenomenon in the second half of the 20th century in Western Europe. As a consequence, the issue of multiculturalism in Poland has taken on a different character: it is not as much about regulating mutual social relations as it is about collective memory. There is no doubt, however, that the heritage and memory of various cultures have accumulated in Polish cities.

3. The multicultural heritage of Krakow and its role in the creation of the narrative of the city

In the 13th and 17th centuries, Krakow, as the capital of Poland, as well being as a city of success and prosperity, was clearly multi-ethnic. It attracted foreigners, primarily Germans, Italians, and Jews, but also Hungarians, Armenians, and Scots, who all contributed to its cultural and economic greatness. It was founded in 1257 under German (Magdeburg) law, in the Middle Ages, and later in the 16th and 17th centuries it was the seat of the royal court and the bishop’s court, as well as home to a university. It conducted lively international trade contacts and maintained important cultural ties. According to Józef Mitkowski, about 5,000 Poles, 3,500 Germans, and 800 Jews lived in Krakow in the

¹² Ibid., pp. 18–19.

14th century.¹³ Despite the predominance of the Polish population, Krakow was dominated by German burghers who formed the power elite until the first half of the 16th century. Consisting mainly of great merchants, they also presided over craft guilds, especially the most prestigious and profitable ones (such as goldsmiths and furriers).¹⁴ Later, the proportions among the various ethnic groups began to change. This was influenced on the one hand by permanent immigration to Krakow, and on the other by the fact that at the beginning of the 16th century, a modern national sentiment began to emerge, a result of which was the polonisation of the upper class of the Krakow bourgeoisie.¹⁵ Leszek Belzyt, using the criterion of the sound of surnames, estimated that approximately 13,000 Poles (85%), 1,500 Germans (10%) and 450 Italians (3%) lived in Kraków at the beginning of the 17th century. The remaining ethnic groups numbered about 300 people, including over 100 Scots, 50 Hungarians, and 50 French.¹⁶ The coexistence of various ethnic groups was generally peaceful. As Zdzisław Noga rightly noted, the community of that time was divided not so much by national differences, but rather by their place in the social structure, property status and the professions related to it, and, during the Reformation, by religion.¹⁷ However, the full assimilation of immigrants is evidenced by the fact that many of them performed honourable functions and offices in the city, among the university authorities, and at the royal court. According to Danuta Quirini-Popławska, from 1343, when the mayor was the Genoese Frederick Gallik (Fridericus Gakkus), many Italians performed this honourable function until 1778.¹⁸ From the moment of its founding in 1558, by King Sigismund II Augustus, the Post Office of the Kingdom of Poland, which operated

¹³ Józef Mitkowski, 1978, "Nationality Problems and Patterns in Medieval Polish Towns: The Example of Cracow", *Prace Historyczne. Zeszyty Naukowe UJ* 59, pp. 31–42.

¹⁴ Jerzy Wyrozumski, 1992, "Kraków do schyłku wieków średnich", in: Janina Bieniarzówna, Jan M. Małecki (eds.), *Dzieje Krakowa*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, pp. 164–166.

¹⁵ Zdzisław Noga, 2017, "Niemcy w Krakowie w dobie staropolskiej", in: *Kraków międzynarodowy* (op. cit.), pp. 11–14.

¹⁶ Leszek Belzyt, 1999, *Kraków i Praga około 1600 roku: Porównanie topograficznych i demograficznych aspektów struktury społecznej i etnicznej dwóch metropolii Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, Toruń: Adam Marszałek. Cit. Zdzisław Noga, 2017, "Niemcy w Krakowie w dobie staropolskiej" (op. cit.), p. 11.

¹⁷ Zdzisław Noga, 2017, "Niemcy w Krakowie w dobie staropolskiej" (op. cit.), p. 24.

¹⁸ From the 14th to the 16th century, 9 Italians served as mayor. In the 17th century, the role was filled by 33 and in the 18th (until 1778) by 13 others. See Danuta Quirini-Popławska, 2017, "Rola i znaczenie działalności Włochów w Krakowie od średniowiecza do XVIII wieku", in: *Kraków międzynarodowy* (op. cit.), pp. 56–57.

