

ŁUKASZ SKOCZYLAS

The Institute of Sociology, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

## Carriers of social memory about the multicultural past of Poznań in the urban space

### Introduction

The following text is devoted to carriers of memory about the multicultural past of the city of Poznań. The term multiculturalism I define as

a conscious coexistence in the same space (or in a very near area without a visible separation), or in a situation where there is an aspiration to take the same space by two or more social groups with relatively different cultural distinctive features such as: outer look, language, faith, set of values etc. which contribute to a reciprocal perception of dissimilarity with its various consequences<sup>1</sup>.

According to Hanna Gajda<sup>2</sup>, in 2012 in Poznań there were registered around 3868 foreigners for a temporary or permanent residence, a number which constitutes around 0.7% of the total number of citizens<sup>3</sup>. Of course the data do not include all members of national minorities that live in the city, however, they do show that Poznań is not a multicultural city. In the past, however, it was different: in Poznań there coexisted the German, Polish and Jewish population; national classification was reinforced by religious one. Although at present only the Polish population is visible in the city life, after its past citizens have left there the carriers of memory, understood here as those material objects that in some way stimulate social memory<sup>4</sup>. Due to the volume limitations of the article, I will

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<sup>1</sup> M. Golka, *Imiona wielokulturowości*. Warszawa 2010, pp. 64–65.

<sup>2</sup> H. Gajda, "Rozkład przestrzenny cudzoziemców w Poznaniu". *Człowiek i Społeczeństwo*, XXXVII, 2014, pp. 63–74.

<sup>3</sup> Calculated on the basis of: *Biuletyn Statystyczny Województwa Wielkopolskiego*, IV, 2012, tab. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. Szpociński, "Nośnik pamięci". In *Modi memorandi. Leksykon kultury pamięci*, ed. M. Saryusz-Wolska, R. Traba, Warszawa 2014, pp. 278–280.

have to impose some limitations on my deliberations. Below I describe the most important ones.

Firstly, I will discuss only those carriers which still exist and have the form of a building. Regardless of the, very often long, history of renovation, reconstruction and recreation, they are still a part of the urban sprawl and, as such, they do have an impact on the shaping of the image of the city. When judging historic continuity, an important factor will be the permanence of the function of a given building or the place where it is located. The buildings discussed represent, following Marian Golka, current memory, namely the one whose carriers “are naturally, permanently present in social awareness and there has been no need to activate them deliberately to remind some happenings or heroes”<sup>5</sup>. They also ensure a constant reference to the past, to the history of the city and its national and cultural diversity. As Marc Augé claims: “a dated monument is looked after as a proof of authenticity, which self-evidently should arouse interest — there becomes a dissonance between the present of the landscape and the past to which it makes an allusion. The allusion to the past makes the presence multidimensional”<sup>6</sup>.

Secondly, I limit myself here only to the non-residential buildings, whose functions were connected with administration or public life.

Thirdly, I perceive the discussed buildings as remnants of actions of members of various groups, which can give evidence to both a conscious action and out-of-control relations. Therefore I acknowledge the buildings — taken into consideration separately and jointly, as a fragment of a determined urban space — as carriers of social memory. Simultaneously, the objects erected in the city should be treated as an expression of power, most often symbolic power over the city, and their erection as a way of highlighting own presence and importance in the life of the city<sup>7</sup>.

Finally, the following text will be devoted to the objects which have been created since the second partition of Poland. This time restriction is necessary not only due to the volume limitation of this article but also bearing on the merits of the matter — it is the objects created after this date that are most often considered as connected with the multicultural past of the city by the present citizens of Poznań, the phenomenon which will be discussed in more detail later.

Poznań is an interesting case in contemporary deliberations over the issue of the heritage of multiculturalism of Polish cities, as carriers of memory connected with non-Polish citizens are still interpreted through the sphere of emotional

<sup>5</sup> M. Golka, *Pamięć społeczna i jej implanty*, Wrocław 2009, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> M. Augé, *Nie-miejsca. Wprowadzenie do antropologii hipernowoczesności*, Warszawa 2010, p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> J. Kubera, “Przemoc symboliczna w XIX-wiecznym Poznaniu. Architektura jako tekst”. In *Deklinacja odnowy miast. Z dyskusji nad rewitalizacją w Polsce*, ed. K. Derejski et al., Poznań 2012, pp. 187–196.

Polish-German rivalry. In other words, Poznań is in a different situation than big cities of the Regained Territories (such as Wrocław) in which there was no national rivalry and carriers of memory about the past, former German citizens are connected with a smaller (however still significant) emotional burden. So, while in the case of Wrocław we can talk about the myth of multiculturalism<sup>8</sup>, in the case of Poznań we must assume that the city was multicultural indeed, and its situation should be compared to other cities of the First Republic of Poland which were under non-Polish reign during the time of partitions and today are within Polish borders. I think that one may find more similarities between Poznań and Warsaw than between Poznań and Wrocław. It is a very interesting area of investigation which — in the course of further research — should be given considerable attention.

### Carriers of memory about the multicultural past of Poznań

Poznań fell under Prussian reign on the 31st January 1793 as a result of the second partition of Poland becoming — together with the whole Greater Poland — annexed on the grounds of agreement between Prussia and Russia. Even before the entrance of corps, Prussian authorities decided that the Greater Poland would be incorporated directly to Prussia. The new province was named Southern Prussia and Poznań became the capital of one of two departments in the area (the other capital was Piotrków). The time following the occupation of the city by Prussia was characterized by a severe economic crisis. Considerably higher taxes were imposed on the citizens, moreover, the elections to the city council were banned<sup>9</sup>. Additionally, together with the changes in borders, citizens of Poznań lost numerous markets where they delivered their goods<sup>10</sup>. The sharp drop in affluence was also caused by the fall of banking<sup>11</sup>. All these factors contributed to the crisis, which manifested itself in restricting private building enterprises which was caused by a sharp increase in the prices of plots<sup>12</sup>. The only exception were residential buildings put up with a great help of the Prussian authorities, reaching over 30% of the value of the building<sup>13</sup>. One can assume that Prussians,

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<sup>8</sup> K. Kajdanek, "Mit i pamięć. Refleksje wokół procesów rewitalizacji we Wrocławiu". In *Deklinacja odnowy miast...*, pp. 129–138.

<sup>9</sup> J. Wąsicki, "Uwagi ogólne". In *Dzieje Wielkopolski. Lata 1793–1918*, ed. W. Jakóbczyk, Poznań 1973, pp. 13–14.

<sup>10</sup> L. Trzeciakowski, "Część trzecia: Pod pruskim zaborem". In *Poznań. Zarys dziejów*, ed. J. Topolski, Poznań 1973, p. 62.

<sup>11</sup> Z. Ostrowska-Kęblowska, *Architektura i budownictwo w Poznaniu w latach 1780–1880*, Poznań 2009, p. 111.

<sup>12</sup> A. Kaczkowski, *Biblioteka Raczyńskich*, Warszawa and Poznań 1978, p. 15.

<sup>13</sup> A. Wędzki, "Rozwój przestrzenny miasta w latach 1793–1815". In *Dzieje Poznania*. Vol. 2. 1793–1918, ed. J. Topolski, L. Trzeciakowski, Warszawa and Poznań 1994, p. 95.

by conducting such an action, wanted to prevent a considerable lack in the amount of flats, which resulted from an influx of civil servants and soldiers<sup>14</sup>. Lech Trzeciakowski<sup>15</sup> mentions an especially difficult position of Jewish people in this context, highlighting the legal regulations implemented in 1795 that banned this nation from the possibility of trading any goods. On the other hand, Jan Wąsicki<sup>16</sup> states that the process of Germanization of the Jewish nation that was started at the very beginning of partitions, was based mainly on favoring this nation in the area of trade. We can assume that, regardless of nationality, people knowing German language, especially merchants, could be less affected by the crash of the local economy. Against this socio-economic background the first changes in the town planning of Poznań were introduced.

