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perspectives on culture

Czasopismo naukowe
Instytutu Kulturoznawstwa
Akademii Ignatianum w Krakowie

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Spis treści / Table of contents

Varia

In memoria

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Od redakcji

Biblia stanowi, obok dorobku antyku, jeden z najważniejszych fundamentów kultury europejskiej oraz ma istotny wpływ na ludzi, którzy się z nią zetknęli. Jest świętą księgą dla chrześcijan i wyznawców judaizmu, będąc przy tym także źródłem uniwersalnych motywów, z którego czerpią różne dziedziny naszego życia. Ponadto motywy biblijne od wieków są inspiracją dla twórców, a sama Biblia – podążając za słowami Profesor Anny Świderkówny – „weszła tak głęboko w naszą sztukę, w naszą literaturę, w naszą mentalność, w nasz sposób mówienia, że choćbyśmy próbowali, nie jesteśmy w stanie wyprzeć się jej dziedzictwa". W kontekście tego, o czym powyżej wspomniano, i kulturoznawczego charakteru czasopisma jako temat przewodni w bieżącym numerze została wybrana rola Biblii w kulturze. Spojrzenie na to zagadnienie zostało podjęte z perspektywy badaczy zarówno krajowych, jak i zagranicznych (ukraińskich).

Cykl tekstów o znaczeniu i roli Biblii w kulturze rozpoczyna artykuł Oleny Olshanskiej (Poltava National Technical Yuriy Kondratyuk University) o biblijnych aspektach pojawiających się w ukraińskiej literaturze ekonomicznej. Autorka w ciekawy sposób przedstawia aktualne badania nad motywami biblijnymi we współczesnej (XX i XXI w.) literaturze ukraińskiej, dokonując refleksji nad teorią ekonomiczną w kontekście chrześcijańskiej etyki. Kolejnym ukraińskim głosem w dyskusji nad rolą Biblii w kulturze jest artykuł Iryny Taraby (Zhytomyr State University of Ivan Franko), w którym autorka omawia cechy konceptualizacji cielesności w dziełach dramatycznych ukraińskich autorów Aleksandra Czyrkowa i Jarosława Wereszczaka. W przywołanych w artykule dramatach konceptualizacja cielesnego kodu kultury odwołuje się do wielu motywów biblijnych. Biblia to także obszar działania malarzy. Ten aspekt przedstawił śp. ojciec Krzysztof Wałczyk SJ (Akademia Ignatianum w Krakowie), który w swoim opracowaniu odniósł się do twórczości Nikifora Krynickiego. Autoportrety artysty z Krynicy, według autora artykułu, są przejawem szczególnej samoświadomości malarza utożsamiającego twórczość artystyczną ze sprawowaniem liturgii, czyli z uobecnianiem dziejów Chrystusa. Część poświęconą Biblii w kulturze zamyka artykuł Marka Skrukwy (Akademia Ignatianum w Krakowie) dotyczący inspiracji muzycznych w twórczości Krzysztofa Pendereckiego. Ten uznany polski kompozytor, podejmując w swojej twórczości tematy biblijne, realizował ideę powrotu sztuki do korzeni chrześcijańskich*.

W drugiej części bieżącego numeru zostały opublikowane teksty o różnej tematyce. Wioleta J. Karna (Uniwersytet Jagielloński) oraz Agnieszka Knap-Stefaniuk (Akademia Ignatianum w Krakowie) podjęły się identyfikacji wyzwań w zarządzaniu zespołami wielokulturowymi, co jest szczególnie ważne we współczesnym zarządzaniu zasobami ludzkimi. Następnie ks. Tomasz Homa SJ (Akademia Ignatianum w Krakowie) w swoim studium dokonał interpretacji ludzkiej emocjonalności w jej uczuciowej formie wyrazu w postaci przeżyć radości i smutku. Jego analiza opiera się na założeniach zaproponowanych przez Ignacego Loyolę. Z kolei ciekawa propozycja interpretacji dylematów etycznych pokolenia późnych roczników dwudziestych XX w., zwanych młodszymi braćmi pokolenia Kolumbów, została podjęta przez Dorotę Heck (Uniwersytet Wrocławski). Swoje rozważania autorka oparła na elementach twórczości prozaika i krytyka literackiego Zbigniewa Kubikowskiego. Marcin Laberschek (Uniwersytet Jagielloński) w swoim tekście zbadał metodą „tajemniczego turysty" jakość obsługi klienta na małopolskich szlakach kulturowych. Pomimo prężnie rozwijającej się infrastruktury szlaków kulturowych dalej pozostają sfery w obsłudze klienta, które należy usprawnić. Ciekawy tekst zaproponował Rafał Hryszko (Uniwersytet Jagielloński). Nawiązał on w swoim artykule do wypraw wojennych króla Aragonii Alfonsa V Wspaniałomyślnego, które wpłynęły na zmianę zwyczajów żywieniowych w Italii w pierwszej połowie XV w. Pojawienie się obcego panowania w południowej części Italii pociągnęło za sobą transfer katalońskiej kultury, języka i obyczajów, a także nawyków kulinarnych. Rozwój technologiczny spowodował, że kultywowanie zwyczajów tradycji ludowej, również tej świątecznej, jest coraz trudniejsze. Temat ten przedstawił w swoim tekście Piotr Krzysztoforski (Akademia Ignatianum w Krakowie), który udowadnia, że pomimo istnienia problemu odchodzenia od tradycji ludowej powstają również nowe inicjatywy, jak Ekstremalna Droga Krzyżowa, skłaniające do

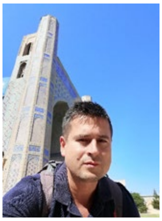
* W momencie oczekiwania na druk niniejszego numeru kwartalnika, opóźnionego w konsekwencji epidemii COVID-19, dotarła do naszej redakcji wiadomość o śmierci Krzysztofa Pendereckiego (29.03.2020).

powrotu do, wydawać by się mogło, zapomnianych obrzędów. Dział Varia zamyka artykuł Agnieszki Fludy-Krokos (Uniwersytet Pedagogiczny w Krakowie), która podjęła się – w ciekawym studium – analizy kierunków rozwoju cyfryzacji bezcennych rękopisów i innych dokumentów będących świadectwem minionych czasów. Cyfryzacja tych zasobów przyczyniła się z pewnością do zniesienia wielu barier w dostępie do osiągnięć kultury pisma i druku.

Numer kończy tekst o. Józefa Polaka SJ, w którym wspomina on zmarłego w marcu 2018 r. wieloletniego pracownika Akademii Ignatianum w Krakowie, o. dr. Krzysztofa Wałczyka SJ. Piękna homilia pogrzebowa, którą niemal w całości publikujemy w bieżącym numerze, pozostawia nam pamięć po ojcu Krzysztofie, który był ważną częścią naszej akademickiej wspólnoty.

Bieżący numer jest również pierwszym numerem, który przyszło prowadzić w charakterze redaktora naczelnego piszącemu te słowa. Jest to niewątpliwie duża odpowiedzialność, aby rozwijać dzieło zapoczątkowane przez moich poprzedników, którym w tym miejscu chciałbym podziękować za wkład i ich poświęcenie w rozwój naszego instytutowego czasopisma. Bez ich zaangażowania nie bylibyśmy w tym miejscu, w którym teraz jesteśmy. Bez wątpienia przed nami kolejne wyzwania.

Życzymy przyjemnej i pożytecznej lektury!



Łukasz Burkiewicz – kulturoznawca, historyk i ekonomista kultury. Adiunkt w Instytucie Kulturoznawstwa Akademii Ignatianum w Krakowie. Jego zainteresowania naukowe są związane z dziejami kultury państw basenu Morza Śródziemnego w średniowieczu i epoce nowożytnej. Zajmuje się również podróżami średniowiecznymi. W kręgu jego badań znajdują się ponadto kwestie związane z zarządzaniem, marketingiem i ekonomiką kultury.

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From the Editors

The Bible is, next to the achievements of antiquity, one of the most important foundations of European culture and has had a significant impact on people who encountered it. It is the holy book for Christians and for Jews, while also being a source of universal themes, inspiring various areas of our lives. For centuries, biblical themes are the inspiration for artists, and the Bible itself, following the words of Professor Anna Świderkówna, "has entered so deeply into our art, our literature, our mentality, our vocabulary that we cannot deny this heritage even if we tried." In this context, as mentioned above, and the nature of this cultural studies journal, the theme in the current issue is the role the Bible has played in culture. A look at this issue has been taken from the perspective of Polish and foreign (Ukrainian) researchers.

The series of texts about the importance and role of the Bible in culture opens with the article by Olena Olshanska (Poltava National Technical Yuriy Kondratyuk University) on the biblical aspects emerging in the Ukrainian economic literature. The author presents current research on biblical motifs in contemporary (20th and 21st century) Ukrainian literature in an interesting way, reflecting on economic theory in the context of Christian ethics. Another Ukrainian voice in the discussion on the role of the Bible in culture is the article by Iryna Taraba (Zhytomyr State University of Ivan Franko), in which the author discusses the features of the conceptualization of corporeality in the dramatic works of Ukrainian authors, Alexander Chyrkov and Jaroslav Vereshchak. In the dramas referred to in the article, the conceptualization of the bodily code of culture refers to many biblical motifs. The Bible is also an area of inspiration for painters. This aspect is presented by the late Fr. Krzysztof Wałczyk, S.J., (Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow), who in referred to the work of Nikifor Krynicki. Self-portraits of the Krynica painter, according to the author of the article, are a manifestation of his special self-awareness identifying his artistic work with the celebration of the liturgy, i.e. with making the history of Christ present. The part devoted to the Bible in culture closes with an article by Marek Skrukwa (Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow) on the musical inspirations in Krzysztof Penderecki's work. This renowned composer, taking up biblical themes in his work, embodied the idea of returning to the roots of Christian art.*

In the second part of the issue, a number of various texts have been published. Wioleta J. Karna (Jagiellonian University) and Agnieszka Knap-Stefaniuk (Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow) undertook to identify challenges in managing Multicultural teams, which is especially important in today's human resource management. Father Tomasz Homa, S.J. (Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow) in his study interpreted human emotionality in its emotional expression in the form of joy and sadness. His analysis is based on the assumptions proposed by Ignatius Loyola. An interesting proposal how to interpret the ethical dilemmas of the late 1920s generation, known as the younger brothers of the WWII generation, was taken up by Dorota Heck (University of Wroclaw). The author based her deliberations on work of the prose writer and literary critic Zbigniew Kubikowski. Marcin Laberschek (Jagiellonian University) in his text explored the quality of customer service on Małopolska's cultural trails using the "mysterious customer" method. Despite the rapidly growing infrastructure of cultural trails, the realm of customer service still should be improved. An interesting text is proposed by Rafał Hryszko (Jagiellonian University). In his article, he referred to the war expeditions of the King of Aragon, Alfonso V, that changed the eating habits in Italy in the first half of the 15th century. The emergence of foreign rule in the southern part of Italy entailed a transfer of Catalan culture, language and customs as well as culinary habits. Technological development meant that cultivating the tradition of folk customs, including celebrating holidays, is becoming increasingly difficult. This problem is presented by Piotr Krzysztoforski (Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow), who proves that despite the problem of departing from folk traditions, new initiatives, such as the Extreme Way of the Cross, are also being created, which encourage returning to seemingly forgotten rituals. Varia section closes with an article by Agnieszka Fluda-Krokos (Pedagogical University of Krakow), who has undertaken – in an interesting study – an analysis of the directions

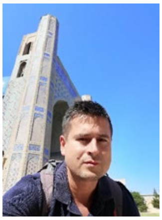
* As this issue of our quarterly was waiting to be printed, which was delayed as a consequence of the COVID-19 epidemic, our editorial team received the news of Krzysztof Penderecki's death on 29.03.2020.

of development of the digitization of priceless manuscripts and other testimonies of past times. Digitization of these resources has certainly contributed to the removal of many barriers to accessing the achievements of writing and printing culture.

The issue closes with the text of Fr. Józef Polak SJ, in which he recalls the long-time employee of the Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow, Fr. Krzysztof Wałczyk, S.J., who died in March 2018. A beautiful funeral homily, which we publish almost entirely in the current issue, leaves us with the memory of Father Krzysztof, who was an important member of our academic community.

The current issue is also the first one for me as an editor-in-chief writing these words. This is undoubtedly a big challenge and responsibility to continue the work started by my predecessors, whom I would like to thank for their dedication and contribution to the development of our institute magazine. Without your commitment we would not be where we are now. Undoubtedly, new challenges are before us.

As always, we wish you a pleasant and useful scientific reading!



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Biblical Aspects of Economic Literature

ABSTRACT

The biblical aspects in Ukrainian economic literature of the 20th and 21st century and its preconditions in European economic literature have been examined. The economic theory has been rethought in the context of Christian economic ethics. The 21st century is, in a way, a result of spirituality of the previous generations, and most of all Christian spirituality. A number of socio-economic researches (such as labor processes, the study of wealth and poverty features) have shown that within the existing paradigm of science it is almost impossible to explain their nature and patterns of operation. The development of Christian economic ethics may be just the impetus not only for fairly significant change in economic thinking, but also for the further development of public opinion in general.

KEY WORDS: economic literature, theory, Christianity, aspects, Bible

STRESZCZENIE

Biblijne aspekty literatury ekonomicznej

W artykule przedstawiono aspekty biblijne literatury ekonomicznej XX i XXI w. na Ukrainie i ich uwarunkowania w ekonomicznej literaturze europejskiej. Teoria ekonomiczna została poddana refleksji w kontekście chrześcijańskiej etyki ekonomicznej. Wiek XXI jest w pewnym sensie produktem duchowości poprzednich pokoleń,

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a przede wszystkim duchowości chrześcijańskiej. Wiele badań społeczno-ekonomicznych (takich jak procesy pracy, badania bogactwa i biedy) wykazało, że w ramach istniejącego paradygmatu nauki jest prawie niemożliwe, aby wyjaśnić ich charakter i wzorce działania. Rozwój chrześcijańskiej etyki gospodarczej może się stać impulsem nie tylko dla dość istotnych zmian w myśleniu ekonomicznym, ale także dla dalszego rozwoju opinii publicznej w ogóle.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: literatura ekonomiczna, teoria, chrześcijaństwo, aspekty, Biblia

Spiritual life, in its deep internal essence has always interested thinkers with its relationships between the spiritual and the material and practical activities. In the modern circumstances, it is important to focus on issues insufficiently studied, that for a long time remained unnoticed by the unbiased theoretical analysis. We have to show the public not only the past, but the current reality, offer perspectives for development and ways to improve business in the socio-economic sphere, particularly economics. Humanity is summing up its gains and losses. Mass production has created an opportunity to think about the price of material things that we use and the problems that global economy creates, on top of its impact on the development of the human mind. Research on the motivation of economic practical activity forces scholars to turn towards the ethical aspect of economic theory.

The religious aspect of economic theory stems from the teachings of the Christian traditions which have long been neglected by the structural development of research in our country while the Western opinion, especially in the works of Max Weber, it is known, directly linked not only social human economic activity but the very origin of the "spirit of capitalism" with the economic factors of Christian ethics. A. Smith (1723-1790) saw the economic sphere of society from a position of ethical and economic synthesis and initiated the theoretical relationship of ethics with economic theory. In the twentieth century, in connection with the definition of economics as a sphere of social life, economic theory was greatly enriched in particular due to the paradoxical views, including material production processes that were expressed by the French philosopher Georges Bataille (1897-1962) – author of novels, poet, essayist, economist, and mystic. Unlike Samuelson, he considered the world of material things not as a limited production process, but rather as "the economy of loss," "the economy of gift," or "anti-economy." His book, *The Accursed Share: An Essay on*

General Economy (1949), calls itself in the preface "a work in the political economy." In this work, the author turns to economic issues from the perspective of consumption, waste, offering, gift, etc., not from the standpoint of production. At the same time, Western thought, particularly in the writings of Max Weber, directly linked not only the human social economic activity, but also the emergence of the very "spirit of capitalism" with the factor of economic Christian ethics, in particular in the confessional version of Protestantism. The works of prominent Ukrainian scholars, including Catholic theologians (both Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic), theorists from the Ukrainian diaspora, also developed questions related to the interaction of Christian economic ethics and economics, especially after 1891, when the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* by Pope Leo XIII was announced.

At the end of the twentieth century, there was a rise of research on the Christian theological ideas, which in any way interpret the relationship between ethics and economic theory and practice of economic phenomena (including the development of by Georges Bataille, Amartya Sen, Peter Kozlowski, I.I. Agapova, V.Y. Yokhin etc.). It should be emphasized that the socio-philosophical thought of all Christian history, and especially of the late 19th early 20th centuries until this day, has linked a person's ability to exercise his or her religious beliefs with socio-economic activity. We should also note the importance of considering the general aspects of the connection between ethics with economic processes in *On Ethics and Economics*, the work of the prominent modern economist Amartya Sen (born in India in 1933), professor of economics and philosophy at Harvard University, and professor of economics at Trinity College, Cambridge (England), winner of the 1998 Nobel Prize in Economics. This renowned scientist dealt primarily with the problems of poverty and wealth. It was Amartya Sen who proposed to evaluate and measure the quality of living and the level of economy not by quantitative indicators (GDP per capita) but by another system that provides for measuring such a concept as the Human Development Index, which takes into account not only quantitative indicators of per capita wealth, but also qualitative metrics, such as: infant mortality, health, education, social stability index and so on. The researcher advocates the involvement of ethical prerequisites in the development of modern economic theory.

Nowadays, the theory of synergy is relevant, that is, interpenetration and interdependence of various sciences, such as theology and economics. In particular, Sergei Cherniavsky in the article *Кризу передбачено в Біблії* [The Crisis was foreseen in the Bible] writes:

> All the answers to crises and their nature can be found in the Bible; where they are called grief. The Scripture provides an insightful economic analysis. Crisis is the result of social and economic diseases in society. The main disease is the violation of ethical standards of energy use and distribution in society. This critical illness should be treated with repentance and correction of mistakes (sins) in public relations. It is impossible to cure society with a new falsity. We need radical reform. Radical reforms can only be carried out in a society consolidated in peace and harmony, through social justice. To consolidate the society, we should change the constitutional rules of government formation, the electoral system, the management model nomenclature, we should cancel all the privileges and double standards that divide society. The economic model should be socialized, directing it towards human needs.

Also, The Holy Bible indicates a way out of crisis. In particular Kisters'kyj, in his article *U poshukax vyxodu z kryzy: Bibliya ochyma ekonomista* [Looking for a way out of crisis: the Bible in the eyes of an economist][1] analyzes the anti-crisis concepts of Nobel laureates Krugman and Keynes on top of leading Ukrainian economists, considering the feasibility of using their solutions in Ukraine to overcome the current crisis. It is shown that the conduct of state regulatory measures to overcome the crisis is in harmony with the economic postulates of the Bible, which are relevant for any time. In this regard, we note that the fundamental principles of economic relations in the society described in the Bible, although they still have not been analyzed or inscribed into a clear system of economic knowledge. The Bible offers a wide range of economic principles and recommendations for successful and harmonious development of society. Many of its chapters contain direct economic teachings, which are highly relevant to any time and level of technological development. The religious aspect of economic theory and social motivation, namely Christian economics and economic ethics, have long been neglected by the constructive developments of our country's thinkers. During the years of Soviet rule, the concept of religious consciousness was formed, which either led (according to Soviet scholars) to social passivity, or was outside the sphere of social, and in particular, economic activity. A significant number of outstanding theological studies related to this issue were either published during the pre-Soviet period and became a rarity or were not translated into Ukrainian (or Russian), which made it difficult to study them.

The renowned explorer of Ukrainian economic thought, S. Zlupko, examines the works of M. Rudenko, *Ekonomichni monolohy, Ne zahlyadayuchy*

1 S. Chernyavskyj, *Kryzu peredbacheno v Bibliyi*, "Ekonomichna Pravda" 2009, 15 January, http://www.epravda.com.ua/columns/2009/01/15/177653/ (access: 06.06.2016).

u svyatci [Economic monologues. Not looking in the calendar] and writes: "M. Rudenko defends the energy theory by S. A. Podolynskyj, consistent with the views of F. Quesnay, not Marx."[2] M. Rudenko wrote: "The energy of progress is created by freedom. Freedom of trade, freedom of movement, freedom to invest where they are most needed."[3] Also S. Zlupko said, that the work of A. Sheptytskyj, *O Kvestiyi social'nij* [On the social question] can be interpreted meaningfully as a Ukrainian parallel to *Rerum novarum* of Pope Leo XIII, and the fact that the life and work of the Metropolitan were a reflection of his views, the works of A. Sheptytskyj can be regarded as an intellectual biography of the author. His theoretical legacy of social orientation are the works *Cerkva i suspil'ne pytannya* [The Church and social issues] as well as *Cerkva i cerkovna yednist* [The Church and church unity]. The scarcity of studies in business ethics and Christianity can be also illustrated by the example of the collection *Social'na doktryna Cerkvy* [Social Doctrine of the Church] published by the Institute of Religion and Society at the L'viv Theological Academy. Thus, among the 14 articles in this collection, only 4 discuss some aspects of the economic and business issues:

1. social aspects in the teaching of the Fathers of the Church;
2. attitudes towards material means in Christian social teaching;
3. ideological interpretations of the term "economy;"
4. analysis comparing the attitudes and approaches of Bishop Andrey Sheptytskyj and Ivan Franko to social issues in the Christian sense.[4]

One should consider the monograph by M.I. Lapytskyj, *Pracya ta biznes u dzerkali relihij* [Work and business in the mirror of religions] (1998). The monograph addresses the general issues of attitudes to work, economic activity and business, in the world's religions, particularly in Christianity. M.I. Lapytskyj focuses on the concepts and ideas about labor and religious significance of work. Much attention is paid to the peculiarities of attitudes towards work and entrepreneurial activity in the world religions such as Buddhism, Confucianism, Judaism, and Islam. The monograph examines how Christianity is divided into three main currents: Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Protestantism. The analysis of Catholicism in this monograph is limited to the research of the *Rerum novarum* encyclical by Pope Leo XIII and the encyclicals on social issues by Pope John Paul II, leaving gaps in the study of economic problems on the interactions between

2 L.L. Kisters'kyj, *U poshukax vyxodu z kryzy: Bibliya ochyma ekonomista*, "Ekonomika Ukrayiny: naukovyj zhurnal" 2014, No. 1, pp. 21-32.

3 S.M. Zlupko, *Ekonomichna dumka Ukrayiny*, L'viv 2000, p. 411.

4 M. Rudenko, *Ekonomichni monolohy (Narysy katastrofichnoyi pomylky)*, "Suchasnist" 1978, p. 179.

Christian ethics and economics. Considering some confessional versions of Christian social ethics, the authors of the encyclopedia of social philosophy believe that "in accordance with Protestantism, public, secular, 'practical' morality is an antithesis of higher moral precepts of Christ. The ethics of Catholicism (neo-Thomism), in turn, consider the secular morality as imperfect embodiment of 'divine law.'" In our view, we can agree with M. Lapytskyj says that in Protestantism there is something contrary to the Catholic understanding of Christian morality: "In Protestantism, true faith is not so much regarded as the outward fulfillment of a man's religious precepts, but as the honest fulfillment of his duties." However, V.P. Andrushchenko and M.I. Horlach believe that "social motives are widely represented in Christian ethics ... Social ethics sanctions the unification of people for a common purpose, the realization of interests and needs." Considering the economy as a sphere of human social existence, we are confronted with different ideas about society as a system of social coexistence and life activity of people, but the present state of society in general and the economy in particular have been formed, in our opinion, a long time ago in the so-called "space of European culture" under the influence Christianity as one of the factors of economic development. Some authors (e.g., I.F. Nadolnyj, V.P. Andrushchenko, I.V. Boychenko, etc.) believe that

> one should highlight the following aspects of social life:
> A) material – covers the processes of material production, distribution, exchange, consumption, as well as productive forces and industrial relations, scientific and technological progress and technological revolution;
> B) social and political – including social and political relations in society – national, group, international, etc. It is this sector that covers such phenomena and processes as revolution, reform, evolution, or war. In this area there are social institutions such as political parties, the government, or social organizations;
> C) spiritual – a wide range of ideas, views, and representations, that is, the whole spectrum of the production of consciousness (both individual and public), its transformation from one instance to another (mass media), and transformation into the individual spiritual worlds;
> D) cultural and everyday life – covers the production of cultural values, their transfer from one generation to another, family life, domestic matters (organization of leisure, leisure), education, upbringing, etc.

Without denying the fruitfulness of this approach, I also propose a different methodological approach to synthesize the development of social philosophy in the realm of economic ethics, which covers all these aspects of life.

The development of P. Kostiuk's *Social'na doktryna Cerkvy: korotkyj narys* [The social doctrine of the Church: a short outline][5] in which encyclicals on social issues are analyzed as major sources, pays a lot of attention to other issues of Catholic social doctrine, namely: political, educational, etc., targeting social doctrine, leaving out the need for economic research. The same remarks apply to the work of Dr. Mykola Chyrovskyj, *Vvedennya do suspil'no-hospodars'koyi nauky Cerkvy* [Introduction to the socio-economic doctrine of the Church] (1994). M. Chyrovskyi is an American scientist of Ukrainian origin, specialist in economics and history, who emigrated with his family in the early twentieth century. He conducts scientific and teaching activities as a Doctor of Economic and Historical Sciences, a scientific secretary of the Scientific Society of V. H. Shevchenko. In this development, addressed primarily to students of humanities, Dr. M. Chyrovskyj aims to outline the general socio-economic doctrine of the Catholic Church. The importance of biblical provisions for the construction and development of a market economy in Ukraine was emphasized in Plotnikov's work, which states that "… the market foundations of the perception of the economy are laid in its spiritual sense, which goes back to the Bible in its entirety."

Let us try to summarize our considerations. L. Bevzenko examines the category of success in life. The religiousness of the Ukrainian society was investigated by N. Dudar, while T. Koval considers some aspects of the Christian attitudes towards work, wealth, etc. Some aspects of the concept of "treasure" are considered in historical studies of the outstanding Ukrainian scientist M.Y. Brajchevskyj. A highly complex problem of Ukrainian spiritual self-identification between the East and West was discussed in the dissertation by O.V. Nedavnya; the social functions of religious ritual, including the Eastern rite, which is common for Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches, was studied by V.A. Bodak. Mentality in general was an object of social and philosophical studies by A.H. Kravchenko; while the issues of overlap and differences between Western and Ukrainian mentality were investigated in the thesis of I.S. Starovojt. The peculiarities of the Ukrainian economic mentality were covered by V.Y. Popov, and socio-philosophical analysis of enterprise was included in the work of A.I. Kosykh. The religious orientation of the post-Soviet people in

5 N. Veselaho, *Filosofiya ekonomiky: hreko-katolyc'ka tradyciya, Odesa 2006,* http://www.xic.com.ua/z-istoriji-dumky/3-bogoslovja/204-natalija-veselago-filosofija-ekonomiky-u-konteksti--hrystyjanskoji-socialnoji-filosofiji-na-materialah-istoriji-greko-katolyckoji-tradyciji (access: 06.06.2016).

the context of the general world views was developed by A.I. Bojko. In addition, classical and non-classical approaches to the study of the nature of the categories of the economic aspect of society are analyzed by O.V. Romanenko. The role of consciousness in social activities was considered in the study on the social mechanism of individual spirituality by V.F. Baranivskyj.

Let us attempt to summarize, structure and lay out some biblical tenets and economic orders concerning modern economy. The postulate of "In the beginning there was the Word" has been confirmed by devices measuring electromagnetic radiation from thoughts and words. Thus, thoughts and words of a society affect the economic theory of crises. All the answers to crises and their nature can be found in the Bible; where they are called grief. The Holy Scripture is not just God's revelation, but also an insightful economic or energy and social analysis. The reasons for destruction and grief are many, but always the source has been sin and violation of the laws of the objective world (Is. 3. 3, 9; Is. 5. 8-9; Is. 48; 20-22; Ez. 24; 6-14; Ob. 17-19). In the social sphere, crisis or grief is manifested through the incorrect or distorted exchange and distribution of energy and material goods. The energetic aspect may include bread, property or capital flows, which is identified with the energy of all transformations or situations in society and represents them. The history of mankind has seen many civilizations. A scenario of rise and fall is the same: inception, growth, or development, peak, or prosperity, decline, and lastly, fall that ends with a revolution, the ultimate disappearance of a civilization, or its conquest by a stronger neighbor.

According to a study by the Moody Institute of Science (MIS), crises of all known civilizations developed under the curve, which confirmed the wave theory of crises. And this is no accident, because the life of any civilization is the transformation of energy.

The Bible repeatedly stresses the importance of professionalism in any situation: as people have different capabilities, it follows that they should do whatever their vocation is (Rom. 4, 12: 6, 7, 8). In the Bible, much space is given to the teachings on financial management. The parable of the talents buried in the ground is fairly well known and often cited by people in everyday life. This process is not only against civilization, but it also changes in the socio-economic structure, which The Bible calls kings of the earth (Rev. 17, 7-14). The principles of hegemonic economic power and maximizing of profits pushed the powerful to building a new Tower of Babel, which could be the key to violation of peace and the fundamental laws of God, and above all – the law of conservation of energy and balance, or proportion.

"What has been will be again, what has been done will be done again; there is nothing new under the sun" (Ecc. 1, 9). For there is no conscience. Thus, crisis is the result of social and economic diseases in society. The main disease is the violation of ethical standards of energy and goods' use and distribution in society. This critical illness should be treated with repentance and correction of mistakes (sins) in public relations, for a society cannot be cured with a new falsity. We need radical reform. Radical reforms can only be carried out in a society consolidated in peace and harmony, through social justice. To consolidate society we must socialize the economic model, directing it towards human needs, because according to The Bible, we come to this world for love and happiness, confirming the quote, "Let us ... put on the armor of light" (Rom 13, 12).

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The Conceptualization of the Phenomenon of Corporeality in Biblical Discourse

(Based on the drama-parable *Cursed* by Alexandr Chyrkov and drama-tale *My soul with a scar on the knee* by Jaroslav Vereshchak)

ABSTRACT

The article deals with the features of the conceptualization of corporeality in literary interpretation as an instrument and a category realized in the figural-emotive paradigm of the dramaturgy of the contemporary Ukrainian authors, A. Chyrkov and J. Vereshchak. It should be noted that in the studied dramatic works the conceptualization of the corporeal code of culture is extremely clear. It appeals to many biblical motifs with appropriate an sphere of concepts. The dramatic works suggest that evangelical projection demonstrates four concepts that itemize the specifics and principles of embodiment of physicality in the biblical discourse: 1) "Five wounds of Jesus Christ," 2) "The Crucifixion," 3) "The sinful flesh," 4) "Body of Christ." Corporeality in the biblical discourse correlates with world-modeling categories such as "soul" and "thing."

KEY WORDS: dramatic text, conceptualization, concept, corporality

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STRESZCZENIE

Konceptualizacja zjawiska cielesności w dyskursie biblijnym (na podstawie przypowieści scenicznej Przeklęty *Aleksandra Czyrkowa i opowieści teatralnej* Moja dusza z blizną na kolanie *Jaroslawa Wereszczaka)*

Artykuł omawia cechy konceptualizacji cielesności w interpretacji literackiej jako instrument i kategorię realizowane w figuralno-emocjonalnym paradygmacie dramaturgii współczesnej ukraińskich autorów A. Czyrkowa i J. Wereszczaka. Należy zauważyć, że w badanych dziełach dramatycznych konceptualizacja cielesnego kodu kultury jest bardzo wyraźna i odwołuje się do wielu motywów biblijnych z odpowiedniej sfery pojęciowej. Z materiału utworów dramatycznych możemy wnioskować, że ewangeliczna projekcja pokazuje cztery koncepcje o specyfice i zasadach motywu jako wyrazu fizyczności w dyskursie biblijnym: 1) „Pięć ran Jezusa Chrystusa". 2) „Ukrzyżowanie". 3) „Grzeszne ciało". 4) „Ciało Chrystusa". Cielesność w dyskursie biblijnym koreluje z modelującymi świat kategoriami takimi jak „dusza" i „rzeczy".

SŁOWA KLUCZE: tekst dramatyczny, konceptualizacja, pojęcie, cielesność

The abundant research history on the phenomenon of physicality has a number of achievements in the scientific systems of different disciplines. In numerous writings, researchers observed a wide range of research focused on physicality as a category in the Bible discourse. However, the particulars of the conceptualization of corporeality in the context of artistic interpretations of biblical scenes and images have not yet been the subject of scientific research.

The human being, as we know, is the most complex biosocial functional self-regulating system that emerged after prolonged synthesis of various natural and cultural systems that have evolved and developed in the ancestral experiences of previous generations.[1] The human body has been one of the most accessible items for observation and study, a unique database, the primary basis for the conceptualization of the world, and a "starting point," therefore the words denoting parts of the body, and the human mind itself, produced the *topicality* of our scientific exploration.

1 *Social'na Doktryna Cerkvy*, in: *Zbirnyk statej.* Instytut Relihiyi ta suspil'stva pry L'vivs'kij Bohoslovs'kij Akademiyi, L'viv 1998, pp. 6-7, 14-16.

The problem analysis of physicality in contemporary philosophical thought has led to the conclusion that the main achievement of its developments is to overcome the idea of the body as a natural (physical) object and identifying it as possessing a trans-objective nature. Definition of the body as a sociocultural construct representing the body as a matrix projected onto the society and a means of the coding and reproduction of cultural values, ideas, norms and guidelines, stands out as dominant.

As shown in the analytical review of the literature in modern scientific thought, corporeality is explicit as a dialectical unity that justifies the sensual nature of the human being as an integral ontological sign and captures human presence in the world through perception, spatiality, mobility, and temporality.[2] The existence of five major cultural meanings of physicality has been proven: as a manifestation of cultural reality and its visual manifestations; as the physical prerequisite and condition for various cultural practices; as a means of communication and symbolization; as a determining factor of the organization of cultural reality of human existence; as an object of cultural articulation and evaluation (cultural semiotics of the body). Our research accumulates all the presented cultural meanings of physicality and subjects the phenomenon of physicality in modern Ukrainian drama to analysis.

The purpose of the study is to analyze the peculiarities of the conceptualization of physicality in artistic interpretation as a tool and category, which is realized in the figurative-motive paradigm of the dramaturgy of modern Ukrainian authors, Alexander Chyrkov and Jaroslav Vereshchak.

In our study, the focus is on singling out the main biblical concepts, images and motifs of bodily semantics, establishing their world-shaping and anthropological features, specificities and principles of motive-image manifestations of corporeality in biblical discourse on the basis of the dramas: *My soul with a scar on the knee* and *Cursed.*

It is known that in the structure of a dramatic work the body is subject of the "refinement," by receiving a figurative interpretation, in which the specificity of the world view inherent in the corresponding historical period is reflected in the originality of artistic images. Therefore, "refinement" (artistic physicality) serves as an interesting object of analysis as a background for studying the HUMAN BODY as a concept in a variety of its aspects.

It is worth noting that in the dramatic works under consideration the conceptualization of the bodily code of culture refers to numerous biblical motifs with the relevant discourse-conceptual sphere in a very clear

2 Ibidem, p. 5.

way. The dramatic works suggest that evangelical projection demonstrates four concepts that itemize the specifics and principles of embodiment of physicality in the biblical discourse:

1. "The five wounds of Jesus Christ;"
2. "The Crucifixion;"
3. "The sinful flesh;"
4. "Body of Christ."

The concept of "the five wounds of Jesus Christ," shall be separated on the basis of the fairy tale drama, *My soul with a scar on the knee* by J. Vereshchak. The symbolic "five stab wounds" of the protagonist who stands for the playwright himself, manifest the concept of "five wounds of Jesus Christ." As we know, Jesus Christ received five wounds during crucifixion: two on His arms, two on the legs and one on the side in between the ribs.

> *The protagonist:* I appear among flowers in my fabulously original jacket and trendy jeans, pausing, carefully touching my chest, examining the clothes. I say to myself. Strange, five stab wounds and no trace ... (removes the jacket, inspects it meticulously). No blood, no holes – it's probably those dumb American movies ...[3]

Thus, the body of Jaroslav Vereshchak's protagonist did not bear any marks indicating that the so-called conditional corporeality or physicality of the soul, which the author seeks to portray as an object of self-recognition:

> Now know the price of my soul: 25,000 USD minus taxes. And my colleague director Devik, a wise Jewish man, says slowly: "Kostya Kostyovych, for God's sake! How can you have become such a prominent figure in the theatrical world and maintain a soul?" ... So, I have kept my soul, eh? Because my body is over there, at the gate, you cannot see it, and here …[4]

The main characteristic of the playwright's soul's corporeality is the reference is a scar on his knee: "Here ... I don't want to brag that my soul is great and noble, but I'll tell you it has a scar on his knee – see?"[5] These discursive fragments demonstrate his theory of man's "fall" which involves the eternal struggle between the temptations of the modern world and God's main commandments: "It turns out my soul with the scar on his knee cannot just babble-babble, but may it also still do something

3 J. Slav. Ko-Ko. Vereshhak, *Dusha moya zi shramom na kolini: Suchasna kazka*, Kyiv 2004, p. 99.

4 Ibidem, p. 100.

5 Ibidem.

good?"[6] The motif-code of flagellation in the dramatic work correlates with the subsequent singled out concept of "Crucifixion."

The sacrificial crucifixion of Jesus Christ manifests the transformed concept of "Crucifixion" in the context of a fatal temptation and lost soul of the hero of Jaroslav Vereshchak. The sacrifice on the Cross is contextually modified in the form of a clownish prophet who was willing to lose his life and break the first commandment of God for the sake of money, fame and numerous physical temptations: "I am a poor actor, spawn of the devil: I cheated all my life, I blew my soul, I fought his way into prestigious circles, until I became a pathetic court clown. So, my soul is black as coal!"[7] The absolute extrapolation of the modified investigated concept is found in the drama-parable *Cursed* by the contemporary Ukrainian playwright, A. Chyrkov. In a dramatic text, the author refers to the true meaning of crucified Jesus – sacrifice, redemption for all mankind. Jesus Christ himself speaks to his Disciple:

> Oh God, what a life. A teacher! A father! ... Salvation by blood ... And I, an incarnation of evil? To save people, that is my mission. A savior or destroyer? Who am I? ... Sacrificing one, I will bring happiness to many.[8]

Thus the singled out concept of "Crucifixion" demonstrates the absolute polarization of content from the Christian sacred human-God vertical dimension (the drama-parable *Cursed*) to horizontal, sinful-human dimension of the modern world.

The concept of "the sinful flesh" refers to the realization of the qualitative difference between the soul and the human body, which are known to explicate themselves as polar entities. However, it should be noted that in Christianity the term "body" refers to the biological substance up until it will remain just flesh, and "flesh" is biology. Yet, the body can be incorporeal, which the playwright Jaroslav Vereshchak depicts. In the case of incorporeality, spiritual reincarnation and resurrection await the body. The difference between the body and the flesh is seen as an anthropological basis for the dogma of the Incarnation, redemption and resurrection God-man, Jesus Christ. He Himself took away the sin of man and was forced to accept the result of sin, which was death. The Lord resurrected Himself in a glorified, eternal body. Christ caused the death of sinful flesh, and rose again as Lord of all mankind. The Gospel projection presented is also

6 Ibidem.

7 Ibidem, p. 112.

8 A. Chyrkov, *Proklyatyj. Drama-prytcha*, Zhytomyr 2014, p. 33.

found in the drama of A. Chyrkov, *Cursed.* The author presents it as unchanged, without further modifications: The disciple of Christ:

> He told me: Walk in my shoes and only then judge me … I am not worthy to judge my Master. I want to live life with the Temple in my heart! I risk. But there is simply no indifference in the world. Love to others burns me. I love him – the spiritual father! I love her. She is my wife! And this is a different kind of love. The one towards him – disturbs my mind and soul, the one to her – my heart, my flesh, and blood.[9]

The analysis of the "body-flesh-sinfulness" triad takes into account, first and foremost, the psychological-volitional aspect. Physiological processes (childbearing because of love, food) are considered as a traditional-neutral or even positive acts of life. However, responsibility for sin is correlated with conscious mental activity with an act of human will. Therefore, it is not the body that defiles the person, but the person itself. Appealing to the Christian anthropological notion of "tunics of skin" (*kozhanyye rizy* – transl.) as the three attributes of human life on earth (passion, corruption, mortality), the author expresses an understanding of the fact that it is human flesh that is their carrier. A direct reference to the concept of "the sinful flesh" is found in Jaroslav Vereshchak's *My soul with a scar on the knee*. The fleshy cover emancipated from the soul of the murdered playwright, the black essence of the treacherous protagonist and Jaroslav's inner voice or conscience, are torn by a bitter struggle:

> God created man and I hoped that my earthly life would be ... And I, such a wimp, failed to win over my bodily desires. Now I don't have a body. That, perhaps, it will help me, well, to become more reasonable. Kulaj's voice: "Good intentions paved the road to hell"[10]

The body appears as a prerequisite for human development, as a mediator between the two worlds, and physicality as a path to these worlds, leading the main character to reveal the greatest secrets of life:

> and it was not you, not you, who uncovered my highest secret of life, which I now think I can, I will try to formulate ... Make this world and all life on it from love and sunshine. And death is a lie, hypnosis for fools that live just for the sake of their bodies ...[11]

9 Ibidem, p. 32.

10 J. Slav. Ko-Ko. Vereshhak, *Dusha moya zi shramom na kolini*, op. cit., p. 112.

11 Ibidem, p. 134.

The fourth singled out concept of "the body of Christ" shows, in my opinion, the author's key intentions in the dramatic texts. The author's concept of harmonious human existence in the world of nature takes place primarily in the pages of the fairy tale drama *My soul with a scar on the knee* by Jaroslav Vereshchak. Once the concept of spiritual crucifixion, the resurrected main character is convinced that the entire classification into people, birds, plants and animals is conditional:

> This is the smile of God, a gentle whim. In fact, there is one and only infinite soul, and we are all part of it, and Mother Earth is and the greatest of its parts ... And now pay attention. If we all – Flowers, Trees, Birds, Animals, people – are one body ...[12]

The material world is flesh fused together with the world of the spiritual, the divine. The endless soul appears in the bodily form which manifests the Unified Body of God. Merging with the body God is possible only through love:

> It is dawning! Dew on the grass is glistening. A bug has run by. A worm has crawled by. And roosters are crowing glory to the world! Oh, morning light! I have promised to forgive all those who hate me. I pray for those, frightened by my existence, who needs to capture, to execute me. Whoever does not believe me will later understand my truth. And faith will lead them to the temple. After all, there it the eternal human question: To live with love or to not be without love?[13]

The corporeality category in the dramaturgy of the analyzed Ukrainian authors is one of the semantic dominants and semantic universals, in connection with which corporeality becomes a kind of a universal code, which makes it possible to understand the world in its unity and integrity. Physicality of evangelical projection is associated with the overall spatial view of the world and correlated with specific related images (Body-as-God and body-as-human being). Thus, the formation of stable semantic paradigms of images and motives takes place. Physicality in the focus of biblical discourse correlates with such world-modeling categories as "soul" and "things." The key correlation for the dramatic picture of the world is the correlation between the corporeality category with that of the poetic word.