between Krakow and Venice, Italians also acted as its managers.¹⁹ From the 15th century on, many Jewish doctors from Italy or Spain worked at the royal court; Hungarian goldsmiths were also highly valued. However, the Jews who appeared in Krakow as early as the Middle Ages and for the next seven centuries formed an integral part of it left a particularly strong mark on the city's identity. Thanks to the privileges granted by King Casimir the Great, they had their own legislation, courts, and local government institutions.²⁰ Judicial and religious autonomy led to an increase in their numbers.²¹ In the 14th century, the Jews of Kraków already had their own community in the city, which numbered about 800 people (8.65% of the population). In the second half of the 14th century, a second community was established in Kazimierz, which, after the Jews were moved from the centre of Krakow after a fire in 1459, more than doubled in population by the 1670s, reaching 2,000. Krakow at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries became a valued home of Jewish science and thought. Among the Krakow rabbinic scholars whose fame went beyond the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, worthy of mention are Jakub the Pole (1460-1530), the creator of a new method of studying the Talmud called *pilpul* or *chiluki*; the rector of the yeshiva, Mojżesz Isserles (1525/1530-1572); and Jomtow Heeller (1579-1654), author of commentaries on the six Mishnah orders. Historical and mystical studies were also developed here, such as those of Dawid Gans from Prague (1541-1613), the author of the famous chronicle of the world, or Natan Nate Hannover (1610-1683) from Ostroh, who lectured on the Kabbalah in Krakow. Before 1939, the Jewish community numbered about 60,000, a quarter of the entire population of Krakow. In the interwar period, there were as many as 18 Jewish clubs and sports societies. Among the notable figures of Jewish origin were Rector of the Jagiellonian University Władysław Natanson

¹⁹ Its first manager was Prosper Provana from Piedmont. In 1562 it was headed by Cristoforo de Taxis, an Italian in the service of the Emperor, and from 1564 it was administered by Sebastiano Monteluppi, who fulfilled the role until his death in 1600. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

²⁰ In 1334, Casimir the Great confirmed the privilege of Kalisz for the Jews of Greater Poland from 1264, and with the general privilege of 1364, he extended to the territory of the entire Polish Kingdom the validity of the provisions of the Kalisz privilege, which gave Jews the right to unrestricted trade and usury, as well as guarantees of personal safety and respect for synagogues and cemeteries.

²¹ In the 16th century, many refugees from Bohemia and Silesia came to Kazimierz, and then from Italy and Vienna (in 1670), who took refuge in Poland by fleeing persecution or in the hope of improving their financial situation. See: Leszek Hońdo, 2017, "Żydzi w Krakowie (od XIV do XVIII wieku)", in: *Kraków międzynarodowy* (op. cit.), p. 63.

(1864-1937), the city Mayor Maurycy Kapellner (Mieczysław Kaplicki) (1875-1959), and one of the leading figures of Zionism, the outstanding parliamentarian of the Second Polish Republic, Ozjasz Thon (1870-1936).²²

3.1. The Italian influence on the shaping of Krakow's heritage

The Italian community began to settle in Krakow from the 15th century, although the influence of Italian culture was already marked in the Middle Ages. During the Piast Poland period, in the 12th and 13th centuries, the first monks, abbots, and apostolic nuncios, came to Krakow from Italy, followed by merchants. The activity of Italians in the 15th and 16th centuries developed around the royal court, the Academy at the University of Krakow, and in the urban sphere, with merchants, bankers, miners, leaseholders of customs and tolls, as well as builders and architects. In the first half of the 15th century, new humanistic ideas reached Poland from Italy. Filippo Buonaccorsi (known as Callimachus), a poet, political writer, advisor and teacher to the sons of King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, as well as a lecturer at the Krakow Academy, played a special role in promoting them. In the 16th century, many Polish bishops studied in Italy (including Bishop Piotr Tomicki, who obtained a doctorate in Bologna in 1500), and then employed Italian secretaries, medics and humanists at their courts. Numerous Italians came to Poland with the court of Princess Bona Sforza, who married King Sigismund I in 1518, then found employment in the royal chancellery, as well as servants, doctors, artists and craftsmen. Bona not only introduced the Italian fashion in dress to the royal court, reorganized the Wawel orchestra, and initiated a collection of tapestries²³ and the Wawel gardens, but she also contributed to changing the culinary tastes of Poles. She imported a large amount of Italian fruit and vegetables, in particular citrus (oranges and mandarins), pomegranates, figs, apricots, olives and almonds, thus contributing to their popularization in Poland. She also introduced a trend toward herbs, including marjoram, basil, rosemary, and thyme, the seeds of which were imported from Italy and planted in the castle gardens. It is no coincidence that this Italian influence was also marked on the linguistic level. The Polish names of

²² Jacek Purchla, Aleksander B. Skotnicki, 2007, "Przywrócić pamięć", in: *Świat przed katastrofą: Żydzi krakowscy w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym*, Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, p. 5.