It was in 1793 when the first decisions concerning the development of the city were introduced<sup>17</sup>. A year later a plan was invented of creating a huge square soon to be named the Wilhelm square (at present Plac Wolności) in the area of the so-called, Fly Mountain. Presumably it was also the time when plans were invented of creating a representative street, Wilhelm street (at present Aleje Marcinkowskiego) which was to be based on Berlin's Unter den Linden Strasse<sup>18</sup>. The area was also taken into consideration as one of the possible locations of the extension of the Jewish district. In 1795 the liquidation of the medieval city wall started, with only a few archways being left and one being erected from the scratch. Since 1797 the new Prussian building law was in force in Poznań. In the same year the vast majority of church properties was secularized in the process which resulted in incorporation of numerous suburban settlements into the city in 1800 (including Święty Marcin, Zawady, Chwaliszewo and Śródka)<sup>19</sup>. As we can see, the changes connected with the implementation of the new authorities were huge (though, at the end of the First Republic of Poland's existence a lot changed in Poznań too, mainly thanks to works conducted by the Commission of Good Order). The changes took even more remarkable form after 1803 when the city was severely damaged by the fire which engulfed mostly the Jewish district. The recreation was to be conducted in accordance with western standards, already checked in Paris and London<sup>20</sup>. An interesting outcome of the fire was also the fact that the Jewish population was allowed to settle within the entire city

<sup>14</sup> J. Wąsicki, "Poznań jako miasto tzw. Prus Południowych (1793–1806)". In *Dzieje Poznania*. Vol. 2. 1793–1918..., p. 69.

<sup>15</sup> L. Trzeciakowski, op. cit., p. 63.

<sup>16</sup> J. Wąsicki, "Poznań...", p. 75.

<sup>17</sup> A. Wędzki, op. cit., p. 90.

<sup>18</sup> L. Trzeciakowski, "Aktywność polityczna poznaniaków". In *Dzieje Poznania*. Vol. 2. 1793–1918..., p. 399; Z. Ostrowska-Kęłbowska, op. cit., p. 123.

<sup>19</sup> A. Wędzki, op. cit., p. 90.

<sup>20</sup> Z. Ostrowska-Kęłbowska, "Architektura i budownictwo w latach 1793–1815". In *Dzieje Poznania*. Vol. 2. 1793–1918..., p. 106.

(which aroused some protests)<sup>21</sup>. The projects mentioned above prove that the city was rebuilt in the western direction — on the premises of wealthy suburbs, and towards the new capital — Berlin<sup>22</sup>. Quite soon after seizing Poznań by Prussians a new district was built, significant when compared with other districts of the city, based on western models, and unambiguously associated with Prussia, whose aim was to be the center of culture and the place of living for the newcomers from Germany. The first significant conflict in the building area between Polish and German nations was over the project of the city theater. The project was to be created — in accordance with the will of the Prussian authorities — in Szczecin or Magdeburg. However, the local government applied to Enrico Ittar, an Italian architect and creator of the Mielżyński Palace, who was at that time a guest of bishop Ignacy Raczyński. Despite a huge support among Poles, the Prussian government declined his project, also not allowing to build Wojciech Bogusławski's theater, which was to be financed from Polish fees. Finally, in 1804, the building, which — according to its conception — was to resemble the theater in today's Kaliningrad, was finished. On the building there was placed a neutral inscription in Latin, rejecting an option of a German inscription<sup>23</sup>. Over 70 years later the building was found to be impractical and inconvenient, was put down, and in the same spot a new one, performing the same function, was erected. Due to the loan taken out in Berlin for the building of the theater by the local government (and the money paid by the German emperor), since 1879 the only language of the plays performed in the theater was German, which was the reason why the citizens named it “the German theater”<sup>24</sup>.

Let us come back to the beginnings of the 19th century. Although the new district in the city was to be created as a typical German one, it was settled by members of all the three nations. Following Lech Trzeciakowski, “the citizens of Poznań, regardless of their nationality, were intermingled with each other”<sup>25</sup>. One of the factors that contributed to this state were probably the Napoleonic Wars and connected with them migrations of people. In November 1806 Poznań was seized by the French army. The times of the Duchy of Warsaw are the times of numerous changes not in the area of building and town planning, however. The only interesting case from those times is the supposed plan of Napoleon to turn Poznań into a fortress, which would be many years ahead of Prussian plans<sup>26</sup>.

After the Congress of Vienna Poznań became the capital city of a new administrative creation, named the Great Duchy of Poznań. The city was only 60 kilometers away from the Russian border, which was the main reason why it was to be

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<sup>21</sup> Z. Ostrowska-Kęłbowska, *Architektura i budownictwo w latach 1780–1880...*, p. 120.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118–119.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 427–433.

<sup>25</sup> L. Trzeciakowski, “Aktywność...”, p. 399.

<sup>26</sup> A. Wędzki, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

transformed into a fortress, the process which began in 1828. It is not the place to mention all the stages of building the modern fortifications of Poznań, however, it has to be highlighted that the fortifications surrounded the city for over 80 years making its expansion and functioning hard. Thanks to them the urban sprawl of the city center is quite dense and the remnants of those fortifications, mainly in the form of parks separating the center from other districts can still be seen today. The way to the development was obstructed not only by the walls and army buildings, but also by the regulations of 1846, which divided the area outside the walls into three zones. It was allowed to erect buildings without any restrictions only in the third one, however, creating regular suburbs in those places was still forbidden<sup>27</sup>. According to Wędzki, the regulations created “an additional terrain, up to 1000 meters in width, in which there were considerably restricted possibilities of building investments”<sup>28</sup>. Apart from the military reasons, changing the city into a fortress was imposed with regard to ideological reasons. The main fortress, erected in the Winiary district, could be associated with a “castle-prison”<sup>29</sup> overlooking the city.

One of not many examples of collaboration of people of various nationalities from those times is creation of the building of Masonic lodge (at present the Ethnographic Museum). At the moment of the fall of the Second Republic of Poland in Poznań there existed two lodges: the Polish and German one, and it was the language that distinguished them, not nationality of their members. The situation underwent changes and in 1822, with joint power of Polish and German Masons, the building of a collective seat was finished<sup>30</sup>. Taking into consideration the changeable lot of the building, Ostrowska-Kęłowska claims that behind the changes of the original project was the fixation of their author, the master of the German lodge, on the theater projects supported by Poles, created by Enrico Ittar, and probably even bigger influence on the matter had the standpoint of the lodge dominated by Poles<sup>31</sup>.

In the view of building up fortification and the vision of Poznań performing merely military and administrative functions, a significant role is played by Edward Raczyński and his activity. First, let us deal with a public library founded by him in 1828. After numerous problems with acquiring a building plot, he managed to erect an edifice which was to be a part of a wider vision of creating in Poznań “New Athens”<sup>32</sup>. It is worth mentioning that it was the first public library

<sup>27</sup> A. Wędzki, “Rozwój przestrzenny miasta po 1815”. In *Dzieje Poznania*. Vol. 2. 1793–1918..., pp. 124–125.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>29</sup> Z. Ostrowska-Kęłowska, *Architektura i budownictwo w latach 1780–1880...*, p. 170.

<sup>30</sup> M. Rezler, “Wielkopolscy masoni”. In *Tajemnicza Wielkopolska*, ed. Z. Rola, Poznań 2000, pp. 250–260; M. Rezler, J. Bogdanowski, *Poznań — miasto niepoznane*, Poznań 2006, pp. 132–140.