12 Ibidem, p. 137.

13 A. Chyrkov, *Proklyatyj. Drama-prytcha*, op. cit., p. 25.

To sum up, it is worth noting that, by referring to the somatic vocabulary, the authors extend the usual meanings, contributing to increasing the informative capacity of the figurative context, deepening the associative potential of the word. The primary meaning of the conceptualization of physicality in O. Chyrkov's and J. Vereshchak's work is to try to find "pure reality" as real and free from any political, social or aesthetic and stylistic layers, and the eternal meaning or purpose of human existence. The analysis revealed the specificity of the refined representation of corporeality in the literature on the basis of the dramatic texts by the discussed authors, as well as the figurative conceptualization of corporeality that occurs through the prism of a number of biblical images, among which the actualizing specificity of the semiotic nature occupies a dominant position. The results of research show that further detailed analysis of the conceptualization of the material physicality dramas focused on biblical discourse can be a fertile ground for the development of the research.

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Biblical Inspirations in Nikifor's Paintings[1]

ABSTRACT

Nikifor Krynicki (Epifaniusz Drowniak, 1895-1968) was one of the most popular non-academic Polish painters worldwide. To show the biblical inspiration in his creative output I chose two categories from various thematic aspects: self-portraits and landscapes with a church. There are plenty of Nikifor's paintings showing him as a teacher, as a celebrating priest, as a bishop, or even as Christ. A popular way to explain this idea of self-portraits is a psychological one: as a form of auto-therapy. This analysis is aims to show a deeper explanation for the biblical anthropology. Nikifor's self-portraits as a priest celebrating the liturgy are a symbol of creative activity understood as a divine re-creation of the world. Such activity needs divine inspiration. Here are two paintings to recall: *Potrójny autoportret* (The triple self-portrait) and *Autoportret w trzech postaciach* (Self-portrait in three persons). The proper way to understand the self-identification with Christ needs a reference to biblical anthropology. To achieve our real-self we need to identify with Christ, whose death and resurrection bring about our whole humanity. The key impression we may have by showing Nikifor's landscapes with a church is harmony. The painter used plenty of warm colors. Many of the critics are of the opinion that Nikifor created an imaginary, ideal world in his landscapes, the world he wanted to be there and not the real world. The thesis of this article

1 The author of the text, Fr. Krzysztof Wałczyk S.J., Ph.D., was not able to submit the final version of this text containing illustrative material to the editorial board of the journal. Therefore, we publish the article in the unchanged version, subjecting it only to the necessary linguistic and technical editing.

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is that Nikifor created not only the ideal world, but he also showed the source of the harmony – the divine order.

KEY WORDS: Nikifor, self-portrait, landscape, biblical anthropology, painting

STRESZCZENIE

Biblijne inspiracje w malarstwie Nikifora

Zasadnicza teza artykułu „biblijne inspiracje Nikifora" sprowadza się do pokazania, że autoportrety są przejawem szczególnej samoświadomości malarza utożsamiającego twórczość artystyczną (malarską) ze sprawowaniem liturgii, inaczej z uobecnianiem religijnego kontekstu rzeczywistości, a konkretnie z uobecnianiem dziejów Chrystusa. Z autoportretami Nikifora wiąże się także intuicja antropologiczna, realizowanie człowieczeństwa poprzez utożsamianie się z Chrystusem. Pejzaże ze świątynią nie są tylko urokliwym przedstawieniem okolic Krynicy i innych miejscowości z południa Polski. Głębsza intuicja malarza dotyczy Bożego źródła ładu i harmonii w pejzażach. Jego pejzaże to wręcz epifanie boskiego porządku. Teologia (także Biblia) używa na określenie takich intuicji pojęcia „objawienie naturalne".

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Nikifor, autoportret, pejzaż, antropologia biblijna, malarstwo

Nikifor (proper name Epifaniusz Drowniak) was a representative of the so-called naïve (or primitive) art. He lived from 1895 to 1968. Throughout his life, he was associated with the town of Krynica. He belonged to the Lemko ethnic group, and was of the Greek-Catholic confession. Nikifor's life circumstances can be considered as dramatic. He was an illiterate homeless man, with serious communication problems (his speech was very unclear). His medium of communication was painting. He is credited with authorship of tens of thousands of watercolors and drawings, out of which a large percentage has not survived. He worked mainly on the promenade at the spas in Krynica, hoping to sell his work to the patients. The first painter who discovered and appreciated the work of Nikifor was Roman Turyn, a L'viv born Ukrainian artist. Starting from 1930, Turyn acquired approx. 200 watercolors by Nikifor and presented them in Paris. The actual discoverers and promoters of Nikifor's art, however, were Ella and Andrzej Banach from Krakow, who met him in 1947 in Krynica. Nikifor owed his first exhibitions in Poland to them as well as international ones in Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels, Liege, and even Haifa, in the years 1959-1960.

Nikifor's thematic palette included self-portraits, portraits, landscapes, including landscapes with churches (dominated by Greek and Roman Catholic churches, but there are also synagogues and Lutheran churches), saints, railway stations, urban architecture, fantastic themes and Krynica's villas. For the purposes of the paper on Nikifor's biblical inspirations I shall only analyze his several works in two thematic blocks: self-portraits and landscapes with a church. Perhaps it will be surprising that this selection will not include drawings from his *Prayer Book*, but a detailed analysis of that bulk of work would blow the framework of this paper out of proportion.

I. Self-Portrait:

* *The band shell* (Collection of Andrzej Banach)

This image (A. Banach chose it for the cover of his book about Nikifor) is an example of the transformation Nikifor experienced through painting, a sign of the painter's self-awareness as someone endowed with a deeper view of reality (than his audience?). The world appears to him as a symbolic reality, as a theater. The symbolic unveiling of the curtain and surrender to the guidance of the "master of ceremonies," that is, the artist himself, allows the viewer to gain an in-depth insight into what the world is – through Nikifor's images.

Nikifor shows himself as a "magician." Standing with a baton (a wand?) in the middle of the stage inside the shell, he is separated from the audience with a small barrier. The place seems enigmatic (mysterious). The separated curtains of the shell suggest that we are dealing with a concert hall, a theater, or perhaps a circus(?) However, this is only a superficial impression, because the exposed curtains in the shell reveal the sky showing through. So, we are in the outdoors, and Nikifor – a magician for us – is a guide to the viewers in the experience of "the world behind the scenes." The color of the sky is intriguing. Behind Nikifor, it is dominated by delicate red corresponding with the intense red curtains of the band shell. In the upper parts of the picture, the red turns into blue, which in turn corresponds with the intense blue shade of the dome. The interplay of colors shows that the shell is not just a concert hall, but a vestibule to the reality in the background, and Nikifor with the baton in the center of the image (in a blue suit), is our guide.

The colors of the "band shell" remind us of the meaningful dialog from the film *My Nikifor* by Krzysztof Krauze, from the scene of painting outdoors. Nikifor explains to his guardian (the painter Włosiński) that one needs to ask for color. *The band shell* seems to be an apt comment to this. Capturing the right play of light and colors in landscape painting is nothing other than sensitivity to harmony in nature and has the second dimension in which the visible world becomes symbolic.

* *Triple Self-Portrait*, 1920-1925 watercolor, Krynica

The central figure of the *Triple Self-Portrait* is probably Nikifor himself, like the other two figures standing (or sitting) at a table, which is also serving as an altar.[2] His hands rest on the altar and hold a cup. The two smaller figures on the sides hold a prayer book in their hands showing it the viewer. One of them raises his hand with the prayer book. We can infer from this gesture that Nikifor is emphasizing the importance of prayer, or that he indicates his familiarity with the divine reality.

On the altar you can see lighted candles, a crucifix, a paten with prosphora (bread used in the Eastern Christian rite in the Eucharistic liturgy),[3] an open book (a lectionary? A missal?), and two large slices of bread. This representation clearly refers to Christian rites, to the liturgy. The last of the above-mentioned elements on the altar – slices of bread – is surprising, because the liturgy in the Eastern rite does not provide for the use of bread other than prosphora, unless in a situation of persecution, or war turmoil forcing special behavior. Given the dating of the *Triple Self-Portrait*, i.e. the years 1920-1925, it is difficult to speak of such an exceptional situation. It is necessary to identify the painter's own function with the presence of a higher order (liturgical function) and the satisfaction of important human needs by means of art (satisfying the hunger for divine reality).

Nikifor's outfit seems to be lay, but numerous decorations such as a cross on the top garment suggest liturgical attire. The decorated red flap raises associations with a stole. Kinship to liturgical vestments is primarily provided by the miter, headdress used by priest in the Eastern Rite, which Nikifor

2 According to Z. Wolanin, one cannot decide whether all three forms of the *Triple Self-Portrait* show Nikifor, or just a figure placed in the center. This is because the title does not come from Nikifor; this name has only been identified in the literature (Cf. *Nikifor*, ed. Z. Wolanin, Olszanica 2000, pp. 16-17).

3 The information appearing in *Religia. Encyklopedia* by T. Gadacz provides that the bread is baked from "fermented wheat flour and yeast, formed by two adjoining forms that denote the dual nature of Christ;" cf. also B. Banaś, *Nikifor [1895-1968]*, Warszawa 2006, p. 11.

placed over the central figure in the "self-portrait." The two side characters also wear miters topped with crosses. Such miters are used by bishops.

Another striking element of the self-portrait is a halo with the name "Jan Nikifor." The halo and the artist's face are the same, pale yellow color. The nimbus is seen only around the head of the central figure. The signature "Jan Nikifor" emphasizes the relationship between the painter and saints. A halo around the head is not an invention of Christian sacred art. It comes from the inspiring influence of Hellenistic-Roman art. A nimbus served to emphasize divinity and was an attribute of emperors and heroes. In the Christian tradition it appears first in the representations of Christ, then angels, martyrs, saints, and the Virgin Mary. That listing in itself leads to the conclusion that the halo signified belonging to another, divine reality. If Nikifor uses it in presenting himself as a painter and at the same time as holding the ceremonies, the conclusion of his identification of his own work with the exercise of rites personifying divine order seems to be justified. The *Triple Self-Portrait* is not an isolated example of this. Suffice it to recall a different picture from the gallery in Krynica: *The iconostasis of Nikifor* (1925-1930), or self-portraits from the collection of A. Banach: *Nikifor the bishop* or *Nikifor with a nimbus*.

The most surprising is the painter's identification with Christ. It is indicated by a typical representation of the Savior in folk Christian sensibility: a central figure with an exposed heart. The first impression applies to art as a gift of self, as an act of self-sacrifice. Artistic creation, or all creative activity is a gift of self, an attitude that lets one follow the example of the Savior to pursue their own humanity. This is not a new convention in European painting. Suffice it to recall A. Dürer's 1500 *Self-Portrait at the Age of Twenty Eight* also known as *Self-portrait as Christ*. Also, this Munich paining involved an intuition about art and humanity. Dürer assimilated himself with Christ suggesting that artistic creativity is due to divine inspiration. A more in-depth interpretation focused on the vocation of each person, as the Bible's Book of Genesis says, that is, becoming an image of the Creator (cf. Ge 1, 26). If you agree with the statement that the divine distinguishing feature is eternal life, man will realize his vocation when he lives in the hope of resurrection. According to Christian theology, Christ fulfilled human vocation through His death and Resurrection. So, anyone who lives in close relationship with the Savior fulfills his or her vocation to be the image of the Creator. Dürer, by presenting himself as Christ, suggests that not only he himself as a creator, but each person becomes another one through close relationship with Christ.

The convention in which the characters are presented in the *Triple Self--Portrait* reminiscent of an icon. All three are placed in a golden glow blue highlighting their affiliation to a different reality. Their frontal position and intense gaze directed at the viewer are an attempt to establish contact with them and, we may guess, to deliver a message. As said above, the message of the *Triple Self-Portrait* refers to works of art and painting as an epiphany of the divine order and harmony. Identification with Christ and the perception of one's own work as the celebration of rites, as a gift of self, seems to be the key to understanding the work of Nikifor. The confirmation of intuition that Nikifor sees his own work as an epiphany of the divine order and harmony is also found in his landscapes.

* *Nikifor-bishop inside a church, behind the altar* (1930s, Nowy Sącz)

The painting depicts Nikifor as a bishop with outstretched arms during prayer liturgy. The painter dressed in a chasuble with stole and miter on his head performs rituals in a church. On the altar we see the liturgical vessels, lit candles and an open missal. The spiritual authority Nikifor in this presentation is shown by his episcopal insignia, miter and crosier, and a golden halo around his head. The priest raises his hands up in a typical prayerful gesture of supplication suggesting our human insufficiency and vulnerability. What is the request of the artist-priest? The presentation of himself as a bishop celebrating liturgy suggests that Nikifor understood his painting work as a kind of ritual. This self-presentation is about more than a therapeutic presentation of oneself in a function that is the reversal of one's real conditions. The rites performed by Nikifor-bishop is a painted document of harmony, order, in which he experienced contact with nature and which pointed to the reality of God as the source of order.

On the right-hand side of the rite-celebrating artist-priest you can see a portrait on an easel, and a kind of bust above the portrait. It is possible that the function of the bust is a "refinement" of facial features which cannot be seen in the portrait. Nikifor-bishop behind the altar and the work of art with a bust indicate the author's suggestion that there is a spiritual kinship between rite and artistic creation.

Another reading of the artist-priest and the portrait on easels refers to the aforementioned anthropological context. We become ourselves in the creative process, and creativity is like a particle of the divine in us. Christian anthropology suggests that we become ourselves in the image and likeness of the Creator, namely through likening ourselves to Christ. Christian theology defines the priest celebrating Holy Mass as "alter Christus." Therefore, it demands that the priest be a man.

In the image, Nikifor surprises us with the *location of the altar*. Directly behind the praying Nikifor-bishop there is a door leading to the outside of the temple. This is by no means the actual layout of any church, since the altar, as a place particularly associated with the sacred, is always placed in the temples on the opposite side of the entrance. In most of Nikifor's paintings referring to the celebration of the liturgy, the spatial arrangement of the church corresponds to the real one. One can conclude that through the immediate vicinity of the sacred space – the altar and the church door – the artist suggests closeness, mutual permeation of the ideal world, realized in the liturgy and the real world just outside the door. Large windows on both sides of the door show the outside world with a meaningful separation of earth and sky. In Nikifor's vision, the earth is distinguished by a dark blue color, the same as the temple's door. The painter seems to indicate that the earthly reality penetrates into the interior of the temple. The sky outside the window is pale blue, and at times white. The walls of the temple are the same color. Also, the tablecloth on the altar is white. Nikifor-bishop's pleading could apply to the transformation of earthly reality, its shape as the heavenly ideal. If we narrow our deliberations down to the level of anthropology, then here too, the request will be about becoming fully what Nikifor thought he was.

The painting *Nikifor-bishop inside the church, behind the altar* is signed by the artist. The two-line signature also shows hardly readable words: "Souvenir ... Krynica ... Painter." What is surprising in this signature (and in the painting itself) is not only the combination of the painterly work with the liturgical activity of the clergyman, but also its treatment as a souvenir. This reminds us of the function of images with religious motifs in the pastoral practice of the Catholic Church, e.g. holy cards printed on the occasion of a priest's first mass, Christmas visits, anniversaries of priestly ordination, religious vows, marriage, First Communion, Confirmation, etc.

* *Nikifor-bishop* (1920s, watercolor/gouache, Andrzej Banach's collection)

Nikifor-bishop's face is turned toward the viewer. He stands in a chancel of a small church. His spiritual authority is manifested by a miter on his head and a gold nimbus. The artist-priest holds an open Bible in one hand, in such a way that the viewer can see the printed pages, while raising the other in a gesture of admonition or instruction. A careful look at Nikifor-bishop addressing the audience is also a kind of admonition to take the message preached by him seriously. One cannot see the flattery towards the viewer A. Banach writes about. On the contrary, the self-portrait of the artist is a witness to the importance of art and the unique position that it takes. Nikifor is intensifying the effect of this testimony by using a "distorted" perspective. The standing figure fills almost the entire choir directing the viewer's sight to the open Bible, to the hand gesture emphasizing the message, as well as to careful, intense look of the painter-priest seeking contact with the audience.[4] All these elements, as well as the fact that no other equipment is visible in the presbytery, we focus our attention on the message of the Bible and the figure of the preacher, Nikifor the Bishop The interpretation must go beyond the self-creation in opposition to reality suggested by critics. The authority of the painter preaching the message is a derivative of the message itself. Nikifor's work must be interpreted – as suggested by the painter himself – through its connection with the liturgical function, that is to say, the epiphany of the divine order seen in his work. Perhaps it was precisely the external conditions of Nikifor's life, his homelessness, difficulties in communicating, the fact that he was despised and rejected, that made him watch out for the traces of the divine presence, the divine order, in order to cope with the difficult reality.

One may also recall the painting *Madonna in the Church* by Jan van Eyck, from 1425 (Berlin). Van Eyck's Madonna dominates the Gothic building. Her importance is further emphasized by the play of light.

In Nikifor's self-portrait referred to here, dark colors dominate. The chancel of the church is blue-gray. Nikifor is wearing a gray suit, and a black cape over his shoulders. Even the painter's face and his "admonishing" hand are dark. No light is coming through the windows. The world seen through the windows is also a blue-gray. The only bright spots in the image are the white pages of the open Bible and Nikifor's white shirt. The latter highlights the author's undoubted familiarity with the "invisible world" of which the Bible tells and which Nikifor praises in his paintings. The significance of the dominant dark colors in the picture should be seen as emphasizing the tension between the message of the pages of the Bible and the world in which we live, that is far from realizing divine reality.

* *Self-Portrait in three forms*, approx. 1925 (Nowy Sącz District Museum)

In his *Self-Portrait in three forms*, Nikifor provides the viewer with an insight into his understanding of creative activity. The scene depicted in the image is set in a spacious room with theatrical curtains ajar. The association with the theatrical stage is not accidental, because the scene

4 B. Banaś, commenting the watercolor *On the stroll* (in the study titled *Nikifor*), suggests Nikifor's awkwardness in using perspective. This conclusion is probably related to the "awkward" proportions of the person in the foreground and the stately building in the background. Although the author's conclusion seems convincing, it is possible (or more advisable?) to assess the "disturbed" proportions in this picture differently. A young, elegant man – the character in the foreground has a clearly developed "ego." This is indicated by the expression on the face, the costume, and the gesture of the left hand held up. It can therefore be assumed that Nikifor's watercolor is a caricature.

presented in the picture is a kind of meta-reflection on human life and the artist's vocation.

Nikifor-bishop in his liturgical attire – a chasuble with stole, miter, a crosier in his right hand – sits in a chair behind the altar (a kind of a writing desk with books). On the altar you can see an open book, and on the side wall there is a signature of the author: "Nikifor the painter." In his majestically raised left hand, the master holds not a brush, but a cross, with which he performs the rites.

Right next to Nikifor-bishop shown from profile, the viewer is facing the frontally turned Nikifor-painter. The artist's gaze makes it clear that he is looking for contact with the viewer. Is the subject of an unspoken dialog the understanding of creativity? Or humanity? The answers to this question are given by the third, miniature representation of Nikifor on the bookshelf. The genesis of this form of self-presentation should be sought in the "letters of invitation." A picture of Nikifor wearing the so-called "letters of invitation" was recorded in the memory of his posteriors. They were his written requests for support from him to passers-by. In them Nikifor talks about his physical handicap and making a living by painting pictures. The third character in the *Self-portrait...* wears a large wall clock with clearly marked numbers and hands on his body. In this symbolic way Nikifor underlines our commitment to the good use of time. The painter thinks about time and our commitment in sacred terms. The third character is a clergyman, too, who appeals to the viewer raising both hands expressively. One of them pulls the rope of a bell similar to church bells which are used to announce the liturgy. The words of Czesław Miłosz's epilogue to his poem *On angels* come to mind:

> day draw near
> another one
> do what you can.[5]

Once again, the work of Nikifor suggests a connection with the exercise of religious rites. However, the message with which he acquaints us is beyond the understanding of his activity. The painter directs the viewer towards the good use of time, suggesting that it is related to the sacred dimension of reality. Realizing that time we have is a gift enables us to commit to use it well.

5 Cz. Miłosz, *On Angels*, in: *Against Forgetting: Twentieth-Century Poetry of Witness*, ed. C. Forché, New York 1993.

Here again we are reminded of Miłosz and his understanding of time that was given to us. In the first part of his *Either-or* poem, the poet writes: If God incarnated himself in man, died and rose from the dead,

> All human endeavors deserve attention
> Only to the degree that they depend on this,
> I.e., acquire meaning thanks to this event. We should think of this by day and by night.
> Every day, for years, ever stronger and deeper.
> And most of all about how human history is holy
> And how every deed of ours becomes a part of it,
> Is written down forever, and nothing is ever lost. Because our kind was so much elevated
> Priesthood should be our calling
> Even if we do not wear liturgical garments. We should publicly testify to the divine glory
> With words, music, dance, and every sign.[6]

Nikifor's art undoubtedly has a therapeutic function. This function does not, however, lie in the creation of self-portraits himself as someone who in fact he was not. In this case we could talk about making up for the harshness of reality at most, but not about any therapeutic impact. The latter aspect assumes that Nikifor-painter understands his work in sacred categories and encourages the viewer to dive in with the same depth.

II. Nikifor's temples (landscapes with a temple)

* *Synagogue in Tarnów* 1963-65; (Romanówka Krynica); *Synagogue* 1963-65 (signed: *LWOWAW KRHNICA* ..., Nowy Sącz District Museum)

In order to refer to Nikifor's intuition related to the view of the synagogue, it is worth to take into account two well-known paintings devoted to this topic, which were created between 1963 and 1965. In each of them there is a place of Jewish prayer in the center, although its location in urban space is different. And so, the *Synagogue in Tarnów* is surrounded by two-story residential buildings. In the picture, signed by the artist as *LWOWAW KRHNICA* ..., the synagogue was built uncharacteristically atop one of the hills of L'viv, and it towers over the city. This location had probably its origin in the imagination of the artist, but a clear religious intuition is hidden behind this.

6 Cz. Miłosz, *Either-Or*, in: Cz. Miłosz, R. Hass, *Provinces. Poems 1987-1991*, New York 1991.

The *Synagogue in Tarnów* strikes us with its unitary character of the buildings in the foreground. The buildings adjacent to each other. All are two-story houses with numerous windows located at the same height, with colored roofs, each with two dark brown chimneys. The plurality of windows is surprising and may indicate a relationship between two dimensions, internal – private residential space and the outside world. In the row of buildings in the foreground there is a wide clearance that gives an insight into a city square, where the magnificent synagogue dominates. The temple in the picture was probably the so-called New Synagogue in Tarnów, opened in 1908 and completely destroyed by the Nazis at the beginning of the war in 1939. It is known that the synagogue towered over the town with a semicircular dome. It remains an open question what the origin of the image was. Nikifor, of course, could have been in Tarnów before WWII and remembered what the synagogue looked like. However, the fact that the painter immortalized the *Tarnów Synagogue* between 1963 and 1965, i.e. 25 years after the temple was demolished, makes it feasible to believe that he could have used old photographs or postcards. Comparing the original appearance of the temple with Nikifor's vision, we find that the artist modified the appearance of the synagogue a little. In his image, the synagogue's tower is higher than the original. The body of the original building seems more massive than in Nikifor's work. The three-nave layout of the New Synagogue, visible from the outside, is preserved in his painting, thanks to the separation of naves as adjoining architectural parts. In the version of Nikifor the said narrow sections are similar to the surrounding synagogue buildings.

Another difference between Nikifor's synagogue and the original structure is striking. The windows of the latter were two-part and consisted of a round upper part (smaller) and an arched lower part. In Nikifor's vision, the two parts form a single entity, strikingly similar to figures of saints in eastern Christian iconostases (cf. *The Iconostasis with Nikifor*, 1925-30 Krynica Romanówka).

When we contemplate the synagogue in the center of the painting, are stunned by its central location, the bright colors corresponding to the color of the sky, the gentle dome rising above the whole townscape, and the coil of the Torah crowning the dome. Zbigniew Wolanin notes that "some of the buildings were marked by Nikifor with special symbols that indicated their purpose, e.g. ... He topped synagogues with a burning candle."[7] As an example, the author recalls the *Synagogue in Tarnów*. It seems more accurate to note that in the vision of the Tarnów synagogue the dome is crowned not with candles but with the Torah scroll, and its

7 Z. Wolanin, *Muzeum Nikifora w Krynicy/Zdroju. Przewodnik*, Nowy Sącz 2014, p. 35.

meaning does not boil down (exclusively) to informing about the purpose of the synagogue. The Torah is different from the Five Books of Moses, or the first five books of the Old Testament. They are a record of God-Yahweh's creative action (Genesis), his providential, saving interference in the order of creation (Exodus) and finally God's law (other books of the Bible). When considering the meaning of the Torah scroll as the culmination of the synagogue's dome, one has to conclude that it is an additional element suggesting the religious genesis of order and harmony in Nikifor's painting, as well as, more broadly, in the whole reality.

The most important argument in favor of the religious message of *Synagogue in Tarnów* is the color composition of the image. Bright, warm colors of the residential buildings and the synagogue correspond with the colors of the sky: they are identical with them. The impression of order and harmony in the painting is rendered by warm colors, and the harmonious urban landscape finding its extension in nature. It is noteworthy that the gentle line of the horizon is defined by mountain peaks of the same height. Their rounded shapes in turn correspond to the semicircular dome of the synagogue.

It seems that the painter's interest does not boil down solely to presenting a charming landscape, but to indicating the divine source of order. Theology defines perceiving the divine presence in nature as "natural revelation."

In the painting *Synagogue* signed by the author as *LWOWAW KRHNICA...* (so it is probably in L'viv), the Jewish house of prayer dominates the whole cityscape not only in terms of size, but additionally because it is built on a central hill of the secondary plane. The location and especially the size of the temple are surprising. The latter is not an example, as some of Nikifor's critics seem to suggest, of the painter's problems with perspective.[8] The author of this reflection is convinced that the painter deliberately uses exaggeration ("distorted perspective") as a means of expression that enhances the theological message.

The image surprises with the harmony of its composition. The buildings in the foreground are arranged symmetrically, four on either side of the central lumen. Looking at their roofs we also perceive the architectural harmony and appropriateness of the colors. The harmonious arrangement of buildings in the foreground is complemented by the buildings on the right and left located along the streets. The symmetrical arrangement is also the first impression that can be made even from a cursory observation of the hills in the background. In the center, a hill with a towering synagogue with a spire dominates. In the forest covering the hill there is

8 Cf. B. Banaś, *Nikifor*, op. cit., p. 35.

a clearance in the very center, through which the road to the synagogue leads. Also, other hills are arranged symmetrically on both sides of the center of the synagogue.

Nikifor used a specific linear perspective in his painting – cones narrowing upwards and focusing on the synagogue. The hillside synagogue is the point of intersection of the lines leading along the roofs of the outer buildings crowning the row of houses in the foreground and further along the central hillside. The lines leading along the outer edges of the hills parallel to the temple and those in the background also intersect at the synagogue building. The applied perspective allows to emphasize the central place of the synagogue. The candle lit in the tower of the temple is yet another element that allows one to conclude about the theological message of the image, i.e., the divine source of harmony. The colors of the L'viv landscape are more subdued compared to the *Synagogue in Tarnów*. But here we can see a clear correspondence between colors of the sky, the nature and the urban landscape.

It is worth noting one more element. As viewers, we find ourselves looking at the painting, exactly at the opposite pole related to the synagogue. Just as in the portraits with the frontal arrangement of the depicted figure making eye contact with the viewer and drawing him/her into the world of his experiences, here too we are drawn into the scene, or more precisely, the painter seems to be asking us about the source of order in reality.

* *Wooden church* (My title – KW)

The untitled work depicts mountain landscape with a church, and wooden houses adjacent to it. The work was shown at the *Nikifory* exhibition at the MOCAK Museum of Contemporary Art in Krakow (13.2-12.4. 2015). In the exhibition catalog, the work is signed only as "1960s, watercolor," and the dimensions are given "paper, 21.9 x 16.1 cm."[9] Nikifor's own inscriptions on the painting seem to suggest that the landscape with the temple comes from the area around Krynica, and its price was 200 zlotys. The work probably comes from the collection of Andrzej Banach.

The church is for a wooden building, a surprisingly soaring temple with regular shapes. Right next to the temple you can see wooden residential buildings. Houses in this vision of Nikifor give the impression of a "miniature temple." The whole group emanates the characteristic warmth of this architecture, awakening trust and a feeling of being settled. Wooden sacral architecture is something typical for the Nowy Sącz area in Malopolska.

9 Cf. *Nikifory*, eds. D. Piechaczek, M. Sobczyński, Kraków 2015, p. 67.

The architectural order finds its extension in nature, in the harmonious arrangement of trees in front of the temple, in the regular arrangement of fields on the hill in the background, and in the arrangement of forests growing on the upper parts of the hills dominating the landscape.

The color of the sky is symbolic. In the upper part, different shades of blue and gray appear, while in the lower part, a mild red is turning into a mild violet. The colors of the sky are not just warm and optimistic. Grey dominates among the different shades of blue. We can feel drama in this constellation of different colors, which is undoubtedly a reflection of our human (life) dramas. In the painting from the Banach collection it is striking that the smoke from the chimneys of houses is exactly the same as the mild red of the lower part of the sky. It seems that Nikifor thus signals the warmth of the home fireplace (something he missed more often than he experienced, or rather experienced in churches), order and harmony are of "divine origin."

* Stróże (townscape with a church)

Nikifor himself signed the painting as *Stróże villagetown*. The charming village of Stróże in the painterly vision is open to theological interpretation. You can even say that it demands such an interpretation. The center of the image is dominated by a neo-Gothic church with a soaring tower. A road leads to it from the main square of the village. On both sides of the road there are dense rows of low houses, all in warm, bright colors. Even the roofs and chimneys of the buildings are rendered in bright colors. Buildings on the same side of the street are the same, the only difference is the color. The painter placed small colorful trees in front of the houses. The trees, like the buildings, are harmoniously arranged on both sides of the street. Architecture and nature interact in this painterly vision of Stróże emphasizing the order and harmony.

The buildings are shown in a linear perspective in such a way that their crowning is the afore mentioned stately church. It seems that this typical form of urban landscape with a road leading to the church, the bright, cheerful colors of the temple and the houses, serve the painter to convey his thoughts (intuitions) of a theological nature. The multicolor, cheerful (warm) colors of the houses correspond to the colors of the church. The tower of the temple is yellow with a purple top. The tiles over the nave and the aisle are red, the side walls are light brown and lime, and the window frames are yellow. A fragment of the spire of the church is light blue. All these colors come back on the front walls of the houses. The color scheme and architectural plan emphasize the hierarchical character of urban development. Nikifor suggests that the warmth that emanates from the houses, the order and harmony of the place, have their source in the temple, and more precisely in the sacred reality to which the temple refers and to which its soaring tower points out.

A complement of the gentle and hierarchical vision of Stróże is the sky. In Nikifor's works the sky takes up, like in the landscapes of Ootmarsum and Haarlem in Jacob van Ruisdael's, half of the canvas. Two colors predominate, a mild blue in the upper parts and a mild pink in the lower parts. Both colors harmonize perfectly with the colors of the temple and the houses of the village and allow the conclusion that order and harmony are of divine origin.

One more element is striking about the view of Stróże. On the spacious market square or street leading to the temple, we do not see any persons, and yet the town does not seem to be extinct. The reverse is true. The answers have to be found in the "warm" colors of buildings and the church corresponding to the view of the sky and nature. The smoke from the chimneys of the houses on the right shows that the buildings are inhabited. However, it seems that the painter intended yet another suggestion. The light smoke is dispersed in the pale pink glow of the sky and is an additional element for the theological justification of the order and harmony of Stróże.

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Biblical Inspirations in the Works of Krzysztof Penderecki: At the Crossroads of Theology and Music

In memory of the great Polish composer Krzysztof Penderecki Deceased on 29 March 2020

ABSTRACT

By taking up Biblical themes in his *œuvre*, Krzysztof Penderecki effectuated the idea of returning art to its Christian roots. Analyses of selected fragments of his outstanding works (*Seven Gates of Jerusalem* and *Passion According to St. Luke*) show that the composer performed a peculiar, apt and suggestive "translation" of Biblical content into musical language, using contemporary compositional techniques as well as alluding at times to the tradition of J.S. Bach.

In the above compositions, Penderecki utilized the sound of the instruments, assigning them symbolic meaning and even experimenting with their construction (tubaphone). He also introduced a spatially-distributed orchestra, assigning the human voice its original, purely declamatory function, without limitations of rhythm or meter. The composer thus took steps to theatricalize the musical work, in order to enable a deeper reception of the Biblical content by the audience.

KEY WORDS: Bible, theology, word, music, Penderecki, word-music relationships, interdisciplinary

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STRESZCZENIE

Inspiracje biblijne w twórczości Krzysztofa Pendereckiego (na pograniczu teologii i muzyki)

Krzysztof Penderecki, podejmując w swojej twórczości tematy biblijne, realizuje ideę powrotu sztuki do korzeni chrześcijańskich. Analizy wybranych fragmentów wybitnych jego dzieł: *Siedem Bram Jerozolimy* i *Pasja według św. Łukasza*, dowodzą, że kompozytor dokonał swoistego „przekładu" treści biblijnej na język muzyczny w sposób trafny, sugestywny, z wykorzystaniem technik, jakimi dysponuje współczesna sztuka kompozytorska, oraz nawiązując w pewnych miejscach do tradycji związanej ze spuścizną J.S. Bacha.

W wymienionych kompozycjach Penderecki używa brzmienia instrumentów, którym nadaje symboliczne znaczenie, a nawet eksperymentuje w zakresie ich budowy (tubafon). Wprowadza także przestrzennie rozmieszczoną orkiestrę, a ludzkiemu głosowi powierza funkcję pierwotną – czysto deklamacyjną, bez jakichkolwiek ograniczeń rytmicznych czy metrycznych. W ten sposób kompozytor poczynił pewne zabiegi zmierzające do teatralizacji dzieła muzycznego w celu pogłębienia odbioru treści biblijnej przez słuchaczy.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Biblia, teologia, słowo, muzyka, Penderecki, związki słowno-muzyczne, interdyscyplinarność

Figure 1. Bust of Krzysztof Penderecki. Sculpture by Adam Myjak from 2013, exhibited at the Krzysztof Penderecki European Centre for Music in Lusławice. Photo: Marek Skrukwa

Biblical subject matter finds broad application in musical compositions. Artists have drawn from the content of individual books of Holy Scripture, e.g. the Book of Psalms (or fragments thereof), the Magnificat or selected verses from the Lamentations of Jeremiah.[1] A frequent compositional procedure has been the compilation of texts, for example, the combination of descriptions of Christ's passion and death from different Gospels. We then speak of a so-called Summa Passionis. Another foundation for a musical work could be a certain kind of libretto comprised not only of Biblical, but also liturgical or other texts, e.g. hymns rooted in ecclesiastical tradition.[2] Such an example is Krzysztof Penderecki's *Passion According to St. Luke* from 1965, which the composer himself termed a collage.[3] Another work of his that resulted from the combination of fragments from various books of Holy Scripture is *Seven Gates of Jerusalem* from 1996.

Krzysztof Penderecki's compositions are enduring monuments to our culture. His music is constantly present in the world's musical life and enjoys extraordinary interest. It is a testimony to inspiration from the Biblical word, translated by the artist into an individual artistic language – thus, sounds forming a logical structure. A considerable portion of Krzysztof Penderecki's *œuvre* would not have been written, had it not had its foundation in a theological layer to be found in the pages of Holy Scripture. It is striking with what extraordinary care he chose the texts for his compositions. Sometimes, he changed the language of the translation dependent on the place where his works were performed. This attests to the enormous importance he attached to the semantics of the word in his musical *œuvre*.

In my reflections, I intend to show the transposition of the Biblical word into musical language in selected vocal-instrumental works of Krzysztof Penderecki. At the same time, as a theologian, I shall be particularly interested in the selection and exegesis of the text; and as a musician, in the musical setting of that text.

In order to better understand the intricacies of the musical language, I would like to present the basic ideas of the master's compositional technique, as well as analyses of a few fragments of his works, in order to provide a "key" to reception of the complex musical material. Possession of proper tools and use of appropriate research methods will contribute to

1 Cf. K. Mrowiec, *Biblia w muzyce* [The Bible in Music], in: *Encyklopedia katolicka* [Catholic Encyclopedia], Vol. 2, eds. F. Gryglewicz, R. Łukaszyk, Z. Sułowski, Lublin 1995, col. 450.

2 Cf. R. Chłopicka, *Krzysztof Penderecki w kręgu tradycji obrzędowości religijnej Wschodu i Zachodu* [Krzysztof Penderecki in the Sphere of Eastern and Western Liturgical Tradition], in: *Muzyka religijna – między epokami i kulturami* [Religious Music – Between Eras and Cultures], Vol. 2, eds. K. Turek, B. Mika, Katowice 2009, p. 172.

3 Cf. A. Lewandowska-Kąkol, *Dźwięki, szepty, zgrzyty. Wywiady z kompozytorami* [Sounds, Whispers, Dissonances: Interviews with Composers], Warszawa 2012, p. 39.

a proper, deeper reception of a sonic expression that (for lack of a common musical idiom) is more ambiguous to interpret in 20th-century compositions than in the works of earlier eras, which were created on the foundation of certain constant principles.

Programmatic and Aesthetic Premises of Krzysztof Penderecki

In seeking to answer the question "What are the most important ideas that guided Penderecki's creative work?" I would like to cite a statement of his, in which he synthesized his main compositional premises:

> My art, deeply rooted in Christianity, aims to rebuild humanity's metaphysical space, which has been shattered by the cataclysms of the 20th century. Restoration of the sacred dimension of reality is the only way to save humanity.[4]

The question arises as to how one can use sound to perform a peculiar sort of spiritual catharsis. This challenge becomes all the more difficult in that contemporary musical language evades the conventional perception of the musical work, in which such elements as rhythm or melody – couched in logical structures, devoid of randomness – fulfill basic functions that affect the listener's perception. In contemporary works, what is showcased is indeterminate sound planes, Sonorist experiments aiming, for example, to shock the listener; the final effect is not infrequently something unexpected even for the composer him – or herself. The lack of constant principles – that is, of the existence of a certain "musical code" that would be used by artists – affects the adoption of specific research methods that aim to carry out a thorough analysis of the musical work. It seems that the overriding principle of contemporary compositions is to showcase, through musical material, one's own artistic individuality, unlimited by any "rules," and to at all costs break with what is customarily termed a "compositional school" in music history. The protagonist of my article put it this way:

> At a certain moment, in revolutionizing previous musical fundamentals, twentieth-century composers found themselves in a vacuum. The

4 K. Penderecki, *Labirynt czasu. Pięć wykładów na koniec wieku* [Labyrinth of Time: Five Addresses for the End of the Millennium], Warszawa 1997, p. 68.

> postulate of extreme individualism and experimentation caused a destruction of any kind of enduring points of reference.[5]

Unfortunately, the accelerated technological development that we encounter at the present time is also not conducive to the quest for a musical expression that would choose as its aim the depth of a human existence that does not end with biological death. Penderecki said that contemporary art

> wants to overpower the viewer with its literality and cruelty at all costs. Utilizing the newest technology, it dazzles us with images of aggression, disintegration and death, devoid of any kind of artistic transformation. And it is really not easy to point out artists who would be able by the power of their art to resist these rituals of monstrosity and neutralization.[6]

In this situation, the compositional art of Penderecki created unprecedented new possibilities for musical expression that aimed to rebuild the none-too-good spiritual condition of contemporary humanity.

Analysis of Selected Fragments

Seven Gates of Jerusalem

In order to understand the master's individual compositional style, it is worthwhile to take a look at a few fragments from his monumental seven-movement work entitled *Seven Gates of Jerusalem*, also known as *Symphony no. 7*. This is a composition commissioned by the mayor of Jerusalem for celebrations of the 3000th anniversary of King David's conquest of this city – a holy place for the three great monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

The number 7 represents a symbolic message appealing to such concepts as wholeness, fullness, perfection; a divine attribute. This number is also associated with such expressions as the 7 gates of Thebes, the 7 cities of Homer, the 7 hills of Rome, the 7-branched candelabrum in Judaism, the 7 seals in the Apocalypse, the 7 heavens and 7 hells in Islam, and the 7 days of the week.[7] Penderecki's work, lasting about one hour, is built of 7 parts that do not, however, possess the characteristics of separate

5 Ibidem, pp. 59-60.

6 Ibiem, p. 36.

7 Cf. M. Tomaszewski, *Penderecki: Bunt i wyzwolenie* [Penderecki: Rebellion and Liberation], Vol. 2 *Odzyskiwanie raju* [The Regaining of Paradise], Kraków 2009, p. 228.

movements that can be identified with a concrete description or title. A quite unambiguous allusion to the symbol of the number 7 occurs in parts II and IV of the piece, representing a certain kind of motto that will also appear in the work's finale in the form of 7 *fortissimo* chords, which find release in the final E major sonority that also closes the *Passion According to St. Luke*.[8]

The piece is scored for 5 soloists, a narrator, 3 mixed choirs and orchestra. Also appearing in the ensemble are two tubaphones – new percussion instruments constructed specially for this work. The composer described them as follows:

> These are sets of open plastic pipes tuned by adjusting their length. You play them by striking the openings with felt-covered swatters. I based them on bamboo instruments used in Polynesia and New Guinea …. Their sound proved very interesting. Two tubaphones have a lot to say in the fifth movement.[9]

Figure 2. Tubaphone. Photo taken after *Seven Gates of Jerusalem* concert on 15 November 2009 at St. Catherine's Church in Kraków. Photo: Marek Skrukwa

The composition is based on a text taken in its entirety from books of the Old Testament, above all verses from five of the Psalms of David (47, 95,

8 Cf. ibidem, pp. 228-229, 238.

9 M. Zwyrzykowski, *Krzysztof Penderecki on "The Seven Gates of Jerusalem,"* transl. A. Zapałowski, fragment of interview given by K. Penderecki in Kraków on 30 December 1996. Material from CD booklet: K. Penderecki, *Seven Gates of Jerusalem*, CD Accord, 1997 (ACD 036, 011 332-2), p. 19.

129, 136 and 147).[10] The remaining fragments are drawn from the books of the prophets: the Books of Isaiah (Isa. 51:19), Jeremiah (Jer. 21:8), Daniel (Dan. 7:13) and Ezekiel (Ezek. 37:1-10). As usual in his oratorio-cantata works, Penderecki uses here the Latin translation of the Bible – the Vulgate.

