JAGIELLONIAN IDEAS TOWARDS CHALLENGES OF MODERN TIMES

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Kraków 2017

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ISBN 978-83-949716-1-8

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Typesetting and page makeup:
Martyna Fatel

Cover design:
Joanna Żółtowska

The Jagiellonian Library
al. Mickiewicza 22
30-001 Krakow
tel. 12 633 09 03
www.bj.uj.edu.pl

A public task co-financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland within the framework of the competition "Public Diplomacy 2017" - the component "Cooperation in the field of public diplomacy 2017".

The publication only expresses the views of the authors and cannot be equated with the official position of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland.

The publication has been co-financed by the Institute of Intercultural Studies, Faculty of International and Political Studies of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków and the Foundation of Students and Graduates of the Jagiellonian University "Bratniak".

Ministry
of Foreign Affairs
Republic of Poland

COOPERANTIS
STOWARZYSZENIE NA RZECZ ROZWOJU SPOŁECZNEGO
I DIALOGU MIĘDZYKULTUROWEGO

Instytut Studiów Międzykulturowych
Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie

Print: Salesian Printing House in Kraków

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Introduction

Many problems of the contemporary world include challenges already familiar to civilizations, societies and nations of distant epochs. Solutions to some of them, both intellectual and practical, are often forgotten or even unknown, while others have gained stereotypical interpretations, which do not always correspond to the truth. Meanwhile, the skilful interpretation of the cultural heritage of many contemporary nations may be a creative inspiration both in the effort to understand, diagnose as well as shape ways of resolving contradictions, conflicts and posing developmental questions towards the challenges of the contemporary world.

The Jagiellonian era is an excellent area for such inspirations. During the three centuries fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth, concepts and a network of activities, institutions and legal regulations have been developed, which correspond to similar issues of contemporary Europe in the area of social mobility, multiculturalism, international and intercultural relations, religious tolerance, cooperation of regional, national and supranational communities. This cooperation is noticeable in the field of science, artistic creativity and political culture. It is worth mentioning that many ideas were conceived then, which go far beyond the area of geopolitical relations, and thus beyond what Polish historians called the 'Jagiellonian idea' in the second half of the nineteenth century. In political terms, it has always had different perception in individual countries that create a specific Jagiellonian space stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. Yet, it should be remembered, that the space was not won with a sword, but a discourse of interests, more of less felt sense of community.

The purpose of this book, however, is neither to evaluate nor to continue the visions of unity, but to highlight the many, very creative ideas

that have arisen in the fields of science, culture, interreligious relations, public affairs, the concept of the common good, education and rights, as well as the patterns of political thinking in its interpretation of axiology. It is a very diverse world of ideas referring, as in the case of outstanding and still underestimated thought authored by Paweł Włodkowic - to universalizing values that go far beyond national contexts. They create a wealth of inspiration, when one looks at this heritage, not only in terms of political science, but also through cultural sciences, anthropology, cultural sociology, pedagogy, history of ideas, intercultural studies or social communication.

The texts collected in the book are mainly the result of work within three seminars and one workshop carried out in 2017, designed in a comparative perspective, successively at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, the University of Oxford, National Pedagogical Dragomanov University in Kiev and Western Sydney University. Each of these events was a separate, but at the same time corresponding experience, which participants found very interesting. This experience shows the Jagiellonian ideas from a different but complementary side. In all these places, we enjoyed great support from representatives of the local scientific communities, for which we would like to express our great gratitude and hope for further cooperation. Each seminar and workshop, was similar in structure to the one used in this volume, i.e. through the diagnosis of the conceptual layer and basic inspirations, that can be found in the meaning of the Jagiellonian ideas, through the reconstruction and analysis of important historical sources, which form the basis of the cultural heritage of the Jagiellonian era, and then typologizing the important challenges of contemporary culture, seen in relation to the mentioned values. The publication concludes with a chapter which, by analysing the cultural-creative potential of the Jagiellonian idea, outlines possible visions of the future, revitalizing the concept of responsibility, sensitivity and care for the sense of creative reading of heritage in its contemporary development potential.