<sup>31</sup> Z. Ostrowska-Kęłowska, *Architektura i budownictwo w latach 1780–1880...*, pp. 188–189.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

under Prussian rule which was available for everyone and its aim was to develop knowledge among the citizens of Poznań. Inside the building Raczyński situated a small flat that he rented for a considerable amount of money — this money constituted 25% of a yearly income of the library, the remaining 75% were the interest rates from the fund founded by him<sup>33</sup>. The problems with purchasing the plot by Raczyński in the representative part of the city lasted for six years and even the Prussian king was involved in the matter. It is worth mentioning that even in the official papers Raczyński did not reveal the fact that the building was to perform the role of a library, though, presumably, his closest collaborators knew about it. The person who, most probably, revealed this fact to the public (in 1822) is Heinrich Heine; the Prussian authorities, up to 1869, used the term “palace” in every official document<sup>34</sup>. The arguments erupted again with the new plans of Raczyński who wanted to erect next to the library a building which would perform a museum function. Eventually, he did not manage to buy the grounds, the authorities at first claimed that the ground is reserved for the needs of the army, and later they sold it for building of a dwelling house<sup>35</sup>. In the light of those actions, near to the library, though not in such a representative place, a building was built that was to be home for the collections of Edward’s brother, Atanazy Raczyński. The building, designed by the creator of the Berlin Museum, did not become a cultural center of the same rank as the library, in 1837 it was transformed into a hotel and did not survive to the present day<sup>36</sup>.

The Raczyński Library is not the only contribution of Edward Raczyński to monuments in Poznań that still exist. He played a major role in the 1830s when the Golden Chapel in The Cathedral of Poznań was built, which was a symbolic monument honoring Mieszko I and Bolesław Chrobry. Further forms of commemorating the first two rulers of Poland buried in Poznań did not last until the 19th century, so around 1815 an idea occurred to build them a statue. The plans evolved and in the late 1820s took a very definite form of a classical mausoleum inside the cathedral and statues in the square in front of it, however, these plans turned out to be too expensive to implement. In the mid-1830s it was decided to build a royal chapel in the Byzantine style in the place of the Virgin Mary chapel. The style was to ensure simple references to Polish symbolism — the cupola was surrounded by the images of Polish saints, noble coats of arms and emblems of the first eight dioceses; inside there are paintings and statues referring to Polish history<sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> M. Kosman, *Swojemu miastu*, Poznań 1979, p. 40.

<sup>34</sup> A. Kaczowski, op. cit., pp. 24–25.

<sup>35</sup> Z. Ostrowska-Kęłbowska, *Architektura i budownictwo w latach 1780–1880...*, p. 204.

<sup>36</sup> Z. Ostrowska-Kęłbowska, J. Skuratowicz, “Architektura i budownictwo”. In *Dzieje Poznania*. Vol. 2. 1793–1918..., pp. 485–486.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 488–489.



It is worth looking at the building of the Golden Chapel from the perspective of denominational and national composition of Poznań at that time. In 1831 Catholics constituted 52.3% of civilians in Poznań, 12% of whom were people of German origin<sup>38</sup>. Symbolic highlighting of the Polish character of the chapel had to arise negative emotions among the Germans of Catholic faith, however, following Ostrowska-Kębowska, they also contributed to collecting money for the building of the chapel<sup>39</sup>. It is thought that, due to a small amount of money collected in public actions, it was Edward Raczyński who devoted a major sum of the money needed to build the chapel, which made him put an inscription commemorating him as a founder inside the chapel. Obscurities connected with the financing of the building caused a long-lasting public dispute, which might have had an influence on Raczyński's decision to commit suicide.

The turn of the 1840s brought building of another two buildings that performed the role of centers of Polish economic, political and cultural life. In 1838, one cross-street away from the Raczyńscy Library, an edifice of the Ziemstwo Kredytowe (a credit company) was built (at present the building of The Artistic University). The Ziemstwo was created in 1821 and, though its members could be both Poles and Germans, it was soon dominated by members of the first mentioned nation. This situation was so troublesome for the German authorities that in 1857 the organization was liquidated and in its place a new one, controlled fully by Germans, was established<sup>40</sup>. The building of the Ziemstwo, characteristic thanks to its facade in form of a cut corner, became an example for other buildings, especially with respect to its modern outer form. Since 1841 it hosted provincial seyms<sup>41</sup>.

Another building, especially significant for Polish economic and political life, was the Bazar Hotel, finished in 1842. It was situated next to New street which was marked out in 1838 (at present Paderewski street) connecting Wilhelm street with the Old Town. As an effect of joined efforts of many well-known Poles it is an example in opposition to the works of Edward Raczyński. The building was probably based on English hotels, the fact which Ostrowska-Kębowska<sup>42</sup> associates with emigration of part of its creators after the Greater Poland uprising. It is worth adding that opposite the less representative part of the Bazar the Hotel de Rome was erected in 1840, which Ostrowska-Kębowska<sup>43</sup> perceives as periodically purely German, avoided by Poles.

<sup>38</sup> M. Kędelski, "Stosunki ludnościowe w latach 1815–1918". In *Dzieje Poznania*. Vol. 2. 1793–1918..., p. 230.

<sup>39</sup> Z. Ostrowska-Kębowska, *Architektura i budownictwo w latach 1780–1880...*, p. 215.

<sup>40</sup> W. Szulc, J. Majewski, "Procesy industrializacji Poznania. Kredyt. Ubezpieczenia. Organizacje gospodarcze". In *Dzieje Poznania*. Vol. 2. 1793–1918..., pp. 170–171.

<sup>41</sup> Z. Ostrowska-Kębowska, J. Skuratowicz, op. cit., pp. 508–509.

<sup>42</sup> Z. Ostrowska-Kębowska, *Architektura i budownictwo w latach 1780–1880...*, p. 333.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 383.



The 1840s, 50s and 60s, though prolific when it comes to historic events, did not leave any buildings interesting for us. The authorities did not care about the aesthetics of the erected buildings and architects were to be economical<sup>44</sup>. Simultaneously, there could be observed the development of residential buildings. It has to be mentioned that it was the time when Germans (between 1848 and 1870) outnumbered Poles (since 1861 the Jewish nation was treated as German in censuses, while for example in 1848 it constituted 19.9% of the population)<sup>45</sup>. The beginning of the 1870s was marked by a strong economic growth connected with historical events not strictly connected with Poland. In 1874 in the former building of the Jesuit College, since 1793 used by officials, a new wing was built, which — what is important — was only slightly different from the old ones. Also the renovation of the post-Jesuit part of the complex was conducted without any considerable changes when it comes to style<sup>46</sup>. Further buildings that were created thanks to the German authorities were the head office of railway on the corner of present Kościuszko and Taczak streets from 1874, the already mentioned city theater from 1879 and building of the court from 1882 (at present the National Archive). Between 1884 and 1895 there were intense works under way towards extending the municipality housing supplies, which resulted in pulling down the Renaissance building of the City Scales in the Old Town and building a new Town Hall in that place.

In the same period two buildings were erected in the city that were important for the Polish cultural life — the Polish Theater and the seat of the Society of Friends of Science of Poznań. Ostrowska-Kębowska writes about the Polish Theater that its location — when compared with similar institutions created under Austrian rule — can be perceived as “a symbolic illustration of the situation of Poles under Prussian rule”<sup>47</sup>. The works towards creating the national theater in Greater Poland lasted for several dozen of years, partly due to the obstacles created by the authorities, and partly due to Poles and their arguments over the best place and conception for the building. Finally, the conception of building an edifice in the center of the city won, it was connected, however, with abandoning the idea of building a huge, free-standing form, mainly because of the rates for plots<sup>48</sup> and the law about dense development in the course of streets<sup>49</sup>. The problem was solved in an ingenious way. The building was erected, a bit retreated with respect to the line of development and covered with an already existing one-floor tenement house. The theater, finished in 1875, was small and had a unique atmosphere. The most visible element proving its Polish character and ideological

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<sup>44</sup> Z. Ostrowska-Kębowska, J. Skuratowicz, op. cit., pp. 510–511.

<sup>45</sup> M. Kędelski, op. cit., pp. 232–233.

<sup>46</sup> Z. Ostrowska-Kębowska, *Architektura i budownictwo w latach 1780–1880...*, pp. 340–344.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 424.