²³ Katarzyna Siwiec, Mieczysław Czuma, Leszek Mazan, 2015, *Włoska Małopolska*, Cieszyn: Pracownia na Pastwiskach, p. 68.

many vegetables (tomatoes, lettuce), fruit (mandarins, oranges) and herbs are derived from Italian.²⁴ It should be noted that a form of commemorating this intangible Italian culinary heritage is the Świętojański Fair, organized annually from June 16 to 18 in Krakow, featuring an activity known as “In the kitchen of Queen Bona.”²⁵ The Italian influence was most pronounced in the 16th and 17th centuries in terms of architecture, sculpture and painting. Italian architects and builders worked on the reconstruction of Wawel Castle at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries and also designed palaces, churches, and most of the Renaissance tombstones of Polish rulers and secular and religious magnates. Among the most outstanding architects were: Bartolomeo Berecci, the designer of the Wawel courtyard and the creator of Sigismund Chapel, called “the pearl of the Renaissance from this side of the Alps” and considered the most outstanding work of the Polish Renaissance, and the tombs of King Sigismund the Old and Bishop Piotr Tomicki; Giovanni Maria Padovano, also known as Mosca, creator of the statue of Bishop Piotr Gamrat in the Wawel Cathedral, the ciborium in St. Mary’s Church, and the Cloth Hall (in 1556-1559); Santi Gucci, court architect, sculptor of the last Jagiellonians, and the creator of the tombstones of Sigismund August and Anna Jagiellon in the Sigismund Chapel, and Stefan Batory in the Chapel of Stefan Batory in the Chapel of St. Mary, and also the reconstruction of the royal castle in Niepołomice and the mascarons decorating the attic of the Cloth Hall.²⁶ We should also mention here the wealthy patrician families who came from Italy, including the Boners, who funded valuable works of art, mainly for St. Mary’s Church. At the same time, the Italian master architects, Pankracy, Giovanni Maria Padovano and Santi Gucci, rebuilt the old gothic Cloth Hall in the spirit of the Renaissance after it had been destroyed by fire in 1555. From 1545, the goldsmith and copper engraving artist Gian Giacomo Caraglia was active in the court of Sigismund Augustus, where he created medals with images of the ruling family, and was awarded the title of Golden Knight (*eques auratus*). The most famous Italian painter in Krakow was Tommaso Dolabella of Belluno (around 1570-1650), who was brought in

²⁴ For example, *Pomodoro, insalata, mandarini, arance, ulivi, maggiorana, rosmarino, basilico* etc. See Stanisław Widłak, 2006, *Italia e Polonia: Popoli e Lingue in Contatto*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, p. 70.

²⁵ See: Katarzyna Bik, 2004, “Raj rozkoszy ziemskich”, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, July 16, <https://kultura.onet.pl/wiadomosci/w-kuchni-z-bona-renesansowe-atrakcje-kulinarne-krakowskiego-jarmarku-swietojańskiego/c88884e>, accessed February 14, 2021.

²⁶ Danuta Quirini-Popławska, 2017, “Rola i znaczenie działalności Włochów w Krakowie od średniowiecza do XVIII wieku” (op. cit.), pp. 50–51.

by Sigismund III Vasa in 1598 to decorate Wawel. The most numerous collection of his works on religious, historical and battle themes has been preserved in the Dominican Church and Monastery. At the end of the 17th century, on the initiative of university professors, the Church of St. Anne, considered the most outstanding example of Polish Baroque, was designed by the Dutch architect Tylman van Gameren. The execution of the stucco interior of the temple was entrusted to an Italian sculptor, Baltazar Fontana. Fontana, considered an artist whose works refer in the style of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, also designed the interior of the Romanesque Church of St. Andrew and a number of stuccoes in tenement houses. In the 18th century, Francesco Placidi, the builder of the Trinitarian Church in Kazimierz and the façade of the Piarist Church, was also active in Kraków.

During the period of the loss of Poland's independence and the fight for national liberation in the 19th century known as "For your freedom and ours", Krakow became known as the Polish Piedmont. The participation of Italian volunteers fighting in the January Uprising also testifies to the Polish-Italian affinities of that period. A street in Krakow is dedicated to the honour of Francesco Nullo, a follower of Garibaldi who died on May 5, 1863 in the battle of Krzykawka near Ojców. Currently, Italian traditions are cultivated by the Italian Institute, which has been in operation in Grodzka Street since 1929, organizing lectures, conferences, film screenings and language courses. Since 1992, Italicus Bookstore and Italian Cafe at 11 Kremerowska Street, has been selling Italian books and newspapers and genuine espresso coffee. It also holds regular lectures on Italian culture and book promotions. Italian cuisine is also very popular in Krakow, with restaurants, trattorias, pizzerias and ice cream parlours run by native Italians becoming a permanent part of the city's landscape.

3.2. Jewish heritage in Krakow

The centuries-old presence of Jews in Krakow made its mark particularly on the urban and architectural face of Kazimierz, where a unique complex of objects related to the specific needs of the Jewish community has been preserved to the present day.²⁷ It should be noted that in the 14th century Jews initially

²⁷ While they were expelled or subjected to forced Christianization in Western Europe, their unique lifestyle, religious identity, customs, language, and socio-economic circumstances were respected for many centuries in Poland. They could freely develop their culture and

lived in the very centre of the city, on territory stretching from today's Gołębia Street to St. Thomas' Street and, above all, on St. Anne's Street, was which home to two synagogues and cemeteries and in sources from 1304 was called *Jugengasse* (Jewish Street). In 1469, the Krakow parish bought the Jewish houses on St. Anne's Street, handing them over to the University, and the Jews moved to another part of the city, in the vicinity of St. Thomas and Sławkowska Streets and the Church of St. Stephen.