We believe that the cultural heritage of many other national and cultural communities, whose roots are the strength and motivation to take up the challenges of contemporary culture, can be exploited in a similar fashion.

Jagiellonian Ideas Towards
Challenges of Modern Times

INSPIRATIONS

Jagiellonian Values

Leszek Korporowicz*

Contemporary Europe, as other parts of the world, does not constitute a model of stability, a clear concept of the development and integration of many native and incoming cultures which enter into an intensive period of interaction. It turns out that the long-discussed question of co-existence, synergy, as well as the right to maintain and develop cultural identity has once again become a key issue. On the one hand, the unfettered tendency towards complete liberalization in intercultural relations has met with an unrestrained reaction in the form of nationalist groups past and new, while on the other hand causing destruction of the processes of cultural integration based on the internalisation and realisation of values. Many things indicate that the concept of cultural rights as a variety of human rights whose roots extend into the Jagiellonian debates regarding 'the Laws of Nations', does not guarantee cultural security either for ethnic minorities or ethnic majorities.

The characteristic situation of a lack of cultural balance appears in the incommensurate character of values constituting a regulator of individual and collective attitudes in which it is more and more difficult to find a common denominator in the sense of the common good, values of human life, as well as religious feelings which have fallen into the trap of socio-technical calculations. Disintegrative problems within the European Union which have been accompanied by a crisis of trust towards political elites and a clear revival of the concept of nation states, require us to question, to a significant degree, the cultural basis of European identity regarding what is worth maintaining within it and what constitutes

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the social order of this part of the world. This order does not require so many forms of protection as it undergoes continual transformation and should not close itself off from new forms of existence, but is forced to recognise and understand new challenges. Many of these we are encountering for the first time, while some are changing types of challenges known from the past, although in new configurations and proportions. *Across the entire globe* – writes Anna Czajka in a groundbreaking study entitled 'Interculturality and philosophy' – *entireties are collapsing at an accelerated pace whose permanence is, in the nature of things, relative – and this is in the contemporary world, a global world of migration and mobility, into one space comes the* ***co-existence*** *(but it would be good if* ***co-living*** *was achieved) of people belonging to various cultures. For this situation neither Europe not the world at large is prepared – neither regarding politics, economics, nor, above all, regarding the consciousness and concepts which we employ. […] We neither comprehend nor understand ourselves in situations of change […] but* ***comprehension and understanding of oneself among others and in the world is a core objective of humanities and culture.***[1]

Understanding oneself is not, however, possible without referring to the cultural heritage accumulated within us, an aspect indicated, as Czajka points out, by Antonina Kłoskowska in her sociological-cultural studies analysis but also the concept of 'Ethnic cultures at their roots'.[2] This analysis is important in the context of the discovery by Kłoskowska of the dynamics and consequences of what is termed 'cultural poly-valence'. This is based on the development of more than two cultures within a space and the building of cultural identity through slow and selective choices which do not destroy the values of any of the cultures but simultaneously create its own creatively configured whole. These processes may not, however, take place without an active centre of personality, thus a cultural self which is willingly, consciously and axiologically capable of making choices, as well as integrating values and arranging them into a hierarchy.[3] Without this

[1] A. Czajka, *Międzykulturowość i filozofia // Interculturality and Philosophy*, Warszawa 2016, p. 166.

[2] A. Kłoskowska, *Kultury narodowe u korzeni*, Warszawa 1996; published in English as: *National Cultures at the Grassroots Level*, transl. C.A. Kisiel, Budapest 2001, published in Italian as: *Alle radici delle Culture nazionalli*, A. Czajka (ed.), transl. M. Bacigalupo, introduction by Z. Bauman with a letter from K. Dedecius, Reggio Emilia 2007.