<sup>48</sup> Z. Ostrowska-Kębowska, J. Skuratowicz, op. cit., p. 425.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 531.

function was an inscription, which still exists on the facade of the theater: "The Nation to Itself". In 1892 in the place of a former, modest building covering the theater, a new-Baroque, three-floor tenement house was built, which was to bring profits for the stage placed behind it<sup>50</sup>.

In the same way the residence of the Society of Friends of Science of Poznań was built, in which there was also the first museum in the city. Seweryn Mielżyński contributed to the creation of the building. Due to the high costs of plots the object was erected on a narrow plot, characteristic for ordinary dwelling houses. The edifice, together with the front house, was ready to use in 1882 next to Wiktoria street (at present Mielżyński street). At the beginning of the 20th century the buildings inside the courtyard were rebuilt and in 1908 a new front house was built. It did not change the low-keyed style of the buildings used for scientific and cultural purposes. A more monumental museum, this time a German one, was erected in the city 20 years later<sup>51</sup>.

The Emperor Frederick III museum was created in Poznań in 1903. The edifice was built following the design of the arsenal in Berlin and almost covered the view of part of the Bazar built in 1842. Its hard architecture contrasted with the Raczyńscy Library situated right next to it. Next to the museum, since 1900 there was a new, new-Baroque, monumental wing of the Bazar, which was a counterweight for the Hotel de Rome situated right opposite, which at that time was also rebuilt and lifted up one floor<sup>52</sup>.

At this point sacral buildings ought to be mentioned. The development of the city districts also caused an increase in building of new temples. The Protestant ones were associated mainly with Germans, the Catholic ones could serve both Polish and German nations. In 1858 in Poznań there were 21,890 Catholics, 27% of those were Germans, and 16,887 Protestants, only 2% of whom were Poles. In 1905 among 87,613 Catholics 89% treated Polish as their native tongue, while among the Evangelicals German language was the native tongue for 99.6%<sup>53</sup>. The observable difference between the first half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century stems from at least three factors. The first one was migration of people (after 1870 a lot of Poles came to Poznań, while Germans and Jews moved towards the West). The second factor is greater birth rate of Polish families<sup>54</sup>. The third one is connected with spatial changes in the city — incorporating suburban areas, occupied mainly by Poles, into the city. An interesting case in the light of those facts is building of the New Synagogue finished in 1907. The building was designed in accordance with a German fashion of those days in the area of archi-

<sup>50</sup> J. Skuratowicz, *Architektura Poznania 1890–1918*, Poznań 1991, pp. 73–75.

<sup>51</sup> J. Figuła-Czech, "Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk". In *Atlas architektury Poznania*, ed. J. Pazder, Poznań 2008, p. 199.

<sup>52</sup> J. Skuratowicz, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>53</sup> M. Kędelski, op. cit., pp. 232–235.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 258.

ture of Christian temples<sup>55</sup>. According to Kędelski, the Jewish nation in 1816 constituted 20.4% of the citizens of Poznań, in 1858 — 18.7% of civilians and, simultaneously, 16.3% of all the citizens. In 1885 this rate was lower than 10% for the first time, and in 1910 it reached 3.6%. On the one hand, this fact can be associated with already mentioned migrations, on the other — with the policy of Prussian and, later, German authorities to Germanize the Jews<sup>56</sup>.

Between 1848 and 1870 the majority of the inhabitants of Poznań were Germans. The end of this period was marked with deeper and deeper national divisions, and the growth of anxiety among local German activists<sup>57</sup>. Tense national situation in Poznań and difficult living conditions in the city since the end of the 1880s started to draw attention of the central authorities in Berlin<sup>58</sup>. At that time the idea of pulling-down the inner ring of fortification began to be considered. It was proposed to build a new district in its place. The first such project appeared in 1890<sup>59</sup>, however, it did not gain support. The local government systematically tried to develop the city and demolish at least part of the fortifications. These ideas were used by the government in Berlin in the program of enlivening the eastern parts of the country, whose shells started to be created in 1896<sup>60</sup>. Finally, the regulation of the German emperor about pulling-down part of the fortification came into effect in 1902, and one year later the rules were established concerning building-up of the regained empty spaces<sup>61</sup>. In the place of pulled-down fortifications it was decided to build a new district, which was to be a symbol of German dominance over the city and the whole region. Naturally, it is up until today distinct from older parts of the city — the medieval one realized under Polish reign and the modern one, consisting of buildings of Polish and German origin.

Inside the new district it was decided to build a set of representative buildings which were to become a showcase of the city and highlight its German character. This aim was to be achieved through monumentalism, stylistic references to the past and functions of the buildings. The buildings sanctioned the German reign also by references to mythology and art of the Greek antique<sup>62</sup>. The new buildings were planned in the vicinity of the train station and in some distance from the Old Town, along the new city ring, a street surrounding the castle, planned ac-

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<sup>55</sup> J. Skuratowicz, op. cit., pp. 284–285.

<sup>56</sup> M. Kędelski, op. cit., p. 231.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> J. Skuratowicz, “Poznań — stolica niemieckiego Wschodu”. In *Zamek Cesarski w Poznaniu*, ed. J. Pazder, E. Zimmerman, Potsdam and Poznań 2003, pp. 49–54.

<sup>59</sup> Z. Pałat, J. Pazder, *Poznań. Dzielnicą zamkową*, Poznań 2011, p. 6; Z. Pałat, *Architektura a polityka. Gloryfikacja Prus i niemieckiej misji cywilizacyjnej w Poznaniu na początku XX wieku*, Poznań 2011, p. 65.

<sup>60</sup> Z. Pałat, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>61</sup> J. Skuratowicz, “Poznań...”, pp. 49–54.

<sup>62</sup> Z. Pałat, op. cit., pp. 184–187.

cording to Viennese and Cologne patterns<sup>63</sup>. Particular parts of the street were named after feudal honors held by the Hohenzollern dynasty reigning in the Reich<sup>64</sup>. The author of the described town-planning conception was Joseph Stübben. The rebuilding was planned mainly in the western direction, towards Berlin. The emperor himself took a great interest in the works and among the most known buildings that were created there were: in 1908 the Colonisation Commission edifice (at present Collegium Maius), the Evangelic House (at present the Music Academy), the Raiffeisen Bank edifice (at present Collegium Iuridicum), in 1910 the City Theater (at present the Great Theater), the Royal Academy together with an assembly hall (at present Collegium Minus and the Adam Mickiewicz University Assembly Hall), the Imperial Castle (at present "The Castle" Center of Culture), the new Kredytowe Ziemstwo (at present an abode of the Philharmonic Hall of Poznań) and the Head Office of Post (at present office buildings and a branch of post). In some distance from these buildings were erected: in 1908 the Territorial Court House (at present the Territorial Court House for the district of the Old Town on Młyńska street), in 1911 the Emperor Wilhelm Library (at present the Adam Mickiewicz University Library), in 1915 a new edifice of the Head Office of Railway. All these buildings had monumental forms referring to the styles of past epochs. It was not a coincidence that they were situated next to one another and, next to the Royal Academy and the Imperial Castle the building of the Colonization Commission was situated, whose purpose was to repurchase land from Poles and strengthen the German settlement. Up to this day it is claimed that the new district, named the Imperial District, was to perform the same ideological role as the inner ring of fortifications, in the place of which it was built<sup>65</sup>. It is also possible that the aim of the builders was to create a typical, German space which was to put the German officials living in Poznań at ease, as they — in spite of additional allowances — did not willingly come to the city perceived as foreign and hostile<sup>66</sup>. The wholeness of the ideological meaning of the Imperial District was formulated by Zenon Pałat<sup>67</sup> in four points as

- 1) legitimization of the power of the emperors of the German Reich, 2) glorification of the German colonization, 3) manifestation of the influence of German science and art in shaping the national awareness and raising the quality of life in the province, 4) persuading Germans to stay on the eastern outskirts of the country, thus, fulfilling a noble historic mission.