In 1495, after the great city fire for which the Jews of Kraków were blamed, King Jan Olbracht issued an order to transfer them from Kraków to Kazimierz. The Jewish district, which developed around Szeroka Street and the Church of St. Wawrzyńca, was known as the Jewish Town (*Oppidum Judeorum*) and occupied one-fifth of the whole area of Kazimierz.²⁸ The oldest Jewish monuments in Kazimierz date from this period: the Old Synagogue, dating back to the beginning of the 15th century and rebuilt in 1570 by the aforementioned Italian architect Santi Gucci, as well as Remuh Synagogue, the High Synagogue, and Kupa Synagogue. There is also the former building of the great *mikvah*, a ritual bath dating back to the 16th century. At the beginning of the 17th century, Popper Synagogue was built, and in 1640-1644 Izaak (Jakubowicz) synagogue, with others built during the period of Galician autonomy, 1867-1918. It is worth mentioning the Israel Meisels, B`nei Emuna, Chevra Kadisza, and Chevra Tchilim houses of prayer, as well as the progressive Tempel Synagogue at 24 Miodowa Street. From 1959, the Old Synagogue has housed the Jewish history museum, a branch of the Historical Museum of the City of Krakow, displaying old liturgical equipment, items related to Jewish customs, and photographs and paintings depicting the life and culture of Krakow Jews. Currently, the only active synagogue in Kazimierz is Remuh Synagogue, founded in 1553 by the wealthy merchant Israel Isserl. The Remuh Cemetery, opened in 1552, is one of the oldest in Europe and has been preserved to this day.²⁹ Although the old necropolis was officially closed in 1805 when a new Jewish cemetery was established in Miodowa Street, it still functions as a museum to this day. Despite

education, and to cultivate their traditions, which also influenced the specific layout of their districts. See: Barbara Zbroja, 2007, "Zapomniane dziedzictwo: Architektura żydowskiego Krakowa", in: *Świat przed katastrofą* (op. cit.), p. 43.

²⁸ Leszek Hońdo, 2017, "Żydzi w Krakowie (od XIV do XVIII wieku)" (op. cit.), p. 64.

²⁹ In 1533 the Jewish authorities bought the land near the Remuh synagogue for the cemetery, but it was only in 1551 that it was opened. It was in use until 1799 when the Austrian authorities recommended its closure and bought land for a new cemetery on Miodowa Street. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

the destruction inflicted by the Nazis during World War II, many Renaissance and Baroque tombstones have been preserved here, and on the eastern wall there is the so-called “Wailing Wall”, made of the remains of tombstones that were broken by the Germans during the occupation.³⁰

Significant architectural changes took place in the 19th century, when Kazimierz, which had functioned as a separate city from the 14th century, was incorporated into Krakow in 1800. As a result of the constitution of 1867, which granted the Jews of Krakow civic rights, and thus the option of choosing a place to settle, the district became the centre of the poorest, mainly Orthodox, Jewish population. This situation lasted for twenty years until the outbreak of World War II, giving Kazimierz a unique atmosphere which Karol Estreicher described in the following words:

In the evenings of holy days, Kazimierz quietyens and calms down. Jews walk the streets dressed in long coats and hats trimmed with fox fur, and the lights of incandescent candles shine from the windows of the houses. The faithful fill the synagogues: the Old Synagogue, Remuh, Wysoka and others. The Jewish cities create a strange, charming picture.³¹

In September 1939, the Germans resettled nearly 70,000 Jews in Krakow and soon began their planned liquidation and the looting and destruction of their property. In 1941, a ghetto was established, from where the road led to the death camps in Birkenau, Auschwitz, and Bełzec, or to the nearby camp in Płaszów. After the liberation of Krakow, Kazimierz did not return to its previous state, although since the 1990s there have been initiatives related to the revalorization of its heritage. The Jewish Culture Festival has been held since 1988, and it plays an important role on the cultural scene in Krakow. Through lectures, events, meetings with artists, film screenings and workshops, it aims to present contemporary Jewish culture. The culmination of the music program is “Shalom on Szeroka”, a 7-hour concert for an audience of approximately 15,000 known as the “Jewish Woodstock”. Steven Spielberg’s 1993 film *Schindler’s List* played a key role in raising awareness of Jewish Kazimierz. Many travel agencies, sensing the boom that was to follow the film, offered tourists the chance to walk ‘In the footsteps of Oscar Schindler’, including a sightseeing tour of

³⁰ Michał Rożek, 1990, *Żydowskie zabytki krakowskiego Kazimierza: Krótki przewodnik*, Kraków: Oficyna Cracovia, p. 25.