[3] L. Korporowicz, 'Tożsamości kulturowe u korzeni', in: E. Hałas (ed.), *Kultura jako pamięć. Posttradycjonalne znaczenie przeszłości*, Kraków 2012, pp. 177–202.

ability and its genuine development, not only one's personal and communal world yield to collapse, while even the oldest cultures, including that of Europe, lose their vitality, even their ability to survive. Similarly, therefore, as experience and individual biographies show, cultural communities must develop their own configurative processes taking place in a supra-individual consciousness and identity by strengthening, not weakening 'the cultural self.' It is this which is, to a significant degree, responsible for the maintenance and development of their subjectivity. Indeed, the cultural self must not so much limit as transform the processes of cultural poly-valence into real developmental dynamism. Since not all cultural poly-valences result in the effective building of that which inspires linguistic concepts termed 'cultural syntagma' by Kłoskowska, they contain, therefore, an internal logic which is favoured with a sense of the configuration of cultural models. Moreover, not all composed poly-valences remain in developmental processes. A major challenge of contemporary culture, not only that of Europe is, adhering to the terminology as proposed by Kłoskowska, the disruption of the balance between the intense development of the processes of poly-valence and the dynamics of creating cultural syntagma of particular societies, in other words, between the disintegration and integration of values.

The ability to employ symbolic cultures as a kind of *universe of world values* is a practical demand of the more necessary anthropology of cultural heritage which is an answer to the multiple challenges facing the contemporary world. The selection, reconfiguration and composition of cultural content is far from the recreation of ready-made models. On the contrary, one may characterise it, as in the example of linguistic competence, as a significant level of creativity, one necessary, as a matter of fact, in situations described by the variability, mobility and fluidity of contemporary civilisation.

The animating activities of creators of culture and the overcoming of at least a part of the difficulties arising alongside the intensification of cultural poly-valence, does not have to be condemned to the seeking out of solutions which are completely new with an untested way of functioning and unknown dynamics of their consequences. Many of them may be found through careful analysis and the revival of practices, as well as more general ideas as those worked out as part of the huge baggage of historical experience in the cultural heritage of many nations and smaller cultural groups. These include examples whether laboriously worked-out theoretical concepts may constitute creative inspiration for many areas

of life, both in the sphere of individual reality and that of many nations in terms of the their relations, or also regarding a supra-national reality which includes broader communities as, for example, the European cultural community in all its variety.[4]

For these reasons, it is worth designing and employing practices of sharing heritage, interpreting it in a creative manner, one open to the challenges of modernity, able to find values which are specific, contextual and appropriate for a particular community in a particular time and place, but also values of a supra-contextual character with a significant universalising character. The creative employment of cultural heritage is a form of communication and abilities to actively interact both with contemporaries, of a closer and further kind of community, but also with those who have left behind something of equal value, although one which is distant in time, sometimes forgotten and which should be subjected to its own deciphering, reconstruction and translation into our contemporary language.[5] In this way, one may discuss the communication of heritage which is not a one-way process and, therefore, only a historical message coming from our ancestors towards modernity. This may be, and often is our answer and, therefore, a characteristic interaction with a third party which we subject to interpretation, sometimes to redefinition and inculturation in modern cultural conditions.

Jagiellonian Ideas from an anthropological perspective

The period and heritage which, in many regards, has turned out to be a contemporary source of inspiration is the enormous achievements of the Jagiellonian era. In the sphere of interactive competence, the ability to see the common good above changing particularist interests, as well as the practical field of multi-cultural policy, this period achieved a level deserving of the greatest attention. There exist several reasons for which this period provides many analogies for contemporary times, namely:

- An interest in those things in a person which are indivisible and inseparable, which results from natural law as the basis

[4] M.A. Murzyn, J. Purchla (ed.), *Cultural Heritage in the 21st Century. Opportunities and Challenges*, transl. J. Taylor-Kucia, Kraków 2007; H. Joas, K. Wiegandt (ed.), *Kulturowe wartości Europy*, transl. M. Bucholc, M. Kaczmarczyk, Warszawa 2012.