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<sup>63</sup> J. Skuratowicz, *Architektura...*, pp. 86–94; G. Kodym-Kozaczko, "Poznański Ring w przestrzeni miasta. Krótka nauka urbanistyczna według obyczaju europejskiego". In *Odkryj Dzielnice Zamkową*, ed. J. Pazder, Poznań 2011, pp. 19–32.

<sup>64</sup> Z. Pałat, J. Pazder, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>66</sup> M. Rezler, J. Bogdanowski, op. cit., p. 143.

<sup>67</sup> Z. Pałat, "Ostatnie Forum Cesarskie. Forma i symbolika urbanistyczno-architektonicznego założenia poznańskiego ringu". *Artium Quaestiones*, 2, 1983, pp. 57–71.

The Imperial Castle, the project of which by Franz Schwechten was personally consulted with the emperor, was built in the neo-Roman style with elements of other styles. As such it could certify to the alleged long-standing German character of the land. A similar action was undertaken in the Hohkönigsburg Castle in Alsace, finished in 1908, which was taken from France in 1871<sup>68</sup>. The most visible part of the castle in Poznań was the tower overseeing the whole panorama of the city. The building, having both representative and private part, was full of references to German motifs — there were numerous images of medieval German emperors<sup>69</sup>, and also German mythology heroes; there were personifications of virtues, images of medieval fights between Germans and Slavs, and the image of Berlin<sup>70</sup> and other cities of the Second Reich<sup>71</sup>. It is symbolic that emperor Otto III image was left among the ornaments inside the castle as a person perceived as benevolent to Poland<sup>72</sup>. The eclecticism of the place is fulfilled with the Lions Fountain in the courtyard based on a similar medieval fountain in the Alhambra Palace in Granada in Andalusia. The erection of the castle was also a form of ennoblement of Poznań perceived as one of the residences of the German monarch<sup>73</sup>.

The outer form of the castle is very original not only due to its style. First, the stables, much smaller and different than the main building, were erected opposite the representative building of the Colonization Commission. Secondly, the castle is facing the ring with its side facade, similarly to some other representative buildings of the Imperial District, which was in contradiction to commonly acknowledged urban development rules<sup>74</sup>. Thirdly, the form of a castle (not a palace) given to the imperial residence is baffling. Of course it had no practical applications, it can be connected with a fashion for historicism or with a symbolic aim to replace the pulled-down fortifications. Finally, the castle was built with bricks, covering only the facades with bright sandstone (apart from the stables covered with plaster and basements built with boulders). Using stone gives the castle a Romanesque character.

It is worth mentioning that, apart from an unambiguously propaganda undertone of the imperial abode, also the Polish companies contributed to its building<sup>75</sup>. Polish citizens referred to the castle with strong criticism, not only due to its German symbolism. They also did not like its architectural form. In 1912

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<sup>68</sup> E. Zimmerman, "Rezydencje cesarza Wilhelma II. Die Residenzen Kaiser Wilhelms II". In *Zamek Cesarski...*, p. 27.

<sup>69</sup> J. Skuratowicz, *Architektura...*, pp. 212–123.

<sup>70</sup> Z. Pałat, "Pruska 'Twierdza na Wschodzie'". In *Zamek Cesarski...*, p. 58.

<sup>71</sup> Z. Pałat, J. Pazder, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>72</sup> J. Skuratowicz, *Architektura...*, p. 213.

<sup>73</sup> Z. Pałat, "Zmiana znaczeń w obrębie poznańskiej Dzielnicy Zamkowej". In *Odkryj Dzielnicę...*, p. 43.

<sup>74</sup> Z. Pałat, J. Pazder, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>75</sup> L. Trzeciakowski, "Aktywność...", p. 404.

a Polish architect Lucjan Michałowski presented his own vision of the Imperial District, in which the main change was the palace in a more modernistic style facing the ring with its front<sup>76</sup>.

Between 1912 and 1913 nearby the main train station a special pavilion was built, connected with a canopied platform, which was later called “the summer station”. It was to be used only by the emperor and his entourage, and its project was created in Berlin. Wilhelm II used it only once during his last official visit to Poznań, in 1913. This visit was an occasion for Polish citizens to express their opposition to German authorities — the majority of Polish houses were not decorated and few Poles who decided to meet with the emperor were condemned<sup>77</sup>.

Talking about the urban planning assumptions of that period, one needs to mention the area of the East-German Expo of 1911, which — after numerous, considerable changes — is at present taken by the Poznań International Fair. The expo, partly due to its controversial name, met with a strong resistance of Poles and not many Polish companies decided to promote their goods there<sup>78</sup>.

As can be seen, in the times described here, in the building industry of Poznań, one can distinguish four periods visibly connected with political actions. The first one, just after the second partition of Poland, was the time of bold Prussian projects and rebuilding a vast part of the city after the fire. The second one is the time of activity of Polish society, expressed in buildings such as the Raczyńscy Library or the Bazar. The third period, preceded by almost three decades of stagnation in tenement houses building, was characterized by both Polish realizations (the Polish Theater, the edifice of the Society of Friends of Science of Poznań) and the German ones (The Head Office of Railway, the City Theater). Though it is hard to separate it clearly, the buildings financed by the government had a more administrative and less cultural character (the court, the head office). An exception could be the City Theater, however, its new abode was an answer to the building of the Polish Theater. Only the fourth period, starting at the turn of the 20th century and lasting up to the Greater Poland Uprising in 1918, was the time of great and intense urban development of the German authorities. Simultaneously, it was the time when Poles gradually outnumbered Germans in Poznań and the policy of Germanization, despite the end of Kulturkampf, took its most extreme forms.

The time brackets described above do not have a dogmatic character, the boundaries of some periods have to be perceived as liquid. However, this division allows us to look at the urban sprawl of Poznań in an interesting way. Thanks to it the city can be perceived as an arena of rivalry and, more seldom, cooperation of various national groups, and the buildings existing up to this day can be seen as

<sup>76</sup> P. Michałowski, “Lucjan Michałowski. Widok tzw. Dzielnicy Zamkowej z lotu ptaka”. In *Zamek Cesarski...*, pp. 69–71.

<sup>77</sup> L. Trzeciakowski, “Aktywność...”, p. 412; Ch. Myschor, *Dni Cesarskie w Poznaniu*, Poznań 2010.

<sup>78</sup> L. Trzeciakowski, “Aktywność...”, p. 405.



evidence of past multiculturalism of Poznań. The urban sprawl is not divided into particular buildings but is part of a bigger narration, full of mutual connections and influences.

The building of the Imperial District can be treated as a crowning achievement of a long political-historical process and, simultaneously, introducing to it a new quality. Its straight, symbolic significance, and expressive architecture (when compared with, for example, former 19th-century theater, the projects of which were — in accordance with the authorities' decisions — changed in Berlin for more modest ones) were and still are an important element of the public space of Poznań. The Imperial District was planned as a part of a wider plan of developing the city and was to become its new center. It was located in the central part, between the old inner city buildings and new districts incorporated into the city at the turn of a century that were areas of many investments (Jeżyce, Łazarz, Górczyn, Sołacz). Following Zenon Pałat, "the castle district was in fact the middle of a wider circumscribed sphere — the ideological center of the Prussian Eastern Borderlands"<sup>79</sup>. The Imperial District was to highlight the German power over the city and its particular objects — legitimized by referring to history and myth.

The adequacy of such an interpretation of the Imperial District is evidenced not only by records from the times when it was created but also by its further history, which makes us perceive the district as a carrier of memory of the German power over the city.

In 1918 the castle ceased to be the residence of a monarch. At first it was a headquarter of the German revolutionary board, later military and civilian authorities of the Greater Poland uprising. Next, the building was used as quarters for official guests in the city, for instance for the inter-allied commission, as a hospital, as a seat of the Ministry of Former Prussian District, finally — as one of the university buildings. Eventually, throughout most of the interwar period, it was a university building and, simultaneously, a residence of the President of Poland. Apart from that in the building there were head offices of some other institutions and some company apartments<sup>80</sup>.