³¹ Cit. Agnieszka Sabor, 2007, “Co dalej z pamięcią?”, in: *Świat przed katastrofą* (op. cit.), p. 10.

Kazimierz, the ghetto and the grounds of the Płaszów camp.³² Szeroka Street is home to numerous Jewish restaurants such as Ariel, Ester Restaurant and the Klezmer-Hois, serving kosher dishes and food from the Jewish culinary tradition, such as goose livers fried with almonds, cholent, gefilte fish (Jewish carp), and vegetables baked with meat or groats. Since 2004, the Galicia Jewish Museum at 18 Dajwór Street has been operating in Kazimierz, with the exhibitions 'In the Footsteps of Memory' and 'Unfinished Memory' presenting the 800 years of Jewish heritage in Poland. It also organizes temporary exhibitions, workshops and discussions to show the history and culture of Jews from a new perspective. The publishing house 'Austeria' has been exploring the forgotten world of pre-war traditions and Jewish literature since 2002.

3.3. *Multicultural Galicia: Austro-Hungarian heritage in Krakow*

Among the Galician myths, perhaps the most widespread is that of multicultural and multinational Galicia as a kind of melting pot of cultures in which various ethnic, national and religious groups coexisted and enriched each other: Poles, Ukrainians and Jews. It is a fact that the liberalization taking place in Austria from the 1860s and the long reign of Franz Joseph I favoured the economic development of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, the flourishing of its political and cultural autonomy, and the national emancipation of its inhabitants. In particular, the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries is identified with the concept of a "happy country" (*Galicia felix*), although in fact it was a period of growing national and social conflict.³³

A special affinity with Vienna has survived in Krakow.³⁴ Already in the 1970s and 1980s, the fashion of hanging portraits of Franz Józef I appeared here, which – as Jacek Purchla noted – was a kind of protest against Sovietization and part of discovering the heritage of Galicia as a phenomenon of Central Europe.

³² Ibid.

³³ Jacek Purchla et al. (eds.), 2004, *Mit Galicji*, Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury.

³⁴ It should be noted that although Krakow was incorporated into the Kingdom of Galicia under the rule of the Habsburgs after the Third Partition of Poland in 1795, as part of the so-called Western Galicia, in 1809 during the Napoleonic Wars Austria lost the lands north of the Vistula along with the city and from the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to the defeat of the Krakow Uprising in 1846. Krakow and the surrounding towns had the status of a free city. Only later did the Republic of Krakow become part of Galicia and this state of affairs lasted until 1918.

The Viennese influence was, however, reflected primarily in the city's architecture. Buildings in the Viennese style include the seat of the Municipal Savings Bank at 15 Szpitalna Street, erected according to the design of the architect Karol Borkowski, the main designer of the Wiener Cottage-Verein; the pavilion of the Society of Friends of Fine Arts on Szczepański Square (from 1898-1901), the detail of which clearly refers to the 'wire' style of the Viennese Secession; and City Theatre, built according to a design by a graduate of the Viennese Polytechnic University, Jan Zawiejski, with clear references to the Viennese School of architecture. The building of the Railway Directorate on Matejko Square, constructed in 1888-1889, is redolent of the buildings on Vienna's *Ringstrasse*. To this day, some classic buildings on Rynek Podgórski (the district established by the Austrian authorities as a new city in 1784) have also been preserved, and are considered a good example of Josephinism in Galician architecture at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. The Austrian influence is also discernible in the military architecture of the city, one of the consequences of Austrian attempts to transform it into a fortress. According to the project to fortify the city based on plans sent from Vienna in the 1850s, four forts were built: Kościuszko, Krakus, Grzegórzecka Luneta, and Warsaw Luneta. In 1856-1865, the entire fortification system was modernized, which ultimately led to the city being surrounded by three rings of fortifications. Apart from the fortifications around Kościuszko Mound, complexes of barracks (the so-called Archduke Rudolf's barracks at Warszawska Street) were built in Krzemionki in 1871-1877. It is the best-preserved group of forts from the 19th and early 20th centuries in Poland.

The immaterial influence of the heritage of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy is of equal importance. It should be emphasized that in Galician times Krakow was not only in the same country as Vienna, but Venice and Trieste as well. It is here that the first cafe gardens in Poland appeared as a symbol of Mediterranean culture and customs, which shapes the unique atmosphere of Krakow's Market Square to this day. When it comes to culinary influences, the most popular contributions of Austrian cuisine to the modern menu are the *Wiener Schnitzel* and a bastardized version known as the *kotlet schabowy*.³⁵ Recipes for such dishes as cold pork brawn in aspic (served in Krakow with mustard sauce), or Zator style carp stuffed with cheese, eggs and mushrooms are also Viennese in