The structure of the work as a whole is comprised of the following fragments of Holy Scripture:

Part I: Maestoso: Magnus Dominus	Ps. 47:2; Ps. 95:1-3; Ps. 47:15
Part 2. Adagio: Si oblitus	Ps. 136:5
Part 3. De profundis	Ps. 129:1-3
Part 4. Allegro, Adagio: Si oblitus	Ps. 136:5; Isa. 26:2; Isa. 52:1
Part 5. Vivace: Lauda, Jerusalem, Dominum	Ps. 147:1-3
Part 6. Senza misura: Facta es super me manus Domini	Ezek. 37:1-10
Part 7. Haec dicit Dominus	Jer. 21:8; Dan. 7:13; Isa. 59:19; Isa. 60:1-3; Isa. 60:11; Ps. 95:1, 3-4; Ps. 47:2; Ps. 47:15

It is easy to observe that the Book of Psalms represents the backbone of the composition's word layer. In his book *Labyrinth of Time: Five Addresses for the End of the Millennium*, Penderecki himself wrote:

> Currently preparing a composition for the 3000th birthday of Jerusalem, I have decided to return to the Psalms of David. This is a multiple return: to the roots of Judeo-Christian culture, to the sources of music.[11]

This choice seems to coincide with the opinion of other artists as well as researchers of the Psalms, who consider them to be "a masterpiece of the poetry and literature of the ancient Israelites, in which human thought has dressed in verbal raiment all that is most beautiful and splendid in humanity."[12]

In creating his peculiar libretto for *Seven Gates of Jerusalem*, Penderecki had been planning to highlight the Messianic motifs contained, for example, in the Apocalypse. In the end, however, he retreated from this plan and abandoned the New Testament texts, justifying this as follows: " [leafing through the Holy Scripture several times,] I found a suitable passage in Daniel which is considered an Apocalyptic book in its own right."[13]

10 Psalms in this article are numbered according to the Vulgate.

11 K. Penderecki, *Labirynt czasu. Pięć wykładów na koniec wieku* [Labyrinth of Time: Five Addresses for the End of the Millennium], op. cit., p. 40.

12 S. Grzybek, *Psałterz – księga naszych ludzkich zobowiązań* [The Psalter – The Book of Our Human Obligations], "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" 1983 (36), No. 1, p. 1.

13 M. Zwyrzykowski, *Krzysztof Penderecki on "The Seven Gates of Jerusalem,"* op. cit., p. 17.

The fragment under discussion found its place in the final, seventh part of the piece. It is one sentence from a verse in the Book of Daniel (Dan. 7:13), showing the Resurrected One in the role of Messiah-King: "Et ecce cum nubilis coeli quasi Filius hominis veniebat" ("And lo, one like the son of man came with the clouds of heaven").[14]

Figure 3. K. Penderecki, *Seven Gates of Jerusalem*, part VII. Score published by Schott Music in 1997, p. 128

In Penderecki's work, this quote has received a suggestive musical setting. The composer has entrusted the prophet's words to the bass voice. It is worth noting the particular highlighting of the word „Filius," thanks to the use of the highest note in the entire statement, *e-flat*[1], reinforced with *forte* dynamics. Emotional gradation is achieved by the ascending

14 *The Holy Bible: Douay-Rheims Version*, Charlotte 2009, OT p. 961. [Note: Pages in this edition are numbered separately for Old Testament (OT) and New Testament (NT)]. In his *œuvre*, Penderecki utilizes the text of the Vulgate, i.e. the Latin version of the Bible from St. Jerome. Biblical quotes from the scores of *Seven Gates of Jerusalem* and the *Passion According to St. Luke* are therefore given in the Douay-Rheims version, first published by The English College at Rheims in 1582, and by The English College at Douay in 1609.

direction of the melodic line, chromatic notes, an upward leap of a seventh, and the division of the statement into short segments using eighth rests. All of these devices give this bass statement a recitative character. It appears against the background of the orchestral ensemble, whose part extraordinarily clearly gives the music a certain mobility by virtue of accumulating triplet 16th-notes, alluding to the Baroque musical-rhetorical figure *circulatio*, which was used in places where the content referred to words reflecting, for example, circulation or undulation.

Another fragment I would like to point out, on account of its interesting orchestration, is the words of the prophet Ezekiel from part VI. His voice sounds proud and urgent, thanks to the narrator's recitation in the national language, adapted to the place where the piece is performed. This is the only fragment of this work where the composer abandons Latin. According to his intention, Ezekiel speaks Hebrew in Jerusalem; Polish in Poland etc. The aim of such a procedure is for listeners to understand the message and nuances of the text in their native language. Even just the meaning of the prophet's words produces the appropriate emotions, while the musical atmosphere aids in contemplation of their semantic content.

The selected passage – one of the best-known passages from the Book of Ezekiel (Ezek. 37:1-10) – presents a vision of the resurrection of the people of Israel. Yahweh transports the prophet in a vision to a field strewn with human bones. An extraordinary intervention of God causes the bones to become clothed with flesh. Next, the Creator breathes into them a spirit that revives them. This scene alludes to the description of the creation of man from the Book of Genesis (Gen. 2:7). The vision of Ezekiel depicts the situation of the chosen people in exile, dispersed and unable to rise up to new life on their own strength. The prophet teaches that a return from slavery and the resurrection of Israel are still possible, but only by the action of God alone. Only the breath of God's spirit will transform defeat into victory.[15]

In his work, Penderecki adds to this extraordinary recitation – representing an exception in the work as a whole – the peculiar, mysterious sound of a bass trumpet, imitating the Biblical *shofar*, that is, ram's horn trumpet: the only ritual instrument used to this day that survived the destruction by the Romans of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE.[16] It was used to appeal to God in times of fire, flood, famine and drought.[17] It has a very long history preserved in the pages of the Bible. It was used on the first

15 Cf. *New American Bible (Revised Edition)*, New York 2012, p. 1043.

16 Cf. J. Montagu, *Musical Instruments of the Bible*, Lanham/London 2002, pp. 19-24.

17 Cf. ibidem, p. 134.

day of the year to call the Israelites to repentance for sins committed.[18] It also fulfilled the role of a military trumpet. For example, it appears in the description of Gideon's liberation of the chosen people from the oppression of the Midianites (Judg. 7:16).[19] It also appears in the Book of Leviticus in the context of celebrations of the jubilee year, whose arrival was announced every fifty years with the sound of this particular instrument:[20]

> You shall count seven weeks of years – seven times seven years – such that the seven weeks of years amount to forty-nine years. Then, on the tenth day of the seventh month let the ram's horn resound (Lev. 25:8-9).[21]

This description is all the more important in that it invokes the symbolic riches of the number 7, which represents an important point of reference in Penderecki's work.

The composer himself justified as follows the selection of this instrument, which finally appears in the work in symbolic form:

> I would use a *shofar* or ram's-horn trumpet, considering its important role in the Hebrew tradition. However, the range of this instrument is very limited and it would even be difficult to tune with the orchestra. That's why I gave up the idea and instead used a bass trumpet which, for me, symbolizes the voice of God …[22]

It is worth adding that presently, a modern trumpet is also used at certain Reform synagogues instead of the *shofar*.[23]

Let us take a look at how the composer utilizes the peculiar-sounding bass trumpet, which embodies the *shofar* in this piece. In the musical material of the trumpet part, we discern the symbolically-presented, as it were, materialized voice of God, heralding the revival of the dry bones lying in the field, under the influence of God's breath. The trumpet melody is of signal-like character. It appears in *forte* dynamics and initially oscillates within the interval of a second. Next, its amplitude expands, and 16th-note diminution causes an increase in mobility. The melody aims upward, often in tritone leaps, to finish its course an octave away from the initial note. Thus, the segment as a whole is bracketed, as it were, by

18 Cf. ibidem, p. 26.

19 Cf. ibidem, p. 22.

20 Cf. ibidem, p. 20.

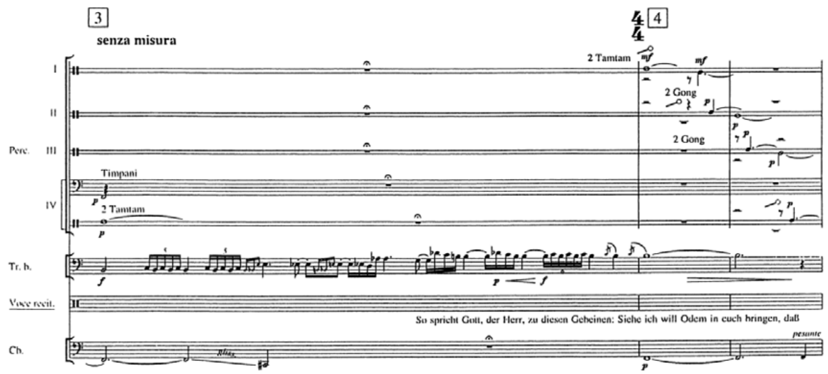
21 *New American Bible (Revised Edition)*, op. cit., p. 142.

22 G. Michalski, *The Seven Gates of Jerusalem*, transl. A. Zapałowski, material from CD booklet: K. Penderecki, *Seven Gates of Jerusalem*, CD Accord, 1997 (ACD 036, 011 332-2), p. 10.

23 Cf. J. Montagu, *Musical Instruments of the Bible*, op. cit., p. 136.

a perfect interval. The tension thereby achieved, centralized on the final long *forte* note, serves to bring out the words of the narrator reciting in the national language: “Behold, I will send spirit into you, and you shall live” (Ezek. 37:5).[24]

Figure 4. K. Penderecki, *Seven Gates of Jerusalem*, part VI. Score published by Schott Music in 1997, p. 120



Penderecki prepares the entire atmosphere necessary to create this mystical mood through an initially subdued orchestra; and then, through murmurs produced by the strings, which are joined by sounds coming from specially-selected percussion instruments. Such a utilization of the orchestra – which is, let us add, situated peculiarly in the performance space – brings out in an exceptional manner the mood associated with the expansive field from Ezekiel’s vision, covered with human bones, from which difficult-to-identify sounds emanate. Long, tied notes bring out the stillness reigning in this space.

Passion According to St. Luke

Another work by Krzysztof Penderecki, *Passio et mors Domini Nostri Iesu Christi secundum Lucam*, is a masterpiece written, as he himself said, “above all for the millennium of the baptism of Poland,”[25] although the occasion also coincided with a commission he had received from the Westdeutscher Rundfunk in conjunction with the 700th birthday of the cathedral in Münster. The composition continues to enjoy extraordinary popularity. It is

24 *The Holy Bible: Douay-Rheims Version*, op. cit., OT, p. 934.

25 Cf. A. Lewandowska-Kąkol, *Dźwięki, szepty, zgrzyty. Wywiady z kompozytorami* [Sounds, Whispers, Dissonances: Interviews with Composers], op. cit., p. 40.

worth mentioning that after its world première on 30 March 1966, it "went around the world and was numbered by music historians among the most distinguished works of the 20th century."[26] According to information from 2007, it has been performed worldwide over 1000 times.[27] The performance ensemble is comprised of 3 soloists and a narrator; beyond this, 3 mixed choirs and a boys' choir appear, along with a symphonic orchestra that is not infrequently utilized in a very understated manner.

Reflections on the selection of the gospel account for the *Passion*, as well as on the entirety of the work's text, were undertaken multiple times by Penderecki. As I have already mentioned, this work is in a certain sense a collage. The main backbone is represented by a Passion account – both intellectual and poetic – based on the Gospel According to St. Luke. It is a description left by an erudite person who possessed a Classical knowledge base. The composer wanted to mark this account with a greater dramatic element; this is why he also utilized three key fragments drawn from the Gospel According to St. John.[28] They are to be found in Part II of the work, and describe events that took place on the Way of the Cross ("and carrying the cross himself he went out to what is called the Place of the Skull, in Hebrew, Golgotha" – John 19:17)[29] and after the Crucifixion: the scene beneath the Cross, i.e. the conversation with his Mother and St. John, as well as "Consummatum est" (John 19:30) ("It is consummated"[30] or "It is finished"[31]).

The structure of the Passion narrative as a whole, which is comprised of various text fragments, proceeds as follows:

26 M. Tomaszewski, *Penderecki: Bunt i wyzwolenie* [Penderecki: Rebellion and Liberation], Vol. 1, *Rozpętanie żywiołów* [The Elements Unleashed], Kraków 2008, p. 205.

27 Cf. R. Chłopicka, *Temat męki i śmierci Chrystusa w twórczości Krzysztofa Pendereckiego* [The Subject of the Passion and Death of Christ in the Works of Krzysztof Penderecki], in: *Perły muzyki kościelnej: chorał gregoriański i „Gorzkie żale"* [Pearls of Church Music: Gregorian Chant and the Lenten Psalms], eds. R. Tyrała, W. Kałamarz, Kraków 2007, p. 109.

28 Cf. P. Ćwikliński, J. Ziarno, *Pasja o Krzysztofie Pendereckim* [A Passion About Krzysztof Penderecki], Warszawa 1993, pp. 71-72.

29 *The Holy Bible: Douay-Rheims Version*, op. cit., NT, p. 129.

30 Ibidem, NT, p. 130.

31 *New American Bible (Revised Edition)*, op. cit., p. 1336.

PART I	Introductory Chorus – Hymn: *O crux* *Vexilla regis prodeunt 21-26*
Scene 1	*Jesus on the Mount of Olives* Luke 22:39-44 Ps. 21:2-3; Ps. 5:2: *Deus, Deus meus* – aria Ps. 14:1; Ps. 4:9; Ps. 15:9: *Domine, quis habitabit* – aria
Scene 2	*Arrest* Luke 22:47-53 Lament: *Jerusalem, Jerusalem* Ps. 9:22: *Ut quid Domine* – *a cappella* chorus
Scene 3	*Peter's Denial* Luke 22:54-62 Ps. 42:1: *Iudica me, Deus* – aria
Scene 4	*Mocking at the High Priest's Residence* Luke 22:63-70 Lament: *Jerusalem, Jerusalem* Ps. 55:2: *Miserere mei* – *a cappella* chorus
Scene 5	*Jesus before Pilate* Luke 23:1-22
PART II	Ps. 21:16: *Et in pulverem mortis*
Scene 1	*Way of the Cross* John 19:17 Improperia: *Popule meus – Passacaglia*
Scene 2	*Crucifixion* Luke 23:33 Antiphon: *Crux fidelis* – aria Luke 23:34 Ps. 21:16-20: *Et in pulverem mortis* – *a cappella* chorus
Scene 3	*Mocking of Christ Crucified* Luke 23:35-37 *Jesus Between the Thieves* Luke 23:39-43 *Conversation with Mother and John beneath the Cross* John 19:25-27 Sequence: *Stabat Mater*
Scene 4	*Death of Christ* Luke 23:44-46 John 19:30 Instrumental elegy
Finale	Recapitulation of principal motifs Ps. 30:2-3, 6: *In te, Domine, speravi*

As can be observed from the above schematic table, the piece is comprised of two parts. The first begins with the solemn hymn *O crux*, after which the following scenes ensue: the prayer on the Mount of Olives, the arrest, Peter's three-time denial, the mocking at the High Priest's residence, the judgment at Pilate's residence. Each of the above-mentioned scenes closes with a fragment of contemplative character, couched in the form of a solo aria (e.g. *Deus meus*) or a psalm sung *a cappella* (e.g. *Ut quid Domine*). An exception is represented by the final scene, interrupted by the dramatic cry of the *turba* chorus: "Crucify him!" The second part of the *Passion* presents the Way of the Cross, the Crucifixion, scenes playing out in the area surrounding the Cross, and Christ's death scene closing out the drama of Golgotha. Just as in the first part, here as well, each event is followed by a lyrical commentary comprised of, in turn: Improperia (*Popule meus – Passacaglia*), a psalm (*In pulverem mortis*), a sequence (*Stabat Mater*), an instrumental elegy and a final chorus filled with hope – *In te, Domine, speravi*.

The manner of selection or combination of the texts, the two-part form given to the work, the narrative part (the Evangelist), the dramatic segments (*turba* choruses, scenes with division into roles) and lyrical segments (solo arias, psalms), as well as the exordium beginning the piece (*O crux*) and the *conclusio* closing it (*In te, Domine, speravi*), all allude to the Baroque oratorio-cantata Passion form. Penderecki was invoking the model par excellence represented by the Passions of J.S. Bach. As he himself said, "Aside from Johann Sebastian Bach, I had no other models."[32] Asked once where he got the audacity to measure himself with the already existing and well-known Passions, he said, "I think I was too young for my hand to waver. I simply had no idea what I was getting myself into."[33]

Let us see how Penderecki prepared the musical setting for the culminating moment of the *Passion According to St. Luke*, i.e. Christ's death scene. The composer juxtaposed here fragments from the accounts of St. Luke and St. John. In the Gospel According to St. Luke, no extreme emotions appear. Jesus calls upon the Father and prays in the words of Psalm 30:6: "Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum" (Luke 23:46) ("Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit")[34]. This psalm is

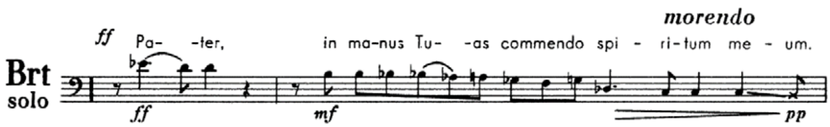
32 Cf. A. Lewandowska-Kąkol, *Dźwięki, szepty, zgrzyty. Wywiady z kompozytorami* [Sounds, Whispers, Dissonances: Interviews with Composers], op. cit., p. 39.

33 The text comes from an interview given to M. Tomaszewski, in: *Rozmowy lusławickie* [*Lusławice Conversations*], Vol. 1, Olszanica 2005, pp. 151-152. Cited according to: M. Tomaszewski, *Penderecki: Bunt i wyzwolenie* [Penderecki: Rebellion and Liberation], Vol. 1, *Rozpętanie żywiołów* [The Elements Unleashed], op. cit., p. 205.

34 *The Holy Bible: Douay-Rheims Version*, op. cit., NT, p. 101.

simultaneously a lamentation and the grateful prayer of a person who has difficult trials behind him. However, these experiences do not contribute to a weakening of the trust that this person places in Yahweh, who is a faithful God.[35]

Figure 5. K. Penderecki, *Passio et mors Domini Nostri Iesu Christi secundum Lucam*, PWM Edition, Kraków 1982, p. 109



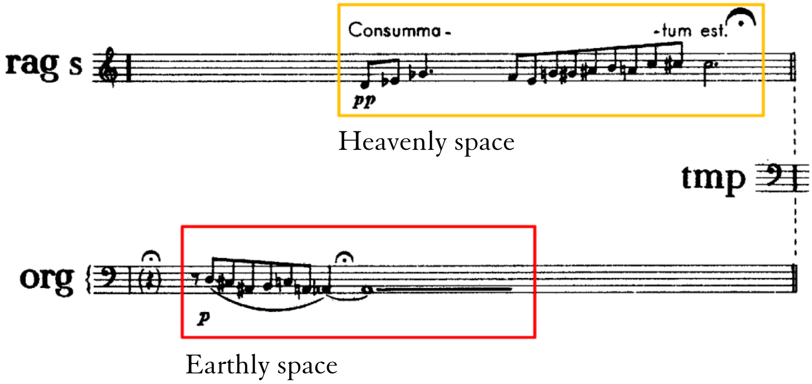
The compositional procedure I would like to point out concerns the setting of one word, demarcated from the context with rests: "Pater." It emerges from Christ's lips like a scream, which finds reflection both in the *fortissimo* dynamics and in the utilization of the high note *e-flat*^{1}. It is worth adding that this is the only place in the *Passion* that adopts a setting of the word "Pater" in which the melodic line descends, in this way evoking the emotions associated with Christ's impending death. In the remaining places, this word has been expressed by an ascending melodic line.

The subsequent statement of Christ, after the word "Pater," forms a now-uninterrupted structure. Jesus expresses his final submission to the will of the Father for the last time. The musical setting takes the form of a descending melodic line that finally dies away, depicting the end of a human life marked by transitoriness and emptiness. Everything dies down through lengthening rhythmic values and *pianissimo* dynamics. The composer marked this place in the score *morendo*, i.e. "dying away." The words of Christ "Into thy hands I commend my spirit" are heard solo, with no support from any instrument, which places an additional emphasis on their significance.

Next, the listener's attention is riveted by the interesting setting of the last words of the Savior, from the account of St. John (John 19:30) "Consummatum est" ("It is finished"):

35 Cf. *Księga Psalmów. Wstęp, przekład z oryginału, komentarz, ekskursy* [The Book of Psalms: Introduction, Translation from the Original, Commentary, Excurses], ed. S. Łach, Poznań 1990, pp. 204-205.

Figure 6. K. Penderecki, *Passio et mors Domini Nostri Iesu Christi secundum Lucam*, PWM Edition, Kraków 1982, p. 110



First, a descending melodic line that is a symbolic presentation of imperfect, mortal human nature appears in the organ part. This entire segment, from Christ's words "Pater" up to the closure in the organ part, is marked by death in the purely human, temporal sense, while the choir of boy sopranos quietly singing "Consummatum est" ("It is finished") is an expression of a completely different reality. The melody aims upward, reflecting the heavenly sphere. It is intriguing that the last words of Christ play the role of a commentary and are heard already after his death.[36] It is, as it were, a depiction of the voice of Jesus' soul – free, entering into heaven. Many composers have turned their hands to a description of the last words of the Savior transmitted by St. John, for only in this account does the Greek word τετέλεσται ("It is finished")[37] appear. It means the perfection of the finished work, the fulfillment of the Son of God's salvific mission.

Penderecki's settings of the Biblical text show the extraordinary care taken to ensure that the word be reflected by the sound as precisely as possible, as is particularly visible on the example of the most important statements appearing at the key moments in the *Passion*. One could get the impression that the composer employed procedures alluding to the musical rhetoric that we encounter in the works of the Cantor of Leipzig. At the

36 Cf. R. Chłopicka, *Temat męki i śmierci Chrystusa w twórczości Krzysztofa Pendereckiego* [The Subject of the Passion and Death of Christ in the Works of Krzysztof Penderecki], op. cit., p. 121.

37 Cf. *The Greek New Testament*, 4th revised edition, 11th printing, eds. B. Aland, K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C.M. Martini and B. Metzger, Stuttgart 2006, p. 399.

same time, Penderecki used compositional techniques typical of contemporary music. He created twelve-tone series, made use of quarter-tones. He utilized Sonorist experiments. Not infrequently, the human voice can sound surprising, e.g. when the choir shouts, performs the lowest or highest possible notes, or – as in the fragment I am describing – sings in a just barely audible *pianissimo*, without instrumental support.

Summary

By taking up Biblical themes in his *œuvre*, Krzysztof Penderecki effectuated the idea of returning art to its Christian roots. Analyses of selected fragments of his outstanding works (*Seven Gates of Jerusalem* and *Passion According to St. Luke*) show that the composer performed a peculiar, apt and suggestive "translation" of Biblical content into musical language, using contemporary compositional techniques as well as alluding at times to the tradition of J.S. Bach.

In the above compositions, Penderecki utilized the sound of the instruments, assigning them symbolic meaning, and even experimenting with their construction (tubaphone). He also introduced a spatially-distributed orchestra, assigning the human voice its original, purely declamatory function, without any limitations of rhythm or meter. The composer thus took certain steps to theatricalize the musical work, in order to enable a deeper reception of the Biblical content by the audience.

Penderecki consciously undertook to translate theological content into his own individual language, and did so in such a distinctive manner that we can analyze the composer's *œuvre* and discern his premises without the ambiguity so often encountered in contemporary music. This consistency engenders a certain feeling of harmony in the recipient, resulting from proper relationships between word and sound. The manner in which the composer musically set theologically-important words or lengthier statements enhances their message, evoking specific emotions and experiences in listeners, without leaving them as passive participants in the musical performance. This happens because the scale of the sonic impressions, in combination with the revealed word, achieves the aim intended by the composer, evoking an extraordinary state of artistic experience among listeners.

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Challenges in Managing Multicultural Teams

ABSTRACT

The aim of the article is to identify challenges in managing multicultural teams, which, according to the authors, are extremely important in modern human resource management. This paper is based on literature studies and available reports. The authors prove that the challenges associated with the effective management of multicultural teams are very large, especially considering the stereotypes and prejudices related to the cultural diversity of employees and the diverse competences of managers who manage multicultural teams. The main value of the study is to clarify the need to raise the awareness of managers in terms of the development potential of multicultural teams, taking into account both their strengths and weaknesses, while pointing to the need for competence development in managers and their ability to build positive relations between representatives of different cultures.

KEY WORDS: multiculturalism, intercultural management, cultural diversity, multicultural teams, manager

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STRESZCZENIE

Wyzwania w zarządzaniu zespołami wielokulturowymi

Celem artykułu jest identyfikacja wyzwań w zarządzaniu zespołami wielokulturowymi, które zdaniem autorek są szczególnie ważne we współczesnym zarządzaniu zasobami ludzkimi. Opierając się na różnych źródłach, autorki argumentują, że wyzwania związane ze skutecznym zarządzaniem wielokulturowymi zespołami są bardzo duże, szczególnie mając na uwadze stereotypy i uprzedzenia łączące się z różnorodnością kulturową pracowników oraz zróżnicowane kompetencje menedżerów, którzy zarządzają wielokulturowymi zespołami. W pierwszej części artykułu wyjaśniono pojęcia wielokulturowości i zarządzania międzykulturowego. W kolejnej części przedstawiono atuty i słabości pracy w wielokulturowych zespołach. Następnie opisano kompetencje i najważniejsze zadania menedżerów zespołów wielokulturowych, a w ostatniej części przeanalizowano wyzwania – trudności i problemy w zarządzaniu wielokulturowymi zespołami.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: wielokulturowość, zarządzanie międzykulturowe, różnorodność kulturowa, zespoły wielokulturowe, menedżer

1. Introduction

In the wake of globalization and growing competition, employees and their behaviors are increasingly becoming a major determinant of the development of modern organizations. As M.J. Stankiewicz writes,

> the behaviors of people are always the accelerator of actions and resource productivity. Behaviors that result in high efficiency of operations and resource productivity ... In turn, the behavior of people, including employees of enterprises, also have their reasons, which include a specific organizational climate and a specific organizational culture. The climate and culture stimulating pro-development behaviors are particularly desirable because they positively affect the development of the enterprise.[1]

Especially in international environments, multicultural teams influence the development potential of the organization.

1 M.J. Stankiewicz, *Wstęp*, in: *Pozytywny potencjał organizacji. Wstęp do użytecznej teorii zarządzania*, TNOiK Dom Organizatora, Toruń 2010, p. 10.

According to the authors, attitudes and behaviors of employees in such teams and their multi-faceted experiences can positively affect innovation, flexibility, the speed of adaptation on various markets and building a competitive advantage. Shaping positive work environments in multicultural teams and using the talents and experience of employees from different countries are the basic tasks of contemporary managers operating in international environments.

The aim of the article is to analyze the issues of multiculturalism in the context of the functioning of culturally diverse teams and the competences of managers responsible for their work.

The research method chosen by the authors is the analysis of the literature in the field of multiculturalism and intercultural management, in addition to research carried out by various authors in the area of discussed issues.

2. Multiculturalism and multicultural management – concepts

Ongoing globalization has resulted in increased migration and the emergence of supranational organizations. This had a significant impact on the way of managing organizations, in particular in the situation of cultural diversity of employees. The concept of managing diversity (multiculturalism) has begun to develop.

Many representatives of various sciences, e.g., psychology, sociology or management studies have dealt with the issue of multiculturalism. In the literature on multiculturalism, we find various approaches to these issues and the analyzed research problems. The contemporary direction of research on the impact of national culture on the development of the organization, and thus also on human resources management, was shaped by G. Hofstede, F. Trompenaars, and R. House.

Multiculturalism is treated as a phenomenon of merging and adding various patterns in people's actions. It is possible only through the use of appropriate language, moral and religious norms, or accepted values. In addition to these elements, multiculturalism may be influenced by shared destinies or traditions.

Other multicultural authors refer directly to the organization in which this phenomenon occurs. Pointing out that a multicultural organization allows for the existence and cooperation of various cultural and social groups as full participants realizing the mission and goals of the organization, such as eliminating activities that can in any way represent social oppression and educating others in a multicultural perspective.

The occurrence of multiculturalism in organizations has more and more often resulted in the presentation of models of multicultural organizations in the literature. They stand out among others types and levels of multicultural development of the organization. According to T. Paleczny, three levels of multiculturalism can be identified in organizations: co-existence, penetration and confusion, and structural connection. A specific type of multiculturalism in organizations is influenced, among others, by relations between people, a decision-making process that can improve or hinder achievement of the organization's goals.

In 1981, B.W. Jackson and R. Hardiman, in the article *Organizational stages of multicultural awareness*, developed a model describing three levels of multiculturalism in organizations (a monocultural organization, a non-discriminating organization, and a multicultural organization), in which each of them is separated into two stages in a multicultural development process. The stages are sequential, but this does not mean that the organization is only on one level of multiculturalism. Experience from functioning and limitations at a given level contribute to the organization's ability to move to the next stage. An organization may show that it is on one, several or all levels of multiculturalism in its individual units or departments.

Multicultural management is referred to in the literature as the management of cultural diversity, intercultural management, or multiculturalism. Most often, it is identified with the existence of at least two cultures in one organization. The more cultures co-exist in an organization, the more managers should be shaping the elements of a multicultural organization, emphasizing the similarities and cultural differences of individual employee groups.

Multicultural management in organizations covers many socio-cultural aspects that may affect the functioning of human teams as well as the entire organization. Among them, there are five groups:

- demographic characteristics such as age, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, physical condition, religion, and education;
- knowledge, skills, and abilities related to tasks;
- values, views, and attitudes;
- personality and cognitive styles, and attitudes;
- organization status, such as hierarchical position, professional domain, an affiliation with branches, and seniority. This is mainly about recognizing, taking into account and respecting the diversity of cultural groups – building a society without prejudice and discrimination.

The authors would like to emphasize that the increase in the internationalization of work environments is more and more often affecting the management processes taking place in contemporary organizations. This is particularly visible in the area of activities undertaken in relation to human resources, including conducting training in the field of cultural diversity or using new forms of communication (table 1).

Table 1. Levels of work environment internationalization

Level	Characteristics
Low	• over 90% of employees are local employees • contact mainly with representatives of the contractor on foreign markets using modern technologies • cooperation with foreign partners forces employees (mainly top-level personnel and selected specialists) to visit at foreign locations of contractors • the binding language is the language of the country in which the company's headquarters are located • the local career model dominates
Middle	• 50-90% of staff in a given unit represent the same country of origin, other employees come from other countries • the company's activity is carried out on the territory of min. 2 countries • local culture dominates • the local language prevails, but some of the documents are created in a foreign language known in all business units • frequent contacts with partners using modern technologies • there are projects/activities that require close cooperation between representatives of various business units • procedures are mainly created at the head office and implemented independent business units • usually local career, foreign positions only for outstanding specialists and top management
High	• employees are representatives of various countries • any entity initiating employment (headquarters, branch, own initiative of the employee) • high mobility of employees, frequent occurrence of multicultural teams • trans-corporation culture with local elements dominates • intensive use of modern technologies, frequent occurrence of virtual teams • there are two languages in force, of which the trans corporate language is dominant • the best solutions are implemented in all units regardless of the country of origin • high flexibility of working hours and tools used • possible international career model

Source: Kubica I., *Wpływ poziomu umiędzynarodowienia środowiska pracy na proces adaptacji pracowniczej*, "Marketing i Rynek" 2016, No. 3, pp. 424-425.

It is important to internationalize the work environment leaving the branches a high degree of freedom in the implementation of tasks, also with regard to employees. This has an impact on better utilization of employees' potential, thus increasing the competitiveness of the entire corporation.

To sum up, in the literature, the term *multiculturalism* is defined by many authors representing various sciences, which means that one can still speak about ambiguity in defining this term. It is used to define existing cultural diversity at the level of society or individual organizations, in which actions are taken to eliminate social oppression, as well as involve and educate all employees in the aspect of organizational functioning in a multicultural perspective.

Increasingly, in the literature, one can also observe attempts to indicate the levels of multicultural development in the organization, as well as the diversity of activities undertaken in the organization, depending on the level of internationalization of the work environment. It should be noted that the phenomenon of multiculturalism in the organization should be considered in terms of durability, multi-levelness, and voluntary intercultural contacts.

The basic tasks of people managing a modern organization should, therefore, be a constant analysis and recognition of the levels and stages of multiculturalism, depending on the units or departments and adapting the appropriate management tools. In particular, it is visible in the work of teams consisting of employees from different countries with different religious denominations and system of values.

3. Working in multicultural teams – advantages and disadvantages

The development of international organizations has contributed to the emergence of global teams whose members differ not only in terms of their place of residence, but also have a different cultural background (different values and expectations) and come from various professional backgrounds. This has both positive and negative effects on the functioning of the organization. On the one hand, this may lead to conflicts and misunderstandings between colleagues as a result of differences in professed values, and on the other hand to create innovative ideas that are the result of the diversity of team members.

In the literature, the results of research showing both positive and negative aspects of the operation of multicultural teams are also increasingly found (table 2). Positive effects include, in particular, increased levels of creativity,[2]

2 Ch.-Y. Cheng, J. Sanchez-Burks, F. Lee, *Connecting the dots within: Creative performance and identity integration*, "Psychological Science" 2008, 19, pp. 1178-1184; Ch.-Y. Cheng, M. Sanders, J. Sanchez-Burks, K.L.F. Molina, E. Darling, Y. Zhao, *Reaping the rewards of diversity: The role of identity integration*, "Social and Personality Psychology Compass" 2, pp. 1182-1198.

more complex thinking,[3] higher awareness and responsiveness of multicultural groups compared to monocultural groups,[4] improvement of quality, learning ability and vitality, positive organizational changes, increase of satisfaction and efficiency of communication.[5]

Trefry, in research conducted among employees representing nine nationalities who have worked in eight multicultural organizations in Luxembourg, shows that the basic advantages of acting in such diverse teams include: the ability to apply knowledge from different cultures in implemented business projects; better decision making and problem-solving taking into account different perspectives; increased creativity and innovation of the products and services provided. In addition, the respondents pointed to individual benefits such as increased personal coping skills in unexpected situations; broadening employee perspectives in the field of diverse issues in the organization; increase in tolerance and acceptance of interpersonal differences; greater flexibility in their own behavior, styles of communication and interaction; the opportunity to get to know yourself better.

Greater tolerance towards representatives of other cultures is the basic advantage of working on multicultural teams. In an international environment, it is known that employees from different countries are different, hence leaving them space to be different is advised. The sense of group acceptance undoubtedly influences the level of motivation, quality of work or speed of action in such teams. Diversified experiences of members

3 V. Benet-Martinez, F. Lee, J. Leu, *Biculturalism and cognitive complexity: Expertise in cultural representations*, "Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology" 2006, No. 37, pp. 386-407; C.T. Tadmor, P.E. Tetlock, *Biculturalism: A model of the effects of second culture exposure on acculturation and integrative complexity*, "Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology" 2006, No. 37, pp. 173-190.

4 M.Y. Brannen, D. Garcia, D.C. Thomas, *Biculturals as natural bridges for intercultural communication and collaboration*, paper presented at the International Workshop on Intercultural Collaboration, Palo Alto, California, USA, February 20-21, 2009, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Mary_Brannen/publication/234810846_Biculturals_as_natural_bridges_for_intercultural_communication_and_collaboration/links/56ef9b4508ae59dd41c735dd/Biculturals-as-natural-bridges-for-interculturalcommunication-and-collaboration.pdf (access: 16.04.2018).

5 W.E. Watson, K. Kumar, L.K. Michaelsen, *Cultural diversity's impact on interaction process and performance: Comparing homogeneous and diverse task groups*, "Academy of Management Journal" 1993, No. 36, pp. 590-602; R.J. Ely, D.A. Thomas, *Cultural diversity at work: The effects of diversity perspectives on work group processes and outcomes*, "Administrative Science Quarterly" 2001, No. 46, pp. 229-273; M.N. Davidson, E.J. James, *The engines of positive relationships across difference: Conflict and learning*, in: *Exploring positive relationships at work: Building a theoretical and research foundation*, eds. E.J. Dutton, B.R. Ragins, Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ 2006, pp. 137-158; F.G. Stevens, V.C. Plaut, J. Sanchez-Burks, *Unlocking the benefits of diversity. All-inclusive multiculturalism and positive organizational change*, "The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science," 2008, Vol. 44, No.1, pp. 116-133.

of multicultural teams have an impact on greater creativity, creative problem solving and searching for new solutions.

Table 2. Advantages and disadvantages of diversity in multicultural teams

Advantages	Disadvantages
Diversity permits increased creativity + Wider range of perspectives + More and better ideas + Less groupthink	Diversity causes lack of cohesion – Mistrust – Miscommunication – Stress
Diversity forces enhanced concentration to understand others' + Ideas + Perspectives + Meanings + Arguments	Lack of cohesion causes an inability to – Validate ideas and people – Agree when the agreement is needed – Gain consensus on decisions – Take collaborative action
Increased creativity can lead to generating + Better problem definitions + More alternatives + Better solutions + Better decisions	
Teams can become + More effective + More productive	Teams can become – Less efficient – Less effective – Less productive

Source: Adler N., Gundersen A., *International Dimensions of Organizational Behavior*, 5th Edition, Thomson South-Western, Mason 2008.

According to the authors, multicultural teams also provide greater opportunities for effective cooperation on international markets and the ability to efficiently operate at the crossroads of different cultures, and that they effectively recognize and satisfy the needs of international clients.

Adler points out that although multicultural teams have the potential to be the most effective and efficient teams, they often become the least productive. The greater diversity among team members makes the interaction and dynamics of the group much more complex. Trefra's research results show that team development may be slower because the time needed to build relationships and trust is longer. Among other flaws, in a multicultural team, respondents point to more time-consuming and more difficult communication between different people; creating a common understanding requires much more effort; different expectations of different people often lead to misunderstandings, conflicts and more negative assessments. Such problems may reduce organizational efficiency and increase organizational costs, mainly due to the increase in staff turnover and the time necessary to solve problems arising in the functioning of multicultural teams.

In addition, the disadvantages of working in multicultural teams include, for example, such phenomena as distrust, conflicts, misunderstandings or communication difficulties just in the context of cultural differences. In many organizations, multiculturalism of the group may create negative dynamics, such as ethnocentrism, stereotypes and cultural clashes. These phenomena may adversely affect team relations, limit cooperation, lead to a decrease in the quality of tasks performed, negatively affecting employee attitudes and behavior.

It is essential that in all multicultural teams, all employees have a well-mastered language in which they communicate. Language problems and various, often completely different, communication behaviors may lead to many limitations in effective cooperation and action.

The disadvantages of working on multicultural teams also include the differences that may pertain to the context of cultural communication, i.e. the assessment in terms of the amount of common knowledge and assumptions. In addition, differences regarding the perception of time and space, the diversification of values or various ways of observing the same values in different cultures, such as hospitality, expressing emotions, building relationships, or gifts and souvenirs.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that in multicultural teams, both positive and negative effects of their functioning in the organization can be observed. The benefits include: empathy, or understanding of the ways of perception, feelings, motives of action and emotions of various groups, acceptance of diversity, taking into account common interests, motivations and values of different groups, ability to make concessions to different groups, constant adaptation, sensitivity to cultural changes and new challenges. Negative aspects include mainly communication problems, emerging misunderstandings about existing stereotypes and cultural differences. Therefore, the manager plays such an important role in the development of such teams.

4. Competencies of managers of multicultural teams

A modern manager should have many competencies that will enable him or her to better manage the organization. It may turn out, however, that a good command of a foreign language or the ability to manage people is not sufficient in managing multicultural teams. Using the same tools and techniques in your home country will not always allow you to achieve the same results in other countries. An important element is, first and foremost, the manager's intercultural competence, or intelligence. In the literature, they are defined as "the disposition of exercising control and guiding the social environment in the context of adopted goals in the conditions of cultural diversity while having adequate cognitive and emotional resources."

According to Thomas and Inkson, an international organization's manager should have three interrelated and complementary qualities:

- knowledge – the knowledge of intercultural differences;
- getting to know – the ability to recognize and interpret behaviors, gestures, and statements of other people in the international environment in a specific situation and apply the knowledge gained in dealing with others;
- behavior – the ability to respond to the behavior of others in an automatic and effortless manner adapting to the other party free from stereotypes.

In a similar way, he or she recognizes the intercultural competence as defined by K. Gajek, based on the division of competences according to M. Czerepaniak-Walczak, distinguishing three areas: the ability to behave adequately, awareness of the need and effects of behavior, on top of accepting responsibility for the effects of behavior (table 3).

Table 3. Structure and identification of the scope of intercultural competences

Skills of adequate behavior	knowledge of cultural standards	• everyday rituals • values and standards
	knowledge of communication codes	• language and body language • the importance of the communication context
Awareness of the needs and effects of behavior	knowledge of group mechanisms	• mechanisms of group functioning • formation of groups and shaping of group identity
	Self-consciousness	• cognitive factors • communication factors
	awareness of others	• individual dispositions • mechanisms of building and sustaining individual identity
Ability to take responsibility for action	Self-decision making	• assertiveness • impartiality
	Anticipation	• formulating goals • selection of communication tools • prediction of effects

Source: Gajek K., *Kompetencje międzykulturowe absolwenta szkoły wyższej*, in: *Kompetencje absolwentów szkół wyższych na miarę czasów: wybrane ujęcia*, ed. A. Szerląg, Oficyna Wydawnicza ATUT, Wrocław 2009, pp. 3-4.

According to Maznevski and DiStefano, a manager employed in an international organization should be competent in three areas: learning and adaptation, managing interpersonal relationships, and the ability to cope with difficult situations. This is also confirmed by the research of other authors indicating the ability to learn from other cultures, adapt to new situations and changes, and manage cultural diversity. A manager in an international and multicultural environment must be open and understand other cultures, have a desire to learn about them and use the opportunities offered by communing with others and shape a culture that enables success in diverse environments.

To consider the essence and nature of intercultural competences, it is worth to include S. Magala's approach, which points to three dimensions: creativity, criticism and moral autonomy. With regard to the first dimension, the author wanted to develop the proneness to accidental discoveries, and the flexibility of perception and behaviors resulting from acting in a group of people with different values and beliefs. Their development is possible only through the elimination of various socio-cultural blocks or narrow horizons of thinking created as a result of macrocultural (e.g., ethnic, religious) or mesocultural interactions (e.g., a subculture of the organization) as well as differences at the individual level. On the other hand, managerial criticism is understood as perceiving and respecting social and cultural differences in the ideologies and methodologies of employees. Magala tries to present the last dimension of moral autonomy in the form of a "golden mean" between what is different among employees and organizations, and what the manager perceives, interprets, prefers and applies.

A more detailed approach to intercultural competences is presented by R.M. Steers, C.J. Sanchez-Runde and L. Nardon, namely:

1. A cosmopolitan view of reality – the ability to perceive and understand the differences and paradoxes of the functioning of today's organizations.
2. Communication competence – knowledge of cultural codes that allow for mutual understanding.
3. Cultural sensitivity – identification and ability to build relationships with representatives of different cultures.
4. Acculturation skills – the ability to quickly match your behaviors and activities to the cultural context.
5. Flexible management style – perception, understanding and taking into account the influence of culture on the management process.
6. Cultural synergy – the ability to build intercultural teams, which thanks to their diversity allows for faster organization development.