[5] L. Korporowicz, 'Bridges of hope. World Youth Days – the way of building intercultural communities', in: J. Stala, A. Porębski (ed.), *World Youth Days. A Testimony to the Hope of Young People*, Kraków 2016, pp. 319–330.

of their humanity, but always in a complete dimension the variety of forms of their life, considering it to be a kind of human fulfilment, expression and richness.

- A conviction regarding the possibilities and values of cooperation in **the inter-cultural space** aimed towards the growth of mutual influence and co-dependence of ethnic communities and nations.
- A conviction regarding the necessity of interest in the effects of the **mobility** of people, ideas and goods, both concerning individuals and groups.
- A readiness to break norms, particularisms, even one's own models of judgement with aims of a transgressional character, thus breaking cultural codes accepted only within one nation.
- **Multiculturalism in the sphere of public life and its consequences** in the form of learning about cultural variability, as well as new abilities in the practice of cultural interaction, thus intercultural competence as a crucial factor of security.
- Openness to the value of equality, freedom and brotherhood in many practical spheres of community life, such as in the fields of academic culture, public life or in the area of the functioning of the state as a common good.
- **Religious tolerance** and openness to cultural minorities whose relations must be the subject of interest of researchers, practitioners, educators, as well as creators of cultural policy.
- **The complementing** of a unique, local and universal view of the issue of cultural heritage, as well as its significance in the development of human societies and their institutions.
- The discovery of the creative potential of cultural synergy and the **opening of the symbolic spaces of ethnic cultures.**

Each of the above-mentioned analogies may become a subject of separate studies and inspire contemporary thought regarding the challenges which face culture and societies in a post-industrial information age, a time of ethnic confusion. Contemporary Europe, which on the one hand, wishes to protect the rights of every person and culture must expect, however, a symmetrical respect of those same principals from cultures foreign to it. In many regards, they cannot build their own new universe on the ruins of an earlier one. Without this rule, it will be very difficult to achieve not so much assimilation but real integration with respect for cultural diversity. Assimilation, therefore, threatens uniformity within a standardized

understanding of relationships and cultural relations of an instrumental character, a hyper-structure of an artificial and temporarily generated consciousness. It is not without reason that in many countries with a significant multicultural factor, Australia being a particular example, the drawing back from a policy of assimilation towards a policy of integration is meant to be hindered by feelings regarding the background role of cultures not to be found in the main canon of standard works deemed to be masterpieces. There exist many strongly confirmed psychological and sociological studies which show how great the decrease in the activity and motivation of artists in a situation of feeling to be in the cultural background when places in the 'foreground' have already been decided. Cultural integration comprises granting not only full formal rights but recognizing the full dimension of dignity and the most essential autoteliological values by which particular objects build personal and social identity. They are integrated through values accepted as common, albeit not necessarily uniform and subjecting themselves to mutual assimilation. An analogical concept illuminates certain groups, as well as the entire commonwealth of the Jagiellonian Republic, not taking from anyone the right to their own identity, localness, and religion, opening themselves through this while not shutting out incoming groups which found their own place, one acceptable to the entire social order. It was in this way, one not so much announced but carried out and being one of many Jagiellonian ideas which it is worth recalling today as they allowed one to solve the problems with which the community of European nations has to contend.