³⁵ The *Wiener Schnitzel* is associated with Siege of Milan, where it was known as *cotoletta alla milanese*, and from where it was transferred to Vienna by Field Marshal Radecki. In Vienna, one key ingredient was changed: instead of being fried in butter, lard was preferred, and wheat breadcrumbs were typically used in the Viennese variant.

origin. Among the desserts originating from the Viennese court, apart from the Sacher torte, a chocolate cake invented by a representative of the famous Viennese confectioner dynasty, filled with marmalade and covered with chocolate ganache, one should mention semolina cake with dried fruit, Viennese cheese-cake, strudel served hot (considered to be the favourite dessert of Franz Józef I) and *piszynger*, a cake made of crunchy wafers with a slightly alcoholic chocolate filling, named after the Viennese confectioner Oskar Pischinger. It should be noted that the Austro-Hungarian influence was also visible in the popularization of stews and brands of paprika in Galicia, prepared in the Viennese fashion in the form of meat stewed with onions and peppers. Czech culinary influences, in turn, include all kinds of potato dumplings with the addition of apricots and plums. Eastern influences have also had considerable influence on the culinary traditions of Kraków, especially Ruthenian and Ukrainian. Ukrainian cuisine is distinguished in particular by a variety of dumplings and grits, as well as three types of borscht: red beetroot with meat stock, plain with pork scratchings, and a Lenten version with an oil base. The Ukrainian culinary legacy also includes various types of cabbage rolls and stuffed peppers. Finally, we should also mention *sztangielki* and *kajzerki*, small buns marked with a characteristic cross on top. These supposedly owe their name to Emperor Franz Joseph I, who according to tradition was particularly fond of this type of bread.³⁶ It is worth noting that Galician culinary traditions were cultivated until relatively recently on Bracka Street by the C.K. Dezerter restaurant, where both the decor and menu were redolent of the atmosphere of the times of the Dual Monarchy.

4. *Kraków as a contemporary multicultural city*

As noted by Marek S. Szczepański and Anna Śliz, the multiculturalism of contemporary cities is a special effect of today's migration revolution which, thanks to the compression of space and time, favours the movement of people to big cities. Migrants moving from different parts of the world bring with them different cultural patterns, axiological and normative systems and languages. They erect buildings imitating native architecture.³⁷ Hence, contemporary metropolises are clearly multicultural. The American historian and lawyer Stanley Fish

³⁶ Robert Makłowicz, 1995, *CK kuchnia*, Kraków: Prószyński i S-ka, p. 25.

³⁷ Marek S. Szczepański, Anna Śliz, 2011, "Wielokulturowe miasta" (op. cit.), p. 63.

made a distinction between so-called boutique multiculturalism, which is characterized by the introduction of symbols to the social space identifying cultural diversity, such as ethnic restaurants and weekend festivals which are a manifestation of a different ethnic culture, and strong multiculturalism, which mainly amounts to national and ethnic diversity. Contemporary global metropolises combine both strong and boutique multiculturalism in their spaces.³⁸

When it comes to Polish metropolises, Krakow is the second city after Warsaw in terms of diverse populations.³⁹ This is because it is an important academic centre and a place where important economic investments are located, attracting foreign capital. The city is also one of the most attractive tourist destinations in Europe.

Like other European metropolises, Krakow implements many initiatives in line with the assumptions of policies of openness, multiculturalism and integration. In particular, the local government authorities pursue an active policy of counteracting all manifestations of racism and xenophobia. To this end, in 2012-2016, based on the funds of the Fundacja im. Stefan Batory and in cooperation with the Interkulturalni.pl Association, a program was carried out under the banner of "Krakow against racism and xenophobia". Its main goal was to develop a strategy for preventing and responding to racist and xenophobic events in the city's public space. This task was to be dealt with by a specially appointed

³⁸ Stanley Fish, 1997, "Boutique Multiculturalism or Why Liberals Are Incapable of Thinking about Hate Speech", *Critical Inquiry* 22:2, pp. 378-395. Cit. *ibid*.

³⁹ According to the *Imigranci w Krakowie w 2020 roku* report, Ukrainians comprise the largest immigrant group in the city. It is the largest group of immigrants from Eastern Europe, followed by Belarusians and Russians (7% and 6% respectively). When it comes to groups from EU countries in Kraków, Italians (14%) and Spaniards (11%) are the most numerous, followed by French and Germans. As for Asians, the most numerous are Indians (33%), Vietnamese (11%) and Turks (10%). The greatest number of immigrants from North America come from the USA (85%), while from Australia and Oceania the only sizable group are made up of Australians (also 85%), South America is primarily represented by Brazilian citizens (51%) and Mexicans (14%). There are also quite a few Colombians, Venezuelans and representatives of the Argentine minority. Among Africans, the most common are Egyptians (21%), Tunisians (13%), Moroccans (11%) and Algerians (10%). See: Konrad Pędziwiatr, Marcin Stonawski, Jan Brzozowski, *Imigranci w Krakowie w 2020 roku*, Kraków: Centrum Zaawansowanych Badań Ludnościowych i Religijnych, Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny w Krakowie, https://owim.uek.krakow.pl/wp-content/uploads/user-files/reports/OWIM_Raport_Demograficzny2020revised.pdf, accessed July 14, 2021.