Undoubtedly, intercultural competencies are one of the most important issues in the field of organization management today. Therefore, they are perceived by managers as equal to managerial competencies. Knowledge of cultural differences among employees and its influence on team relations may help to avoid conflicts and encourage employees to define the principles of the group's activity more appropriately, thus leading to the increase of their effectiveness.

The manager in international organization, wanting to strengthen the relationship that exists between them and the multicultural team, should try to the TACK model:

- Trust – the level of trust in the team in terms of assigned tasks in accordance with the organization's goals;
- Ambition – identifying and strengthening the sense of achieving even higher goals among employees;
- Communication – analysis of the frequency of communication with employees, identification and elimination of communication errors;
- Knowledge – sharing knowledge about implemented projects, as well as understanding the cultural diversity of employees.

The desire to strengthen relationships with intercultural teams forces managers to continuously develop the TACK model. It becomes possible, among others, through the individual development of one's own managerial competencies. In particular, it is about perception management, relationship management, self-management and moral management.

The literature indicates that the manager has an additional skill resulting from functioning in a multicultural environment, namely, cultural intelligence. It is defined as an individual ability to function and effectively manage cultural diversity based on communication skills, interpersonal skills, and personal characteristics of a manager in terms of tolerance or diversity.

According to Szaban, managers should base their actions on employees working in multicultural teams based in particular on respect for and understanding the dissimilarity of others; identifying problems in the field of cultural differences; constant learning about other cultures and being sensitive to sensitive cultural aspects, so as not to offend anyone; encourage the integration of people from different cultures; applying a simple form of language understandable to all participants of the communication process.

The enumerative approach to management principles to be followed by managers in a multicultural organization is also presented by Koźmiński, who stresses the importance of the following:

- reflexivity – the ability to identify forms, manifestations, and sources of multiculturalism;
- empathy – the need to understand the ways of perception, feelings, motives of action and emotions of various groups;
- recognition of diversity – acceptance for differences;

- community – taking into account common interests, motivations, and values of different groups as well as ethical orientation;
- compromise – the ability to make concessions to various groups;
- constant adaptation – sensitivity to cultural changes and new challenges;
- the speed of action – the ability to anticipate cultural changes and to prepare new patterns of action and norms before they occur.

The introduction and application of the above elements by managers in an organization operating in the conditions of multiculturalism will make it better recognize and properly use the diversity of employee activities, their international experience and the organization's ability to effectively operate on the international market. According to the authors, the ability to flexibly move around different cultures becomes an important attribute of a modern manager in a multicultural enterprise.

In summary, intercultural competences in management are identified as the ability of managers to work effectively between different cultures. It is not only a knowledge of the cultural diversity of employees, but also the ability to use it in practice, for example, when making the right communication decisions in relations with people from other cultural backgrounds, or the perception of the world's perspectives of different cultures.

5. Conclusions and future research

Creating the right atmosphere and organizational culture for the functioning of multicultural teams can significantly contribute to the growth of their positive attitude to work and the change of employees' behavior towards pro-development.

> In particular, it concerns phenomena related to experiencing positive emotional states by employees, positive aspects of group dynamics (such as the creation of positive interpersonal relations and mutual trust) and creative (generative) processes. As part of a positive paradigm for the organization, these phenomena are treated as fundamental sources of success for modern organizations.[6]

Managers perceiving a multicultural team as a homogeneous group may not notice the diversity of resources that these employees represent. Some organizations, such as IBM and Eastman Kodak, have introduced programs focused on the development of multicultural employees,

6 R. Haffer, A. Glińska-Neweś, *Pozytywny Potencjał Organizacji jako determinanta sukcesu przedsiębiorstwa. Przypadek Polski i Francji*, "Zarządzanie i Finanse" 2013, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 92.

such as the use of cultural networks to promote knowledge transfer between teams. However, in order for these networks to develop, managers should have knowledge about the level of diversity of multicultural employees, especially in the context of their needs and expectations, as well as talents.

The authors believe that managers responsible for multicultural teams should be able to accurately identify the potential of such teams. Understanding and supporting employees in their daily work, and the ability to motivate and inspire them to take on new challenges are the basic aspects of managerial responsibility for managers in an intercultural environment.

Multiculturalism is a normal element of modern management. The awareness of differences between cultures is therefore particularly important in the work of managers. Lack of knowledge of cultures is usually the cause of problems and difficulties in the functioning of multicultural teams. In turn, cultural diversity of employees influences the development of knowledge, intellectual capital and the development of the entire organization.

Research problems, which are exceptionally valid and important in the context of the issues analyzed in this article, are primarily: the effectiveness of multicultural teams management from the perspective of different cultures (competencies of managers from different cultures), relationships between such aspects as multiculturalism, age and gender of employees and managers, in addition to challenges related to the management of multicultural teams, such as, among others, management of employees' talents and talents in multicultural teams.

In summary, the key challenge in managing multicultural teams is to understand the nature and significance of cultural differences between employees. The work of managers responsible for the results achieved by such teams requires care and regularity in the development of intercultural competencies, which are particularly important for building organizations open to a variety of employee attitudes and behaviors.

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Joy and Sadness in Spiritual Life According to St. Ignatius of Loyola. A Hermeneutic Study (Part I)

ABSTRACT

The goal of this study is an interpretative attempt at human emotionality, and to be more specific, its emotional form of expression in various experiences of joy and sadness, in the light of the principles underlying one of the schools of Christian spirituality, i.e. the one proposed by Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556). According to this movement of spiritual life, which draws on the centuries-old biblical experience and Christian conception of the emotional dimension of our lives, and which also enriches it with experiences and reflections of Ignatius himself, our emotionality – not infrequently experienced as a peculiar and often incomprehensible "babble" – may in fact be construed as equally emotional and lucid "speech." Such "speech" becomes comprehensible the moment we are able to properly "read," that is recognize and understand the emotional experiences that we are exposed to in this sphere.

KEY WORDS: discernment of spirits, emotionality, spiritual joy – consolation, spiritual sadness – desolation, spiritual life

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STRESZCZENIE

Radość i smutek w życiu duchowym według Ignacego Loyoli. Studium hermeneutyczne (część I)

Celem tego studium jest próba interpretacji ludzkiej emocjonalności w jej uczuciowej formie wyrazu w postaci przeżyć radości i smutku, w świetle założeń jednej ze szkół duchowości chrześcijańskiej, mianowicie tej zaproponowanej przez Ignacego Loyolę (1491-1556). Według tego nurtu życia duchowego, zarówno czerpiącego z wielowiekowego doświadczenia biblijnego i chrześcijańskiego rozumienia emocjonalno-uczuciowego wymiaru naszego życia, jak i wniesionych do niego doświadczeń i przemyśleń poczynionych przez samego Ignacego, nasza emocjonalność doświadczana niejednokrotnie jako swoisty i często niezrozumiały „gwar" może, w rzeczywistości, stanowić równie emocjonalną, czytelną „mowę". „Mowę", która staje się zrozumiałą z chwilą, gdy potrafimy właściwie „rozczytać", czyli rozpoznać i zrozumieć, doświadczane przez nas w tej sferze emocjonalno-uczuciowe przeżycia.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: rozeznanie duchowe, duchowa radość – pocieszenie, duchowy smutek – strapienie, uczucia, życie duchowe

A lot has been written about the world of human emotionality. Also, a lot of thought, including philosophical, theologico-spiritual and psychological thought, has been given to its various forms materializing in experiences of both joy and sadness *sensu largo*.

Even though it is not my intention to present a review of positions and theories concerned with the question at hand, some references to it will be necessary. The idea behind this reflection is an interpretative attempt at human emotionality, and to be more specific, its emotional form of expression in various experiences of joy and sadness, in the light of the principles underlying one of the schools of Christian spirituality, i.e. the one proposed by Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), a co-founder of the Society of Jesus, also known as the Jesuit Order.

According to this movement of spiritual life, which draws on the centuries-old biblical experience and Christian conception of the emotional dimension of our lives, and which also enriches it with experiences and reflections of Ignatius himself, our emotionality – not infrequently experienced as a peculiar and often incomprehensible "babble" – may in fact be construed as equally emotional and lucid "speech." Such "speech" becomes comprehensible the moment we are able to properly "read," that is recognize and understand the emotional experiences that we are exposed to in this sphere.

An attempt at this kind of "readings" of emotional states, as a case study of its own kind, will be addressed in the second part of this reflection.

Part I

1. An experience of inner *movements* and attendant emotional states

In *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius*, penned in 1553-1555 by Father Gonçalves da Câmara, Ignatius of Loyola, who was then the first Superior General of the Jesuit Order, presents a succinct account of some existential experience from the period of his convalescence in 1521-1522, which was to become his key to understanding human emotionality in a Christian's spiritual life. The broad context of this experience is outlined in paragraph No. 7 in the first chapter of *The Autobiography*. Its core and the meaning ascribed to it by Ignatius is contained in paragraphs 9-10, which I quote together with paragraph 7. They read as follows:

> 7. As Ignatius had a love for fiction, when he found himself out of danger he asked for some romances to pass away the time. In that house there was no book of the kind. They gave him, instead, "The Life of Christ," by Rudolph, the Carthusian, and another book called the "Flowers of the Saints," both in Spanish. By frequent reading of these books he began to get some love for spiritual things. This reading led his mind to meditate on holy things, yet sometimes it wandered to thoughts which he had been accustomed to dwell upon before. …
>
> 9. … This succession of thoughts occupied him for a long while, those about God alternating with those about the world. But in these thoughts there was this difference.
>
> When he thought of worldly things it gave him great pleasure, but afterward he found himself dry and sad. But when he thought of journeying to Jerusalem, and of living only on herbs, and practising austerities, he found pleasure not only while thinking of them, but also when he had ceased.
>
> 10. This difference he did not notice or value, until one day the eyes of his soul were opened and he began to inquire the reason of the difference.

> He learned by experience that one train of thought left him sad, the other joyful.
>
> … When gradually he recognized the different spirits by which he was moved, one, the spirit of God, the other, the devil.[1]

2. The role of joy and sadness as spiritual consolations and desolations according to *The Spiritual Exercises*

The experience of emotional states of joy and sadness, appearing in their nuanced forms in spiritual life, was to be later on explored and elucidated from the existential and theological perspective in *The Spiritual Exercises*, which Ignatius himself edited. He expounds their sense in the first of the twenty "Annotations" preceding the *Exercises*. As he writes, the "Annotations" serve "to give some understanding of the spiritual exercises:

> by this name of Spiritual Exercises is meant every way of examining one's conscience, of meditating, of contemplating, of praying vocally and mentally, and of performing other spiritual actions, as will be said later. For as strolling, walking and running are bodily exercises, so every way of preparing and disposing the soul to rid itself of all the disordered tendencies, and, after it is rid, to seek and find the Divine Will as to the management of one's life for the salvation of the soul, is called a Spiritual Exercise.[2]

As regards the emotional states experienced as joy or sadness, which by Ignatius are also termed consolations[3] and desolations[4] respectively, these

1 *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius*, ed. J.F.X. O'Connor, Benziger Brothers, New York 1900, pp. 7-8. This work will be hereafter quoted as *The Autobiography.*

2 *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. Father Elder Mullan, S.J., P.J. Kenedy & Sons, new York 1914, "Annotations," First Annotation. This work will be hereafter quoted as *The Spiritual Exercises.*

3 Ignatius of Loyola defines "consolation" in "Rules of discernment of spirits," as follows: "I call it consolation when some interior movement in the soul is caused, through which the soul comes to be inflamed with love of its Creator and Lord; and when it can in consequence love no created thing on the face of the earth in itself, but in the Creator of them all. Likewise, when it sheds tears that move to love of its Lord, whether out of sorrow for one's sins, or for the Passion of Christ our Lord, or because of other things directly connected with His service and praise. Finally, I call consolation every increase of hope, faith and charity, and all interior joy which calls and attracts to heavenly things and to the salvation of one's soul, quieting it and giving it peace in its Creator and Lord" (*The Spiritual Exercises*, "Third Rule," The third: of Spiritual Consolation).

4 According to the "Fourth Rule," of spiritual desolation, which also belongs to the "Rules of discernment of spirits," Ignatius of Loyola notes: "I call desolation all the contrary of the third rule

states, in *The Spiritual Exercises*, constitute an extremely important manner of existential-spiritual "insight" into inner experiences of he who is performing the *Exercises*.[5] Ignatius attached a lot of weight to this kind of "insight," which came to be evidenced by his recommendations in this respect, contained in the Sixth and Seventeenth Annotations, where we read the following:

> Sixth Annotation. When he who is giving the Exercises sees that no spiritual movements, such as consolations or desolations, come to the soul of him who is exercising himself, and that he is not moved by different spirits, he ought to inquire carefully of him about the Exercises, whether he does them at their appointed times, and how… .[6]
>
> Seventeenth Annotation. It is very helpful that he who is giving the Exercises … should be faithfully informed of the various movements and thoughts which the different spirits put in him. For, according as is more or less useful for him, he can give him some spiritual Exercises suited and adapted to the need of such a soul so acted upon.[7]

What is the rationale behind the import of these emotional states, and why does Ignatius give so much attention to them in both *The Spiritual Exercises*, which are a special school "of preparing and disposing the soul to rid itself of all the disordered tendencies, and, after it is rid, to seek and find the Divine Will as to the management of one's life for the salvation of the soul,"[8] and outside the time of the *Spiritual Exercises*, in everyday spiritual life, as he recommends, in both the cases, their careful analysis?

The answer to these questions can be furnished by his conception of man as well as the meaning and purpose of human life, the essence

["Of spiritual consolation"], such as darkness of soul, disturbance in it, movement to things low and earthly, the unquiet of different agitations and temptations, moving to want of confidence, without hope, without love, when one finds oneself all lazy, tepid, sad, and as if separated from his Creator and Lord. Because, as consolation is contrary to desolation, in the same way the thoughts which come from consolation are contrary to the thoughts which come from desolation" (*The Spiritual Exercises*, "Fourth Rule," The fourth: of Spiritual Desolation).

5 The "consolations" and „desolations" that Ignatius writes about "are not mere emotional states and so they should not be construed through their purely psychological sense. Ignatius imparts them a more profound, spiritual sense, discerning their causes in actions taken by good spirits (God and angels) or evil spirits" (Św. Ignacy Loyola, *Opowieść Pielgrzyma. Autobiografia*, trans. and ed. M. Bednarz, SJ, 4th extended edition, WAM Publishing House, Kraków 2018, endnote No. 28, pp. 128-129. This work will be hereafter quoted as *Opowieść pielgrzyma*).

6 *The Spiritual Exercises*, "Annotations," Sixth Annotation.

7 *The Spiritual Exercises*, "Annotations," Seventeenth Annotation.

8 *The Spiritual Exercises*, "Annotations," First Annotation.

of which are not defined by theoretical and speculative deliberations engaged in by the then-predominant philosophical and theological doctrines, but by his personal experiences and reflections of both an existential and religious character. The exploration of these experiences through the spiritual and sapiential prism he would only ascribe to God, who "was at work."[9]

To wit, on the one hand, the existential and spiritual experiences and reflections that constitute a continuation and advancement of the understanding of this special experience from the period of convalescence at the family home, which firstly made him realise that "one train of thought left him sad, the other joyful,"[10] and, secondly, came to underlie the process of discovering and learning, in his opinion, their real and supernatural sources, that is "different spirits by which he was moved, one, the spirit of God, the other, the devil."[11]

On the other hand, the existential, religious and mystical experiences and reflections concerned with the meaning and purpose of human life, which Ignatius engaged in as a Pilgrim, particularly in Manresa, and which he synthetically captured in the Principle and Foundation of *The Spiritual Exercises*, that is the Foundation of the Exercises, in the following words: "man is created to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by this means to save his soul."[12] And therefore in the phrasing that is "a fruit of the mystical cognition of the Triune God and the act of creation,"[13] and

9 *The Autobiography*, p. 8.

10 Ibidem.

11 Ibidem.

12 *The Spiritual Exercises*, Principle and Foundation [Foundation of Exercises]. As Mieczysław Bednarz notes, while it is disputable whether the wording of the Foundation was influenced by Erasmus of Rotterdam, or Alfonso of Madrid, or Peter Lombard, "it is a fact that in its essence, in its fundamental train of thought, the Foundation was conceived in Manresa, even though the wording was formed probably later on" (Św. Ignacy Loyola, *Pisma Wybrane. Komentarze II* [Selected Writings. Commentaries II], ed. M. Bednarz, SJ, co-ed. A. Bober, SJ and R. Skórka, SJ, Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy, Kraków 1968, p. 392).

13 Św. Ignacy Loyola, *Pisma wybrane. Komentarze II*, op. cit., p. 392. *À propos* this "At first glance we might feel inclined to recognize the Foundation as a philosophical conclusion incontrovertibly following from the once-and-for-all accepted truth about God the Creator and the ultimate Purpose of all things. But that is not the case. Ignatius …, a straightforward and uneducated man with an extremely practical and action-oriented attitude, and exhausted by exaggerated penance and spiritual torments, was by no means predisposed towards philosophy. As an expression of his attitude to God the Creator and to divine creatures, the Foundation is a fruit of the mystical cognition of the Triune God and the act of creation. The seemingly cold, calm and concise wording hides the smouldering ardour of an experience incomparably higher and deeper than any philosophical investigations" (ibidem). The cited "ardour of an experience incomparably higher and deeper than any philosophical investigations" is "mystical seeing and experiencing God in Manresa, [which] was not for Ignatius a kind of aesthetic contemplation,

hence deriving its import as the most essential principle, or a foundation for a well-organised human life, that is a life lived so that "I shall find myself on the Day of Judgment … in entire pleasure and joy."[14]

3. Self-knowledge

Under the influence of this kind of existential and mystical experiences and reflections, cognition and understanding of himself and every man crystallize in Ignatius; today we would call such cognition and understanding holistic.

It is *existential* and *spiritual* cognition, which thanks to these experiences and observations merges all dimensions of human life, that is judiciousness, volition and emotionality into a harmonious, constitutively varied, corporeal-spiritual whole and unity.

It is also a *spiritual* and *religious* cognition, the extremely important foundations of which constitute Ignatius' closely interrelated experiences from the time of his convalescence, namely that "one train of thought left him sad, the other joyful,"[15] and gradual explanations of the real causes of these thoughts and attendant emotional states, to wit "the different spirits."

He contained these explanations, of such great importance and usefulness, in *The Spiritual Exercises* – in the section on General Examen of Conscience, which he was very particular about as the most basic instrument of attentive spiritual life – noting for the benefit of those willing to use the *Spiritual Exercises* the following:

> I presuppose that there are three kinds of thoughts in me: that is, one my own, which springs from my mere liberty and will; and two others, which come from without, one from the good spirit, and the other from the bad.[16]

Thus, the spiritual and religious cognition which was born in him slowly leads him through his manifold thoughts, and spiritual movements resulting therefrom, not only to the discovery of spirits acting in him, but

quiet intuition or awe. To him God was not merely *Deus magnificus* – great and mighty God, but distant and alien God. That was his God, his Father, found to be full of Divine love for man, for creation, full of Divine redemptive will desiring to attract all His creatures. God – love that offers itself generously and that attracts everything" (ibidem, p. 393).

14 *The Spiritual Exercises*. The second way to make a good any sound election, "Fourth Rule," The fourth.

15 *The Autobiography*, p. 8.

16 *The Spiritual Exercises*, "General Examen of Conscience."

also to the recognition of the difference between spirits "by which he was moved, one, the spirit of God, the other, the devil,"[17] as well as proper action for each of them.

Consequently, they lead him also to the discovery of the universal in its meaning principle according to which in every man both the good spirit (God and angels) and the evil spirit act, or can act, in their own peculiar manners and according to their own intention.

The former one – the good spirit – acts upon man by inspiring thoughts, desires and/or inner movements in the form of states of joy or sadness to move him to undertake and/or fulfil the meaning and purpose of his life on manifold paths of Divine love, which Ignatius addresses in the above-mentioned Principle and Foundation, which he introduces as the opening of the "First Week" of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

The latter one – the evil spirit – acts upon man by dissuading him from that which comes within the compass of the good spirit's activity, inspiring in him thoughts, desires and/or spiritual movements that discourage him from seeking God, living in His presence, or encourage him to persist in a state of life contrary to the one presented in the Principle and Foundation of the *Exercises*, or to confirm him in such a state.

Similarly, this kind of Ignatius' experiences, originating from his personal experience gained in the period of convalescence, on the basis of which "when he began the Spiritual Exercises, he was enlightened … about the discernment of spirits,"[18] leads him to the discovery that such actions by various spirits can be found both in every dimension of human life, in a mode peculiar to each one of these dimensions – in a *rational* mode through thoughts, in a *volitive* mode through desires and in an *emotional* mode through "spiritual movements, such as consolations or desolations,"[19] or in some peculiar rational-volitive-emotional configuration of these.

And finally, on account of this, that the everyman manifests himself in his existence as the one who – in all his complex corporeal-spiritual unity under the rule of the three powers of the soul, that is intellect, will and memory[20] along with the senses of the imagination[21] – comes to be

17 *The Autobiography*, p. 8.

18 *The Autobiography*, p. 8.

19 *The Spiritual Exercises*, "Annotations," Sixth Annotation.

20 Cf. *The Spiritual Exercises*, "First Exercise." "It is a meditation with the three powers," which Ignatius describes in more detail in the First Point of the Meditation, recommending that the memory be used in order to recall the object of meditation, and then the intellect to consider, and finally the will, "wanting to recall and understand all this" (ibidem).

21 Ignatius accepts the existence of the five senses of the imagination and recommends using them both in meditation ("Fifth Exercise" – It is a meditation on hell) and in contemplation ("Fifth

tasked with a double role. Namely, being a "field," or an "arena" – which is of considerable bearing for him – of a spiritual fight over himself, a place of actions oriented at him and undertaken by both the good spirit and the evil spirit, as well as being one who in such struggles cannot be a passive or neutral observer, but must freely choose either of the sides as its active adherent.

4. Rules of discernment of spirits

The experience of spiritual movements in the form of states of joy or sadness experienced by Ignatius under the influence of some thoughts, as well as his careful examination of these movements, concluded with the abovementioned statement whereby "there are three kinds of thoughts in me: that is, one my own, which springs from my mere liberty and will; and two others, which come from without, one from the good spirit, and the other from the bad,"[22] as well as the discovery that thoughts coming from without are not neutral, but through their agency and in no accidental manner both the good spirit and the evil spirit, inspiring in him states of spiritual consolation or desolation, and therefore that emotional states may have spiritual significance as "clear traces" of supernatural interventions, namely of action undertaken in man by different spirits, came to be more profoundly explored in his "Rules of discernment of spirits," used "for perceiving and knowing in some manner the different movements which are caused in the soul: the good, to receive them, and the bad to reject them."[23]

As I do not intend to go into detailed analysis of these rules, as this would exceed the compass of the present study, and as I do not comment on them for the time being, let me just quote only those of the rules which feature emotionality in its spiritual (inner) form of joy and/or sadness.

I.

> First Rule. The first Rule: In the persons who go from mortal sin to mortal sin, the enemy is commonly used to propose to them apparent pleasures, making them imagine sensual delights and pleasures in order to

Contemplation," of the Incarnation and of the Nativity). As for using this kind of senses, he advises that while pondering the object of meditation or contemplation the exercitant "see … with the sight of the imagination…," "hear with the hearing [of the imagination]…," "smell and taste with the smell and the taste [of the imagination]…," "touch with the touch [of the imagination]…" (*The Spiritual Exercises*, "Fifth Exercise").

22 *The Spiritual Exercises*, "General Examen of Conscience."

23 *The Spiritual Exercises*, "Rules for perceiving and knowing in some manner …."

> hold them more and make them grow in their vices and sins. In these persons the good spirit uses the opposite method, pricking them and biting their consciences through the process of reason.
>
> Second Rule. The second: In the persons who are going on intensely cleansing their sins and rising from good to better in the service of God our Lord, it is the method contrary to that in the first Rule, for then it is the way of the evil spirit to bite, sadden and put obstacles, disquieting with false reasons, that one may not go on; and it is proper to the good to give courage and strength, consolations, tears, inspirations and quiet, easing, and putting away all obstacles, that one may go on in well doing.[24]
>
> II.
>
> First Rule. The first: It is proper to God and to His Angels in their movements to give true spiritual gladness and joy, taking away all sadness and disturbance which the enemy brings on. of this latter it is proper to fight against the spiritual gladness and consolation, bringing apparent reasons, subtleties and continual fallacies.
>
> Second Rule. The second: It belongs to God our Lord to give consolation to the soul without preceding cause, for it is the property of the Creator to enter, go out and cause movements in the soul, bringing it all into love of His Divine Majesty. I say without cause: without any previous sense or knowledge of any object through which such consolation would come, through one's acts of understanding and will.
>
> Third Rule. The third: With cause, as well the good Angel as the bad can console the soul, for contrary ends: the good Angel for the profit of the soul, that it may grow and rise from good to better, and the evil Angel, for the contrary, and later on to draw it to his damnable intention and wickedness.[25]

5. Existential experiences of joy and sadness and their function in spiritual life

The previous analyses of both the experiences of spiritual states of joy-consolation and sadness-desolation in their diverse forms, which Ignatius addresses in his texts, namely: inner joy, gladness, consolation, contentment, quiet, comfort and all manner of growth of faith, hope and

24 Ibidem.

25 *The Spiritual Exercises*, "Rules for the same effect with greater discernment of spirits …."

love, as well as sadness, dissatisfaction, dryness, desolation, disquiet, disturbance, anguish, hopelessness and some kind of detachment, as well as his existential-spiritual-religious "readings" of these experiences may give the impression that the whole reality of emotionality thus expressed, or its significant forms belong only to the sphere of action of that which is supernatural, that is the good spirit or the evil spirit, thereby constituting some forms of expression of their influence on man. However, careful analysis of Ignatius' texts does not allow of such a conclusion.

In fact, Ignatius takes for granted the existence of the three kinds of thoughts in himself, making this differentiation a vital hint for spiritual life, and giving in his accounts of his spiritual experiences and reflections thereon a lot of attention to this kind of thoughts which in his opinion are of supernatural origin, namely coming from the good spirit or the evil spirit. Still, he does not omit this explicitly singled-out kind of thoughts which he defines as "my own [thought], which springs from my mere liberty and will,"[26] or the states of joy and/or sadness, aroused by these thoughts, and their relevance for well-ordered life. On the contrary, to these thoughts, which originate only in our human minds, and the various forms of states of joy and/or sadness resulting from them Ignatius ascribes importance equal to the one connected with thoughts coming from without.

It is rather safe to assume, without risking a mistake, that the reason justifying such an approach to his own thoughts is apparently his conception of man as a naturally rational and free being, and by extension one that thinks on his own, and that is created, as a creature rational and free in his thought and action, to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by this means to save his soul.[27]

Such an interpretation appears to be corroborated by the importance that Ignatius attaches to "bringing the intellect" not only on the truths of the faith, but also on all these matters that are to become objects of a Christian's sound and good election, including an election of a state of life,[28] making judicious consideration one of the two basic principles of prudent conduct in spiritual life, and which can be termed *principium rectae rationis*, that is 'a principle of the right reason.'

Like thoughts from without, such thoughts "springing from my mere liberty and will" can cause being joyful as well as being sad, and that in at least two ways which Ignatius points to in his *Exercises*.

The first way, which I should call *empathetic*, or *empathetic-participative*, is when, for instance while considering some event in Jesus' life,

26 *The Spiritual Exercises*, "General Examen of Conscience."

27 Cf. *The Spiritual Exercises*, "Principle and Foundation," that is "Foundation of the Exercises."

28 Cf. *The Spiritual Exercises*, "Prelude for Making Election."

Ignatius recommends arousing a desire for this kind of states in oneself, either in a spiritual form, like in the case of the desire "to arouse feeling and be glad at the great joy and gladness of Christ our Lord,"[29] or in a spiritual-sensual form, like in the case of a desire for physical tears of joy or tears of sadness, depending on the subject of given deliberation and intellectual consideration, or contemplation. In all situations like this, Ignatius means conscious forging of a spiritual-emotional bond of empathy, harmony, sharing experiences and desires with a view to deeper, fuller and more integral, corporeal-spiritual understanding and living the reality that constitutes an object of our thought and prayer.

The other of the above-mentioned ways, which can be characterised as *effectual*, or *effectual-purposeful*, takes place when such states occur as a result of our quiet consideration and decisions made on the basis of the consideration. And so, for instance in a situation within the context of making a good and sound choice in the so-called "quiet time,"[30] having carefully weighed the pros and cons that I can impartially visualise, "only looking at what we are created for."[31]

In such situations, the states of joy and/or sadness that arise in a person appear to constitute – in Ignatius' opinion – a spiritual-emotional manifestation of the veracity and rightness of the decision made (*effect*), bearing in mind the meaning and purpose – recognised by the person thanks to their own cognitive powers of the intellect – of their own and every human existence (*purposefulness of life*), which Ignatius succinctly couched in the Principle and Foundation of spiritual life.

Explored by Ignatius, the complexity of the emotional states of joy and/or sadness – with regard to both their natural and supernatural causes, and the variety of their functions in man's spiritual life depending on their origin as well as the existential-spiritual situation of the person experiencing them – constitutes an important heritage of Christian spiritual life. The heritage bearing the mark left by the history, religiousness and culture

29 *The Spiritual Exercises*, "The First Contemplation – How Christ our Lord appeared to our Lady," "Fourth Note." Ignatius recommends arousing in oneself such a desire while preparing to contemplate the events of the Resurrection of Jesus.

30 According to Ignatius, the "quiet time" is a man's spiritual state "when the soul is not acted on by various spirits, and uses its natural powers freely and tranquilly" (*The Spiritual Exercises*, "Three times for making, in any one of them, a sound and good election," "Third Time").

31 *The Spiritual Exercises*, "Prelude for Making Election," "First Point." According to Ignatius' recommendation included in the introduction to the section on making a good and sound choice, "in every good election, as far as depends on us, the eye of our intention ought to be simple [cf. Matt 6:22 and Luke 11:34], only looking at what we are created for, namely, the praise of God our Lord and the salvation of our soul. And so I ought to choose whatever I do, that it may help me for the end for which I am created" (ibidem).

of the era in which Ignatius lived. But also, the heritage the originality and import of which go beyond these determinants, becoming uninterruptedly, for almost five hundred years, a vital point of reference for those who want to understand and prudently develop their spiritual life.

Also, today we can inquire about the importance of this "reading" of human emotionality in the sphere of spiritual life, which was affected by Ignatius of Loyola, as well as about its significance for the 21st-century man, in his quest for self-understanding and his efforts to make his life more successful. Reflections contained in the second part of this study attempt to answer these questions.

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Moral Dilemmas of Poles Born in the Late Twenties: Reflections on the Drama *Their Time*, Short Stories, and Novels by Literary Critic Zbigniew Kubikowski

ABSTRACT

Zbigniew Kubikowski (1929-1984) was a literary critic, novelist, journalist, editor of monthly *Odra* in Wroclaw (Lower Silesia, Poland), and an activist of the Polish Writers' Union. His biography seems to be representative for more or less independent intellectuals in the regime of communism. In spite of humiliation, persecutions, and invigilation he managed to preserve his ethical principles, although he was not able to achieve a full success as a man of letters. The ethics of his generation, so called "younger brothers" of war generation was founded on Polish independence and European existentialism.

KEY WORDS: ethics, independence, generation of "younger brothers," post-war Polish fiction, existentialism, literary criticism

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STRESZCZENIE

Dylematy etyczne późnych roczników dwudziestych. Rozważania na marginesach dramatu Ich czas*, opowiadań i powieści Zbigniewa Kubikowskiego*

Zbigniew Kubikowski (1929-1984) był krytykiem literackim, prozaikiem, dziennikarzem oraz redaktorem miesięcznika „Odra" we Wrocławiu. Był także działaczem Związku Pisarzy Polskich. Jego biografia wydaje się reprezentatywna dla mniej lub bardziej niezależnej inteligencji w dobie komunizmu. Pomimo poniżeń, prześladowania i inwigilacji udało mu się zachować wyznawane zasady etyczne, choć nie zdołał osiągnąć pełni sukcesu jako literat. Etyka jego pokolenia, określanego jako „młodsi bracia Kolumbów", opierała się na wartościach polskiej niepodległości oraz europejskiego egzystencjalizmu.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: etyka, niepodległość, „młodsi bracia Kolumbów", polska literatura powojenna, egzystencjalizm, krytyka literacka

The dates of birth and death of the three outstanding literary critics are arranged regularly: 1927, 1928, 1929 and 1984, 1985, 1986. Jerzy Kwiatkowski (1927-1986), Andrzej Kijowski (1928-1985) and Zbigniew Kubikowski (1929-1984). The first of them lived the longest. He was a resident of Krakow. The second mainly in Warsaw. The third and last, a Wroclaw resident born in the Eastern Borderlands, had the shortest life. He spoke about the provincial complex in his *Pięć dialogów wielkopostnych* [Five Lenten dialogues]. These life stories of two historians, woven into the patterns of Mickiewicz's *Dziady* [Forefathers' Eve], referring to the silhouettes of Konrad-Gustaw: one from the capital and the other from the peripheries, one from the intelligentsia and the other a descendant of a promoted peasant, one a liberal and the other one a former Stalinist, deserve to be reissued, and staged in the theater. Breakthroughs in Poland's recent history: the events of 1956 and 1968 brought changes to the fates of both protagonists. Their rivalry was not devoid of the features of nobility. Despite competing for a woman, they were able to forgive each other and even help at critical moments. These were not black-and-white silhouettes. The writer created them to take into account the development of the psyche of the individualized protagonists (speaking the language of traditional poetics of a literary work, it was a character, not a type). The problems of life's defeat, being stuck in the province, with limited chances of self-fulfillment and unrealized ambitions seep through novels, short stories, radio plays, and critical literary texts by Kubikowski.

For those born in 1927-1930, the moments of historical trials obviously did not exhaust the circumstances in which moral problems appeared, but what was common for them was connected with political turning points: the consolidation of the one-party system in 1948, the so-called Stalinist period of peak restrictions, and 1968, followed experiencing of the greatest burden of the historical events taking place on an ongoing basis for the subsequent generation. The methodological inspiration for these reflections remains the version of ethics in literary studies proposed by Richard Freadman and Seamus Miller, aiming at restitution of the author's category with their biography in the study of literature, the classically understood truth and valuations.[1]

In order to understand the ethical dilemmas of the younger brothers of the war generation, it is worth listening to the words of the eminent literary critic, Andrzej Kijowski. Using his characteristic folk tale expression in the introduction of the sentence, he talked about his generation:

> Because it was like this. I was then – me and all my generation – we were then under enormous pressure from new phenomena, new events, new ideas. The pressure was very strong because we stepped in the social life in such a state that what was behind us, lay literally and figuratively in ruins, and what was before us, was all new.[2]

The key to understanding the alternatives faced by Polish twenty-year-old people in 1948 (if they were not martyred) are the words:

> to me that 1948 was indeed a life disaster. Imagine that at that time a young man (and I was young, I was just twenty years old), in order to imagine his future life at all, to take up any position in it, to do anything in it, to mean anything in it, he had to renounce his home tradition, to acknowledge that he was badly born at all, in any class or social sphere or family. Any. Because even if it's working class, well, it probably was a wrong kind of laborer, because he belonged to "working class aristocracy." If it was a peasant, it certainly was a *kulak*. If it was even a socialist family, it was definitely connected with the wrong variation of socialism. And if you had a military tradition, it was definitely the wrong army. If it as a scientific or humanistic tradition, it was definitely bad schools and a bad scientific humanist tradition. So, he had to renounce their previous reading, his mental habits,

1 R. Freadman, S. Miller, *Re-thinking Theory. A Critique of Contemporary Literary Theory and An Alternative Account*, Cambridge 1992.

2 A. Kijowski, *Rachunek naszych słabości*, Warszawa 2009, p. 229.

> his ideas, his myths, actually, even his language. He had a choice of three paths: either to renounce it on the surface and pretend otherwise, i.e. to become cynical, or to really renounce it and learn the simple doctrine promoted at the time, for which it was not necessary to read the theoreticians, and it was enough to read one or two novels, so to become an idiot, or to die socially, to dive into an abyss. So, either a cynic, a moron, or nothing. That was the choice for my generation in 1948, in 1949, that is, just when life was beginning.[3]

Moral dilemmas are not always associated with extreme situations of war. The inner monologue of the main character of the *Chwila po przebudzeniu* novel concerns the realities of the peace period:

> And now another witness, another candidate for a judge, a male conversation, when I hear about a male conversation, I go out, I don't go out, I listen to the end, I understand him, but I don't grant him the right to such conversations, if I don't have any more rights, nobody should have them, they are lost between the ages of twenty and thirty, or maybe earlier, maybe when you first tell yourself: This is my choice, this is the form in which I enclose my life and everything will be a betrayal and a lie, which will come from outside, and since you once said this to yourself, you no longer have any rights, you can only swear in your thoughts, in your dreams, unconsciously regret that you did not postpone your decision for a year, for ten, because every moment determines us, every conversation, every deed, and we build ourselves hastily, impatiently, just to be able to say: this is how I am.[4]

The beginnings of Kubikowski's work were, however, the time of extreme experiences. The problem of betrayal in underground activity during the occupation was returning to his novel prose. The debut book (a partisan novel) caused difficulties for editors who were afraid to print it, e.g. in local "Zeszyty Wrocławskie." As one reads the memoirs after the writer's death (see the enclosed bibliography of this article), the esteemed and popular author made his debut as a prose writer with a few years' delay. The title, *Zielona granica* [The green border], with a number of connotations, such as border or liminal situations, moral boundaries, etc., is not necessarily just a significant place of illegal movement between countries, was never printed on the cover of the book. The text about the resistance in the East, which only gently touches upon the issue of mistrust between Poles and Ukrainians, appeared in episodes in the "Dziś i Jutro"

3 A. Kijowski, *Rachunek naszych słabości*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 214-215.

4 Z. Kubikowski, *Chwila po przebudzeniu*, Katowice 1967, p. 153.

magazine, titled *Sprawa Jaśka Browarczuka* [Jaś Browarczuk's Case]. The message of the second novel, *Prorok i ministranci* [The prophet and the altar boys], is original today, because it was free from pacifist moralizing. Released three years after the end of 1956, it could present fair conspirators in a favorable light. Gullibility and nobility, however, become the bane of the main character, who instead of eliminating a traitor, as an experienced commander ordered him, will fall victim to the delator. In the context of these two novels, a comparison is made with the drama *Ich czas* [Their Time] about the May Coup d'état, which was written more than two decades later. The work clearly shows the difference between the mentality of the generation that regained independence and did not retreat from direct combat, from the scruples and hesitations typical of the generations formed in the years of peace. In one word, in the texts about the moments of the most difficult trial, when life was commonly at risk, Kubikowski did not give up on heroic ethics. The time of the soft virtues (M. Ossowska's expression) fell on later decades, especially the period Różewicz called the "little stabilization."

Then, let us assume: after October 1956 and before March 1968, the protagonists of Kubikowski's prose were engaged in remembering high school romances (*Ostatnia lekcja* [The last lesson]), a career or just professional work (*Chwila po przebudzeniu* [Moment after awakening]), because this is the kind of existential setting, in two meanings, both colloquial, related to everyday life and philosophical, referring to the direction of thought which was then assimilated in Poland with a delay, reading above all Sartre or Camus. The sense of isolation, absurdity, alienation of contemporary man, and at the same time the affirmation of the secularizing world with its modern scenery of fast travels between continents, commonly used cars, emancipated, attractive women, practical and aesthetic fashion – this is the background against which the characters of moral novels, short stories and also, crime stories published under the pseudonym of Jacek Joachim, the author's characters move.

Change will be brought by the reprint-worthy *Pięć dialogów wielkopostnych*. It has a dimension of a universal parable about how the cards of fate turn. The two protagonists exchange roles. The victor becomes a provincial frustrated man and his wronged colleague will turn into a world-famous scientist. Their woman, from a transitory and apparent trophy, will transform into a mature person who can bear the unattractive, everyday suffering with dignity. Ethical dilemmas: fidelity and betrayal, as in times of war, as in moments of political turmoil in a sovereign country, or simply in private or professional life during peace, were taken by Kubikowski dealing with the issues of contemporary morality in such a way as to emphasize change. The processual nature of human development in his generation born in the late twenties, was particularly pronounced because representatives of that generation were brought up in a completely different reality before the war and the post-war realities when they entered adulthood.