There appeared voices about making the interior of the castle more Polish-like. The arguments for the idea were not only the German character of the inside but also its negative aesthetic judgment and impracticability. Finally it was decided to eliminate only the most obvious symbols of German predominance<sup>81</sup>. The rooms were given new names, connected with Polish history, and the interior was filled

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<sup>79</sup> Z. Pałat, *Architektura...*, p. 22.

<sup>80</sup> A. Gulczyński, "Rezydencja prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej i siedziba Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego". In *Zamek Cesarski...*, pp. 145–149.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 145–152.



with images of Polish statesmen and coats of arms<sup>82</sup>, the chapel was consecrated in the Catholic rite<sup>83</sup>.

Attempts were made to use the castle for practical purposes, remembering its symbolic meaning. It was still a residence of the highest authorities, this time the Polish ones. What is interesting, in the German times it was a residence of a monarch, and in the Polish times it was only a presidential residence — prime ministers usually performed their official duties in other places<sup>84</sup>.

The situation of the discussed carriers of memory changed in September 1939 with the entrance of the German army. On the one hand, it was obvious that the new, occupational government would like to restore the typically German character of the castle. On the other, the ideology and symbolism of the Nazi Third Reich was significantly different from the ideology of the Second Reich. One of the examples is what happened with the New Synagogue, transformed by the occupants into a swimming-pool (simultaneously its form was simplified by disposing of numerous ornaments).

Right after the occupation of the city had started, Adolf Hitler decided that the castle would be rebuilt, and that it would become the seat of the new authorities and his own residence. In the course of works Hitler, just like the German emperor Wilhelm II two decades earlier, took a great, personal interest in the Poznań castle. The task was given to the main Nazi architect, Albert Speer, and he gave it to his friend, Franz Böhmer. Also Heinrich Michaelis, a protégé of Martin Borman, the boss of the Nazi Party<sup>85</sup> was engaged in the matter. As we can see, rebuilding of the castle was an important case for the most important people in the Third Reich. The main changes referred to the interior of the castle that was changed into a model style of the Third Reich. Up to this day we can see numerous details from that period which make the castle in Poznań a unique example of such a style<sup>86</sup>. The model for the rebuilding was to be the so-called new chancellery of the Reich<sup>87</sup>. The idea behind the recreation processes, following Hanna Grzeszczuk-Brendel, was archaization, namely simplification of architectural forms: “the imperial references to the Ottonian art were changed by ‘universal’ simplicity of style, which — seemingly — escaped history and was to express ahistorical ‘Germanic kind’ and basic rules of Nazi order — matter

<sup>82</sup> A. Gulczyński, “Westybul Sobieskiego z popiersiem króla dłuta Wiktora Brodzkiego”. In *Zamek Cesarski...*, pp. 160–162.

<sup>83</sup> A. Gulczyński, “Dokument spisany na pamiątkę poświęcenia kaplicy zamkowej na potrzeby kultu katolickiego”. In *Zamek Cesarski...*, pp. 162–163.

<sup>84</sup> A. Gulczyński, “Zamek w Poznaniu jako siedziba władz polskich w okresie międzywojennym”. In *Historia prawa. Historia kultury*, ed. E. Borkowska-Bagieńska, H. Olszewski, Poznań 1994, pp. 325–340.

<sup>85</sup> H. Schwendemann, “Rezydencja Führera”. In *Zamek Cesarski...*, pp. 175–177.

<sup>86</sup> M. Rezler, J. Bogdanowski, op. cit., pp. 151–152.

<sup>87</sup> Z. Pałat, J. Pazder, op. cit., p. 28.

of factness, chastity and discipline”<sup>88</sup>. In the premises of the castle garden there were plans to erect a new building for the governor of the Reich<sup>89</sup>. The most visible changes outside included liquidation of the chapel in the tower and replacing its apse with a monumental balcony, from which Hitler could make speeches and observe parades. Apart from that, there were created three new entrances in the wing in which the throne chamber was previously located. In a symbolic way the castle gained a new, monumental entrance from outside, ceasing to be a building closed and separated from the center of the city that surrounded it.

What is interesting, rebuilding of the castle during the war raised opposition also among local Germans. Even after the defeat in Stalingrad, the German government stopped all the works connected with rebuilding representative buildings with the exception of the castle in Poznań<sup>90</sup>. It is yet another proof of how important the building was for the Nazis. In spite of resistance of the decision makers, who were opposed to spending financial, material and human resources on this task, even in January 1945 further works were ordered to be completed in the castle<sup>91</sup>. It is worth adding that the official date of seizing Poznań by the Red Army is 23rd of February 1945.

### The attitude towards carriers of memory since 1945

After the fall of the Third Reich the castle became a double symbol of German aggression — the one from before 1918 and the one from the time of the Second World War. A considerable determination of the Nazis to turn the castle into a residence of Hitler only strengthens this image. That is why in the course of battles for the city it was decided that the castle would be pulled down, this decision was canceled by the central authorities in Warsaw. Simultaneously various conceptions were created for the castle to stop dominating over the center of the city<sup>92</sup>. Finally, it was decided that the main tower, slightly destroyed in the course of war, would be shortened. Due to significant war damage in the city, the castle up to 1962 performed the role of the town hall, sometimes being called “a new town hall”. So it remained a symbol of power in the city. For example, in June 1956 in front of this building fierce riots against the communistic government and bad situation of the country took place, which were bloodily suppressed by the central authorities (though here more important was the fact that next to the castle there

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<sup>88</sup> H. Grzeszczuk-Brendel, “Historia i przekształcenia Dzielnicy Zamkowej”. In *Odkryj Dzielnicę...*, p. 13.

<sup>89</sup> H. Schwendemann, “Franz Böhmer, pracownia. Projekt Urzędu Namiestnika Rzeszy w Poznaniu”. In *Zamek Cesarski...*, p. 186.

<sup>90</sup> H. Schwendemann, “Rezydencja...”, p. 179.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> J. Pazder, “Zamek jako ‘Nowy Ratusz’ i ośrodek kultury”. In *Zamek Cesarski...*, pp. 215–216.

was the seat of the Provincial Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party). Earlier, in 1950, on the side facade of the building a plaque was placed commemorating 9 men killed next to the castle during labor protests in 1920. The plaque referred to the matter of Polish foreign politics with respect to the Soviet Union, against which, allegedly, the protests were organized<sup>93</sup>.

The abandonment of the castle by the officials in the 1960s was motivated in two ways. Most importantly they wanted to free this space for a cultural institution. Moreover, it was pinpointed that it was inappropriate for the local government to welcome foreign guests of a Polish city in a building with the German past<sup>94</sup>. It is interesting that after handing the building over for the cultural purposes and naming it "the Palace of Culture", works started with the aim of adjusting the building to its new function and making the interior more Polish-like. A new cinema-theatre room was created in the place of a former throne chamber, and some plaques with reliefs depicting various historic moments connected with Poznań and Greater Poland were placed in the castle. The plaques performed a double function — on the one hand, they gave the castle a Polish character, on the other — they legitimized socialist power. Among eight plaques depicting historic moments connected with Poznań that took place in the early centuries of Polish state, as many as four are connected with Germany, three of them — negatively. The first plaque shows a battle of Poles with Germans from 972, the third one — meeting of the Polish ruler with the already mentioned emperor Otto III (this is an event perceived as a positive one), the fourth — a battle with Germany in the first half of the 11th century, the fifth — German invasion from the 12th century. The plaques show the early beginnings of the Polish nation as the times of continual fights with a dangerous neighbor from the West. In the case of plaques depicting later centuries, Polish-German relationships are rarely shown (on two out of ten plaques devoted to the events from the 14th until the 18th century). The plaques concerning the 19th century are almost fully devoted to the resistance towards the German invader.

In the 1960s there were plans to decrease the rank of the Imperial District by creating in its neighborhood a new modernist district with tall buildings<sup>95</sup>. These ideas were only partly realized through building a few skyscrapers in the course of Święty Marcin street which was not very near Imperial District.