team of representatives of non-governmental organizations, departments of the Krakow municipal authorities, and organizational units.⁴⁰

In 2016, the City Council adopted the “Open Kraków Program”, which envisages a number of activities at the institutional and social level, aimed at building a society living in a community, tapping the potential of representatives of national and ethnic minorities and foreigners for development. As explained in the introduction, a fuller use of the human, economic and cultural potential of representatives of other cultures, nationalities and world views, while maintaining harmony and mutual respect, is meant to contribute to the implementation of the idea of Krakow as an open and friendly city, able to utilize the social capital that arises from cultural diversity and an atmosphere of openness to a multicultural environment.⁴¹ The projects implemented under this program are aimed at shaping a sense of solidarity, tolerance and multicultural awareness among the city’s residents, as well as developing knowledge about the cultures and customs of people of other nationalities. The program also translates into activities aimed at identifying and solving problems related to the functioning of an intercultural society in the community. For example, the project “Mine, Yours, Ours. Faces of Krakow” is part of the task of promoting Krakow as a city open to cultural and ethnic diversity, and this was carried out in cooperation with the informal group Multicultural Krakow and NKF Independent Photo Club. It consisted of an exhibition of photos and interviews presenting the cultural, national and religious wealth of the city, and it featured twelve representatives of various nationalities and religions: Syrian, Polish-Jewish, Georgian, Polish-Romani, Lithuanian, Czech, Ukrainian, American, Scottish, Ukrainian, Guyanese and Polish Muslim. Based on the statements of the subjects of reportage, who deal with social work on a daily basis to promote their culture, ethnicity, religion and multiculturalism, a debate entitled ‘Multicultural Krakow, what is that?’ took place on November 23, 2017 in the Cheder Cafe.⁴² The debate, led by Jędrzej Soliński, writer, publicist and doctoral student at the Fac-

⁴⁰ Zarządzenie nr 551/2013 Prezydenta Miasta Krakowa z dnia 4 marca 2013 r. The team worked under the leadership of the Vice President of Krakow, Magdalena Sroka, from April to December 2013.

⁴¹ UCHWAŁA NR LII/964/16 RADY MIASTA KRAKOWA z dnia 14 września 2016 r. w sprawie przyjęcia Programu “Otwarty Kraków”, https://www.bip.krakow.pl/?dok_id=167&sub_dok_id=167&sub=uchwala&query=id%3D21638%26typ%3Du&_ga=2.90218578.95648742.1625392527-1812167548.1625392527, accessed July 4, 2021.

⁴² Debata “Wielokulturowy Kraków, czyli jaki?”, <https://wielokulturowykrakow.pl/debata-wielokulturowy-krakow-czyli-jaki/>, accessed July 14, 2021.

ulty of Philology of the University of Wrocław, was attended by specialists in the field of cultural studies and representatives of organizations dealing with multiculturalism, such as Ewa Sowa-Behtane from the Multicultural Families Association, Urszula Majcher-Legawiec from the M. Reja Foundation for the Support of Polish Culture and Language, Joanna Antonik from Multicultural Krakow, and Jakub Kościółek from the Interkulturalni.pl Association. An attempt was made to define the concept of multiculturalism and interculturalism, and the issues of transcultural identity and the contemporary challenges of multiculturalism were discussed, in particular in the context of the level of intercultural integration of the Krakow community.

Another important initiative to support activities aimed at promoting cultural, ethnic and religious diversity, as well as the integration of Krakow's residents and foreigners, was the establishment of the title of Krakow Multicultural Ambassador by the decision of the City Council in December 2018, awarded annually by the President of Krakow to persons or entities promoting intercultural dialogue. Its laureates receive awards in the form of a symbolic multi-coloured *Lajkonik*. In the first edition of the competition, organized in 2019, four Krakow Ambassadors of Multiculturalism were selected. In the category of individuals, the actions of Urszula Majcher-Legawiec, president of the Foundation for the Support of Polish Culture and Language, organizing initiatives supporting the integration process and conferences on multiculturalism in Polish schools, and Olha Menko, editor-in-chief of an information portal for Ukrainians, were awarded.