The emphasis on novelty was placed by such different critics as Andrzej Kijowski (born in 1928), Tomasz Burek (born in 1938), Zbigniew Kubikowski (born in 1929) and many more. Burke stated:

> The type of reading has changed, as did the awareness and aesthetic sensitivity have changed, the prevailing model of the novel has changed, the character of the contemporary literary experience has changed in general. The new philosophy of literature was primarily created as a commentary on the search and achievements that seemed to transcend literature in its ambitions, and therefore had to take it as an axiom that authentic literature today is everything that is liberated from literature in the conventional sense of the word, from naïve literary ease, from the deception of correct literature. Which is a challenge, a transgression and an enrichment [emphasis by T. Burek] of human reality.[5]

The authenticity residency had existentialist philosophical connotations. Existentialism was an object of fascination for the post-war intelligentsia in Poland. I myself remember the copy of the anthology *Filozofia egzystencjalizmu* in the library of the Institute of Philosophy in Wrocław. As Kazimierz Wyka wrote:

> Do a survey among writers, how many of them heard the term existentialism before 1945? It is about existentialism, and this sketchy characterization of the changed ideological and literary situation after the two world wars demands, in its last link, a look at existentialism. In the mode of general interest, it plays a similar role today as the principle of artistic experimentation concerning forms did after that war. But existentialism does not apply to forms. It concerns philosophy, morality, world view, gets involved mainly in polemics with mental reality and not aesthetics."[6] As one of the main characters in Kubikowski's novelism thinks, the recipe for a meaningful life is the following: "Just not to participate in the general pretense. Do not play at meetings and beyond. Replace the tokens for securities. And not spend them bit by bit.[7]

5 T. Burek, *Żadnych marzeń*, Warszawa 1989, p. 134.

6 K. Wyka, *Pogranicze powieści*, Warszawa 1989, p. 61.

7 Z. Kubikowski, *Ostatnia lekcja*, Warszawa 1971, p. 242.

Existentialism with its imperative to strive for authenticity is recalled whenever the protagonists of Kubikowski's prose repeat that they do not want to be artificial, marking a distance to the convention, established social roles or lies. For example, in the intervening micro-narrative about a prostitute murdered abroad significant words are used:

> "I do not know why I thought a lot about her then," he said. "I felt guilty for having lied to her, because I told her stories about Yugoslavia and myself. I took her for someone else, as she did me. We are pretending in front of one another, and then something really happened. I had no part in this, in what really happened, but I had a part in the general pretense. We pretend all the time and we never know when something really happens."[8]

Kubikowski's model hero is a reflective person. At the same time, on the level of interpersonal interactions, it is important to compete for prestige, which in the sphere of the individual psyche brings a complex of inferiority for many. This complex is repeated in the characteristics of many characters in *Ostatnia lekcja*, the collection of short stories, from supporting characters, such as Nastałek or the secretary, to the main character. The theme of folk justice will appear in the history of the former school director. Once ruthless towards a girl trying to commit suicide, he vainly asks his former student to help him grant a replacement space so that he may continue to run his engraving workshop where he produced medallions. The newcomer from the so-called great world is surrounded by what seems almost a cult:

> People in the corridors will fall silent when he appears in a trail of sunlight falling from the glass walls of the staircase: the indigenous people's reliable instinct will tell them it's a man of the world: he'll be wearing his soft skin jacket, which he bought in Brussels, his Italian trousers from a modern Roman supermarket, a flexible T-shirt from London, and they'll whisper, and they won't say a word when he passes them by and enters the extensive study not having to wait in line, together with his Brussels, Rome and London, as if he's flown between them from an illustration in an old magazine.[9]

Burek indicated:

> These are the successive waves of the twentieth-century experiment and the accompanying increase in critical and theoretical consciousness, which

8 Ibidem, p. 167.

9 Ibidem, p. 123.

> together led to the state where phenomena which in the first half of the century were still on the far periphery of literature and were regarded by authoritative opinion as typically laboratory and hermetic tests, with a very narrow range of influence, are now in the mainstream of change, at the center of a fundamental literary discussion. Thanks to the intellectual context created by the programs of the French 'new novel' and the parallel activities of critics such as Claude Mauriac and, above all, Maurice Blanchot, the interest of the wider public in heretical trends and tendencies within the inherited tradition increased.[10]

Searching for new literary forms, e.g. using the technique of different points of view in the narrative or internal monologue, reading Proust, Joyce, Kafka, Musil, Dos Passos, Faulkner, Virginia Woolf, Lowry, Durrell, Broch, Canetti, was a tribute to the change of the canon of compulsory reading for educated people.[11]

The year 1948 was groundbreaking for Kijowski, which was when he enrolled at Polish Studies. Then,

> some PPR meetings acquired a nature of violent skirmishes with "carriers of deviation" and took place in a tense atmosphere of mutual suspicion. Although there was earlier controversy and even sharp assessments, in which such people as Władysław Gomułka excelled, a massive campaign was launched by the party elite in July, and moved into the field after September 3, constituting (to use the language of contemporary newspeak) a "new quality". Not only a real or potential enemy of the state could fall victim of the aggressive propaganda, but anyone, without any difference of position occupied in the state and party hierarchy.[12]

For a young man brought up in the spirit of traditional pre-War values, it came as a shock to see change of attitudes in writers who had authority. It was expressed, for example, by the statement of writers after the Unification Congress of the PPR and PPS.[13] As Andrzej Sulikowski wrote about the first academic year of the future literary critic, "Times were not easy. In 1949 a hard-core course in cultural policy began."[14]

10 T. Burek, *Żadnych marzeń*, Warszawa 1989, p. 133.

11 Ibidem, p. 133-134.

12 Andrzej Paczkowski, *Pół wieku dziejów Polski 1939-1989*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 222-223.

13 In the statement it was declared that: "The Congress expresses warm wishes to all creative elements of Polish society." Among the 55 signatories there were: Zofia Nałkowska, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, and Konstanty Ildefons Gałczyński. I cite after: M. Fik, *Kultura polska po Jałcie. Kronika lat 1944-1981*, Londyn 1989, p. 109.

14 A. Sulikowski, *Przechadzki z Andrzejem Kijowskim*, "Arka" 1989, Iss. 25, p. 21.

Currently, a middle-aged reader may wonder about the lack of religious content in Kubikowski's fictional and critical literary prose. It is difficult to speculate whether it is a manifestation of censorship, personal restraint or self-restraint due to political and social circumstances. Jan Błoński (b. 1931, almost Kubikowski's peer) noted afterwards in his diary:

> Among historiosophical Christians, there were radiant characters, such as Małgosia Dziewulska, who did all the work, paratheatrical activities, flying on hang-gliders and writing articles: the least of all, directing... They were all tangled up, like in my friend Kijowski, in whom I could hardly ever distinguish between religion and politics (like his inner need from his comedian gesture): and yet they both would be eating him up all his life.[15]

Kubikowski made his debut with a religious poem in the *Gość Niedzielny* weekly magazine in 1949, after which he did not continue with a similar type of publication. The author seemed to be confronting the present day on its own rights, avoiding nostalgia for the pre-war hierarchy of values, and using innovative means of expression and take up new topics.

An interesting narrative trick is reporting on a conversation from three points of view: "They," "She" and "He." This shows the advantage of "His" – a world-famous architect who is ready to marry a provincial doctor. The witnesses of their flirtation provide a background that only confirms the superiority of the newcomer over their surroundings. Such a way of reasoning, in which others contribute to the high social position of the individual, resembles Gombrowicz's literary anthropology.[16] The style in that scene also brings to mind his *Trans-Atlantic*:

> But Zygmunt could not answer. The Secretary spoke. Clouds of smoke in the air, moths circling around the chandelier, officials around the President in the other corner of the room, and around their table, but they don't come too close now, not because they probably accepted the voluntary isolation of the renowned guest, but because the abundance of alcohol uncovered to them the beauty of the simplest pleasures. They did not, therefore, invite him, not only sanctifying his connection with the earth by this invitation, not only paying tribute to his talents in this way, but also to have his authority to support their rightful aspirations, to prevail when it comes to measure, when he has added value to the initiative. After all, this is not only about building a hospital, but also about making an object worthy of the creator. If the people on the top of the local social ladder can hinder

15 J. Błoński, *Błoński przekorny. Dziennik. Wywiady*, collected and edited by M. Zaczyński, Kraków 2011, p. 26.

16 Cf. M. Głowiński, *"Ferdydurke" Witolda Gombrowicza*, Warszawa 1995, p. 11.

> their fight for the quality of an object, blur the objective of this fight, distort the direction of the fight, he [emphasis by Z. Kubikowski] cannot be accused of a lack of qualifications (here, laughter) or of bias. Thus, what they achieve or not achieve [emphasis added by D.H] he only can, after a long struggle, to show the rightness of the matter by their appearance, decide with one sentence, disperse doubt, and demonstrate the rightness of the cause.[17]

Novelty, however, does not imply a lack of intertextual allegations, e.g. the story of *Szansa* is a bit reminiscent of Gogol's *Revisor*. Here someone came to the small village, who was expected to give out positions, benefits, justice, and in the end the newcomer turned out to be someone other than the one he was originally taken for.

As a literary critic, Kubikowski took up the challenge of discussing the provincial complex (e.g. *Bezpieczne małe mity*, *Wrocław literacki*). Reading his critical statements, it is hard to resist the impression that the author functioned in the literary life of that time far below his ability to deal with issues, formulate thoughts in a synthetic way, and use language with precision. The causes of disparities between the inherent value of the Kubikowski's achievements, qualifications and reception of his work can be seen among others in the cultural geography of the centralized state,[18] in the axiological ambiguities continued for centuries in the country marked by the legacy of the partitions[19] and occupation,[20] or in the negative attitude of influential representatives of the Ministry of Interior towards the writer.[21] Theoretically speaking, when describing the function of literary criticism, Krzysztof Dybciak emphasized that it is "a domain of individual behavior, and even a distinguished method in social life for personalizing the individual and protecting the autonomy of the human person."[22] Pragmatic evaluative, problematizing, expressive, aesthetic and ludic—all these functions with the exception of the last two were performed by

17 Z. Kubikowski, *Ostatnia lekcja*, Warszawa 1971, p. 162.

18 Cf. O. S. Czarnik, *Między dwoma Sierpniami. Polska kultura literacka w latach 1944-1980*, Warszawa 1993.

19 Cf. e.g. S. Chwin, *Literatura i zdrada. Od* Konrada Wallenroda *do* Małej Apokalipsy, Kraków 1993.

20 Sketches by K. Wyka on the subject were widely known (*Życie na niby. Gospodarka wyłączona*), and in recent years a book by philosopher R. Legutko, *Esej o duszy polskiej* gained popularity, as if unconsciously returning to the diagnoses of the outstanding Polish literature scholar. A link between the diagnoses of literary historian and philosopher seems to be the book *Rachunek naszych słabości* by leading literary critic, A. Kijowski.

21 Cf. D. Heck, *Szkice do portretu Zbigniewa Kubikowskiego*, in: *Osaczeni – napiętnowani. Szkice o twórcach w PRL*, ed. S. Ligarski, Warsaw 2017.

22 K. Dybciak, *Wokół czy w centrum literatury? Studia o krytyce i eseju*, Warszawa 2016, p. 17.

the criticism that Kubikowski practiced. Hence the conclusion that self-discipline, moderation, and self-restraint probably occupied an extremely high position in his hierarchy of values. Comparing the ethos of service of his protagonists of the period of trial (within the twenty years after independence or during WWII) with the ethos of silence of literary characters created within the presented world of the People's Republic of Poland, it can be concluded that the accepted moral norms of the late twenties' generation representative turned out to be ultimately consistent with Conrad's ethics, as represented by Jan Józef Szczepański and the war generation.

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Barriers in Servicing Visitors of Heritage Trails – the Example of Cultural Trials in Małopolska Voivodeship

ABSTRACT

The popularity of cultural heritage trails is on the rise. The paper describes barriers which a person who wants to travel using cultural heritage trails of the Małopolska heritage/cultural trails may face. The author attempts at finding out whether cultural heritage trails operators are able to deal with their increasing popularity. To answer this question, a "mystery tourist" study was done. The tourist-researcher examined the quality and availability of needed information, both via an Internet platform and by making phone calls with trail operators. It has been shown that the barriers in servicing the "mystery tourist" were focused especially on two areas: establishing contact and telephone conversations with the operators of the trails and the inadequate functionality of the "Szlaki Małopolski" Internet platform. The paper describes detailed results of the research.

KEY WORDS: cultural trails, Małopolska heritage trails, mystery tourist, tourist service

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STRESZCZENIE

Bariery w obsłudze osób odwiedzających szlaki dziedzictwa na przykładzie małopolskich szlaków kulturowych

Szlaki kulturowe to jedna z prężniej rozwijających się sfer działalności kulturalnej. Powstaje coraz więcej tego typu inicjatyw, w ślad za tym zwiększa się zainteresowanie osób chętnych do odwiedzenia miejsc o szczególnej wartości kulturowej. Powstaje więc pytanie, czy organizacje, które zarządzają szlakami kulturowymi, są w stanie sprostać zwiększającemu się zainteresowaniu? Czy hipotetyczny turysta, który wraz z rodziną planuje odwiedzić jeden ze szlaków i chciałby uzyskać niezbędne informacje, może liczyć na pomoc? By udzielić odpowiedzi na powyższe pytania, przeprowadzono badanie jakościowe metodą „tajemniczego turysty". Wykazano, iż bariery w obsłudze „tajemniczego turysty" koncentrowały się zwłaszcza na dwóch obszarach: nawiązywania kontaktu i rozmów telefonicznych z operatorami szlaków oraz nienależytej funkcjonalności platformy internetowej „Szlaki Małopolski".

SŁOWA KLUCZE: szlaki kulturowe, szlaki Małopolski, operator szlaku, tajemniczy klient, tajemniczy turysta, obsługa turysty

Introduction

It is not uncommon for us to be obliged to establish closer contact with various types of organizations, for example: tax office, grocery store, or dance school. The reasons for entering into such relationships may be varied, for example: obtaining a certificate of non-taxation, returning overdue goods, or obtaining information about available dance courses. In such and similar situations, an appropriate approach is expected from the organization, perhaps efficient and effective, but above all, one where the most important criterion will be to help the person who needs it at a given time. Therefore, it is worth noting that all activities in the area of customer service[1] should

1 Through pejorative overtones, the phrase "customer service" may be questionable when used in humanistic management considerations. This is because it is characteristic of scientific studies that fall within the field of the functionalist paradigm of management sciences. In this work, however, it is used because it precisely defines the sphere of activity of the organization that has been explored, but there is no non-functional equivalent thereof. Besides, it is

be based on the foundation of humanistic management, where the perspective, as Emil Orzechowski claims, of "caring for people"[2] comes to the fore. In this paper, customer service will therefore be seen as a kind of care, namely the care provided by an organization to an outsider

There are situations where an "outsider" is deprived of care or an organization does not provide it in the way expected by the recipient. The aim of this article is to identify and analyze the kind of problems that are revealed in cultural activities, barriers to service provision to a tourist who plans to visit one of the cultural trails of Małopolska with his family. In connection with the future trip, he tries to search for relevant information on the Internet and tries to make a phone call to the relevant organizations who are operators of the trails. The paper will therefore show to what extent the tourist could count on the help of the relevant organizations and what problems arose on this occasion.

Humanistic perspective on customer service

From the formal point of view, customer service is a specific method of building and organizing the relationship with a recipient and the course of the relationship itself happening when they express (or may express) the need to contact the organization (in order to obtain information, express an opinion, place an order, etc.). It is worth noting that the implementation of customer service mechanisms is dictated not only by current but also potential actions taken by the recipients. Therefore, customer service should not just be a response, or a kind of reaction to the recipients' attempts to make contact. It should be ahead of their expectations, designed before the need arises. It also seems that the elements of service should be personalized. Customer service is an idea of the organization how to take care of a particular person who is expecting to be listened to, to get information, and to get help. Customer service "breaks the ice" between the organization and its "human" environment. of course, this is primarily a theory. The literature, including economic marketing literature, indicates and emphasizes what a "modern," humanist approach to customer service should look like. The role of customer relationship management

worth noting that "customer service" is seen here through humanistic prism as a kind of care for the person communicating with the organization. It should also be noted that in the following work the word "customer" has been replaced by a more subtle, but also more precise from the research point of view word "tourist."

2 E. Orzechowski, *Arte et ratione*, in: *Zarządzanie humanistyczne*, eds. B. Nierenberg, R. Batko, Ł. Sułkowski, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2015, p. 71.

is emphasized here, especially approaches such as individualized marketing and especially customer empowerment.[3] However, reality may differ and in many cases doe differ from idealistic theoretical assumptions. The author of the present study has discovered one of such real cases, with regard to the problems encountered by tourists in contacting the operators of cultural trails.

It is worth noting that customer service does not only happen directly. This is because we deal with it not only when a representative of the organization establishes a direct relationship with us (face-to-face or by phone), but also indirectly when the organization provides convenient access to the information you may want to use (e.g. via a website, leaving the information in a visible place at the organization's headquarters or sending it to a recipient's address). The organization should also be guided by the sensitivity of the recipient, who for various reasons will not want to establish a direct relationship. The two presented ways of customer service can be called active (direct) and passive (indirect) service.

Orzechowski's humanistic message of "human concern" should be understood very broadly and one should be aware that the good of one person can cause discomfort to another. Some activities aimed at improving the level of customer service may put employees of the organization in a burdensome position and thus cause negative reactions. An example of this can be found in Arlie R. Hochschild's book *The Managed Heart. Commercialization of human feeling*,[4] where the store personnel was instructed to attach a dollar bill to clothes where it could be seen, so that a dissatisfied customer could take it as compensation for inadequate service. Such actions are not consistent with the principles of humanistic management. In this context, there is a need to maintain an appropriate balance between the audience and the comfort of the people who contribute to the organization, as increasing emphasis on one of these aspects may be at the expense of the other.

Customer service in culture

All the above observations can be applied to organizations pursuing cultural activities. After all, customer service procedures are used by cinemas, theaters, operas, philharmonics, museums, cultural centers, theme parks

3 P. Kotler, K.L. Keller, *Marketing*, Poznań 2018, pp. 148-151.

4 A.R. Hochschild, *Zarządzanie emocjami. Komercjalizacja ludzkich uczuć*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2009, pp. 156-157.

and many others. In this respect, we can also talk about passive and active customer service. Let us take the example of a theater: the former can include the possibility of buying a ticket online, or having proper access to the theater's repertoire at its headquarters. An active example could be finding out about a performance over the phone direct communication with the ticket office at the theater. What is important is that in direct handling, attention should be paid not only to the course of the conversation itself, but also non-verbal elements may appear. This was pointed out by Łukasz Gaweł: "The way they behave [the staff – author's note], but also the way they look, how they present themselves, what attitude they take – all this influences the overall assessment of the institution in the eyes of visitors,"[5] and therefore stresses "that the staff of the organization become part of its image."[6] Not surprisingly, the director of the Ethnographic Museum in Krakow in 2008, who pointed out that the staff dealing with visitor service should stop reading newspapers while performing their duties, recommended reading books instead.[7] This treatment had primarily image significance: a person reading a book evokes different and deeper associations than a person reading a newspaper.

We can also talk about customer service (or rather a tourist, as discussed below) in relation to other cultural activities, namely cultural routes. In very general terms, the cultural trail is a designated route combining thematically selected objects of particular cultural importance. Experts insist on other aspects: "A cultural route is a thematic trail, having cultural value or an element of cultural heritage as its focal point, with a key role of cultural attractions."[8] In one way or another, a cultural trail is a physically existing place that is accessible to those willing to visit it. However, the service for visitors to the trail should not only be provided on site, during the sightseeing, but also available for those who want to get information before arriving, as well as for those who have already visited the trail but are willing to additionally contact the representatives of the attraction. In each of these cases, there can be active and passive support provided.

5 Ł. Gaweł, *Szlaki dziedzictwa kulturowego. Teoria i praktyka zarządzania*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2011, p. 169.

6 Ibidem, p. 169. More information on the impact of customer service on the image of an organization (not necessarily operating on the cultural market) can be found in the book: J. Barlow, P. Stewart, *Markowa obsługa klientów. Nowe źródło przewagi nad konkurencją*, Wolters Kluwer, Warszawa 2010.

7 Ł. Gaweł, *Szlaki dziedzictwa*, op. cit., p. 169.

8 L. Puczkó, T. Rátz, *Trailing Goethe, Humbert, and Ulysses. Cultural Routes in Tourism*, in: *Cultural Tourism, Global and Local Perspectives*, ed. G. Richards, The Haworth Hospitality Press, New York 2007, p. 133.

It is also worth noting that in relation to cultural routes it is difficult to talk about customer service. It is hard to call a tourist on a trail a customer. For the purposes of this article, therefore, I have introduced the term "tourist service." In a way, it is in conflict with the concept of Łukasz Gaweł, who unambiguously separates tourist trails from cultural ones,[9] giving the latter a humanistic dimension.[10] It is difficult to precisely determine the person visiting a cultural trail.

Research problem and methodology

In order to identify and understand the problems that may be revealed in the relations between tourists and cultural trail operators (trail management organizations), the following research question was asked: what are the barriers to the service of a tourist who plans to visit selected facilities on the trail of interest to him/her together with his/her family? To provide an answer, the author of the work played the role of an "ordinary" tourist – an inhabitant of Pomeranian Voivodeship, a husband and father of two children, who tries to plan a weekend (Saturday-Sunday) trip for the whole family. In addition to creating a personal and social profile of the tourist, the author outlined the scenario of the actions he took, and then applied them in his research practice. Thus, first the tourist was to search the Internet for the information he was interested in and then try to contact the trail operator by phone to ask for details. Telephone contact is particularly important here because the cultural trails are often complex structures – both in terms of the length of the route and the number of facilities – while, according to the assumption, the tourist and his family had only two days at their disposal. Therefore, it was necessary to make an appropriate selection of objects, to visit those that can be considered representative for a given route – the tourist asked representatives of the route operator about appropriate recommendation of sites (and at the same time about other important issues). The study was conducted in the period between November 29 and December 14, 2016.

"Mystery tourist" is a method of research inspired by the classic "mystery shopping" method used in marketing research:

> It can be successfully used to assess the quality of a tourist product or service, to examine the service provided by the tourist facility (attractions,

9 Ł. Gaweł, *Szlaki dziedzictwa*, op. cit., pp. 73-75.

10 Ibidem, p. 74.

> enterprise, hotel), its consistency with the assumptions of the facility, quality and compliance with the applicable internal standards. Mystery shopping allows you to assess, diagnose and optimize the quality of services in hotels, shops, restaurants and tourist attractions.[11]

However, the "mystery tourist" approach used in this study is different from the traditional-functional one. In classical terms, mystery shopping is a specific type of objectivized observation,[12] where the person conducting the study is usually a "paid observer"[13] who "plays the role of a client and observes the process of service."[14] Meanwhile, the research described in this article also focuses on qualitative aspects (language of communication, emotions accompanying the communication, elements of personal culture), while the researcher remained in hiding and did not meet with the respondents face to face (the contact took the form of a telephone conversation – the telephone approach is found in mystery shopping research).[15] Additionally, the passive side of the service was also studied – the way of making the content available to the recipients on the Internet. Although both approaches relate to the quality of service processes,[16] the traditional method is all about showing and exploring the internal problems of the organization in the context of preserving quality: "what makes it difficult for employees how they act in contact with customers and how they perform the tasks entrusted to them,"[17] while the perspective adopted in this work also emphasizes the personal experience of the outsider, a potential tourist, who is offered low quality assistance. Thus, to some extent, the research reveals the subjective position of the researcher-tourist.

11 Z. Kruczek, K. Cieszkowska, *Możliwości zastosowania metody Mystery Shopping w ocenie jakości usług turystycznych. Studium przypadku – termy w Białce Tatrzańskiej*, "Ekonomiczne Problemy Turystyki" 2(38) 2017, p. 49.

12 M. Rzemieniak, E. Tokarz, *Mystery shopping w budowaniu tożsamości organizacyjnej*, Politechnika Lubelska, Lublin 2011, p. 25.

13 G.A. Churchil, *Badania marketingowe. Podstawy metodologiczne*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2002, p. 337.

14 E. Prymon-Ryś, *Wykorzystanie metody mystery shopping w badaniu jakości usług finansowych*, Prace Naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie, Iss. V, Częstochowa 2011, p. 151.

15 A. Mazurkiewicz-Pizło, W. Pizło, *Tajemniczy klient jako metoda badawcza – wybrane problemy*, "Polityki Europejskie, Finanse i Marketing" 20(69)2018, p. 118; K. Kowalik, M. Mazur, *Badanie jakości procesu obsługi klienta w kinie metodą "Tajemniczy klient*," "Archiwum Wiedzy Inżynierskiej" Vol. 1, Iss. 1, 2016, pp. 53-55.

16 M. Meder, *Zastosowanie metody Mystery Shopping w bankowości detalicznej*, "Marketing i Rynek" No. 5/2005, p. 16.

17 E. Prymon-Ryś, *Wykorzystanie metody*, op. cit., p. 151.

Analysis of the "mystery tourist" experience. Stage I

By entering "cultural trails" in the Google search engine, the tourist-researcher reached the "Szlaki Małopolski" platform established and run by Małopolska Institute of Culture (MIK), an important part of which is a database of Małopolska's cultural trails. It is worth mentioning that the tourist made such a choice, because the platform was positioned on the first place on the Google results list. Figure 1 presents a banner, which was placed on the main page of the website during the research period.

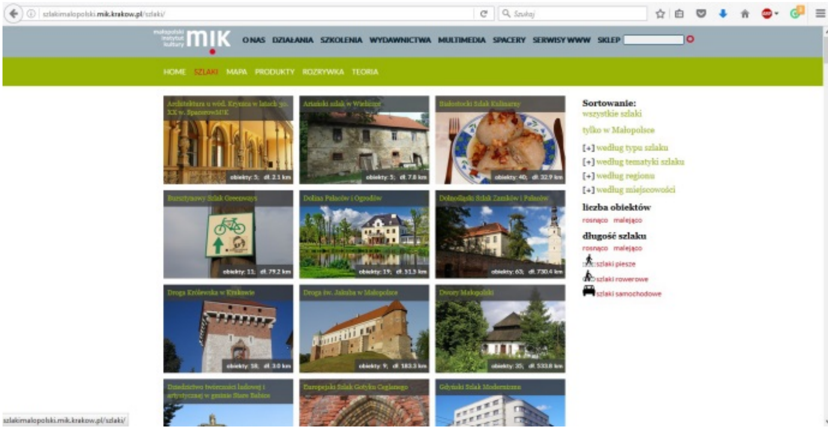
Figure 1. Banner at the main page of the Szlaki Małopolski website

Source: http://szlakimalopolski.mik.krakow.pl/ (access: 12.01.2016).

From the information presented in the banner it can be concluded that the tourist "arrived at the right place." It is a website dedicated to "cultural tourism, with particular emphasis on cultural trails" and is addressed to tourists (although also operators). The role of the MIK is also indicated: it seems to focus exclusively on activities related to the operation of the platform itself, consisting in the inclusion of route information in its structure. The MIK, on the other hand, "does not coordinate any of the routes;" therefore, it appears that those interested will not receive any further information from the MIK about the routes themselves. This action is somehow "passed on" to the trail operators.

On the main page, just above the banner in question, there is a navigation bar. After clicking on the "trails" button, the researcher-tourist is moved to the subpage where the cultural trails database is located. Figure 2 shows a detail of the database.

Figure 2. View of the database of cultural routes at Szlaki Małopolski

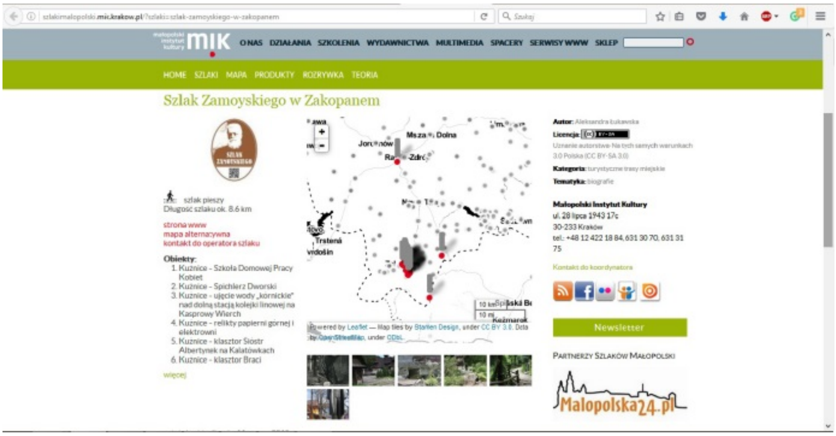


Source: http://szlakimalopolski.mik.krakow.pl/szlaki/ (access: 12.01.2016).

It should be stressed that the way of presenting the base of cultural trails is attractive for a potential tourist. The design emphasizes aesthetics and transparency. However, attention should be paid to the shortcomings of the platform user, which may be misleading. Some of the trails from the available collection, including 6 visible in illustration No. 2 (among others: The Bialystok Cultural Route, the Lower Silesian Route of Castles and Palaces, the Gdynia Modernism Route), are not cultural trails from the area of Lesser Poland, while the portal is called exactly that. This association may be misleading for those without sufficient geographical knowledge. The MIK, which manages the platform, has therefore made a mistake in the area of passive tourism. At the same time, it should be stressed that a possibility of "sorting" the trail base has been introduced. Right next to the set of images, on the right hand side, there is a list of different sorting options. After selecting the option "only in Małopolska" we receive a database of routes exclusively related to the Małopolska province. However, this does not change the fact that the name of the website is not appropriate to its content.

The "mystery tourist" took further action. After selecting the option "only in Małopolska," he received a filtered base of 96 trails located in the region in question, arranged in a manner analogous to Figure 2. Clicking on each position takes you to a subpage of a particular route. The tourist-researcher visited a subpage of each of the 96 trails. One of them (the Zamoyski Route in Zakopane) is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3. A subpage from the MIK platform presenting a selected cultural route in Małopolska



Source: http://szlakimalopolski.mik.krakow.pl/?szlaki=szlak-zamoyskiego-w-zakopanem (access: 12.01.2016).

On each subpage dedicated to a particular cultural route, there was a description of it (which was located in the area of the page invisible in Figure 3, below the map and the photograph), pictures, an interactive map, a list of objects and a set of links (located on the left side of the map, highlighted in red): “website,” “alternative map,” “contact operator trail.” It is worth reminding at this point that the task of the “mystery tourist’s” task was not only to obtain general information about the route, but also to contact the operator by phone to ask for details. Meanwhile, there are no direct telephone contacts on the route subpages, so the tourist chose to click on the last of these links. It moved the tourist to the place on the operator’s website where the phone number was located. Visiting each of the 96 sub-routes, the tourist obtained the opportunity to transfer go to the website of each operator.

Attempts to carry out these 96 operations have resulted in several important observations. First of all, it turned out that in all cases one route did not exactly correspond to one operator. Some of the external pages were linked to several or more links, indicating that one operator managed several routes simultaneously. On this basis I identified 42 organizations taking care of trails dealt with under the MIK platform. For example, the Krakow Festival Office[18] was responsible for 9 trails, the Krakow

18 It was not possible to determine the exact name of the operator in all cases (due to its absence on the site or due to the non-functionality of the site); in such cases, the domain to which the link from the MIK platform led was used instead of the name, e.g.: www.krakow.travel.

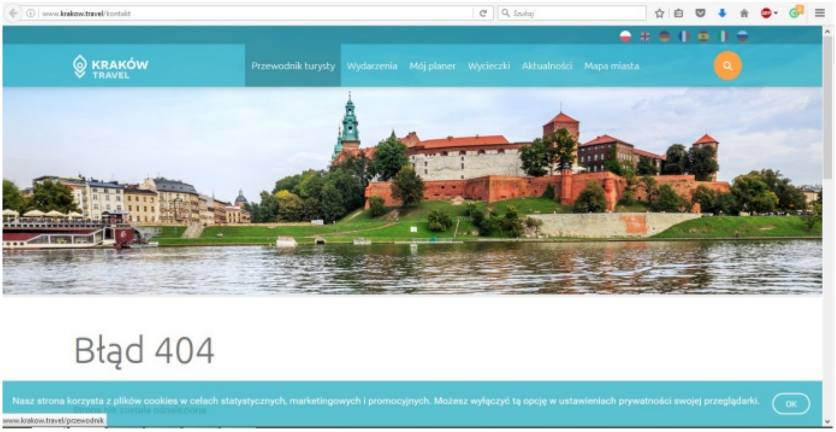
City Hall for 7, the Historical Museum of the City of Krakow for 5 and the Tarnow Information Center for 3. It should be noted at this point that the operator of the largest number of routes turned out to be MIK (the same organization which is responsible for the Szlaki Małopolski platform). A total of 17 links led to the external website of the MIK, namely a place with visible contact details of the operator, including a telephone number. This makes it all the more puzzling that the MIK "does not coordinate any of the routes." Meanwhile, the link "contact to the trail operator" may encourage potential tourists to make direct contact with the MIK and obtain more information. The "mystery tourist" took advantage of the opportunity as is described later in the article.

For one of the routes, its operator has not been identified. On the subpage dedicated to the World War I Cemeteries Route there is no appropriate link. However, bearing in mind how a hypothetical tourist who wants to learn about the trail may behave, the "mysterious tourist" took an additional action: he entered the name of the trail in Google search engine. This operation also failed to deliver the expected result of accessing the website or obtaining a telephone number for the operator.[19]

However, the biggest problems at the level of passive tourist service appeared after clicking on the "contact to the trail operator" links. In some cases the "mystery tourist" was redirected to a place in the structure of the operator's website that did not exist (there was an error – as in the example shown in Figure 4) or the information was received that "the page with the given address does not exist" (as in the case of the Carpathian-Galician Oil Trail). A total of 13 such situations were recorded (per 42 providers). It is also worth noting that one of the redirections, to the external website of the Cistercian Trail in Poland, was blocked by the researcher's antivirus program (Figure 5).

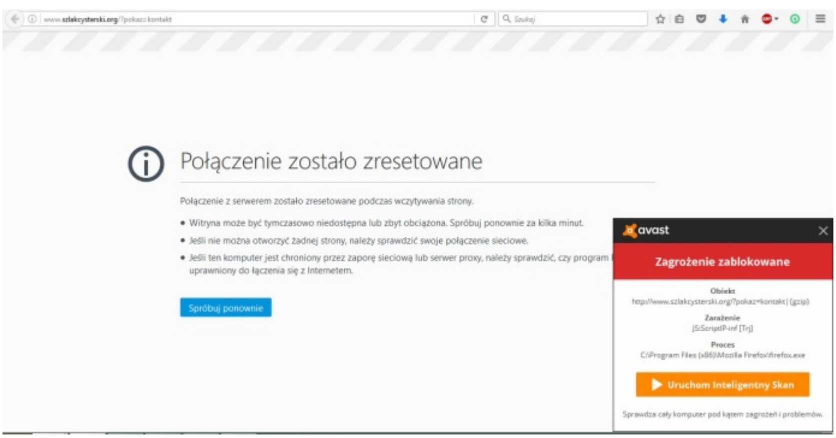
19 It is worth sharing an observation at this point: the researcher's inquisitiveness could eventually lead to the acquisition of relevant data; however, I had to take into account, despite its intangible nature, the patience of a hypothetical tourist.

Figure 4. Inactive page a trail operator website



Source: http://www.krakow.travel/kontakt (access: 12.01.2016).

Figure 5. Page blocked by antivirus



Source: http://www.szlakcysterski.org/?pokaz=strona_glowna (access: 12.01.2016).

It seems that the discussed examples of shortcomings identified by the "mystery tourist" are equally relevant to the MIK, which is responsible for providing tourists with a properly functioning database of trails and operators who should ensure that the trail site is properly linked to any external databases, especially those created on the basis of materials made available. The Szlaki Małopolski website contains a database of routes prepared in this manner (as indicated by the content contained in Figure 1).

It should be added that when the "mystery tourist" moved to the operator's website, which for various reasons was not working, he made additional attempts to access it. As mentioned earlier, he entered the trail name in Google search, or shortened the domain extension, leaving its basic form. The latter option was used, among others, in the case of the Karol Wojtyła Trail in Wadowice, when he was redirected from the MIK website to an inaccessible subpage at http://www.it.wadowice.pl/KONTAKT.35.0.html, when he removed the extension "/KONTAKT.35.0.html." This allowed him to reach the website of the trail operator, the Tourist Information in Wadowice – from where he obtained the telephone number.

Using redirection from the "Szlaki Małopolski" platform or by performing additional operations (as mentioned in the previous paragraph), the "mystery tourist" acquired telephone numbers of the operators of cultural routes, although it is worth stressing that ultimately this was not possible in every case. However, thanks to this, he performed the next stage of research, consisting of the establishment of direct relations with the operators and acquisition of necessary information.

Analysis of the "mystery tourist" experience. Stage II

When contacting the trail operators by phone, the "mystery tourist" prepared a list of questions that might occur during the conversations. The most important of them was the one that concerned the most valuable sites on the trail, those that could be particularly noteworthy. Let us remember that the short time of the planned trip did not allow the tourist and his family to visit the whole trail, so it became important to find out which elements on the route can be skipped. Another question concerned which of the sites is the most worthy of attention? How to get there? Does visiting involves any charges? Are there any visiting hours? Can one use the services of a guide? Is there someone on the sites to provide additional information about the trail? Are there guidebooks, leaflets, brochures or maps? Can you come with your children? Is there a restaurant or accommodation? of course, in various conversations, various questions were used. Their number and order was not obligatory. It was above all about the nature of the conversation, which should be easy, natural and not arousing suspicion in the person providing the information.

During telephone conversations, the "mystery tourist" encountered various problems. In two cases, he found out that the trail he was asking about does not exist, and to be precise, is not a trail in a literal sense. This was the case when he reached the "Sokół" Małopolska Cultural Center in Nowy Sącz, operator of the Małopolska Mansions route indicated by MIK. The man I spoke to provided the following information:

> We do not have a trail about mansions in Małopolska. First of all, we have a three-volume publication called *Dwory Małopolski. Historia i współczesność* ... And secondly, we do have a website called Dwory Małopolski. But we surely do not have a mansions trail.

The “mystery tourist” explained that he got in touch through the Szlaki Małopolski website and that he would like to get specific information about the trail. The employee again, however, stated that the trail did not exist, or at least he did not have any information on this topic.

The second case was a bit different, and concerned the Krakow-Moravia-Vienna Greenways route. The operator indicated by Szlaki Małopolski turned out to be the tourist operator named Vitrivius Sp. z o. o. The person who answered the call from the tourist-researcher provided information that the initiative is not a cultural route. The Krakow-Moravia-Vienna Greenways is only a commercial offer for group cycling tours on request. After placing an order, a specific route for the trip is planned.

In the above situations we cannot talk about mistakes in the area of active tourist service. Those interviewed by the “mystery tourist” could not provide the information which he expected. However, defects appeared at the level of passive service, the manager of the Szlaki Małopolski website did not make sure that the information posted corresponded to reality.

It is worth noting that among the operators whose telephone numbers were obtained, only one was identified, however, I failed to make contact with it; it was NADwyraz foundation which manages the Małopolska Craft Trail. Four unsuccessful attempts to connect were made, each time selecting either a mobile number or landline. A telephone call was made to each of the other operators, but in 16 cases there were three types of complications: firstly, trying to make contact several times (because the subscriber had their phone switched off, was out of range or did not answer the call), secondly, dialing another phone number (where the “mystery tourist” was redirected to another, more topic-oriented person) and thirdly, having to make the phone call on another day (because the responsible person was not available).

One example, where a tourist was “redirected” twice to more competent people, concerns the Museum of Krakow and the cultural route titled *Ghetto through the eyes of a child. Stella Müller-Madej*. Using the telephone number available on the operator’s website, the “mystery tourist” made contact with the headquarters. From there, he was directed to the Visitor Center, where he explained what he was looking for and started a conversation with one of the employees. An excerpt of what he heard:

> In general, we do not have such information on the website ... [Researcher sensed consternation in the woman's voice] Wait a minute ... [hears him consulting a colleague] And did you find it with the current date? Because it was 2013. Because this year, we don't have any information that something is being done ... The walk can be done ... but we do not have a prepared trail, we have no questing, brochures, because it was a few years ago ... Wait a moment! [After a while] I see that the Ghetto eyes of a child is available ... So here you would have to contact Apteka pod Orłem directly.

The "mystery tourist" asked for a phone number and contacted the competent branch of the Historical Museum of Krakow, where he acquired all the information. A slightly more complicated situation took place in the case of the Małopolska Tourist Information System based in Krakow, which, according to the indications of the Szlaki Małopolski platform, dealt with the service of the Małopolska Trail of the Order of the Holy Sepulcher. First, the tourist-researcher made four unsuccessful calls to the operator (either he could not make the call or he was directed to another uninformed person), after which he was finally instructed to contact another institution in another city, Miechów. There he eventually acquired accurate and comprehensive information. It should be noted that there were more such cases where the "mystery tourist" obtained relevant information from a representative of an organization other than the one referred to by the link from the MIK platform. Despite significant barriers in active tourist service, it is worth noting that in 16 out of 33 cases no complications happened when trying to make telephone contact with the route operator.

However, barriers to active tourist service are not only difficulty in establishing a telephone relationship with the route operator. Even the most effective telephone connection does not guarantee that the tourist will receive what he or she expects to obtain the information he or she is interested in. Out of all 32 interviews with people who were indicated as competent, reached by the "mystery tourist," the relevant information was obtained from 26 (although in 6 cases the information was only partial, while in 20 cases it was as detailed as the tourist expected). Six conversations did not produce the expected results. This was the case, among others, with the Małopolska Institute of Culture, the operator of the largest number of trails (17), where the "mystery tourist" expected to be able to get more information in connection with the Dębina Architecture Route – SpacerowMiK. The person who answered the call gave a concise statement: "We do not deal with the issue of organization." The situation was slightly different with the operator called Kraków Travel (an initiative coordinated by the Krakow Festival Office), to whose website 7 links from the MIK platform were directed. Here is a fragment of the obtained information about the sites which were recommended to the "mystery tourist" as the most interesting for the Krakow Fortress Route:

> [Audible sigh] ... well, firstly, from the Krakow Fortress there is the Barbican, two, the historical route, which the Historical Museum organizes ... Only problem is that in the autumn-winter period they are closed.

It is not entirely clear for what reason, but it still seems that the lady provided misleading information to the "mystery tourist." The Barbican is not a site belonging to the Krakow Fortress Trail; which is formed by military objects of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Another situation was encountered by the tourist-researcher in the Nowy Sącz municipal office. The man who was selected as a competent person for the Intercultural Tourist Route of the Polish-Slovakian Borderland, did not provide the information for an unknown reasons, despite two requests from the "mystery tourist." He would send solely refer him to the trail guide.

It is worth emphasizing here, however, that in most cases, if there a conversation with the right person representing the trail did take place, the tourist-researcher obtained relevant information. However, the frequent need to make many calls, the necessity to contact many people and organizations can act as a deterrent to the "real tourist" and put the trail operator in a bad light.

At the end of this section it is worth paying attention to another important issue. During a conversation with a representative of the trail operator, the "mystery tourist" asked whether it is possible to obtain (receive or purchase) additional information materials about the trail – guides, guides, maps, etc. – whether in traditional (printed) or modern (electronic) form. In the vast majority (25 cases), the answer was yes, in the remaining 7 there was no such a possibility. It seems that this (passive) form of tourist service is the most emphasized one, so the inconveniences that a "real tourist" may experience in this field may be relatively minor.

Analysis of the "mystery tourist" experience. Stage III

After completing the study with the "mystery tourist" method, I summed up the course of the whole process by entering the results in Table 1. In the first column, trail operators are listed. In some cases, their names are given, while in other, where there was less possibility to acquire them (due to varying degrees of non-functional websites), the operator's domain name was used (e.g. www.regioraport.pl). In the next column there is the number of trails assigned to a particular operator. A total of 93 routes are contained in the column. It is worth recalling that when visiting the Szlaki Małopolski platform, a tourist-researcher identified 96 trails, however, with regard to one of them he did not determine the organization managing it, while in two other cases the trails turned out not to be trails in the strict sense. The column "website functionality" applied to the "mystery tourist" making attempts to go from the Szlaki Małopolski website to an operator's site. Properly functioning redirection was included in the sub-column "functional," while irregularities are noted in the sub-column "out of order." The next two columns refer to active service – on the telephone. The first of them refers to the effectiveness of the call. The sub-column "ineffective" refers to the situation of a contact failure. In turn, "effective" implies successful communication on the phone. If the contact took place without any complications this "effectiveness" was treated as "direct," while in other cases as "indirect." The second main column refers to the form of acquired information. If the 'mystery tourist" received the expected information, then the appropriate check box is marked in the sub-column as "detailed", in cases of indirect information acquisition, as "partial," while in the as "none." The next column is "informational materials." In the case of the availability of such materials (folders, brochures, maps, guides, applications, etc.) in any form, it is indicated as "yes," or "no" in the case of a lack thereof. In the last column the operators are assigned points for "tourist service." For website functionality, 1 point was awarded, while a malfunction resulted in 0 points. Direct telephone communication provided 2 points, indirect – 1, and lack of communication – 0. Further, detailed information awarded 2 points, partial – 1, and none – 0. Finally, available information materials gave on 1 point, and no materials – 0.