Janusz Pazder<sup>96</sup> claims that the critical moment for the perception of the castle were the 1970s. It was then that the building began to be perceived as a unique evidence of the architectural fashion of the beginning of the century. The crowning achievement was putting the castle on the register of monuments which made

<sup>93</sup> Z. Wojtkowiak, *Napisy pamiątkowe Miasta Poznania*, Poznań 2004, pp. 74–75.

<sup>94</sup> J. Pazder, op. cit., p. 216.

<sup>95</sup> P. Marciniak, *Doświadczenia modernizmu. Architektura i urbanistyka Poznania w czasach PRL-u*, Poznań 2010, pp. 156–158.

<sup>96</sup> J. Pazder, op. cit., p. 17.

it legally protected, on the 6th of March 1979. Six years later the whole Imperial District was put on the register.

It has to be mentioned that other elements of the Imperial District also changed their forms. The most important changes concern the shortening of the towers of Ziemstwo Kredytowe and former Head Office of Post, the liquidation of towers of the former City Theater, the change of surroundings of the former Royal Academy. In the 1960s next to Collegium Minus a modernistic building of the House of a Technician NOT was built, which in the 1980s was lifted to four floors. In the course of rebuilding the Kaponiera Roundabout junction at the turn of the 1970s, the area surrounding Adam Mickiewicz University Assembly Hall was changed, as well as the fence separating the building from the Święty Marcin street side.

It has to be highlighted that the urban sprawl of Poznań was being rebuilt after the post-war destruction. It was conducted almost completely in the spirit of the so-called Polish school of conservatory, which mainly aimed at recreation of the past in historic areas. In practice it very often accepted far-reaching architectural and urban creations, as long as it took a historicist character<sup>97</sup>. Simultaneously, it went along with, obligatory at that time, socialist realism, maybe even being under its influence. That is why the rebuilding processes in Poznań after the destruction of the Second World War were based mainly on Polish national forms and recreating historic districts from before the 19th century traces<sup>98</sup>. Poznań was here not an exception when compared with other cities<sup>99</sup>. These general trends in Poznań resulted in a very definite action that was to abandon recreating the 19th century forms of buildings, even if it was connected with the need to create a far-reaching artistic vision of how a given place looked like in the distant past. Some objects were recreated in a very simplistic form (like for example the first seat of Kredytowe Ziemstwo from the first half of the 19th century). The destroyed buildings connected in a direct way with German occupation over the city were not rebuilt and the existing ones were pulled down (like for example buildings of the Winiary Citadel) or modified in such a way so as to strip them of an important place in the landscape of the city. Simultaneously, by lowering the rebuilt part of the center of the city when compared to the prewar times, important buildings that had been created before the partitions, such as churches or the Town Hall were given significance. The most visible example of such an action is abandoning the idea of rebuilding the German New Town Hall and restitution in its place of the building of the City Scales.

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<sup>97</sup> P. Majewski, *Ideologia i konserwacja. Architektura zabytkowa w Polsce w czasach socrealizmu*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 273–285.

<sup>98</sup> P. Marciniak, op. cit., pp. 49–56.

<sup>99</sup> P. Majewski, op. cit.

When it comes to the social reception of carriers of memory in Poznań it is worth citing the outcome of a sociological memoir contest of 1964. In response to the question about the symbol of the city 23 objects and institutions were mentioned, out of which only Collegium Minus, the Great Theater and the Castle can be perceived as carriers of memory unambiguously connected with memory about non-Polish citizens. It is less obvious in the case of objects and institutions such as: the zoo, the international fair and, being part of it, the Górnosłaska Tower<sup>100</sup>. The latter was certainly a symbol of the German East-German Fair of 1911. However, it was severely damaged during the war and rebuilt in a completely different form, also giving it a new name that was widely known at the time when the research was carried out<sup>101</sup>. Collegium Minus in the interpretation of the outcomes of the research is connected directly with Adam Mickiewicz University which is seated in the same building. The Imperial Castle, on the other hand, is perceived in various ways, yet only one person from the examined group (belonging to “the generation of the time of partitions”) referred to it in a purely negative way<sup>102</sup>. Taking into consideration the education of respondents, together with its lower levels there were more votes for historic symbols, however, among the people with basic education level nobody voted for the Imperial Castle<sup>103</sup>.

### The attitude towards carriers of memory since 1989

The 1990s are the years of intense conservatory works that also aimed at increasing convenience when using the building of the Imperial District<sup>104</sup>. It is the beginning of the 21st century that grabs attention as it was the time when works started aiming at cleaning the elevations of buildings, which — due to atmospheric pollution — over the past years had become almost black. The main aim of the works was to restore the past look of the elevations and improve the aesthetics of buildings. This fact can be a proof of a change in the way of perceiving carriers of memory about the German occupation of the city. They ceased to be perceived in a utilitarian way only, as buildings providing space for important institutions, and their look and aesthetic values were noticed. In the research carried out by the author of this paper, in which for example the method of in-depth interview was used with people who work and administrate in post-German buildings in the center of Poznań, the restoration of these buildings was evaluated by the pe-

<sup>100</sup> J. Ziółkowski, “Czym jest dla ciebie miasto Poznań? Analiza socjologiczna konkursu 1964 roku”. In F. Znaniecki, J. Ziółkowski, *Czym jest dla ciebie miasto Poznań? Dwa konkursy: 1928/1964*, Warszawa and Poznań 1984, pp. 177–361.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 205.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., pp. 206–207.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., pp. 206–209.

<sup>104</sup> J. Pazder, op. cit., p. 218.

ople in a definitely positive way (even if, at first, it raised distrust)<sup>105</sup>. It has to be added that the restoration covers not only the buildings that were once built on the German authorities initiative. For example, in 2013 a complete restoration of the building of the first Ziemstwo Kredytowe was finished (closed due to its too Polish character) which partly brought back its look from the first half of the 19th century.

In 2005 the Imperial Castle was made an attraction of a tourist route called the Royal-Imperial Trail. The local authorities decided to use the nationally confused history of the city as a tourist bait, which did not raise public opposition. Putting on the list the most attractive buildings of the past symbol of German predominance over the city was treated as an obvious fact. In 2010 there was a solemn 100th anniversary of the castle. The poster promoting the event in a funny way referred to the past form of the main tower of the castle. For many years in media or in scientific publications there have appeared voices to rebuild it in its original form. The tower is still an inspiration for native architects — not so long ago another modernistic project of its rebuild has been presented<sup>106</sup>.

On the other hand, the building is still treated as symbolically very important. In 1992 a plaque commemorating the protests from 1920 was changed, and the new one cites as the reason for those protests the deterioration of the living conditions of workers from Poznań, not the relationships between Poland and the Soviet Union. In 1999, on the premises of the castle garden a monument was unveiled commemorating the Katyń massacre, though its location in this place raised some resistance (most of the monuments connected with Polish martyrdom in Poznań are located on the Winiary Citadel). In October 2007 in the castle a museum of the protests of 1956 was created. All these actions prove that the castle and its surroundings are treated as a space very symbolic in its meaning. Judging by the mentioned examples of the Katyń monument and the museum of the protests against the socialist government one could think that the symbolism of the place ceased to be concentrated on the Polish-German relationships. Nonetheless, this motif is still present. In November 2007, opposite the main entrance (created in the course of rebuilding by the Nazis) a monument of three mathematicians from Poznań who broke the Enigma — a German military code from the time of the Second World War — was unveiled. These mathematicians studied in the castle in the interwar times, when it performed inter alia the function of one of the university buildings. It would be hard to deny that placing the monument of people who contributed to the victory of the Allies, influences the way the castle is perceived. Once again it becomes a symbol of German aggression that has to be “enclosed” with Polish symbolism.

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<sup>105</sup> Ł. Skoczylas, *Pamięć społeczna miasta — jej liderzy i odbiorcy*, Warszawa 2014.