Another important event in the cultural life of Krakow is the eight-day Krakow Multicultural Festival, organized annually since 2019 by the Villa Decius Association and the Villa Decius Cultural Institute in cooperation with the Krakow municipal authorities, Krakow universities and NGOs working for foreigners, the business sector, schools, institutions, and the local community. Last year's edition of "New Krakowianie 2020", held from November 26 to December 3, 2020 under pandemic conditions, took a hybrid form. As the organizers emphasized, the main goal of the festival was for participants to get to know each other in an atmosphere of tolerance and cooperation, connecting people of different nationalities, cultures and religions living in Krakow, beyond the concept of borders and despite social distancing.⁴³

⁴³ *Festiwal wielokulturowy "Nowi krakowianie"*, 2020, 30 November https://www.krakow.pl/aktualnosci/244638,29,komunikat,festiwal_wielokulturowy__nowi_krakowianie_.html?ga=2.231195103.1986288850.1606718478-1938776563.158633861, accessed July 4, 2021.

In November 2020, an artistic competition, “The multicultural city in the twenty-first century”, was organized by the Interkulturalni.pl Association together with the Mikołaj Rej Foundation for the Support of Polish Culture and Language. Here, students of primary and secondary schools in Krakow were encouraged to present how they imagined a multicultural city of the twenty-first century should look. This project was also intended to promote multiculturalism, social attitudes based on tolerance and openness to social diversity, and respect for the historical and cultural environment, including local heritage, helping to shape a creative approach to the future of the city as a centre of many cultures and a reservoir of social diversity. The organizers’ intention was for it to also serve as an impulse for the development of intercultural sensitivity in the context of migration and social diversity.

The crowning achievement of efforts to implement best practices in the field of multicultural management was the accession of Krakow to the programme of the International Intercultural Cities Network on February 9, 2021. IICN is a joint initiative of the Council of Europe and the European Commission, the idea of which is to strengthen and support the activities of local communities to make better use of their cultural diversity. The network, which currently brings together more than 140 cities in Europe, Australia, Canada, Japan, Israel, Mexico, Morocco and the United States, is a laboratory for local policy innovation. It is also a coalition of cities that are trying to prove that responsible management of diversity is an important asset for European societies. As one can see on the programme’s website, “it is also a platform to connect cities and leaders globally into a community where initiatives and practice from one city are analysed and shared to inspire the others.”⁴⁴ In the context of this program, interculturalism is understood as promoting policies and practices that strengthen interaction, mutual understanding and respect among different cultures and ethnic groups. Cities participating in the program undergo a review of urban policies, governance and good practice. Then, in cooperation with experts from the Council of Europe, they assess their previous commitment and create a management strategy based on diversity. A tool facilitating the assessment of cities is the Index of Intercultural Cities, created under the auspices of the ICC program, which contains a set of indicators that make it easier to identify the level of intercultural integration in a given city and potential areas for development.

⁴⁴ *Kraków, Poland – Intercultural City*, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/krakow>, accessed May 21, 2021.

Conclusions

Krakow, as the former capital of Poland and an important centre for the development of culture and science, has attracted foreigners for centuries. Settling in their new home, they have helped to build its cultural power and the development of its economy. We can admire the traces of the material heritage of multiculturalism in the architecture, painting and sculpture, both secular and religious. Equally important is their non-material contribution, present in Krakow's cuisine, language, legends and traditions. In recent years, thanks to the coherent and consistent policy of local authorities regarding diversity management, Krakow has become a very attractive place for foreigners. Through programs such as 'Open Krakow' and joining the Intercultural Cities Network, Krakow has worked to create an image of a tolerant and open city, happy to celebrate its multicultural traditions, while at the same time promoting policies that strengthen interactions, mutual understanding and respect between different cultures and ethnic groups to develop tools for the integration of foreigners. Regardless of these policies of active diversity management, in Krakow we can still speak of 'boutique multiculturalism', which manifests itself in organizing various multicultural festivals (including the Jewish Culture Festival, Multicultural Picnic, Multicultural Festival), and the spread of ethnic restaurants and bars (Italian pizzerias and ice cream parlours, restaurants with Georgian, Ukrainian or Greek cuisine) than the strong multiculturalism that characterizes contemporary Western European metropolises.

KEY QUESTIONS:

1. Define the notion of multiculturalism and describe how the issues of multiculturalism manifest themselves at the city level.
2. Describe the contribution of the selected multicultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, to the socio-economic and cultural development of Krakow.
3. Using the example of Krakow, describe the strategies undertaken by local authorities in the field of multicultural management.

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The publication, which is the culmination of a European project carried out under the Erasmus Plus Programme, presents the city as a place of culture, heritage and sustainable development, a place where tradition and modernity mingle and where heritage is integrated with new forms. It is a place where cultures meet, but also a place where the inhabitants draw vitality, which is a source of identity; finally, it is a place where new generations are raised. The book shows life in the city as a composition of places of memory, which binds the past, the present and the future into a coherent whole (...). This book not only stimulates the reader's reflection on the city, inspiring them to their own reflections and cultural explorations, but it can also be an excellent textbook for students exploring the mysteries of cultural studies, anthropology, sociology or urban planning.

dr hab. Marcin Rebes



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