Up to 6 points could be awarded, while the minimum possible result was 0. The average of all ratings given to operators was 3.5, which is a relatively low rating. Out of 42 operators, 10 received maximum points. 17 operators received ratings in the range of 5-6 points, where 5 points meant that diagnosed deficiencies related to the functionality of the operator's website or inconvenience while establishing a telephone contact. 11 organizations received between 0 and 2 points. This means basically that one out of four operators was not properly prepared to handle a potential tourist who is interested in visiting a cultural trail, or even completely unprepared.

name of the operator,	number of routes	functionality of the operator's site	
		functional	malfunctioning
Małopolski Instytut Kultury	17	☼	
www.regioraport.pl	1		☼
Kraków Travel	7		☼
Bractwo św. Jakuba w Więcławicach Starych	1	☼	
Historical Museum of the City of Krakow	5	☼	
CKSiT w Kalwarii Zebrzydowskiej	1	☼	
Urząd Gminy Gorlice	1		☼
szlakmodernizmu.pl	1	☼	
www.Małopolskaromanska.pl	1		☼
Małopolska Tourist Organization	3	☼	
Sądecka Organizacja Turystyczna	3	☼	
Małopolski System Informacji Turystycznej	2	☼	
Gorczańska Organizacja Turystyczna	2	☼	
Starostwo Powiatowe w Nowym Sączu	1	☼	
Urząd Gminy Poronin	1	☼	
Urząd Miasta Krakowa	7	☼	
Krakow Festival Office	9	☼	
poland.pl/malopolskie	1		☼
Stowarzyszenie „Na śliwkowym szlaku”	1	☼	
Urząd Miasta Nowego Sącza	2	☼	
Urząd Miasta Krynica Zdrój	1	☼	
www.szlakcysterski.org	1		☼
Starostwo Powiatowe w Zakopanem	1	☼	
Polskie Towarzystwo Turystyczno-Krajoznawcze Tarnów	2	☼	
Tarnowskie Centrum Informacji	3	☼	
Tourist Information in Wadowice	1		☼
Fundacja Miejski Park i Ogród Zoologiczny	1		☼
Muzeum w Bochni	2	☼	
Związek Gmin Jurajskich	1	☼	
Tatrzańska Agencja Rozwoju, Promocji i Turystyki	1	☼	
Fundacja NADwyraz	1	☼	
www.szlakstyluzakopianskiego.pl	1		☼
zszbiecz.pl	1		☼
Klub im. Stanisława Zamoyskiego	1		☼
Zbójnicki Szlak	1	☼	
Municipal Cultural Center Nowy Targ	1	☼	
www.szlak-lubomirskich.stalowawola.pl	1	☼	
Punkt Informacji Turystycznej Wieliczka	1	☼	
regiaraport.pl	1	☼	
www.szlakbursztynowy.pl	1		☼
muzea.stary.sacz.pl	1		☼
Stowarzyszenie „Gniazdo—Ziemia Proszowicka”	1	☼	

phone support			collected information			informational materials		number of points
effective		ineffective	detailed	partial	none	yes	no	
direct	indirect							
☼					☼		☼	3
								0
	☼			☼		☼		3
	☼				☼		☼	2
	☼		☼			☼		5
☼			☼			☼		6
	☼		☼				☼	3
☼			☼			☼		6
								0
☼					☼		☼	3
☼			☼			☼		6
	☼		☼			☼		5
☼			☼			☼		6
☼					☼	☼		4
	☼		☼			☼		5
	☼				☼	☼		3
	☼			☼			☼	3
								0
☼			☼			☼		6
	☼		☼			☼		5
	☼		☼			☼		5
								0
	☼		☼			☼		5
	☼				☼	☼		3
☼			☼			☼		6
	☼		☼			☼		4
	☼		☼			☼		4
☼				☼			☼	4
☼			☼			☼		6
☼			☼			☼		6
		☼						1
								0
	☼			☼		☼		3
								0
☼			☼			☼		6
	☼			☼		☼		4
								1
☼				☼		☼		5
☼			☼				☼	5
								0
								0
☼			☼			☼		6

Conclusion

Thanks to the survey of organizations that manage Małopolska's cultural routes, on the one hand creating an Internet base, and on the other hand taking care of them, a number of problems came to light that might not have occurred if the survey had been based on quantitative methods. The qualitative research using the "mystery tourist" method revealed many hidden shortcomings. It turned out that if such a "real" tourist, who plans to go to Małopolska and therefore expects to be given more information, would have particular problems with making an efficient telephone conversation with the organization taking care of the route. These defects were especially focused on: the impossibility of making first contact, repeated "redirecting" of the conversation and the unavailability of a responsible person.

The second plane of disadvantages were non-functional technological solutions. In an age of widespread use of advanced technologies, a responsible organization should not allow something that is designed also to serve tourists be malfunctioning. One may not introduce modern solutions, but once one does have one, it should be useful.

However, it should be stressed that any solution, whether relating to the efficiency of telephone calls or the usefulness of new technologies, should be based on an elementary premise: that at any time, any person can "knock on the door" of the organization and ask for help. The organization should make every effort to meet their expectations. Route operators should also be guided by this premise. Any problems may adversely affect the image of the trail itself, which in the long run may result in a decrease in tourist traffic in the region. of course, even the most thorough preparation is no guarantee of success, but it reduces the risk of unexpected circumstances.

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The Sweet War, or How Military Campaigns of Alfonso V of Aragon Affected the Eating Habits in Early to Mid-15th Century*

ABSTRACT

Starting from the time of James I the Conqueror (1213-1276) the Kingdom of Aragon started its Mediterranean expansion. Following successive military expeditions, its conquests included: Mallorca and the other Balearic Islands (1229-1235), Sicily (1282) and Sardinia (1323-1324). The culmination of this process was the involvement of a Alfons V the Magnanimous (1416-1458) in the war for the Kingdom of Naples, which began in 1420. After 22 years of intermittent struggle, in 1442, Alfons V the Magnanimous eventually captured Naples, which in the years to come became one of the leading centers of the Italian Renaissance.

The appearance of foreign domination in southern Italy suddenly entailed the transfer of Catalan culture, language and customs. Among the latter, Catalan culinary traditions formed at the end of the fourteenth century also occupied an important place. It was during this period that a significant change took place in the Kingdom of Aragon regarding the role and the circumstances of eating sweets by its financial

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and political elites. Until then, confectioneries were served as part of dessert at the end of the main meal (dinner or feast), while in the period discussed their consumption considerably shifted in time. Initially, their consumption was still associated with the various elements of the feasting etiquette (e.g. dancing, amusements, other meals). With time, the ceremonial of eating sweets transformed into a separate meal of sweet snacks, referred to by the Catalan term of *col·lació*. It quickly became a solemn, independently functioning type of feast, with an established ceremonial and setting.

Under what circumstances were Catalan eating practices transplanted to Italian context? What influence did the ruler and his military operations have on the enrichment of Italian feasting with new elements of Catalan provenance? – Such questions define the direction of the considerations made by the author of the paper.

KEY WORDS: Alfonso V the Magnanimous, Kingdom of Naples, sweets, sweet snack (*colazione/col·lació*), fifteenth century

STRESZCZENIE

Słodka wojna, czyli jak wyprawy wojenne Alfonsa V Wspaniałomyślnego wpłynęły na zmianę zwyczajów żywieniowych w Italii w pierwszej połowie XV w.

Począwszy od czasów Jakuba I Zdobywcy (1213-1276) Korona Aragonii wkroczyła na drogę ekspansji śródziemnomorskiej. W wyniku kolejnych wypraw wojennych pod panowaniem jej władców znalazła się Majorka i pozostałe wyspy archipelagu Balearów (1229-1235), Sycylia (1282) i Sardynia (1323-1324). Kulminacją tego procesu było zaangażowanie się Alfonsa V Wspaniałomyślnego (1416-1458) w wojnę o Królestwo Neapolu, która rozpoczęła się w 1420 r. Po 22 latach zmagań toczonych z przerwami, w 1442 r. Alfons V Wspaniałomyślny ostatecznie zawładnął Neapolem, który w kolejnych latach stał się jednym z przodujących ośrodków włoskiego renesansu.

Pojawienie się obcego panowania w południowej części Italii pociągnęło za sobą transfer katalońskiej kultury, języka i obyczajów. Wśród tych ostatnich ważne miejsce zajmowały również katalońskie zwyczaje kulinarne, które wykształciły się u schyłku XIV w. To właśnie w tym okresie na terenach Korony Aragonii doszło do istotnej zmiany roli i okoliczności spożywania słodyczy w kręgach elit władzy

i pieniądza. Dotychczas słodkości były podawane jako deser na zakończenie głównego posiłku dziennego (obiadu, uczty, uroczystego przyjęcia), natomiast od wzmiankowanego okresu ich spożycie uległo wyraźnemu czasowemu przesunięciu. Początkowo ich konsumpcja nadal była związana z poszczególnymi elementami rytuału biesiadowania (np. tańcami, zabawami, innymi posiłkami). Z czasem uroczyste spożywanie wyłącznie słodyczy przekształciło się w autonomiczny posiłek o charakterze przekąski, zwany z katalońska *col·lació*. Szybko stało się ono uroczystym, samodzielnie funkcjonującym typem przyjęcia, z ustalonym ceremoniałem i oprawą.

W jakich okolicznościach doszło do przeszczepienia katalońskich praktyk żywieniowych na grunt włoski? Jaki był wpływ samego władcy i prowadzonych przezeń działań militarnych na ubogacenie włoskich form biesiadowania o nowe pierwiastki proweniencji katalońskiej? – to pytania, które wyznaczają kierunek rozważań podjętych przez autora referatu.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Alfons V Wspaniałomyślny, Królestwo Neapolu, słodycze, słodka przekąska (*colazione/col·lació*), XV w.

There are few moments in the history of a region in which eating habits were changed due to war. Of course, one cannot consider merely the issue of food supply, or even nutritional deficiencies that accompany every armed conflict. War is also aggression and occupation. In this case, the invaders' customs, culture and language are generally rejected by the conquered people. However, the aggressor may make some effort to win the conquered population over. This was the case both in the first half of the fifteenth century during the wars for Naples, and immediately after its capture by the ruler of the Kingdom of Aragon, Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1416-1458). And so, the appearance of foreign domination in southern Italy suddenly entailed the transfer of Catalan culture, language and customs. Among the latter, Catalan culinary traditions formed at the end of the fourteenth century also occupied an important place. One of them was a sweet snack called *col·lació* in Catalan (Latin *collatio*), the organization and celebration of which became one of the important forms of ostentatious display of social and financial position for the elites. Under what circumstances were Catalan eating practices transplanted to Italian context? What influence did the ruler and his military operations have on the enrichment of Italian feasting with new elements? There are the questions that shall determine the direction of my considerations.

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In order to tackle this problem, the first thing to do is to outline the historical context of the considerations.

The medieval Kingdom of Aragon was a country whose history begins in 1137. It was then that an agreement was reached between the heir of the Kingdom of Aragon, Petronella, to the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Beregar IV. Their marriage, formalized in 1150, was a turning point in the history of both countries, because the union thus formed bound their history for the following centuries[1].

In the Middle Ages, the Kingdom of Aragon, after the victorious advances of the Reconquista on land in the 12th century, entered the next century of maritime expansion in the western Mediterranean. As a result of military actions taken by James I the Conqueror (1213-1276), the Balearics, led by Majorca, came into Aragon's sphere of influence. Further expansion was continued by his successor. And so, in 1282, Peter III (1276-1285) conquered Sicily, and Alfonso IV the Kind (1327-1336) conquered Sardinia in 1323-1324. These conquests were made at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Kingdom of Aragon became one of the major Mediterranean countries, and its merchants effectively competed with entrepreneurs from Genoa and Venice.[2] However, in the middle of the century, as a result of the plague also called the Black Death, the state began to sink into social and economic crisis. With the seizure of power

1 A. Giménez Soler, *La Edad Media en la Corona de Aragón*, Barcelona 1944, pp. 108-114; T.N. Bisson, *Història de la Corona d'Aragó a l'Edat Mitjana*, Barcelona 1988, pp. 37-38; *Diccionari d'història de Catalunya*, ed. J. Mestre i Campi, Barcelona 1998, p. 889; *Història de Catalunya*, ed. P. Vilar, Vol. II, Barcelona 1987, pp. 362-366, 368-369, 372-376; D. Ortiz Ruiz, *Breve historia de la Corona de Aragón*, 2012 (ebook) Ch. 3; C. Batlle, *L'unió amb Aragó*, in: *Historia de Catalunya*, ed. J. Salvat, Vol. III, Barcelona 1978, pp. 77-84; M. Tuñón de Lara, J. Valdeón Baruque, A. Domínguez Ortiz, *Historia Hiszpanii*, Kraków 1997, pp. 103-104.

2 A. Giménez Soler, *La Edad Media*, op. cit., pp. 127-144, 146-172; T.N. Bisson, *Història de la Corona d'Aragó*, op. cit., pp. 68-82, 97-100, 103-104; *Diccionari d'història de Catalunya*, op. cit., pp. 171, 578-579, 807-808; *Història de Catalunya*, ed. P. Vilar, op. cit., pp. 21-30, 33-39, 42-47, 51, 58, 61-65, 69-73, 76-77, 80-81, 85, 96; M. Coll i Alentorn, *La Península i el Mediterrani en el regnat de Jaume I*, in: *Història de Catalunya*, ed. J. Salvat, op. cit., pp. 4-15; E. Belenguer, *Orígens del Regne de València: conquesta i poblament*, in: *Història de Catalunya*, ed. J. Salvat, op. cit., pp. 23-30; D. Romano, *Pere el Gran i el Regne de Sicília*, in: *Història de Catalunya*, ed. J. Salvat, op. cit., pp. 31-40; J. Sobrequés i Callicó, *L'expedició de la Gran Companyia Catalana d'Orient*, in: *Història de Catalunya*, ed. J. Salvat, op. cit., pp. 63-67; J.-F. Cabestany, *Diplomàcia i guerra durant el regnat de Jaume II*, in: *Història de Catalunya*, dir J. Salvat, op. cit., pp. 53-62; J. Cruanyes, R. Ortiz, op. cit., pp. 48-55; M. Tuñón de Lara, J. Valdeón Baruque, A. Domínguez Ortiz, *Historia Hiszpanii*, op. cit., pp. 133-134, 166; S. Runciman, *Nieszpory sycylijskie. Dzieje świata śródziemnomorskiego w drugiej połowie XIII wieku*, Katowice 1997, pp. 214-239.

by a representative of the Castilian House of Trastámara – Ferdinand I in 1412 – the crisis also took over the political sphere. The rule of Ferdinand I lasted less than four years. After his death, power passed to his son Alfonso V, who was given the nickname Magnanimous already during his lifetime.[3]

The emergence of the Castilian Trastámaras on the throne of the Kingdom of Aragon also contributed to the deepening of internal divisions in some parts of the country. The Catalan nobility turned out to be particularly active in this, by making a number of demands on the monarch in the spirit of negotiations. Catalan pretenses were aimed at significantly limiting the scope of the monarchy's power and subjecting it to the will of the representative body, the Cortes. Deepening enmity between the ruler and his subjects made the monarch, discouraged by the internal situation in the country, set off on a path of Mediterranean expansion and embarked on a plan to occupy the Genoese Corsica. Unable to conquer it, he turned to the southern parts of the Apennine Peninsula, the Kingdom of Naples.[4]

Despite the opposition of the Catalan and Valencian Cortes, in May 1420, Alfonso V organized a sea expedition, which eventually headed for Naples. The following year, the ruler of Naples, Joanna II, appointed him as his successor. Soon, however, as a result of some misunderstandings,

3 J. Vicens Vives, *Evolución de la economía catalana durante la primera mitad del siglo XV*, in: *IV Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó*, Palma de Mallorca 1955, p. 5; R. Gubern, *La crisis financiera de 1381 en la Corona de Aragón*, in: *Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche. Riassunti delle Comunicazioni*, Firenze 1955, pp. 236-238; P. Vilar, *Le déclin catalan du Bas Moyen-Age. Hypothèses sur sa chronologie*, "Estudios de Historia Moderna," 6, 1956-1959, pp. 1-68; J. Sobrequés Callicó, *La Peste Negra en la Península Ibérica*, "Anuario de Estudios Medievales," Iss. 7, 1970-1971, pp. 67-102; M. Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani e l'espansione della Corona d'Aragona nel secolo XV*, Napoli 1972, p. 586; J.-F. Cabestany, *La crisi demogràfica dels segles XIV i XV*, in: *Història de Catalunya*, ed. J. Salvat, op. cit., pp. 166-171; T.N. Bisson, *Història de la Corona*, op. cit., pp. 158-167, 194-200; G. Feliu, *La crisis catalana de la baja edad media. Estado de cuestion*, "Hispania" Vol. LXIV/2, Iss. 217, 2004, pp. 435-466; M.-T. Ferrer i Mallol, *El comerç català a la Baixa edat mitjana*, "Catalan Historical Review," Iss. 5, 2012, 161-162; D. Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient au Moyen Âge. Un siècle de relations avec l'Égipte et Syrie--Palestine (ca. 1330 – ca. 1430)*, Madrid–Barcelone 2004, pp. 5-6, 607-612.

4 A. Giménez Soler, *La Edad Media*, op. cit., pp. 188-192; T.N. Bisson, *Història de la Corona*, op. cit., pp. 145-151; *Diccionari d'Història de Catalunya*, op. cit., pp. 442-443; J. Sobrequés i Callicó, *El problema successori i el Compromís de Casp*, in: *Història de Catalunya*, ed. J. Salvat, op. cit., pp. 151-154; *Història de Catalunya*, ed. P. Vilar, op. cit., pp. 190-195; *Diccionari d'Història de Catalunya*, op. cit., pp. 208-209; M. Del Treppo, *Aragon*, in: *The New Cambridge History*, Vol. VIII, c. 1415 – c. 1500, ed. Ch. Allmand, Cambridge 1998, pp. 588-591; M. Aventín, *Ferran d'Antequerra: el pactisme i la continuïtat de la política mediterrània*, in: *Història de Catalunya*, ed. J. Salvat, op. cit., pp. 154-158; M. Tuñón de Lara, J. Valdeón Baruque, A. Domínguez Ortiz, *Historia Hiszpanii*, op. cit., pp. 168-169.

she changed her mind. Withdrawing from previous arrangements with the ruler of Aragon, she transferred the rights to the Neapolitan crown to Louis III of Anjou. Moreover, in 1423 a revolt by the local population against Alfonso V broke out in Naples, forcing the ruler to retreat. Embittered by this turn of events, he destroyed Marseille belonging to Louis III on the way back.[5]

In spite of unfavorable circumstances and failures, the ruler of Aragon did not give up on the idea of taking over the Kingdom of Naples. His plan resumed in 1435. This time a coalition of Genoa, Milan and the papacy were formed against him. On 5 August 1435, Alfonso lost battle at sea with the Genoese fleet at Ponza and the king himself was taken prisoner. To get out of it, he had to pay a high ransom. Shortly afterwards there was a reshuffle among the allies. The ruler of Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti, took the side of Alfonso V, the latter waged war on Venice, Florence, the papacy and the party of the Angevin in Naples. Conducted with varying degrees of success, the warfare ended with the victory of Alfonso V in 1442.[6]

The warfare in which the king of Aragon took part required constant expenses related to the food supply for the court. This is evidenced, *inter alia*, by the treasury accounts held at the Archive of the Kingdom of Valencia (Arxiu del Regne de València) in Valencia and the State Archive of Palermo (Archivio di Stato di Palermo) analyzed by Jacqueline Guiral and Mohammed Ouerfelli.[7] On their basis, we can conclude that among

5 Basic biographical data on Alfonso V the Magnanimous: Alfonso V El Magnánimo, biography in *Diccionario Bigráfico Español*: http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/6367/alfonso-v; Alfonso V d'Aragona, biography in *Dizionario Bigrafico degli Italiani*: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alfonso-v-d-aragona-re-di-sicilia-re-di-napoli_(Dizionario-Biografico); *Diccionari d'història de Catalunya*, op. cit., pp. 25-26; general works on Italian politics of Alfonso V the Magnanimous can be found in numerous articles collected in the conference in conference papers of the IV, IX, and XVI Congress of the History of the Kingdom of Aragon: *IV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. Ferran I d'Antequera i Alfons el Magnànim*, Vol. I, Palma de Mallorca 1959, Vol. II, Barcelona 1970, Vol. III, 1976; *IX Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona e il Mediterraneo: aspetti e problemi comuni da Alfonso il Magnanimo a Ferdinando il Catolico (1416-1516)*, Vol. I, Napoli 1978, Vol. II, Napoli 1982, Vol. III, Palermo 1984, Vol. IV, Zaragoza 1984; *XVI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. La Corona d'Aragona ai tempi di Alfonso il Magnanimo*, vol. 1-2, Napoli 2000. In determining the basic facts of the Italian expeditions these works proved to be particularly useful, among others: E. Sáez, *Alfons el Magnànim i la idea imperial*, in: *Història de Catalunya*, ed. J. Salvat, op. cit., pp. 159-161; A. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous. King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396-1458*, Oxford 1990, pp. 45-115; G. Cardini, *Alfonos il Magnanimo. Il re del Rinascimento che fece di Napoli la capitale del Mediterraneo*, Napoli 2019, pp. 58-84.

6 E. Sáez, *Alfons el Magnànim*, op. cit., pp. 161-163; A. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*, op. cit., pp. 175-251; G. Cardini, *Alfonos il Magnanimo*, op. cit., pp. 117-211.

7 J. Guiral, *Le sucre à Valence aux XV et XVI siècles*, in: *Manger et boire au Moyen Âge. Actes du Collque de Nice (15-17 octobre 1982)*, vol. 1: *Aliements et Societé*, Nice 1984, pp. 119-129;

a number of products necessary to supply the king and his immediate surroundings, there are also references to sweets. This is surprising inasmuch as various types of sweets almost accompanied the monarchy at every stage of the warfare: before, during and after the war for Naples.

For example, as early as April 1420, one month before the start of the expedition, it was noted in the Treasury accounts of the Kingdom of Valencia – one of the components of the Kingdom of Aragon – that green ginger, candied peel of green lemons, candied calabash, quince jam, pastilles and bonbons with pine nuts, aniseed, almonds in sugar and pistachios from Egypt and Persia were purchased for the King and his court.[8] A new order for this ruler, this time in the amount of 130 kg, was completed in July 1420. As indicated, the sweets were sent to Sardinia, where the monarch was then staying in preparation for the attack on Corsica.[9]

The sweets accompanied Alfonso also after his return from the first expedition to Naples. It is also known that 5 years later, confectioner Pere Dezpla provided 116 kg of sweets to the court, and the *especier* Macia Marti – 10 kg of sugar in 6 heads. In 1425, a separate supply of sweets for the needs of the royal court was provided by Nicolau de Santa Fe.[10]

The beginning of the next stage of the struggle for control over the south of Italy was an opportunity to continue buying sweets for the warlike king and his entourage. This time, successive purchases of sweets were recorded in the accounts of the Sicilian treasury in Palermo from 1435-1436.

Thus, on 15 September 1435, sweets worth 15 ounces, 9 tari and 2 played were bought for the king's needs, while three times more was spent in less than a month, amounting to 47 ounces, 5 tari and 16 grana. The importance of this type of product is reflected by the composition of special orders for specific types of sweets. For example, in a document of 12 March 1435, an official purchasing for the court listed precisely: candied almonds (50 rotolos), coriander candies (*seliandre*, 70 rotolos), aniseed candies (*batafalua menuda*, 50 rotolos), *cugusta cuberta de zuccharo* (20 rotolos), candied pears (40 rotolos), apples and pumpkins (60 rotolos). Also, in the following years they made purchases of sweets. For example, on account of 8 October 1436, next to goods such as cloth, candles or

M. Ouerfelli, *Le sucre. Production, commercialisation et usage dans Méditerranée médiévale*, Leiden–Boston 2008, pp. 637.

8 J. Guiral, *Le sucre à Valence*, op. cit., pp. 119-120, based on: Arxiu del Regne de València, Maestre Racional, Vol. 39, fol. 241: 1419; Vol. 40, fol. 273: 1420.

9 J. Guiral, *Le sucre à Valence*, op. cit., p. 120, based on: Arxiu del Regne de València, Maestre Racional, Vol. 40; fol. 285: 30 July 1420.

10 J. Guiral, *Le sucre à Valence*, op. cit., p. 120, based on: Arxiu del Regne de València, Maestre Racional, Vol. 45, fol. 309v: 17 July 1425, fol. 330: 7 August 1425; J. Sanchis Sivera, *Íntima vida de los valencianos en la época foral*, Valencia 1993, p. 28, n. 15.

torches there were also sweets, for which it was paid a total of 21 ounces, 17 tari and 16 grana.[11]

The information extracted from the treasury accounts clearly shows that sweets were an integral part of Alfonso V's menu, even during the hardships and dangers of warfare. Depending on the area of fighting suppliers were merchants of Valencia and Sicily. Moreover, a detailed analysis of the purchased quantities made by Jacqueline Guiral and Mahhamed Ouerfelli shows that Alfonso's successes on the battlefield, the demand for sweets grew. What is more, the upward trend significantly intensified after the conquest of Naples in 1442.

So how to interpret the fact that different kinds of sweets accompanied the Aragon king at every stage of the warfare?

To answer this question, it is necessary to identify the role played by sweets in the late medieval food system of the Kingdom of Aragon in the first place.

In the light of the principles of nutrition of the era, which was the so-called humoral theory, each type of food was attributed specific properties. Honey, and from approx. 8th century, also sugar mixed with other ingredients in a final product was considered as hot and dry. Hence, jams, candied fruits, nougat, sugared almonds, etc. were seen as an excellent remedy for humoral imbalance, which took place in a situation where cold and damp products, e.g. different types of meat products were consumed in excess. In a word, they were considered digestive aids.[12]

With time, however, the consumption of sweets was determined not only by their availability or price, but also became a type of products consumed for pleasure. It is the taste, shape or method of preparation that determined the size of consumption in the first place, rather than the therapeutic properties previously attributed to them.[13]

In the light of the available sources, it can be assumed that in some countries of Latin Europe this process took place under the influence

11 C. Trasselli, *Sul debito pubblico in Sicilia sotto Alfonso V d'Aragona*, "Estudios de historia moderna" Vol. VI (1956-1960), pp. 101-102, 104; M. Ouerfelli, *Le sucre*, op. cit., p. 637, based on: Archivio di Stato di Palermo, Archivio di Stato di Palermo, Patrimonio, n. provv. 61.

12 R. Kuhne-Brabant, *Le sucre et le doux dans l'alimentation d'al-Andalus*, "Médiévales," Vol. 33, automne 1997, p. 60; eadem, *El azúcar: usos dietéticos y farmacéuticos según los médicos árabes medievales*, in: *1492: lo dulce en la conquista de Europa. Actas del quarto seminario internacional sobre la caña de azúcar, Motril 21-25 septembre 1992*, Granade 1994, p. 41; E. Savage-Smith, *Medycyna*, in: *Historia nauki arabskiej*, ed. R. Rashed in collaboration with R. Morelone, Vol. 3: *Technika, alchemia, nauki przyrodnicze i medycyna*, Warszawa 2005, p. 171; Z. Gajda, *Do historii medycyny wprowadzenie*, Kraków 2011, pp. 106-108; R. Hryszko, *Media aeva dulcia: analiza produkcji i konsumpcji słodyczy w Koronie Aragonii w XIV i XV w.*, Kraków 2013, pp. 39-41.

13 R. Hryszko, *Media aeva dulcia*, op. cit., pp. 212-229.

of contacts with the Islamic world, where in the late Middle Ages, various types of sweets moved from the medical-pharmaceutical sphere to the culinary sphere. One of the first areas of Europe where this process took place was the Kingdom of Aragon.[14] This stemmed from the fact that the areas of Aragon there was no shortage of honey and sugar. Honey was obtained in Catalonia, while in Sicily and Valencia sugar canes were cultivated. The development of agriculture and horticulture meant that fruits, vegetables and nuts were readily available, and their relatively low price. In turn, thanks to the involvement of the thirteenth century Catalan merchants in the Levant trade, Aragon had a secure supply of different spices, to be included in the various sweets.[15] Moreover, spice merchants (Catal. *especiers*) and who in fact worked as pharmacists who manufactured them, thanks to their necessary knowledge and skills, enjoyed a monopoly position for many decades.[16] The recipients of sweets were representatives of the local elites. In the first place, it is the rulers and their surroundings. Preserved sources clearly indicate that the predecessors of Alfonso V the Magnanimous, i.e. Peter IV the Ceremonious (1336-1387), John I (1396-1410), Martin I the Humane (1387-1396) were also consumers of sweets. We don't know if they were eaten by the first of the Trastámaras on the Aragon throne – father of Alfonso V, Ferdinand I (1412-1416), although this cannot be ruled out.[17] The popularity of sweets at the courts of the above-

14 Abū Marwān ʽAbd al-Malik b. Zuhr, *Kitāb al-Agdiya*, ed. E. Garcia Sanchez, Granada 1996, passim; A. Huici Miranda, *La cocina hispano-magrebí durante la época almohade según un manuscrito anónimo del siglo XIII*, Somonte-Cenero 2005, passim; Ibn Razīn al-Tuǧībī, *Relieves de las mesas, acerca de las delicias de la comida y los diferentes platos*, estudio, traducción y notas M. Marín, Somonte-Cenero 2007, passim; M. Marín, *El sucre a la gastronomia andalusina a partir de la Fadāla de Ibn Razīn*, in: *Sucre & Borja. La canyamel dels ducs. Del trapig a la taula*, ed. J.A. Gisbert, Gandia 2000, pp. 52-57; R. Hryszko, *Media aeva dulcia*, op. cit., pp. 40-45, and particularly pp. 45-59.

15 M. Gual Camarena, *Vocabulario del comercio medieval. Colección de aranceles aduaneros de la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIII y XIV)*, Tarragona 1968, passim; A. Riera-Melis, *Il Mediterraneo, crogiuolo di tradizioni alimentari. Il lascito islamico alla cucina catalana medievale*, in: *Il mondo in cucina. Storia, identità, scambi*, ed. M. Montanari, Bari–Roma 2002, pp. 3-43; D. Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient au Moyen Âge. Un siècle de relations avec l'Égipte et Syrie--Palestine (ca. 1330 – ca. 1430)*, Madrid–Barcelone 2004, passim; R. Hryszko, *Media aeva dulcia*, op. cit., pp. 107-120.

16 M. Suñé Arbussá i X. Sorní Esteva, *Barcelona. Baja Edad Media ¿Especieros o boticarios?*, "Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Historia de la Farmacia," 136 (1983), pp. 130-150; C. Vela i Aulesa, *Ordinacions, privilegis i oficis la regulació de l'art de l'especieria (s. XIV-XV)*, "Anuario de Estudios Medievales," Vol. 36/2, julio–diciembre 2006, pp. 839-882; J.-P. Bénézet, *Pharmacie et médicament en Méditéranée occidentale (XIII–XVI siècles)*, Paris 1999; pp. 62-64; R. Hryszko, *Media aeva dulcia*, op. cit., pp. 121-159.

17 J.M. Roca, *Johan I d'Aragó*, Barcelona 1929, pp. 253-254; E. González Hurtebise, *Inventario de los bienes muebles de Alfonso V de Aragón como infante y como rey (1412-1424)*, "Anuari. Institut

mentioned rulers is evidenced by the fact that they were eaten on a daily basis, because in the private apartments of the monarchs there were always dishes with sweets, and the relevant court officials were responsible for making up any shortfall continuously. Sweets were also present during feasts and celebrations, such as weddings and accompanying receptions, taking in strangers, and even during the monarch coronations, which was clearly noted in the extremely meticulous coronation ceremony of Peter IV the Ceremonious.[18]

The popularity of sweets was not limited to court circles. The surviving accounts of the Barcelona spice merchant Francesc de Ses Canes from 1378-1381 clearly show that his most important clients included both lay aristocrats and high church dignitaries.[19]

Certainly, the customers of other *especiers* were also rich townspeople active in the trade industry, both within and outside the Kingdom of Aragon. Among them, the leaders would be Barcelona merchants. The latter, thanks to their capital, constantly multiplied in the profitable Levantine trade, as well as enjoying extensive rights and privileges since the times of James I the Conqueror (1213-1276), were an important group of sweet confectionery consumers in the Kingdom of Aragon. It can be assumed that originally the consumption of sweets among the burghers was limited to the private sphere. Over time, it became both a part of public activity of the representatives of this social class and an important factor determining new patterns of feasting culture. On the other hand, the circumstances, the way and the setting of confectionery consumption shaped new planes of emphasizing one's social position at the representative or propaganda level. This process was gradual and could originally be linked to the social life of the members of the Barcelona patriciate sitting on the municipal authorities.[20]

It is believed that the participation of Barcelona councilors in private parties organized by influential public figures in the Catalan capital in the late 1370s and early 1380s played an important role here. It is from

d'Estudis Catalans," a. I, 1907, pp. 169, 172, 174; D. Girona i Llagostera, *Itinerari del rey En Martí I*, "Anuari. Institut d'Estudis Catalans," a. V, 1913-1914, p. I, p. 553; I. Maranges, *Dolços medievals per avui*, Tarragona 1998, p. 29; R. Hryszko, *Media aeva dulcia*, op. cit., p. 225.

18 E. González Hurtebise, *Inventario de los bienes*, op. cit., pp. 148-188; D. Girona i Llagostera, *Itinerari del rey*, op. cit., p. 553; O. Schena, *Le leggi palatine di Pietro IV d'Aragona*, Cagliari 1983, p. 140; *Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort de Pere el Cerimoniós*, ed. F.M. Gimeno, D. Gozalbo, J. Trenchs, València 2009, p. 94; I. Maranges, *Dolços*, op. cit., p. 29; R. Hryszko, *Media aeva dulcia*, op. cit., p. 225.

19 C. Vela i Aulesa, *L'obrador d'un apotecari medieval segons el llibre de comptes e Francesc Ses Canes (Barcelona, 1378-1381)*, Barcelona 2003, passim.

20 R. Hryszko, *Media aeva dulcia*, op. cit., pp. 74-86.

this period that we find the first references to ceremonial feasts, known as the Catalan *col·laciones*, organized by the municipal authorities of Barcelona on the occasion of visits by church and secular dignitaries.[21]

What were they and what formula was adopted for them? Before answering such a question, it is necessary to clarify the meaning of this concept.

The Catalan word *col·lació* (plural: *col·laciones*) is a vulgarized form of the Latin term *collatio*. In culinary terms, this term was used to describe a light afternoon snack eaten by monks on fasting days, during which fragments of *Collationes patrum (Conversations with Fathers)* by John Cassian (ca. 360 – ca. 435) were read. At an unknown time, the custom of eating this snack went beyond the monastic sphere and became established in secular circles, losing the character of a fasting dish. Originally, wine or water, bread, and other fastidious ingredients were eaten as a snack, and over time sweets were added to them, until their consumption dominated this kind of private consumption.[22]

As you might think, at least since the 1370s that the *col·laciones* became an integral part of the celebration of the important festivities for the urban community of Barcelona at the time: official visits by high-ranking lay and clerical people, members of the royal family and, above all, the rulers themselves. Over time, the serving and consumption of sweets was incorporated into the official city ceremonies, and the information preserved clearly shows that offering sweets in public spaces was seen as an ideal element in ostentatiously emphasizing the position of the Barcelona patricians, or a way of gaining favor for one's position.[23]

21 P.J. Comès, *Libre de algunes coses asanyalades succehides en Barcelona y en altres parts format per Pere Joan Comes en 1583 y recóndit en lo Arxiu del Excelentíssim Ajuntament*, ed. J. Puiggari, Barcelona 1878, pp. 94-102; *Llibre de les solemnitats de Barcelona. Edició completa del manuscrit de l'Arxiu Històric de la Ciutati*, eds. A. Duran i Sanpere, J. Sanabre, Vol. 1: 1424-1546, Barcelona 1930, cap. 22, pp. 114-122; A. Adroer i Tassis, *Un convit reial a la Barcelona del s. XV*, in: *Actes del I Col·loqui d'Història de l'Alimentació a la Corona d'Aragó: Edat Mitjana*, Vol. II, Lleida 1995, p. 636; R. Hryszko, *Media aeva dulcia*, op. cit., pp. 218, 220-224; R. Hryszko, R. Sasor, *Średniowieczne słodycze katalońskie w źródłach i literaturze (z wyborem tekstów z XIV i XV wieku)*, Kraków 2019, pp. 192-215.

22 C. Vela i Aulesa, *La col·lació, un àpat medieval poc conegut*, in: *La Mediterrània, àrea de convergència de sistemes alimentaris (segles V-XVIII), XIV Jornades d'Estudis Històrics Locals: realizades a Palma del 29 de novembre al 2 dicembre de 1995)*, Palma 1996, pp. 669-670; E. Carnevale Schianca, *La cucina medievale. Lessico, storia, preparazioni*, Firenze 2011, p. 168; S. Claramunt, *Dos aspectes de l'alimentació medieval: dels canonges a les 'miserabiles personae'*, in: *Alimentació i societat a la Catalunya medieval*, *Anuario de estudios medievales*, Anex 20, Barcelona 1988, p. 170.

23 More information about this is discussed in a separate work: R. Hryszko, *Media aeva dulcia*, op. cit., pp. 214-216.

The use of the sweet snack as a tool for ostentation of riches was transferred to the court of the monarchs of Aragon at a time unknown to us. On the basis of the current state of research it is difficult to say when this happened. However, it is highly probable that the custom of organizing ceremonial snacks with wine and sweets was widespread during the time of Alfonso V the Magnanimous and became one of the instruments of the monarch's political propaganda, both in the era of the struggle for the rule of southern Italy and after the conquest of the Neapolitan throne. What speaks for this hypothesis?

As shown above, the aforementioned ruler was particularly inclined to having sweets. Moreover, as the French historian Mohammed Ouerfelli notes, the expenditure on the purchase of sweet products increased significantly immediately after the occupation of Naples in 1442.[24] Thus, in the years 1441-1442, expenditure related to their purchase amounted to as much as 106 ounces, 4 tari and 1 grana, while in the following two years it was tripled and amounted to 302 ounces (in the years 1444-1445 it decreased and amounted only to 76 ounces, 16 tari and 14 grana). Although M. Ouerfelli points out that these quotas are incomplete and do not cover all purchases of sweets, they are still a clear indication of the preferences of the Aragon ruler.[25]

Secondly, it seems that during and after the war on Naples in 1442 sweets were both an instrument for winning supporters and an important tool for confirming the power gained by Alfonso V the Magnanimous. This observation leads us to the question what form and circumstances were the sweet snacks purchased for the court of the warrior king?

In the first place, the answers to the problem formulated in this way are provided by the information contained in numerous accounts by representatives of the city of Barcelona, who, as part of their permanent mission, surrounded the monarch both during his second trip to Italy and after the seize of Naples. In this material, which includes more than 544 letters from the years 1435-1458, published more than a quarter of a century ago by the eminent Catalan historian Josep M. Madurell Marimon, we find dozens of mentions of celebrations and feasts organized by Alfonso V

24 M. Ouerfelli, *Le sucre*, op. cit., p. 638, na podstawie Archivio di Stato di Palermo, Patrimonio, n. provv. 61.

25 It is believed that regular deliveries were made by the court's *aromatario*, whose duties included preparing sweets for the royal table. In the years 1449-1450 this function was performed by Bernat Figueres who earned at least 2,000 ducats for manufacturing the confectioneries: M. Ouerfelli, *Le sucre*, op. cit., p. 638, based on: Archivio di Stato di Palermo, Patrimonio, n. provv. 61. Expenditure on sweets at the court of Alfonso V in 1451 is provided by D. Santoro *Salute dei re. Salute del popolo. Mangiare e curarsi nella Sicilia tardomedievale*, "Anuario de Estudios Medievales," Iss. 43/1, enero – junio 2013, pp. 259-289, pp. 267-268.

the Magnanimous. Unfortunately, from our point of view, this information is very restrained. Apart from noting that a given reception took place, the authors of diplomatic correspondence do not provide a description of the feast itself, nor do they cite details related to it. The exception to this are three references that may be relevant in exploring the issue at stake.

Thus, in a letter to the Barcelona Council of the Hundred, dated 4 April 1443, a few months after the end of the war, envoy Antoni Vinyes reported that after diplomatic negotiations with the envoy of the ruler of Ferrara, Leonello d'Este (1407-1450) concerning the marrying of the latter to Eleonora, the younger daughter of Alfonso V (eventually the wife of the ruler of Ferrara was the elder Maria), a great sweet feast was arranged in the evening (*E fetes les cartes se féu aqui gran collació*).[26] This mention is interesting because the author, writing in Catalan, does not use any other term referring to the feast (e.g. *convit, diner*, etc.), but uses the term *col·lació* reserved for a sweet snack. What is more, it is preceded by an adjective "great" (Catal. *gran*).

The baptismal reception of the granddaughter of Alfonso – Eleonora, daughter of the monarch's illegitimate son, Ferdinand, known as Ferrante, was also referred to in a similar way. The ceremony took place on 2 August 1450 at the castle in Capua. As one of the envoys reported, immediately after

> supper, the Archbishop of this town, at the Capuan castle, discreetly baptized the infanta in question, who was named Eleonora. [...] Then the king came to pay a visit to his daughter-in-law and her daughter to give her his blessing. After a while, the said lord king solemnly passed into a great hall, and in the middle of the hall there was a great wooden throne with steps, and a beautiful canopy on the wall, with the seat on which [the king] sat in his majesty. On the right side of the bench where the Archbishop and we were sitting. And then came the great procession of the Neapolitan ladies, very beautifully maintained, and the above-mentioned gentleman prince [i.e. Ferdinand Ferrante, Prince of Calabria] addressed the ministers, and numerous bachelors and numerous ladies danced according to the custom of the land. And then there was a great feast of confectionery for everyone in this room. And then the said prince [again] turned to the ministers, and numerous ladies from our land. In the end, everyone danced according to our custom. And so, the ceremony came to an end.[27]

26 *Mensajeros barceloneses en la corte de Nápoles de Alfonso V de Aragón*, introducción y texto por J.M. Madurell Marimón, Barcelona 1963, Iss. 169, p. 227.

27 "Ara per la present, vos certifficam, com digmenge, prop passat, a dos del present mes, aprés diñar, lo senyor archebisbe de aquesta ciutat, dins lo Castell de Capuana, batejá molt discretament la dita infanta, la qual ha nom Elionor. E fom compares nosaltres dos e lo dit mestre

The account given by one of the Barcelona diplomats mentioned above is not only a clear testimony to the transfer of the custom of Catalan sweet snacks to the Neapolitan soil, but also shows the context of its celebration. As noted in the cited source, before eating the sweets, Neapolitan dances took place, and after consumption there were Catalan dances. Such a location of a sweet snack clearly indicates that it became a kind of binder between the native Neapolitan tradition with its influx-Catalan elements.