<sup>106</sup> J. Głaz, “Propaganda wysokiej klasy, czyli spore spory o ‘nowoczesność’”. *Metropolia* 2007, no. 11, pp. 32–34.



Between 2010 and 2012 part of the castle was rebuilt, together with the Great Chamber which is situated in the place of a former throne chamber. The former look of this place came from 1960s and was adapted to the needs of the center of culture — there were displays, projections of films, theater performances and so on. In the course of further reconstruction, financed partly by the European Union, the west wing of the castle was completely refurbished, a new space for a small conference room was created, and a skylight was installed in the place where the courtyard was originally situated. Between the hall and one of the rooms, on the first floor a cafeteria is situated to which leads an impressive curved set of stairs. The entire part of the building is called “a new castle” — a plaque with such information has been placed on the door leading to the “old” castle, in which offices are located. At the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century, around Collegium Minus new fences with gates were installed, stylized as the ones from the beginning of the previous century. On the premises of the Imperial District two new buildings were erected, developing the Music Academy (with its main seat in the former Evangelic House). Between 1995 and 1997 a post-modernist didactic building was created, closely resembling the architecture of the old building and situated right next to it, and in 2006 Aula Nova was finished, highly distinguishable in the historic area with its glass facade. Due to the lack of space, at the beginning of the 21st century it was considered to add another wing to the theater building, however, these plans have not been realized. In 2009 at the back of Collegium Maius a new building of the library of the Faculty of Polish and Classic Philology of Adam Mickiewicz University was put into use, referring to its neighbor, a modernistic edifice of the Voivoidship Office. The building of the library gained very positive feedback and was awarded with two prestigious prizes — an award by the Association of Polish Architects (SARP) for the best architectural object erected with the use of public means in 2009, and an award of Giovanni Battista di Quadro for the best architectural realization in the city of Poznań in 2009. In the justification of the SARP award we may read that the architects were honoured for “an excellent inscribing the library into the already existing urban context”<sup>107</sup>. The participants of the research carried out by the author of this paper<sup>108</sup> positively evaluated this realization as it is, in fact, invisible for tourists and people pacing the main communication routes in the city.

It is worth adding that the Imperial District becomes the area of numerous arguments connected with strictly Polish carriers of memory — especially monuments. The conflict over the Katyń monument has already been mentioned but various similar controversies accompany the monument of the Victims of June 1956 between Collegium Minus and the Imperial Castle and the monument of the Holiest Saviour next to Collegium Maius. The other one arises controversy

<sup>107</sup> *Nagrody Roku wręczone!*, website of the Association of Polish Architects [access: 28.02.2015].

<sup>108</sup> Ł. Skoczylas, op. cit., pp. 193–201.



concerning its size — it is commonly thought to be too big<sup>109</sup> — and its form. The first one was created at the beginning of the 1980s, not only in opposition to the authorities who wanted to place it in a different spot, but also contrary to the outcome of the architectural contest<sup>110</sup>. In the following years it was an object of a fierce debate over the memory of June 1956 in Poznań, which ended in 2006 when, the addition was made to the inscription placed in front of the monument: “For freedom, law and bread”, reading: “To God”. In 2007 part of the veteran circles objected to beginning the annual March of Equality in this place<sup>111</sup>. It is clearly visible that the content of Polish social memory connected with this place is still a matter of disagreement. They concentrate on the issue of who has the right to identify with the past of this place (all Poles/citizens of Poznań or only the people of certain faith, having particular political views etc.).

Let us discuss the social perception of carriers of multicultural past of Poznań. In the course of research carried out in the 1990s, the citizens of Poznań mentioned 33 institutions and objects that they perceived as worth being shown to tourists<sup>112</sup>. Among the buildings discussed in this article the Imperial Castle was mentioned (in 20th place) and the Collegium Minus with Adam Mickiewicz University Assembly Hall. Similarly to the research from the 1960s there were a few answers on the list which, in the context of our deliberations, would be hard to give a specific interpretation (the zoo, the city center, theaters etc.). Other investigations indicated that among the main symbols of the city the citizens of Poznań list the Imperial Castle, Adam Mickiewicz University (with the seat in Collegium Minus), the Great Theater, and the National Museum (again hard to interpret — a Polish national institution with its seat in a post-German building)<sup>113</sup>. In the research of the author of this article<sup>114</sup> an ambivalent way of judging the post-German carriers of memory was clearly seen. Among the people both engaged in the processes connected with commemoration and among “ordinary” citizens the monuments discussed here were interpreted in a positive and negative way. In the first case, they were perceived as symbols of German predominance over the city, and in the other — mainly as a symbol of Polish victory over the intentions of an invader or occupant. Also visible was the sense of separateness of the history of Poznań, in this sense some carriers of memory deserve attention as historic proof

<sup>109</sup> J. Figuła-Czech, “Między ideą a realizacją. Poznańskie pomniki po 1989 roku”. *Kronika Miasta Poznania* 2001, no. 2, pp. 226–237.

<sup>110</sup> F. Czekała, *Krzyże, wielka flaga i 200 tysięcy osób. Historia Pomnika Ofiar Czerwca 1956*, website of TVN24 [access: 28.02.2015].

<sup>111</sup> K. Podemski, “Społeczna funkcja Dzielnicy Zamkowej”. In *Odkryj Dzielnice...*, pp. 109–118.

<sup>112</sup> R. Cichocki, “Związek mieszkańców Poznania z miastem”. In *Życie w Poznaniu 1997. Poznaniacy o swoim mieście*, ed. R. Cichocki, K. Podemski, Poznań 1998, p. 183.

<sup>113</sup> R. Cichocki, K. Podemski, *Miasto w świadomości swoich mieszkańców*, Poznań 1999, pp. 63–68.

<sup>114</sup> Ł. Skoczylas, op. cit., pp. 92–260.

of what happened in the past. It is worth mentioning that there has not appeared a single opinion according to which any of the carriers of memory of the times of annexation and occupation should be pulled down. There were considerable differences over the matter of restoring the original look of the post-German objects (mainly it is the issue of rebuilding the top of the tower in the Imperial Castle). There have appeared some voices for the recreation of some objects connected with the city's distant past. Apart from numerous opinions about recreating the objects from before the times of partitions, there have also appeared voices for the recreation of some fortifications of the Citadel or the Górnosłaska Tower (supposedly in its original form). The situation is especially interesting when it comes to the recreation of the synagogues of Poznań. At present there exists only one, the already described New Synagogue. During the Second World War the building was stripped of the majority of its architectural details and turned into a swimming-pool. Right now it has come back to the Jewish community, however, it is in a very bad condition and recreating its original state and function would involve an expensive restoration process. Simultaneously, as a temple, it is too big for the contemporary needs of the Jewish community. A project of erecting a hotel in this place (and in this way financing the renovation of the synagogue and creating a cultural center there) also met with criticism<sup>115</sup>. In the research of the author of this article<sup>116</sup> there has appeared an idea of rebuilding older synagogues of Poznań, situated in the past in close neighborhood of the ruined building of the New Synagogue. The respondents would prefer carriers of memory about the Jewish citizens of the city which would refer to the more distant past of Poznań from before the times of partitions and German reign over the city.

In the second decade of the 21st century the situation of the carriers of memory of the multicultural past of the city of Poznań is still ambiguous. On the one hand, some of them have been restored and their past look has been brought back. On the other hand, for many citizens they still are symbols of the German aggression.

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<sup>115</sup> J.F. Libicki, *Hotel w synagodze? To już lepiej ją zburzyć*, website of Wyborcza.pl Poznań [access: 28.02.2015].

<sup>116</sup> Ł. Skoczylas, op. cit., pp. 112–113.

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## Carriers of social memory about the multicultural past of Poznań in the urban space

### Summary

The article discusses only those carriers which still exist and have the form of a building. The text is devoted to the objects which have been created since the second partition of Poland. This time restriction is necessary not only due to the volume limitation of this article but also bearing on the merits of the matter — it is the objects created after this date that are most often considered as connected with the multicultural past of the city by the present citizens of Poznań.