In this perspective it is not surprising that two years later sweets played an important role during the visit of Emperor Frederick III and his wife to Naples. This time more information about the issue we are interested in is provided by the work *Dictis et factis Alfonsi regis* by Antonio Beccadelli, known as the Panoramite (1394-1471), one of the leading humanists associated with the Neapolitan court of Alfonso, and the Catalan translation of the work of the Neapolitan humanist by Jordi de Centenelles.

In his panegyric work about Alfonso V, Beccadelli wrote in general about the greatness of the imperial entourage and the celebrations associated with the visit of Frederick III.[28] Meanwhile, Jordi de Centenelles, author of the Catalan translation of Beccadelli's work, *Dels fets e dits del gran rey Alfonso*, does not limit the passage of interest to a faithful translation, but allows himself to add his own sentences, which in our view

racional, e comares dues comtessas e la muller de mossén Fonolleda, prothonotari. E fet lo dit bateig, nosaltres pujam dalt per visitar la senyora ducessa, e stiguem gran stona ab ella. E aprés vench lo senyor rey per visitar la dita partera, e la infanta, e donali la benedicció. E a cap de stona, lo dit senyor rey devallasen en una gran sala molt bé empaliada, e al cap de la sala havie un gran sitial de fust, ab scalons, ab un bell dosser a la peret, ab una cadira aon sech la sua maiestat; e a la part dreta, un banch aon se segué lo dit senyor archabisbe, e nosaltres. E aprés, vingueren gran colp de dones napolatanes, molt bé arresades, e lo dit senyor duch féu tornar ministrés, e ab molts cavallers, e moltes dones bailaren, e dansaren a la usanqa de aquesta térra. En aprés, fou feta en la dita sala, gran collació de confits de sucre a tothom generalment. E aprés, lo dit senyor duch féu tornar ministrés, e ab moltes dones de nostra térra densaren a la guisa nostrada. E axí pres fi la dita festa," ibidem, Iss. 249, p. 311.

28 "Sileo hic ludos equestres ac christianos, omitto conuiuia ac potiones, transeo uenationes et reliquos ad honorem ipsius imperatoris tam magnefice excogitata, quantum nusquam essent, aut lecta, aut uisa, aut audita alias. Verum illud praetereundum non fuit, quod tantae huic multitudini non solum lautitia et impensa, ex regio fisco duos ferme menses fuerit opipere praebita, sed quicquid esse uestitu, quicquid uoluptati usui esset sine precio promptissime traditum. Audiui saepius ab regiae rationis scriba, uniuersam hanc in imperatorem hospitalitatem aureorum centum milium summam praeter ingentis pretii munera supergressam fuisse," A. Beccadelli, el Panoramita, *Dels fets e dits del gran rey Alfonso*, Barcelona 1990, pp. 256, 258. The quoted edition the Latin original of Antonio Beccadelli's work and its Catalonian translation by Jordi de Centenelles. Both versions show slight differences resulting from minor adjustments of the original text by translators. In other passages Jordi de Centenelles introduced his own interpolations. More on this issue: *Introducció*, in: A. Beccadelli el Panoramita, *Dels fets e dits del gran rey Alfonso*, Barcelona 1990, p. 15-65.

deserve special attention. In the Catalan version of Beccadelli's work, Jordi de Centenelles writes in reference to Frederick III's visit:

> I do not want to talk about celebrations, tournaments, performances and entertainment that were piously celebrated during the Holy Week. I wish to lose myself in the feasts, the preparations for the entire imperial entourage, arranged at great cost, the hunting in Estangol in such rich abundance that six thousand people ate meat in order and great quantity and wealth; mountains of hunting fowl were prepared, wine fountains everywhere, and various sweets covered the ground (la col·latió de diversos confits cobria la terra).[29]

This account also leaves no illusions. The abundance of food, beverage and sweet snacks were intended to dazzle the emperor and his entourage upon their arrival to Naples.

In another place of his work, Beccadelli describes the event he witnessed with his own eyes. One evening while in Messina, Alfonso V the Magnanimous went into one of the rooms of the castle to listen to the reading of the works of Virgil. Children were allowed into the room where the monarch stayed and listened carefully to the lecture. At the end of it, instead of the customary summary and conclusions, as we read in the Latin version of the text, as was the custom of the king of Spain (*Hispaniae regum more*) drinks were served (*potio ... regi afferrebatur*), probably wine. Then the monarch generously distributed apples and sugary confectionery to the guests (*poma seu confectiones zuchareas*).[30] In turn, in the above mentioned translation of Beccadelli's work into Catalan by Jordi de Centenelles,

29 "No vul dir les festes, les juntes, les representations e goigs que en la setmana sancta devotament foren celebrats. Oblidar-me vul los convits, los apparells per a tota la imperial gent ordenats ab magnífica e grandíssima spesa, les caces a l'Estangol ab tan richa sumptuositat, que sis mília presones menjaren viandes ordenadament e abundosa e rica; aparellades les muntayes de volateria, les fons de vi brollaven per diversas parts, la col·latió de diversos confits cobria la terra," A. Beccadelli el Panoramita, *Dels fets e dits del gran rey Alfonso*, op. cit., pp. 257, 259.

30 In the Latin version of the text, this passage reads as follows: "Memini, cum aliquando Messanae Virgilium legeremus, pueros uel humilimae conditionis, qui modo discendi animo accederent usque in interiorem locum, ubi post cenam legebatur, edicto regis omnes admissos fuisse, exclusis eo loco, ea hora amplissimis atque ornatissimis uiris, omnibus denique, qui legendi causa non adessent, exclusis. *Finita uero lectione, potio Hispaniae regum more regi afferebatur. Ministrabat rex sua manu praeceptori ipsi, seu poma, seu confectiones zuchareas* [my emphasis – RH]. Condiscipulis uero purpuratorum maximi post autem potationem quaestio proponebatur, ut plurimum philosophiae. Aderant quidem doctissimi atque clarissimi uiri; extendebatur nox suauissimis atque honestissimis colluctationibus usque ad horam fere septimam. Exinde suam quisque domum repetebat laetus et regis gratiae et benignitate plenus," A. Beccadelli, el Panoramita, *Dels fets e dits del gran rey Alfonso*, op. cit., pp. 264, 266.

this meal is clearly defined by the term *col·lació de confits ... de fruita eleta*, i.e. as a snack of candied fruit.[31]

To a certain extent, the above accounts are accompanied by an account by Bartolomeo Faccio (1400-1457), another humanist associated with the Neapolitan court. The mentioned author in the work titled *De rebus gestis ab Alphonso Primo Neapolitarum Rege* (the Italian translation is titled: *I fatti d'Alfonso d'Aragona primo re di Napoli*) made a detailed description of a hunt organized by the ruler of Naples to honor the emperor and his wife. According to the message of Faccio, King Alfonso,

> in a secluded place from which a good view stretched, had tents set up with secret rooms and a buffet equipped with gold and silver vases with a great abundance of all things to eat that no one else could find in a comfortable and prosperous palace. In front of the imperial tent there was a masterfully crafted fountain, which gushed with three types of wine, which everyone could quench their thirst with.[32]

Although there is no direct mention of sweets, a description of the context (gold and silver vases!) seems to clearly indicate their presence.

In this way, the information contained in the quoted authors directly related to the Neapolitan court of Alfonso V the Magnanimous may be a further confirmation not only of the special attachment of the Aragon ruler to sweets, but also a testimony to the consistent practice of native customs related to their consumption. And these included the sweet treat.

Another humanist and thinker associated with the Neapolitan court of Alfonso V the Magnanimous, Giovanni Pontano (1426-1503) wrote in a similar tone in one of his treatises in which he extensively described the so-called citizen's virtues, *De convivencia*, contained in a work titled

31 In turn, the fifteenth-century translation of a passage from Jordi Centenelles Beccadelli reads as follows: "E yo·m recort que, essent en Mecina, legia lo Virgili a Sa Magestat, hi desigaven hoir los jóvens e fadrins de baxa conditió; la sua alteza manà que·ls fos uberta la porta, hi·ls acolia en lo loch de hon manava exir los grans hòmens qui no hoÿen la liçó. *Finida la liçó, axí com era costum de Sa Alteza, aribava la col·latió de confits hi de fruita eleta* [my emphasis – RH]. La sua magestat partia entre los hoÿdós y dexebles meus, aprés hoÿa disputar e al·legar de alguna qüestió de filosofia. La qual finida, cascú se'n tornava a sa casa alegre, content de la suavitat de tan virtuós príncep" ibidem, pp. 265-267.

32 "E fece drizzare in luogo separato, da cui ogni cosa si poteua uedere, i padiglioni con le stanze secrete, e la credenza fornita di uasi d'oro, e d'argento, con una grandissima abondanza di tutte cose da mangiare, e quanto mai altro si potesse trouare in un ben commodo ed agiato palagio. Auanti al padiglione imperiale era una fontana maestreuolmente fatta, la quale gettaua tre sorti di vino abondantemente, oue ciascuno si poteua cauare la sete à fua uoglia: B. Faccio, *I fatti d'Alfonso d'Aragona primo re di Napoli*, [Venezia] 1590, p. 418; on the course of the visit of emperor Frederic III to Naples, cf. also G. Cardini, op. cit., pp. 264-268.

Opera omnia soluta oratione composita, published in Venice in 1518. Pontano explicitly pointed to Alfonso V the Magnanimous as the one who contributed significantly not only to the introduction but also to the spread of the Catalan custom of snacking with sweets in Italy (*in comessatiunculis, quas hodie collationes vocant ... eiusque rei initium coepit ab Alfonso*).[33] Moreover, in the opinion of that humanist, the king of Aragon and Naples did it for a specific purpose. According to the author quoted above, the above-mentioned treats were not prepared solely for the sake of taste, but for the sake of admiration or delight (*non ad gustum solum conficiuntur, uerum ad oculorum, ac spectactium uoluptatem*).[34] This was made possible by the spread of sugar, and in particular by the application of the principles of its plastic processing, which made it possible to obtain extremely sophisticated sweets. What is more, it seems that Pontano clearly indicates that it was Alfonso who appointed the *collatione* agenda, wherein the visual qualities of sugary products played a major role.

These and other examples clearly confirm the fact that the new ruler, after many years of struggle for Naples and its final conquest, consistently transplanted elements of feasting culture from his native land into Italy. Among them, both the confectioneries themselves and the way they were served as festive and sumptuous snacks, or *collatione*, played an important role. What is more, he gave them a new meaning and created a pattern of conduct that was soon adopted by both the rulers of the Italian Renaissance states and the local secular and clerical aristocracy. Thanks to Alfonso V the Magnanimous, in the late 15th century, the *collatione* became an integral part of the Italian culture of feasting.

33 "De secunda Mensa. Secunda mensa magnum affert conuiuiis splendorem, cui mihi uidetur magnopere intendendum. Namque ut optimo cuique poëtae ultimus actus mahnae est curae, sic ab iis, qui conuiuia parant, secunda mensa diligenter uidenda est. Ee inuento succaro, quod ad uarios conuersum est usus, magna conuiuiis, ac coenis, accessio facta est, eaque elegans, ac magnifica. Multa enim inde non ad gustum solum conficiuntur, uerum ad oculorum, ac spectactium uoluptatem, ut ea, quae conferuntur in comessatiunculis, *quas hodie collationes vocant* [my emphasis – RH], quibus, quod magnificentiae locus in iis sit, principes ipsos studere magnopere video; *eiusque rei initium coepit ab Alfonso* [my emphasis – RH], cuius in hac, ut in coeteris splendoris partibus, magnum studium fuisse cognovimus: Ioannis Ioviani Pontani, *Opera omnia soluta oratione composita*, Vol. I, Venetiis 1518, p. 14. More about G.G. Pontano and his work: C. Benporat, *'De convivencia', un trattato di etica conviviale di Giovanni Pontano*, "Appunti di gastronomia", Iss. 36, 2001, pp. 10-16; idem, *La 'collatione', una nuova forma conviviale*, "Appunti di gastronomia", Iss. 52, 2007, pp. 45-58; idem, *Feste i banchetti. Convivialità italiana fra Tre e Quattrocento*, Firenze 2001, pp. 93-99. On a *collatione* in Florence hosted by the Medici: idem, *Convivialità, cucina e decori delle tavole nella Firenze del'400*, "Appunti di gastronomia", Iss. 28, 1999, pp. 15-16.

34 Ioannis Ioviani Pontani, *Opera omnia*, op. cit., p. 14.

Finally, the question is how the reception of the patterns described above looked like on the Apennine Peninsula? In light of the numerous accounts from the 15th century let us claim that since the time of Alfonso V, the custom of sweet snacks was rapidly gaining popularity in the Renaissance courts of the rulers of individual Italian states. This process is evidenced by numerous accounts from the era, which were collected by Claudio Benporat.[35]

As the Italian researcher points out, a snack of sweets served during the wedding celebrations of Constanzo Sforza and Camilla Aragon in 1475 was recorded in the memory of posterity.[36]

During the same party, another event took place, which, according to C. Benporat, went down in history as a symbol of extreme luxury. The guests were dazzled by the procession, in which

> Immediately afterwards a camel suddenly entered the hall. It was such a good imitation and so skilfully made it seemed alive. It was life-sized and opened its mouth, stretched its neck and lowered itself to the ground just like a real camel. It was laden with two very large golden baskets brimming with various sorts of confectionery. [Riding] on top of the camel was a black Ethiopian boy who, putting his hands now into one and now into the other of these baskets, scattered and threw these sweets around the hall for everyone, which was a fine and amazing sight to see.[37]

The ceremonial *collatione* were also organized to honor various dignitaries. Undoubtedly, this was the character of the treat served by Cardinal

35 C. Benporat, *Feste e banchetti. Convivialità italiana fra Tre e Quattrocento*, Firenze 2001.

36 "Et queste ceste eranno tute piene de confectione, de confetti de piú ranione, como e coriandoli de tre mainere, de grossi, polliti, et communi, avellane et mandorle, ranceti et cinamomi: Ordine de le nozze de lo Illustrissimo Signor Misir Costantino Sfortia de Aragonia et la Illustrissima Madona Camilla de Aragonia sua consorte nel anno 1475 ad infrascripto," Vicenza, Hermano Levilapide, 9 novembre 1475, in: C. Benporat, *Feste e banchetti*, op. cit., pp. 176-223 (ch. *Pesaro, 28 maggio 1475*, *Banchetto per le nozze di Costanzo Sforza e Camilla d'Aragona*), p. 210. More about the wedding of Constanzo Sforza and Camilla Aragon: J. Bridgeman, *A Renaissance wedding. The celebrations at Pesaro for the Marriage of Costanzo Sforza & Camilla Marzano d'Aragona (26-30 May 1475)*, London 2013.

37 "De drieto a questo in continente vene un Camello in sal si ben contrafacto, et cum tanta arte che pareva vivo e era grande, et apriva la bocha et destendeva el collo et colcavasse in terra como fano li veri cemelli: era carco de dui grandissimi cesti d'oro pieni, e colmi de varie confectione. Et in mezzo del camello era uno garzone ethiope negro, che metendo ambe due le mano, mo al una mo a l'altra de queste ceste spargeva et butava dicti confecti al populo, et per tuta sala, che era bellisima et Mirabel cossa da vedere: Ordine de le nozze...," p. 215; A. Cougnet, *L'evoluzione dell'arte dulciaria in Italia*, in: G. Ciocca, *Il pasticciere e confettiere moderno. Raccolta completa di ricette*, Milano 1923, p. LX; C. Benporat, *Note per la storia dei confetti*, "Appunti di gastronomia," Iss. 47, 2005, p. 86.

Girolamo Riario on Easter Monday 1473 on the occasion of the visit of Eleonora of Aragon, wife of the Duke of Ferrara, Ercole d'Este. At the beginning of the feast, two large vessels filled with sweets were served.[38] Having eaten, the guests washed their hands to be able to freely enjoy the successive delicacies. During the *collatione*, candy with coriander, anise, cinnamon and pine nuts were served, among other things.[39] There is no doubt that with such a lavish meal the host wanted to enchant his guests and make an indelible impression on them.
At this point, it is worth mentioning that some of the mighty ones generously distributed sweets also after the feast as gifts for the guests. We know that during the wedding of Ercole d'Este and Eleonora Aragon (4 July 1473), the wedding guests were given wooden boxes (*scattoles*), which were prepared by a certain *mastro Franceschino*, the local *scatolario*. They were filled with sweets, made by local *speziari*.[40] Similar boxes, 161 of which were distributed to the participants of the wedding reception held in Bologna in January 1489 on the occasion of the wedding of Annibale II Bentivoglio and Lucrezia d'Este.[41]

According to A. Cougnet, the delivery of suitably packaged confectioneries at ceremonial receptions, both by the service and by the host himself,

> was considered to be a manifestation of an extreme luxury that only the ducal houses could afford, not to mention on the occasion of an engagement, wedding, baptism, name days, etc., or to celebrate a solemn event, such as the reception of significant guests.[42]

At the same time Cougnet notes that not all the guests received the sweets in decorative little boxes. Only those whom the host wanted to honor respectively would receive these gifts. The others could only *look with eyes bigger than the belly*.[43]

38 A. Cougnet, *L'evoluzione dell'arte dulciaria in Italia*, op. cit., p. LXIII.

39 C. Benporat, *Note per la storia dei confetti*, op. cit., p. 86.

40 In "Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1409 sino al 1502 di autori incerti", ed. G. Pardi, in: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Vol. 24, p. 7, Vol. I, Bologna 1933, p. 89, we read under the date of 4 July 1473: "Et fu facto una bella collatione quello giorno di 130 piatelli pieni de più confectioni come hedificj facti, castelli, damisele, animalni et altre cosse de zucharo, che fu bello da vedere; et fu messo a saccomano suso il tribunale, dove era la dieta illustrissima madama, per modo che ogni persona ne potea havere."

41 C. Benporat, *Feste e banchetti*, op. cit., p. 252.

42 A. Cougnet, *L'evoluzione dell'arte dulciaria in Italia*, op. cit., pp. LII-LIII.

43 Ibidem, p. LIII.

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The above mentioned examples, which are also present in the literature on the subject to date, are the basis for the claim that the custom of *col·lació/collatione* in Italy did not become widespread until the 1470s. Researchers such as Claudio Benporat or Enrico Carnevale Schianca pointed out that the term was previously known in different Italian states, but mostly it was used to determine the end portion of a feast rather than separate meal or sweet snack.[44]

As I have tried to demonstrate, the findings in place so far should be thoroughly reviewed. In the light of the available sources it can be argued that the dissemination of the customary separate sweet snack Apennine Peninsula happened no earlier than the 1440s and its gradual popularization was linked to the person of the king of Aragon and Naples, Alfonso V the Magnanimous. What is more, the Lord of Aragon gave a new meaning to the well-known and widely applied custom. Thanks to his actions the sweet snack became one of the instruments of the ostentation of wealth and prestige for the new rulers of the southern part of Italy, and soon other princes and lords of the area. Although this issue requires further research, it can already be assumed with a high degree of probability that if it had not been for Alfonso's decision to start the war on Naples, the persistence of the war and, above all, the ruler's attachment to confectioneries, the culture of the Italian Renaissance would not have been able to present itself in the next – this time sweet – version.

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44 C. Benporat, *La 'collatione'*, op. cit., p. 45-58; E. Carnevale Schianca, *La cucina medieval*, op. cit., p. 168-171.

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The Legacy of Ancient Customs. The Extreme Way of the Cross

ABSTRACT

The article presents what celebrating is and how it has evolved to our times. Phenomena which resulted in the crisis of customs at the turn of the 21st century are signaled. Historical events, twists and turn of civilization, and social transformations have caused a departure from the customs of folk tradition near the end of the 20th century. However, folk culture, which is characterized by traditionalism, has preserved many rituals. More and more people are participating, and the need to deepen spiritual religious experiences has led to new initiatives, such as the Extreme Way of the Cross.

KEY WORDS: festival, celebration, rite

STRESZCZENIE

Ślady archaicznych zwyczajów na przykładzie Ekstremalnej Drogi Krzyżowej

W artykule przedstawiono, czym jest świętowanie oraz jak ewoluowało do naszych czasów. Zasygnalizowano zjawiska, które spowodowały kryzys zwyczajów świątecznych na przełomie XX i XXI w. Wydarzenia historyczne, zmiany cywilizacyjne i transformacje społeczne przyczyniły się do odejścia od zwyczajów tradycji ludowej (zwłaszcza świątecznej) pod koniec XX w., jednakże kultura ludowa, którą cechuje tradycjonalizm, przechowała do naszych czasów wiele obrzędów.

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Uczestniczy w nich coraz więcej osób, a potrzeba pogłębienia duchowych przeżyć religijnych powoduje powstawanie nowych inicjatyw, do których należy Ekstremalna Droga Krzyżowa.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: święto, świętowanie, obrzęd

In contemporary forms of celebration, we can find many traces of archaic religiousness. Often they are not recognized by the participants and interpreted differently than their archaic models. Processions, dances, loud music and sacrifice making have long accompanied celebrations. Roger Caillois rightly points out that if only the external aspects of the holiday are taken into account, it presents identical characteristics, regardless of the level a culture has achieved.[1] A feast is always associated with leisure, joy, and a certain ritual. It is a complex, cultural phenomenon existing from time immemorial, usually connected with religious worship. In this article I am going to focus on the descriptions of celebration, which in my opinion open the participants of certain rites to other people. Regardless of what reasons (religious, cognitive, or commercial) we participate in the celebration, we take part in a gathering. Thus, we must be ready for a dialog with the other participant, who may have different beliefs and recognize different values from ours.

What is celebrating?

Mieczysław Maliński writes about celebration in the contemporary context as follows:

> To celebrate – to find ourselves in a new situation, in unexpected systems, in relationships that do not happen on a daily basis, in responsibilities for unusual matters. ... And it is essential to celebrate in a variety of ways – from sport and tourism to games and plays, to art, to the most important events in your personal life, in the life of your country and the world, to the anniversaries of these events.[2]

A similar sense of celebration in is presented by Caillois in his theory: "Everyday life involving daily work, peaceful, enclosed in a system

1 Cf. R. Caillois, *Żywioł i ład*, transl. A. Tatarkiewicz, A. Tatarkiewicz, Warszawa 1973, p. 121.

2 Cf. M. Maliński, *Pokochać życie*, Poznań 1989, p. 215.

of prohibitions, cautious, as the world order is based on the *quieta non movere* principle opposes the disruption that a festival is."[3] A feast is connected with a gathering, a crowd; it is a lively and noisy event that fosters the shared elation, which is expressed by gestures and shouts and various spontaneous motions.

Even today, traces of the collective "unbridledness," characteristic of archaic celebrations, can be distinguished. Caillois emphasizes that there are no holidays, even sad by nature, which would involve not even a seed of excess and carousing: it is sufficient to recall the rural funeral wakes here. From time immemorial to the present day celebrations always involve lively dancing, singing, binge eating and intoxication. One has to indulge, to the bitter end, to indigestion. Such is just the law of celebrating.[4] Many different factors have influenced the changes in customs, as has the fact that many of them have survived to our times. Social and technological changes, technological revolution, more and more free time available for urban and rural population alike, on top of the development of the entertainment industry have caused changes in the ways of celebrating. Today, less attention is devoted to experiencing religious holidays. More often than not, modern celebrations are just recreation and leisure, organized independently or by specialized service companies (including tourist agencies). During holidays we cultivate some rituals (wafer breaking, water sprinkling during *śmigus-dyngus*) but we choose only those that suit us or that have "always" been traditionally celebrated in our homes. Some of them are practiced out of habit, others because of the social environment, "because we should," and some of the inner need to satisfy the needs of spiritual life. However, regardless of the motives that guide us, by celebrating holiday customs, we contribute to their survival.

Attachment to tradition was a natural characteristic of the Slavs. The introduction of the new Christian religion was not met with resistance of the people, as new temples were built on the sites of old shrines, where the people came out of habit to worship God, slowly becoming accustomed to new concepts and rituals. The people's attachment to the ancient faith was probably fairly strong, but as there was no large priestly social class and no highly organized worship, this resulted in the lack of a strong, long-term resistance to the new faith. Also, the proper methods of introducing Christianity, with little use of coercion and violence, contributed to the adoption of the new faith. However, the Polish people have preserved many Pagan customs, creating their own folk tradition. It was an attempt to escape from the incomprehensible liturgy, which was strongly imbued

3 Cf. R. Caillois, *Człowiek i sacrum*, transl. A. Tatarkiewicz, E. Burska, Warszawa 1995, p. 107.

4 Cf. ibidem, pp. 107-108.

with too much Latinization, centralization, clericalization and was performed in an incomprehensible language.

In cosmological religions, in which the religion of the Slavs can be included, a feast is a return to Chaos from which the world emerged.[5] Celebrating holidays is participation in recreating the world anew through rituals and contact with the gods. The situation is different in the prophetic religions, which include Judaism, Christianity and Islam. For Christians, a feast is a time to remember an event, and to give testimony about the event. Participation in the festival is to strengthen the faith. The merry-making and feasting that takes place after the religious rites is a display of joy from being children of God and participants in the feast. It is the joy of a witness to a great event. Modern celebration is also the opposite of everyday life, it is done according to local customs, which are either a continuation of carefully cared for rituals and customs, or just a game.

The evolution and crisis of holiday-making

In the twentieth century, not only in Poland, but particularly in Poland, Christian faith was faced with various breakthroughs that had both positive and negative effects on it. The most important aspects were: the restoration of independence, World War II, the postwar fate of the state, and the fall of communism. These events, which have had a great impact on the changes that have taken place in our society, have also influenced the transformation and sometimes strengthening of the Christian faith but also the secularization of parts of society. Especially during the period of "people's rule" in Poland, there was a departure from the practice of many customs considered by the then authorities as a sign of superstition.[6] At that time, the communist authorities sought to nationalize the family, by such action as introducing an obligation to conclude civil marriages and remove religious education from schools. This phenomenon was also accompanied by civilization changes, which caused changes in the way of life: electrification followed by the spread of television and media subordinated to the social policy of the authorities, the migration of the population from villages to cities and the disappearance of multigenerational families.

The aforementioned phenomena brought about behavioral changes. Senior members of families lost their importance and ceased to act as

5 Cf. M. Eliade, *Aspekty mitu*, transl. P. Mrówczyński, Warszawa 1998, p. 37.

6 Cf. A. Kłoskowska, *Kultury narodowe u korzeni*, Warszawa 2012.

guardians and teachers of tradition. The consumerist attitude of "to be is to have" has often been adopted. Old customs are disappearing, and their place is taken by new ones, most often created by the media (often for economic reasons). Nowadays, tradition is being marginalized and cultivating customs is becoming an activity of folklore animators. It is also difficult to see references to the sacred in these new customs, because they concern newly formed human relationships.

Why do we keep the old customs?

What factors have contributed to the survival of archaic customs? It seems that the relation to infinity – difficult to define, but always worth pondering – is an important factor for the survival of archaic customs in tradition. "Far away," which used to be the next village, has now come a long way; today this term refers rather to interstellar distances. The understanding (perception) of space has changed, and the ultimate frontier has moved. The more the contemporary concept of infinity is "shrinking" (moreover, the frontier of infinity is moving away), the more customs are being forgotten or reduced to a crude form that aims to satisfy only commercial needs. But it is our search for the infinity, our desire to get to know the transcendence, why we remember (or rather recall) the customs of our ancestors. We recall and practice them, even without believing in their effectiveness, particularly in the breakthrough moments of our lives. However, respect for life and death in a way "forces" us to preserve tradition even when it is being transformed.

Today in Poland we have our own unique form of Christianity that has integrated Christian and Pagan elements. These Pagan values which could not be adopted by Christianity have survived in non-liturgical folk customs Christmas or died out. Nowadays, when modern society has entered the road of manipulating the outside world and multiplying possessions, not wanting to lose any of its dynamic development, does not distinguish individuals who have insight into themselves and the world, but prefers ones gifted with the skills of concrete, systematic and organizational thinking, there is a group opposed to technical, economic and management intelligence that topples the myth of widely understood technology. People opposing consumerism and universal secularization are particularly predisposed to care for the preservation of customs. Culture is the value thanks to which any nation can survive and customs are an integral part of it. Their survival is not only a testimony to the survival of the community (nation), but it is a necessary condition for this survival and the preservation of social ties. Especially the folk culture, which is characterized by traditionalism, aversion to innovation, respect for authority, especially for the elderly, and religious syncretism, which made it possible to bind together relics of Pagan beliefs with elements of the Christian faith preserved the old customs for as long as it was possible. Thanks to this, traces of these ancient customs whose meaning we often no longer understand, have survived.

As Stanislaw Kowalski writes in his book *W poszukiwaniu początków wierzeń religijnych*, "Rituals strengthen such social values as: family, clan or tribal bonds, courage and endurance, and knowledge. ... Thanks to these social values, a ritual can remain alive even when it loses its sacred meaning." It seems, therefore, that traces of archaic customs can still be found in folk culture and piety. Participation in these still practiced traditions (processions, pilgrimages) makes us remember them.

New customs as a response to change

A novelty custom that attracts new participants every year is the EDK – the "Extreme Way of the Cross," organized since 2009 at the initiative of Fr. Jacek Stryczek. This "extreme" form of devotion, combined with the long distance (about 44 km), and thus facing one's weaknesses, is an attempt to build a new tradition for all those who, during the hard night march, want to find the meaning of the cross in the reflections prepared by Fr. Jacek. "You can experience the Way of the Cross in the church, sitting on a bench and listening to the sermon. You can be standing, sitting, alone, or in a crowd of people gathered at the church service. Each way is different, and there are no better or worse ones."[7] Despite the dynamic changes taking place in the modern world, which is moving away from the sacred, some people resist atheism and have a need to deepen their spiritual religious experience. Perhaps it is filling the empty spiritual space created after those customs that have been forgotten, or a search or opening up to the sacred for people living in a reality from which the sacred is removed by so-called "social progress." To paraphrase Eliade, we may be dealing with a substitution or replacement of old customs with new ones, more appropriate to the present reality.[8]

7 Cf. J. Stryczek, *Ekstremalna Droga Krzyżowa*, http://www.edk.org.pl/edk/o-nas/idea.html (access: 12.08.2017).

8 Cf. M. Eliade, *Traktat o historii religii*, transl. J. Wierusz-Kowalski, Warszawa 2000. p. 69.

Participation in the Extreme Way of the Cross allows for a special inner dialog during the lonely practice. The enormous tiredness from the marching and the physical effort put into overcoming one's weakness change our perspective of viewing oneself and the world of other people around us. Firstly, we have time to think. Circumstances that differ from our normal reveal a lot of things in a different perspective. The hierarchy of their importance is changing. We consider things about which we do not think on a daily basis. We open both to the interior and to other people. The distance we overcome together with other participants, while reflection and prayer happens for us alone. The inner dialog with oneself while overcoming one's weaknesses seems to be deeper. It opens new, hitherto unnoticed horizons. It deepens the openness to dialog with other people. A dialog that is not only a discourse, an exchange of opinions, views or thoughts, but also an existential phenomenon – an event of a meeting.[9]

Today, unfortunately, the vast majority of what people consider to be a conversation is simply empty chatter. People do not talk to each other. They express themselves without paying attention to whether they are being listened to or not (without any interest in the recipient). They speak to cater to their need for expression and this is where their interest in conversation ends. Although our communication capabilities have been enriched, this wealth does not necessarily go hand in hand with an increase in competence and skills. Thanks to modern technologies we can support our communication with images, and even with interactive elements, but this does not mean that we can read the meaning of images supporting our statements. It is common to receive communication superficially, only by reading information, without going into the relationships and emotions between interlocutors.

The situation is different when participating in rites. It changes our attitudes to reality and others. Direction at experiencing the reality around us, the solemnity of participating in a ritual, and the slowdown in time which seems to accelerate everything around us, allow for insight and inner reflection.

9 Cf. J.A. Kłoczowski, *Filozofia dialogu. Antologia tekstów źródłowych do wykładu*, Kraków 2001, p. 4.

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The Cultural Heritage of Printing in the 15-18th Centuries as Digital Resources – a Reconnaissance

ABSTRACT

Digitization as an element of technological development has contributed to the removal of many information barriers related to access to the achievements of writing and printing culture. Thanks to numerous programs of developing and subsidizing work on intellectual property, digital libraries, museums and archives have been created, offering access to their collections online. Digital forms of priceless manuscripts, old prints, documents of social life and other manifestations of culture are not only a way of conservation and preservation of the originals or the presentation of library magazines, but also sources for research. The content of the Digital Library Federation – DLF, which associates 138 data providers, will be used as an example of digitized old prints along with ways of describing, searching, displaying results and special add-ons that make their use simple and effective. As a result of the research, 38,629 items marked as old prints were found in the database, supplied by 38 institutions, the most numerous being those provided by the Jagiellonian Digital Library and the Lower Silesia Digital Library, with the predominance of 18th and 17th century and Latin and Polish prints.

KEY WORDS: old print, digital library, metadata, search

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STRESZCZENIE

Dziedzictwo kultury druku XV-XVIII w. w zasobach cyfrowych – rekonesans

Cyfryzacja jako element rozwoju technologicznego przyczyniła się do zniesienia wielu barier informacyjnych związanych z dostępem do osiągnięć kultury pisma i druku. Dzięki licznym programom opracowywania i dofinansowywania prac nad dorobkiem umysłowym, znajdującym się w zasobach m.in. bibliotek, powstały biblioteki, muzea i archiwa cyfrowe, oferujące dostęp do swoich zbiorów z poziomu internetu. Formy cyfrowe bezcennych rękopisów, starych druków, dokumentów życia społecznego i innych przejawów kultury są nie tylko zabezpieczeniem i ochroną oryginałów czy też prezentacją bibliotecznych magazynów, lecz także źródłami do badań. Na przykładzie zawartości zasobów Federacji Bibliotek Cyfrowych, zrzeszającej 138 dostawców danych, przedstawiony zostanie zasób zdigitalizowanych starych druków oraz sposoby ich opisywania, przeszukiwania, wyświetlania wyników, a także dodatki specjalne, dzięki którym korzystanie z nich jest proste i efektywne. W wyniku badań w bazie stwierdzono obecność 38 629 obiektów oznaczonych jako starodruki, dostarczonych przez 38 instytucji, przy czym najliczniej udostępniane przez Jagiellońską Bibliotekę Cyfrową oraz Dolnośląską Bibliotekę Cyfrową, z dominującą przewagą druków XVIII- i XVII-wiecznych oraz łacińsko- i polskojęzycznych.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: stary druk, biblioteka cyfrowa, metadane, wyszukiwanie

The printing culture, whose dynamic development was initiated by Johannes Gutenberg's invention, continues to evolve – from single, very low-volume and very costly first editions, through mechanization, automation and increasing accessibility, to on-demand printing – and it has gained new allies in making its output available: digitization and the Internet.

The chances and opportunities offered by the digitization of cultural material are not only to increase accessibility and reach more users and audiences, but also to secure resources that are often invaluable. The presence of copies – whether in the initial phase in the form of microfilms, photographs, or scans saved on external media, or nowadays in the form of digitized copies available online – has reduced the need for direct access to priceless cultural monuments not only in manuscript and print, but in all its manifestations.[1] Both the libraries and the archives reserve in their terms of use that if a digital copy is held, the original documents or prints shall not be made available to users.[2]

A special kind of library resources are old prints, for which the year 1800 is the time caesura adopted in Poland, and their earliest variety are the *incunabula* (published until 1500).[3] The preserved, especially the oldest and the most popular prints of their time, in single copies, require special protection and security for future generations. In addition to adapted storage and accessibility rules, it is becoming increasingly common for digital copies to be made and placed in the resources of digital libraries, where they can be used for scientific, teaching and dissemination purposes, with appropriate exposure and a full bibliographic description. At the same time, the add-ons and facilities offered by the mechanisms of digital libraries and the growing availability of the Internet[4] allow for comfortable use of digital versions.

1 In addition to the benefits of digital libraries, digitization increasingly is used by museums, for example, The Palace Museum of King John III Sobieski in Wilanów (cf. *System Informacji Przestrzennej Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III Sobieskiego w Wilanowie*, http://gis.muzeum-wilanow.pl/gis/, access: 15.06.2019), Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku (cf. muzeumzamkowewmalborku.wkraj.pl, https://muzeumzamkowewmalborku.wkraj.pl/html5/index.php?id=34844#69093/353,-2, access: 15.06.2019) and archives, e.g., Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe (cf. *NAC. Archiwum Cyfrowe*, https://www.nac.gov.pl/, access: 26.06.2019) and the Search the archives website (cf. *Szukaj w archiwach*, https://www.szukajwarchiwach.gov.pl/, access: 26.06.2019).

2 E.g. a provision in the Regulations on the use of the National Library's collections which is an annex to the Order No. 82/2018 of the Director of the National Library of 23 August 2018: "6. The Library's collections are made available in the form of a copy (microfilm or digital reproduction), or the original if no copy is available" (https://www.bn.org.pl/download/document/1535200550.pdf, access: 20.06.2019), while in the Regulations of the Jagiellonian Library, "4. The originals of microfilmed, digitized and facsimile editions are not available. Microfilms and digital copies from the Section collections are made available in the Audiovisual Document Reading Room. In the case of persons who prepare editions of texts, it is possible to make the original available" (*Regulamin_BJ_2017*, https://bj.uj.edu.pl/documents/4148353/135333180/Regulamin_BJ_2017.pdf/73c477b2-2b81-4dec-9cae-660bfbebfc7c, access: 20.06.2019, and the Regulations on Making the Special Collections Available to the Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Krakow in force since 1 June 2018 it is stated: |"2.5. In the case of microfilmed or digitized works, originals are made available only in exceptional circumstances with the permission of the Head of Special Collections or the Director of the Library" (*reg_zb_spec*., http://149.156.51.45/pliki/reg_zb_spec.pdf, access: 20.06.2019).

3 H. Mieczkowska, *Stare druki*, in: *Encyklopedia książki,* Vol. 2, *K-Z*, eds. A. Żbikowska-Migoń, M. Skalska-Zlat, Wrocław 2017, pp. 546-550.

4 According to the data of the Central Statistical Office (GUS), in 2018 the percentage of people using the Internet was 77.5% and 84.2% of households had access to the Internet (detailed data

The subject of this article is to present selected resources of old prints, present in Polish digital collections,[5] presented on the example of the content of the multi-search engine of the Digital Libraries Federation (further on: DLF)[6] co-created by 138 institutions and sharing 6,362,572 items, including 4,947,581 as open access, 4,001,074 journal files in total, 1,052,661 articles, 361,615 books and 20 other types of items.[7]

To analyze the old print resources on the Internet using elements of data mining, bibliomining, quantitative and content analysis methods, the FBC multisearch was used, allowing to search the abundant resources through simple search (according to six fields: full description, title, author, keywords, object type, identifier) and advanced (selection from 18 elements) searches: all fields, title, author, subject and keywords, description, publisher, contributor, date, resource type, format, resource identifier, source, language, links, scope, rights, journal title,

in the report: *Społeczeństwo informacyjne w Polsce w 2018 roku*, https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/nauka-i-technika-spoleczenstwo-informacyjne/spoleczenstwo-informacyjne/spoleczenstwo-informacyjne-w-polsce-w-2018-roku,2,8.html, access: 20.06.2019).

5 More on digital libraries, cf. e.g.: *Biblioteki cyfrowe*, eds. M. Janiak, M. Krakowska, M. Próchnicka, Warszawa 2012; *Digitalizacja piśmiennictwa*, ed. D. Paradowski, Warszawa 2010; A. Januszko-Szakiel, *Narodowy program długoterminowej archiwizacji cyfrowego zasobu nauki i kultury – propozycja dla Polski*, in: *Wokół zagadnień trwałej ochrony zasobów cyfrowych*, ed. A. Januszko-Szakiel, Kraków 2013, pp. 173-199; M. Kowalska, *Digitalizacja zbiorów w bibliotekach polskich – próba oceny doświadczeń krajowych*, “Biuletyn EBIB,” Iss. 11/2006 (81), https://repozytorium.umk.pl/bitstream/handle/item/410/EBIB.pdf?sequence=1 (access: 29.06.2019); *Kultura cyfrowa – digitalizacja*, http://www.digit.mkidn.gov.pl/ (access: 29.06.2019); A. Lewandowska, M. Werla, *Jak czytelnik porusza się po bibliotece cyfrowej? Analiza wzorców zachowań 2009*, http://lib.psnc.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=223&from=publication&showContent=true (access: 07.07.2019); B.M. Morawiec, *Biblioteki cyfrowe. Tworzenie, zarządzanie, odbiór*, Gliwice 2016; Z. Osiński, *Biblioteki i archiwa cyfrowe nową formą udostępniania źródeł do badań nad dziejami najnowszymi Polski*, “Folia Bibliologica” 2013/2014, Vol. LV/LVI, pp. 75-89; G. Piotrowicz, *Cyfrowa konwergencja bibliotek, archiwów i muzeów w erze informacji*, in: *Dobra kultury w Sieci*, eds. E. Herden, A. Seidel-Grzesińska, K. Stanicka-Brzezicka, Wrocław 2012, pp. 23-39; R.T. Prinke, K. Wisłocki, *Cyfryzacja bibliotek: początki i teraźniejszość*, in: *Biblioteki i archiwa na jednolitym rynku cyfrowym*, eds. K. Chałubińska-Jentkiewicz, K. Kakareko, J. Sobczak, Poznań 2018, pp. 7-26; *Program digitalizacji dóbr kultury oraz gromadzenia, przechowywania i udostępniania obiektów cyfrowych w Polsce 2009-2020*, https://www.nck.pl/badania/raporty/program-digitalizacji-dobr-kultury-oraz-gromadzenia-przechowywania-i-udostepniania- (access: 29.06.2019); A. Trembowiecki, *Digitalizacja dla początkujących*, Warszawa 2014; A. Wałek, *Standardy metadanych w polskich bibliotekach cyfrowych i wybranych projektach międzynarodowych*, in: *Dobra kultury w Sieci*, op. cit., pp. 81-90; M. Werla, *Web 2.0 i (polskie) biblioteki cyfrowe*, “Biuletyn EBIB”, Iss. 2 (129)/2012, http://www.ebib.pl/images/stories/numery/129/129_werla_.pdf (access: 30.06.2019).

6 *FBC – zbiory polskich instytucji kultury on-line*, https://fbc.pionier.net.pl/ (access: 20.06.2019).

7 *Archiwum baza źródeł danych—Federacja Bibliotek Cyfrowych*, http://fbc.pionier.net.pl/pro/zrodla/?mode=stats#statsheader (access: 20.06.2019).

place of publishing and their combinations), allowing you to combine up to five criteria and use Boolean operators. Additional filters allow narrowing the results obtained (availability of the item – open access, scheduled for digitization, restricted access; license – public domain, reserved rights, Creative Commons – BY-NC-ND, Creative Commons – BY-NC-SA, Creative Commons – BY-ND; date range; type of content – magazine, article, book, document of social life, photography, music, old print, manuscript, postcard, graphics, Doctoral dissertation, archive document, map, image, official document, sound document, drawing, electronic document, file, video document, thesis, dissertation, other; language – 87 types; data provider – 138 contributors).

Initially, two queries were used: "Old printing" and "old print"[8] produced the following results: in the first case – 15,492, in the second – 55,025.[9] The second result, where filtering was applied, was adopted for further action. The following was obtained:

- item availability: open access – 51,660, planned to digitize – 3,176, limited access – 189;
- license: public domain – 41,958, rights reserved – 13,062, Creative Commons BY-NC-ND – 2, Creative Commons BY-NC-SA – 2, Creative Commons BY-ND – 1,
- the date ranges from 1 to 2019 – refillable (detailed analysis of the criteria further on).
- content type: old print – 41,497, magazine – 4,200, book – 4,128, document of social life – 3,078, official document – 348, graphics – 314, articles – 202, figure – 175, musical items – 104, archive document – 96, manuscript – 90, photo – 29, map – 9, electronic document – 6, file – 2, Ph.D. thesis – 2, other – 744;
- language (chunks of over 100 results): Latin – 23,509, Polish – 18,794, German – 13,916, French – 2100, Old Greek (until 1453) – 681, Italian – 662, Hebrew – 179, English – 158, other languages – 52;
- data provider (chunks above 1000 results): Jagiellonian Digital Library (hereinafter: JBC) – 8,965, Lower Silesian Digital Library (hereinafter: DBC) – 7,764, CBN Polona (hereinafter: CBNP) – 7,290, Digital Library of Wielkopolska (hereinafter: WBC) – 6,189, Digital Library of Wroclaw University (hereinafter: BCUWr) – 5,761, West Pomeranian Digital Library "Pomerania" (hereinafter: ZBC) – 4,428, the Pomeranian Digital Library (hereinafter: PomBC) – 2,766, the Elbląg Digital Library (hereinafter: ECB)—2,488, Digital Repository

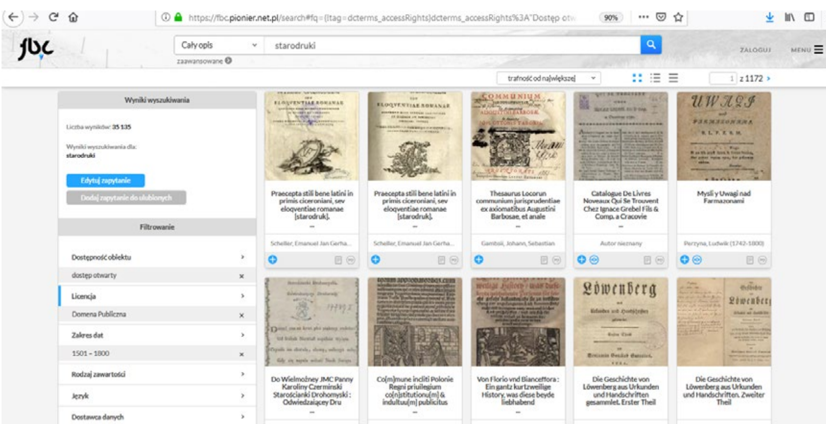
8 H. Mieczkowska states the term "old print" is incorrect (Cf. H. Mieczkowska, *Stare druki*, op. cit., p. 546).

9 Statistical data from 8 July 2019.

of Research Institutes (hereinafter: RCIN) – 1,366, Silesian Digital Library (hereinafter: ŚBC – 1296).

The next step was to narrow down the results according to the criterion of content type of "old print," which reduced the number of results to 41,497, including the availability of: "Open access" – 38,626, "restricted access" – 3, total – 38,629.[10]

Figure 1. Presentation of search results

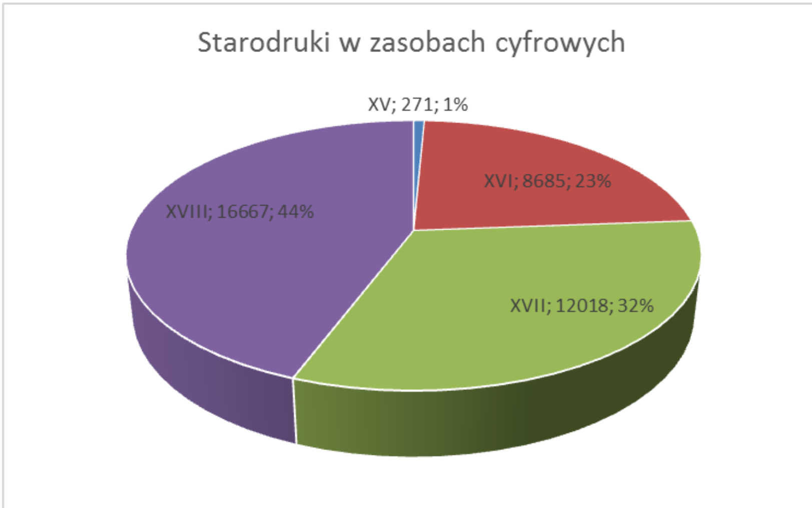


Source: https://fbc.pionier.net.pl/search#fq={!tag=dcterms_accessRights}dcterms_accessRights%3A%22Dost%C4%99p%20otwarty%22&fq=date%3A%5B1501-01-01T00%3A00%3A00Z%20TO%201800-12-31T23%3A59%3A59Z%5D&fq={!tag=dcterms_license}dcterms_license%3Amark&q=starodruki.

When 38,629 items had been selected from the FBC resource, date range filtering was applied, separating them into four time groups (per century): 15th (1401-1500), 16th (1501-1600), 17th (1601-1700) and 18th (1701-1800). All statistics were limited to displaying the five most numerous teams. The 18th century was the best represented – 6,667 items (44% of the surveyed resource), the earlier the release date, the smaller the number of items: 17th century – 12,018 (32%), 16th century – 8,685 (23%), and 15th century – 271 (1%). The above data is showed in Graph 1.

10 The difference of 2868 were titles planned to be digitized.

Graph 1. Old books in digital resources



Source: the author's compilation based on data from FBC.

In the present resource of 38,626 items made available in an open access, 3 – limited access; according to the criterion of licenses – 29,385 in the public domain, and 9,244 had rights reserved. Among the 54 languages present in the resource, 18,343 items were in Latin language, 11,528 in Polish, 9,316 in German, 1,624 in French, and 623 in Old Greek. With 38 data providers, the highest score belonged to the JBC at 7,491 items, DBC at 6,073, WBC at 4,767, BCUWr at 3,928, and PomBC at 2,720. Overall, more than 5,000 items were provided by two institutions, in the intervals of 1,001-5,000 by 7 institutions, 101-1,000 by 16 institutions, and 1-100 by 13 institutions.

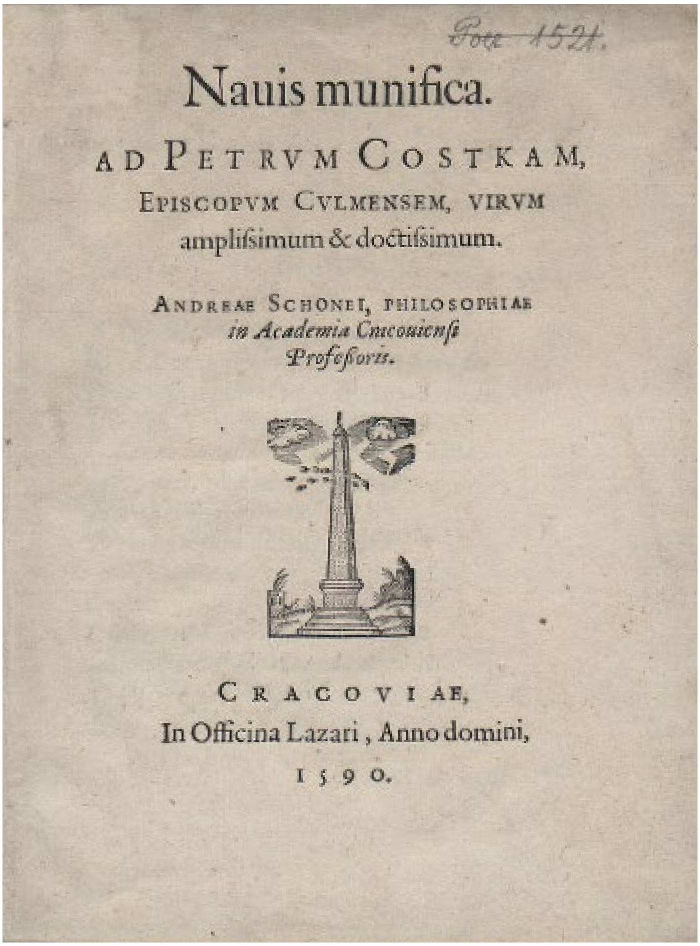
The first group of the oldest sources, the *incunabula*, is represented by 271 items (1% of the surveyed resource), all in open access 271, in public domain – 239, and with reserved rights – 32. The most numerous were prints in Latin – 263, the next group in statistics were only 4 objects in German, 3 each in Italian and Polish and 1 each in modern Greek (after 1453). of the 15 data providers (11% of all database contributors), l – the leaders in providing digitized fifteenth century sources were: BCUWr – 91, Płocka Biblioteka Cyfrowa (hereinafter PłBC) – 48, WBC and ŚBC – 47 each, and ZielBC – 1.

Figure 2. Mikołaj z Błonia, *Tractatus sacerdotalis de sacramentis deque divinis officiis*, Casper Elyan, Wrocław, ca 1475, k. 10

Source: https://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=1954.

The 16th century prints (1501-1600) in the number of 8,685 items constitute 23% of the studied group, 5,038 of which are available in the public domain, and 3,647 have reserved rights. The most numerous, as in the first group, are Latin-language prints at 6,258, however, the next in terms of numbers are Polish publications – 1,306 results, followed by German publications – 914, Old Greek (until 1453) – 299, and Italian – 195. Among the 36 data providers (26% of the total) the most widely represented is DBC – 3,240 results, WBC – 1,508, BCUWr – 1,019, PomBC – 681, and JBC – 480.

Figure 3. Andreas Schoneus, *Nauis munifica. Ad Petrvm Costkam, Episcopvm Cvlmensem, Virvm amplissimum & doctissimum*, Drukarnia Łazarzowa, Kraków 1590



Nauis munifica.

AD PETRVM COSTKAM,
EPISCOPVM CVLMENSEM, VIRVM
amplissimum & doctissimum.

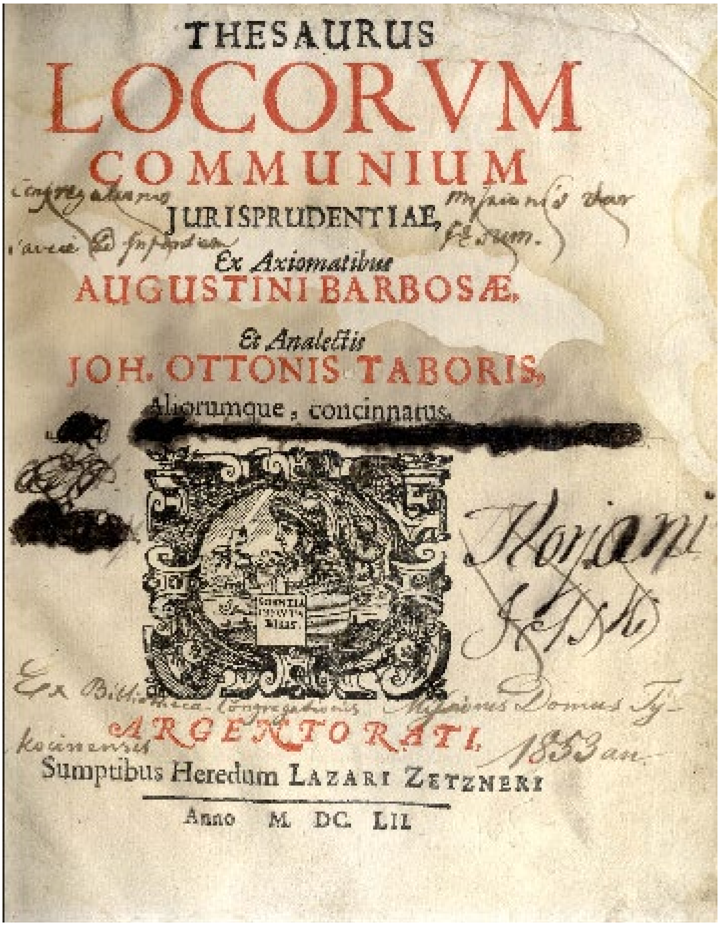
ANDREAE SCHONEI, PHILOSOPHIAE
in Academia Cracouiensi
Professoris.

CRACOVIAE,
In Officina Lazari, Anno domini,
1590.

Source: https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=125135.

The 17th century (1601-1700) is represented by 12,018 items (32% of the total), with as much as 12,017 in open access, 1 – in the limited, in the public domain – 10,203, with reserved rights – 1815. Also in this group, the highest number of prints was in Latin at 7,292, followed by German at 2,967, Polish 2,241, French – 265, and Old Greek – 250. Out of 38 data providers (28% of all contributors to the database) 2,230 items are from the WBC, 1,768 from JBC, 1,714 from BCUWr, 1,520 from ZBC "Pomerania" and 1,240 from EBC.

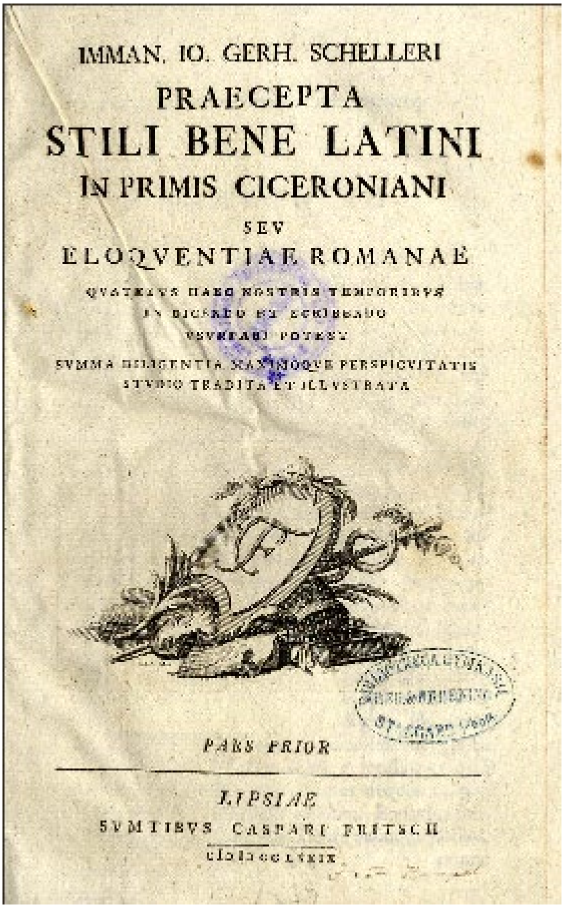
Figure 4. Johann Sebastian Gambsii, *Thesaurus Locorun communium jurisprudentiae ex axiomatibus Augustini Barbosae, et analecti Joh. Ottonis Taboris, Aliorumque, concinnatus [starodruk]. T. I, (A-L)*, Sumptibus Heredum Lazari Zetzneri, Argentorati 1699



Source: http://pbc.biaman.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=18444.

In the last group, eighteenth-century prints (1701-1800), there are 16,667 items, with as many as 16,666 in open access, 1 – restricted, 13,110 – in the public domain, 3,557 – with reserved rights. This time, the largest number was of Polish prints at 7,713, followed by 5,086 in German, 4,161 in Latin, 1,268 in French and 121 in Italian. of the 38 data providers the largest contributor was JBC with 5,194 items, DBC with 2,107 RCIN with 1,268, PomBC with 1,126 and BCUWr with 928.

Figure 5. Emanuel Jan Gerhard Scheller, *Praecepta stili bene latini in primis ciceroniani, sev eloqventiae romanae. Vol. 1*, Sumtibus Caspari Fritsch, Lipsiae 1779



IMMAN. IO. GERH. SCHELLERI
PRAECEPTA
STILI BENE LATINI
IN PRIMIS CICERONIANI
SEV
ELOQVENTIAE ROMANAE
QVATENVS HAEC NOSTRIS TEMPORIBVS
IN DICENDO ET SCRIBENDO
VSVRPARI POTEST
SVMMA DILIGENTIA MAXIMOQVE PERSPICVITATIS
STVDIO TRADITA ET ILLVSTRATA

PARS PRIOR

LIPSIAE
SVMTIBVS CASPARI FRITSCH
CIƆIƆCCLXXIX

Source: http://pbc.biaman.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=23296.

The way data is presented is extremely important for the recipients of digital content. Due to different types of software, or rather, in most cases, different versions of the same program – dLibra[11] – two most frequently represented types of data description and presentation can be

11 dLibra is the first Polish system dedicated to digital resources, created in Poznan Supercomputing and Networking Center, used by various types of institutions (see: dLibra – DinGo, https://dingo.psnc.pl/dlibra/, access: 29.06.2019; W.M. Kolasa, *dLibra Digital Library Framework – platforma do budowy bibliotek cyfrowych*, in: *Biblioteki cyfrowe: projekty, realizacje, technologie*, eds. J. Woźniak-Kasperek, J. Franke, Warszawa 2007, pp. 67-88).

distinguished. The oldest version of dLibra software (4.0) is now used by three resources that provide information about old prints: Tarnow Digital Library (hereinafter: TBC), Chełm Digital Library (hereinafter: ChBC) and Polonica Digital Repository (hereinafter: RCP); latest – JBC (version: Dingo dLibra 6.2.5) and ZBC (version: Dingo dLibra 6.1.5). The most popular among the 38 providers are dLibra 5.8.5 versions (9 providers) and dLibra 5.8.4 (7 providers). Using the possibility of adjusting the amount DublinCore of metadata format[12] to the needs of specific resources, older versions usually contain the following information (in various configurations): Title, Author, Publisher, Place of publication, Contributor, Date, Resource Type, Size, Resource Identifier, Source, Language, Law, Contact, Access Rights;[13] later: Title, Author, Subject and Keywords, Description, Publisher, Place of publication, date of issue, Contributor, Resource type, Format, Resource Identifier, Source, Language, Relation, Law, Digitization, Location sources,[14] the latest: Title, Variant Title, Author, Subject and Keywords, Description, Publisher, Place of publication/creation, date, resource type, format, source ID, the digital document, language, scope, legal status, location of the original source of funding, Comments, Electronic catalog.[15]

Data providers in each group present their collections using the following software versions: dLibra 5.8.5 – 9 dLibra 5.8.4 – 7 dLibra 5.7.2 – 5 dLibra 4.0 – 3 dLibra 5.8.0 – 2, Dingo dLibra 6.1.2 – 2, Dingoe dLibra 6.1.5 – 2, Dingoe dLibra 6.0.1-SNAPSHOT – 2, deMuseion – 1 Dingoe dLibra 6.1.0-SNAPSHOT – 1 Dingoe dLibra 6.0 –1 Dingoe dLibra 6.1.3 –1 dLibra 5.8.3 – 1, Dingo dLibra 6.0.2 – 1.

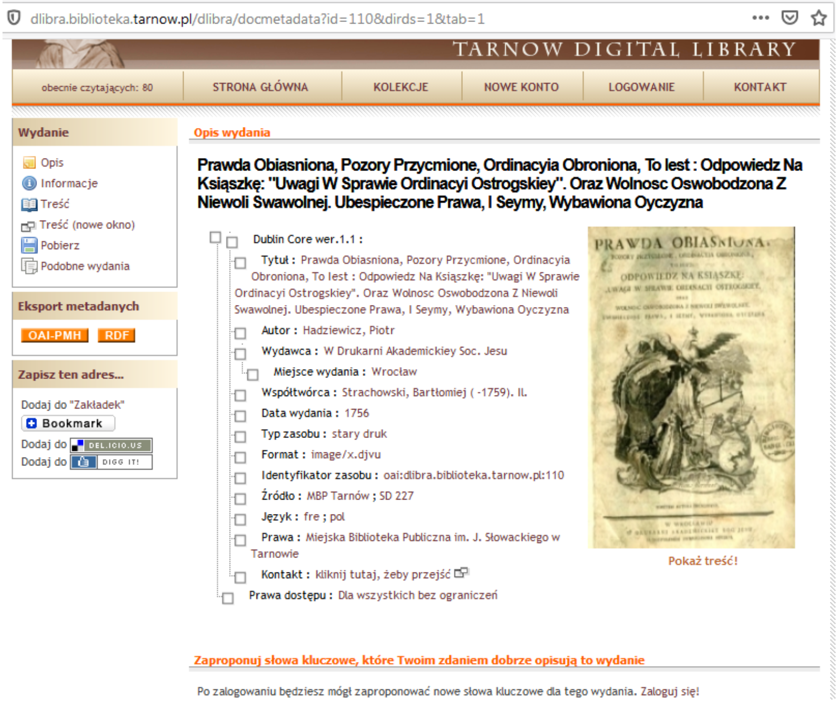
12 DublinCore – standardized metadata format, consisting of a basic version of 15 elements of the description (cf. *DCMI: Home*, http://dublincore.org/, access: 29.06.2019; M. Nahotko, *Metadane: sposób na uporządkowanie Internetu*, Kraków 2004).

13 Based on the example of: P. Hadziewicz, *Prawda Obiasniona, Pozory Przycmione, Ordinacyia Obroniona, To Iest: Odpowiedz Na Książkę: "Uwagi W Sprawie Ordinacyi Ostrogskiey". Oraz Wolnosc Oswobodzona Z Niewoli Swawolnej. Ubespieczone Prawa, I Seymy, Wybawiona*, W Drukarni Akademickiey Soc. Jesu, Wrocław 1756, http://dlibra.biblioteka.tarnow.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=110&dirds=1&tab=1 (access: 29.06.2019).

14 Based on the example of: H. Nicolai, *Diaskepsis Philosophica, De Magicis Actionibus Earumque Probationibus ... Praesidente ... Jacobo Martini, Logices & Philos. Pract. P.P.*, Christian Thamm, Wittenberg 1623, http://pbc.gda.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=29223 (access: 29.06.2019).

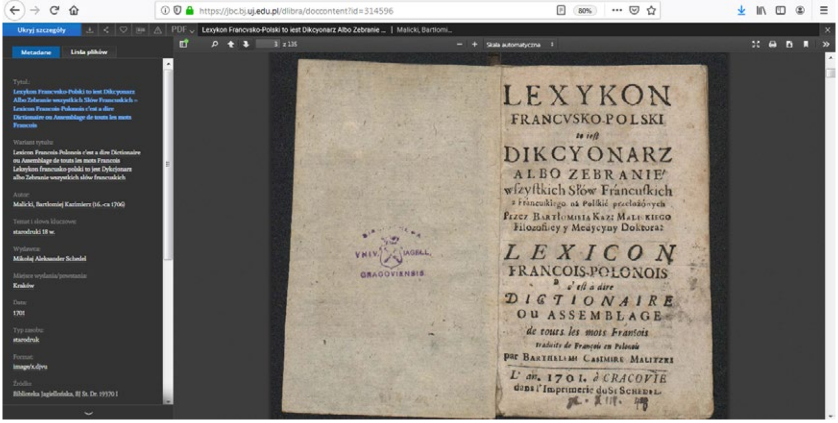
15 Based on the example of: B.K. Malicki, *Lexykon Francvsko-Polski to iest Dikcyonarz Albo Zebranie wszystkich Słów Francuskich = Lexicon Francois-Polonois c'est a dire Dictionaire ou Assemblage de touts les mots Francois*, Mikołaj Aleksander Schedel, Kraków 1701, https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=314596 (access: 29.06.2019).

Figure 6. Printscreen: Tarnowska Biblioteka Cyfrowa, dLibra 4.0



Source: http://dlibra.biblioteka.tarnow.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=110&dirds=1&tab=1.

Figure 7. Printscreen: Jagiellońska Biblioteka Cyfrowa, oprogramowanie DInGO dLibra 6.2.5



Source: https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=314596.

When using digital old-fashioned resources, it is worth taking a look at the additional features they offer users. In the oldest version of the program, i.e. dLibra 4.0,[16] it is possible to export metadata (OAI-PMH and RDF formats) from the description screen, add it to bookmarks and share it in many social media, and, after logging in, propose new keywords. When the scans are opened (in the same or new browser window as full screen) a view of the .pdf file window with the following options appears: thumbnails in the left side panel, searching in the document (here additions: highlighting all, case-sensitive, whole words), page navigation, zooming in and out of the view (by automatic scale, real size, page matching, page width and percentages), printing, downloading, copying or opening the current position as a link in the new window. In addition, it is worth noting the extensive navigation that makes it easier to navigate the document. It allows browsing it page by page, going to the first and last page, scrolling vertically and horizontally, viewing two pages simultaneously, including 'odd left" and "even left" layouts and no column division. In addition, scans can be rotated left and right which can be useful for reading handwritten notes. However, there are also useful mechanisms for selecting blocks of text and scrolling through the pages. The program also provides an opportunity to search for specific words in documents and highlight them all, taking into account case sensitivity and searching for whole words only.[17] The source also includes information about the technical properties of the document: the name of the main file, its size, dates of creation and modification, the version of the program in which it was created (in this case Adobe Acrobat), the number of pages, their dimensions and the possibility of quick viewing online.

The latest version of dLibra – DInGO dLibra 6.2.5 – used by JBC offers the most options to support resource usage.[18] In addition to the above, it allows you to view scans and metadata at the same time or hide the description of the displayed document, and from the list of files available, next to the metadata, one can choose from two formats – pdf and DjVu – and download the files also in two of the given formats. After logging in one can add a title to the favorites, and without logging in, retrieve

16 Based on the example of: W. Morawski, *Opisanie żywota i cudów błogosławionego ojca Władysława z Gielniowa … zebrane z starych kroników ręką pisanych i znowu teraz przez Ks. Wincentego Morawskiego, lektora tegoż klasztoru z przydatkiem nowych cudów do druku podane…*, Mikołaj Lob, Kraków 1612, http://www.repcyfr.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=267 (access: 29.06.2019).

17 However, this is only possible in the scans that have undergone a process of OCR (*Optical Character Recognition*).

18 Based on the example of: J. Jonston, *Idea Vniversæ Medicinæ Practicæ Libris XII absoluta*, Elzevier Lowijs, Amsterdam 1648, https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=117051 (access: 29.06.2019).

bibliographic description in two formats – RIS and BibTeX. It also affects the quality of information – by clicking on the icon of the triangle with an exclamation mark one can report an error.

On the other hand, in resources using the DInGO dLibra 6.0.1-SNAPSHOT[19] software version it is possible to navigate the entire collection (next / previous / first / last object from the list), create a link to a specific view, and in the thumbnail view there is an option to choose the image type (content, watermark, binding, special) and its size (small, medium, large), as well as the browser type (Seadragon, Mooviewer, Leaflet). The hyperlink used to describe metadata schema – PLMET, is also a valuable feature.[20]

An additional option only available from RCP was the fact that documents were scanned/photographed on a pad with a scale, which allows to estimate the size of the documents. In a few of them scans/photos appeared beginning with a color picker and the resource being developed.[21]

In conclusion, the progress of digitization has brought many benefits – both for institutional owners of old print collections and their users. Apart from facilitating access and reducing information, geographical, technological and procedural barriers, on top of protecting and securing invaluable resources, digitization, which is already present in almost every aspect of life, pursues one of the main objectives of the information society, that is, openness and accessibility. On the part of the user, the development of new technologies allows for access to resources without the limitations of the traditional, presentable way of sharing old prints. The increasing graphic quality of digital content, more accurate metadata and standardized description formats, and finally, multi-survey search engines with a wide range of search possibilities and numerous additional features offered by digital platforms offer many opportunities for using digital content.

19 Based on the example of: M. Maier, Silentivm Post Clamores, *Hoc Est Tractatvs Apologeticvs, Qvo causæ non solum clamorum seu Reuelationum Fraternitatis Germanicæ de R.C. sed & Silentii, seu non redditæ ad singulorum vota responsionis, vna cum malevolorum refutatione, traduntur & demonstrantur / scriptus Authore Michaele Maiero...*, Francof: publisher: Lukas Jennis, 1617, http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/75090/edition/73235/content? (access: 29.06.2019).

20 *Dokumentacja schematu metadanych PLMET*, online https://confluence.man.poznan.pl/community/display/FBCMETGUIDE/Dokumentacja+schematu+metadanych+PLMET;jsessionid=5E04D88E587180202A720A8BDA675756 (access: 29.06.2019).

21 Based on the example of: *Kinder- und Bilder-Bibel, Oder: Auszug derer Biblischen Historien, Welche in ausserlesenen Figuren vorgestellt, nach einem kurtzen Unterricht von denen Biblischen Büchern in Frag und Antwort abgefasset, mit angefügten erbaulichen Lehren, aus schönen Sprüchen der heiligen Schrift, wie auch denen geistreichen Gesängen erläutert werden*, Erfurth: Elias Sauerländern, 1752, http://bibliotekacyfrowa.eu/dlibra/doccontent?id=46890 (access: 29.06.2019).

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Wspomnienie o ojcu dr. Krzysztofie Wałczyku SJ

Ojca Krzysztofa Wałczyka SJ pożegnaliśmy 28 marca 2018 r. Odszedł po długiej i ciężkiej chorobie. W niniejszym numerze umieściliśmy artykuł ojca Wałczyka, który ukazuje fragment jego rozległych zainteresowań naukowych.

Ojciec Krzysztof Wałczyk SJ urodził się 1 grudnia 1962 r. we Wrocławiu jako syn Edwarda i Marii z d. Rogowskiej. Uczęszczał do XII Liceum Ogólnokształcącego we Wrocławiu, które ukończył maturą w 1981 r. Do Towarzystwa Jezusowego wstąpił 19 sierpnia 1981 r. w Starej Wsi, a po dwuletnim nowicjacie złożył pierwsze śluby 28 sierpnia 1983 r. w Czechowicach-Dziedzicach. W latach 1983-1986 studiował filozofię na Wydziale Filozoficznym Towarzystwa Jezusowego w Krakowie, a w latach 1987-1990 – teologię na Wydziale Teologicznym Towarzystwa Jezusowego (Bobolanum) w Warszawie. Później kontynuował specjalistyczne studia z teologii fundamentalnej na Wydziale Teologicznym Uniwersytetu w Innsbrucku (1990-1996), które uwieńczył doktoratem w 1997 r. (tytuł rozprawy doktorskiej: *Geschenkte Selbstständigkeit. Kritische Auseinandersetzung mit Wolfhart Pannenbergs religiöser Identitätsbildung*, Innsbruck 1998). Święcenia prezbiteratu otrzymał 29 czerwca 1991 r. w Krakowie z rąk ks. bpa Stanisława Smoleńskiego, a uroczystą profesję zakonną złożył w 2002 r. w Krakowie. Od 1997 r. mieszkał w krakowskim Kolegium Towarzystwa Jezusowego.

Ojciec Krzysztof był antropologiem kulturowym, kulturoznawcą, teatrologiem i przede wszystkim pracującym z pasją nauczycielem akademickim. Wykładał w Akademii Ignatianum w Krakowie i na Wydziale Aktorskim Akademii Sztuk Teatralnych w Krakowie. Zarówno w działalności naukowej, jak i w duszpasterstwie wykazywał się niezwykłą aktywnością. Był wieloletnim kapelanem sióstr Zgromadzenia Córek Bożej Miłości oraz duszpasterzem Wspólnoty Niemieckojęzycznej w Krakowie. Interesował się zagadnieniami międzykulturowymi, nieobce mu były

Sugerowane cytowanie: Wspomnienie o ojcu dr. Krzysztofie Wałczyku SJ. (2019). *Perspektywy Kultury*, 3(26), pp. 187-194.

trudne problemy współczesnego świata. Wiemy, że pracował nad habilitacją, której już nie zdążył dokończyć.

W ceremonii pogrzebowej uczestniczyło wiele osób: rodzina, bracia w kapłaństwie, przyjaciele ze świata akademickiego i teatru. Poniżej cytujemy niemal w niezmienionej formie homilię pogrzebową, którą wygłosił ojciec Józef Polak SJ z parafii pw. Ducha Świętego w Nowym Sączu. Oddajmy mu głos.

(zdjęcie autorstwa ks. dr. hab. Tomasza Homy SJ, prof. AIK)

ks. Józef Polak SJ
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Homilia pogrzebowa o. dr. Krzysztofa Wałczyka SJ
Kraków 28 marca 2018 r.

„Ojcze, chcę, aby także Krzysztof Wałczyk, którego Mi dałeś, był ze Mną tam, gdzie Ja jestem, aby widział chwałę Moją, którą Mi dałeś, bo umiłowałeś Mnie przed założeniem świata”.

Czcigodny Ojcze Prowincjale, bracia w kapłaństwie, bracia i siostry w powołaniu zakonnym, Kochani: Rodzice, Ewo z rodziną, krewni z księżmi Czesławem i Józefem, Magnificencjo Ojcze Rektorze Akademii

Ignatianum z gronem profesorów i wykładowców, przyjaciele ze środowiska artystycznego i Wspólnoty Niemieckojęzycznej, siostry i bracia w Chrystusie.

Słowa Jezusa z Ostatniej Wieczerzy to modlitwa za uczniów. Modlitwa za każdego z nas. Gdy stoimy przy trumnie syna, brata, kuzyna, zakonnika i księdza, wykładowcy, o. Krzysztofa Wałczyka, jakże tej modlitwy imiennie dziś do niego nie odnieść? „Ojcze sprawiedliwy! Świat Ciebie nie poznał, lecz Ja Ciebie poznałem i Krzysztof poznał, żeś Ty Mnie posłał. Objawiłem Mu Twoje imię, aby miłość, którą Ty Mnie umiłowałeś, w nim była i Ja w nim".

Przychodzimy na świat otuleni miłością Dawcy Życia. Ku Niemu przez ten świat zmierzamy. Jego otwarte ramiona oczekują nas na progu wieczności. Raz idziemy szybciej, raz wolniej. Czas Krzysztofa to skończone 55 lat. To dużo czy mało? Możemy się dziwić, ale okazuje się, że według Bożej miary dla niego w sam raz.

37 lat temu wstąpił do Towarzystwa Jezusowego. Dziesięć lat później przyjął święcenia kapłańskie. Studia specjalistyczne, zwieńczone doktoratem, odbył w Innsbrucku i chciał pracować na uczelni. Wiedział jednak, po co przyjął święcenia. Kończąc pisanie doktoratu, rok posługiwał w duszpasterstwie akademickim w Opolu. Potem już tu, w Krakowie. Swoje kapłańskie zaangażowanie znalazł… po jezuicku. Wybrał to, co było potrzebne, co wymagało regularności, nawet poświęcenia, ale do czego nie było wówczas tłumu ochotników. Przez niemal 20 lat spacerował rano na Pędzichów. Odprawiał tam Mszę siostrom ze Zgromadzenia Córek Bożej Miłości. To w dni powszednie, bo w niedzielę trasę miał krótszą: do kościoła św. Barbary na Mały Rynek. Tam od roku 2000 prowadził duszpasterstwo Wspólnoty Niemieckojęzycznej w Krakowie. Wkładał w tę posługę dużo serca. Dbał o głoszone słowo, najczęściej w formie medytacji z obrazem, ale też i o dobrą oprawę muzyczną tych mszy, z regularnymi koncertami. Szukał na to sponsorów. Podtrzymywał kontakty międzynarodowe, uczestnicząc w dorocznych zjazdach duszpasterzy niemieckojęzycznych.

Lubił dowcipy i żarty. Zawsze miał jakiś kawał na podorędziu. Jako seminarzysta wielokrotnie przygotowywał i wystawiał ze współbraćmi kabaret. Wyszli z nim kiedyś nawet poza klasztorne mury. Przełożeni nie musieli się tym jednak martwić, bo biletów wtedy nie rozprowadzali, a pozazakonną karierę rozpoczęli i zakończyli we Wrocławiu, na weselu siostry Ewy. Słowem, scena nie była mu obca.

Potem, już jako wykładowca na PWST, żył światem teatru. Na teatr jednak patrzył nie tyle przez pryzmat spektakli, choćby i świetnie zrobionych, ile pod kątem ludzi teatru i tego, co z siebie dają, co wnoszą. Ze studentami spotykał się nie tylko na wykładach, ale i po przedstawieniach – by rozmawiać o tym, jak daną sztukę przeżywali. Gdy wykładał na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim, czy więcej na Ignatianum, cieszyły go te zajęcia. Przykładał się do nich. Prowadził magistrantów. Był dumny z uczelni. Kiedy po rozbudowie Ignatianum ktoś z rodziny go odwiedzał, to pokazywał nowe aule i możliwości techniczne. Tym żył na co dzień. Opowiadał o studentach, przejmował się nimi, jeśli czegoś nie kończyli w terminie. Piętą Achillesową Krzysia była habilitacja, która pośród zajęć coraz to odsuwała się w czasie. Nieraz czy ja, czy siostra Ewa, mówiliśmy: (siostry CBMki wybaczcie) Krzysiek, odpuść Pędzichów, odpuść Wspólnotę, skup się na habilitacji. O odpuszczeniu jednego ani drugiego nie chciał słyszeć. Dziś wiem, że habilitację szykował poniekąd dwutorowo: z jednej strony przygotowując wymagane publikacje, a z drugiej strony życiem pisał habilitację z cierpienia. Dane mu było ukończyć tę drugą.

Krzysztof niełatwo godził się z chorobą. Akurat dostał czas na dopięcie habilitacji. Z pasją gromadził materiały. Wyznał: „kiedy się dowiedziałem, że to się ze mną dzieje, byłem pełen gniewu. Tylko wielkiego gniewu. Potem buntu. Powtarzałem sobie: dlaczego ja? I dodał: Teraz już tak nie myślę. Teraz chcę wierzyć, że to ma jakiś sens. Musi mieć" (Roma Ligocka, *Radość życia*). Zewnętrznie dochodził do tego przez chemioterapię, operację, kolejną chemię i nawet trzecią serię, gdy okazało się, że dwie to za mało. Uparcie się przy tym trzymał nadziei, jak Hiob z usłyszanego dziś pierwszego czytania.

Z muzyki chyba najbardziej fascynował go Bach z całym bogactwem swych religijnych utworów. Jeszcze w listopadzie, choć już sił nie miał wiele, chętnie przyjechał do Nowego Sącza z komentarzem na koncert Bachowskich kantat. Pasjonowało go też religijne malarstwo: gdzie był, nie omijał galerii sztuki. Nieraz tak planował podróże, by odwiedzić jakieś znane muzeum i zobaczyć dane dzieło w oryginale. Na muzykę i sztukę patrzył przez pryzmat twórców. Pytał się: co chcieli powiedzieć, tak właśnie komponując dane dzieło, czy nadając mu taką formę? Patrzył wnikliwie. W partyturze był w stanie dostrzec sens teologiczny. Sceny z Ewangelii komentował, wskazując arcydzieła malarstwa. Wiedzą o tym członkowie *Gemeinde* Wspólnoty Niemieckojęzycznej z kościoła św. Barbary, czy siostry z rekolekcji w Wiedniu. Nie wystarczała mu zwykła harmonia dźwięków w najlepszym nawet wykonaniu. Nie zatrzymywał się też na kunszcie ręki prowadzącej pędzel. Szukał ducha. Odkrywał głębię znaczeń. Tak jakby… Boga chciał lepiej poznać, odgadując intuicje mistrzów. Był przy tym dociekliwy: chłonął sztukę, dążył do sedna. Nieraz widziałem u niego błysk w oku i radość odkrycia zamiaru artysty: słuchaj, on to chciał powiedzieć, o to mu chodzi!

Ostatnią braterską rozmowę mieliśmy równo tydzień temu, kiedy jeszcze był w stanie więcej mówić. Leżał. Odwiedzający wyszli. Mówię: wiesz, gdyby nie ty, to pewnie nie byłbym jezuitą. Przyjechałem kiedyś do ciebie do nowicjatu, pamiętasz? Dopiero tam zobaczyłem, że jezuici to nawet sensowni i normalni ludzie. Byłeś akurat po wielkich rekolekcjach – zafascynowany. Mówiłeś: te rekolekcje też są dla świeckich, można je zrobić nawet w życiu codziennym. Nasza parafia we Wrocławiu to parafia jezuicka. Idź tam, poproś, odpraw te rekolekcje, warto! Poszedłem. Nie było łatwo. Usłyszałem: nie zawracaj głowy, jak nie znajdziesz przynajmniej dziesięciu chętnych. Jak znajdziesz, to się wami ktoś zajmie. Znalazłem. Ktoś się zajął. Właśnie na tych rekolekcjach zdecydowałem, co zrobię po maturze… Krzysiek na to: „Wiesz, nie dawałem dużo rekolekcji. Nie porywałem się na wiele rzeczy. Ale się starałem, by to co robię, miało jakość. Od ludzi miewałem czasem sygnały zwrotne, że tak było. Że miało…".

W pamięci ludzkiej Krzysztof zostaje jako delikatny, wrażliwy, ujmujący. Ciepły i łatwo nawiązujący kontakt, choć nieraz niezrozumiany. Chętnie rozmawiał. Interesował się sprawami rozmówców, miał czas. Siostra Ewa wspomina jego wsparcie, kiedy sama w chorobie doświadczała trudności. Używał konkretnych słów, ale nie taniego pocieszania. Dużo mówił o Opatrzności. Cierpliwie słuchał, pytany radził. Zdjęcia rodzinne potwierdzają to jego zamiłowanie do rozmów. Potwierdzają i to (co widzi zwłaszcza żeńska część rodziny), że niespecjalnie lubił grzebień. Cytuję: „Fryzura sprawiała wrażenie, że od grzebienia to była jak najdalej…". Krzysztof lubił góry. Od czasu sześcioletniej specjalizacji z teologii fundamentalnej w Innsbrucku urzekły go Alpy. Znał tam wiele szlaków, jeździł na nartach. Nie tylko dla samej aktywności fizycznej, ale i dla piękna, które tam odnajdywał. Bo na piękno nigdy nie był obojętny.

„Ja wiem, wybawca mój żyje" – mówił Hiob przygnieciony cierpieniem. „Potem me szczątki skórą odzieje i oczyma ciała będę widział Boga". Krzysztof już wie, że Wybawca żyje. Wyzwolony z cierpienia doświadcza Boga. Panie, który przenikasz i znasz zamkniętą księgę jego życia, okaż mu miłosierdzie. Wybacz grzechy i słabości. Uciesz się okruchami dobra i przygarnij go do siebie. Nam zaś, uczestniczącym w pogrzebie, daj żyć w Twojej obecności, abyśmy kiedyś mogli się z Tobą i z nim radować na wieki. Amen.

Ojciec dr Krzysztof Wałczyk SJ pozostawił po sobie również dorobek naukowy, który umieszczamy poniżej, wymieniając najważniejsze pozycje.

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(zebrał dr Łukasz Burkiewicz)

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