The Jagiellonian ideas, as many analysts, historians, political scientists and cultural studies specialists emphasize, do not in fact create a uniform and cohesive system. It is worth stressing that this presents, on the one hand, a difficulty, especially when we want to define it but also a virtue, especially when we separate it from the so-called Jagiellonian ideas, concepts well known in Polish historical thought and considered fundamental in the categories of politics and geopolitics while being based on a clearly defined horizon of values from the scope of political culture. This can be seen in a quotation used by Władysław Konopczyński in his article entitled 'On Jagiellonian Ideas' from 1929[6] and which he took from Witold

[6] W. Konopczyński, 'O idei jagiellońskiej', in: idem, *Umarli mówią, szkice historyczno-polityczne*, Poznań 1929, pp. 75–86; and *Myśl Narodowa* 1928, no. 14–15; Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, at http://www.omp.org.pl/stareomp/indexf032.html?module=subjects&func=viewpage&pageid=615, 11 September 2017.

Kamieniecki who a year earlier had written: *The Jagiellonian Idea is a political system based on the drawing in to the Polish state by way of voluntary accession, a union of neighbouring territories covering the geographical region between the Carpathians and the Baltic. Created as a result of the union, the Jagiellonian Republic based its structure on the following principles: a unified political system (the Polish Crown/Lithuania), autonomy for certain constituent parts of its territory, an administration comprised of local citizens, equal linguistic status, religious tolerance, the development of civil democratic freedoms, the reconciliation of patriotism towards the Polish republic with patriotism of a local and local-ethnic, [and] the advocacy of western civilization.*[7] As the values as defined by Kamieniecki, and in an even broader scope by Konopczyński, go far beyond the political culture sphere, this is why they have given 'the Polish Army of the Golden Age' a significant axiological basis which has caused that *(…) its crucial strength was the awareness that it fought in the defence of a certain characteristic beautiful and noble political idea, which, over time, in the historiography following the Polish partitions became known as – the Jagiellonian Idea.*[8] This means that its source, manifestation and subject of reference comprise the very diverse areas of social, intellectual, cultural or religious life. As Konopczyński writes: *The Jagiellonians themselves did not know of its existence (…) If under the Jagiellonian roof freedoms blossomed, if there various religious and tribal groups developed independently their own way, if they governed the lands themselves and nobody used violence towards anyone else, it is in this that one should see the Polish idea … That the Christian principle of brotherly love became a political precept, it was only useful in such circumstances when only noble nation took up patronage over enormous countries with different languages and faiths, whose own will could not be any different as only from good will with the same willingness and love. This same term, the Jagiellonian idea, joined itself genetically with the decentralization of the state … the genuine Jagiellonian idea, not attempting any act of violence, not withdrawing from the signposts towards 'love and concord', it foresaw… further progress towards drawing closer and unification.*[9]

[7] 'Sprawy Towarzystwa', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 1928, no. 1, p. 209.

[8] W. Konopczyński, *Dzieje Polski nowożytnej*, Warszawa 1986, p. 316.

[9] Ibid., pp. 316–317.

From all of the particular aspects mentioned above, we may acknowledge that:

a) We may discuss, in a fundamental manner, not only one politically and geopolitically understood 'Jagiellonian Idea', reconstructed, as a matter of fact, during the period following the Polish partitions, but many Jagiellonian ideas growing out of a carrying out in various areas of life of the Jagiellonian era, as well as periods in which its reconstruction was attempted. This forces us to significantly broaden perspectives regarding political science and employ multiple possibilities for academic examination of the reality with particular consideration of symbolic cultures for which a holistic and humanist oriented anthropological perspective may serve very creatively.[10]

b) An anthropological perspective of the concept of Jagiellonian ideas allows one subject it to systematic reconstruction, not only through analysis of statements of a 'programme' character, meaning those which are reflective, containing a significant component of the intentional expression of a conceptual content, but also through the analysis of concrete actions, the language of political and intellectual discourse, as well as the practices of everyday life.

c) The lack of a possibility to precisely define the definition and content of Jagiellonian ideas in the form of a closed axiological subject canon, as well as a clearly defined subject, authorship and method of realisation, does not cross out the possibility of specifying them. At the same time, this gives one a broad possibility of their interpretation, selection of guiding contents with significant potential for configuration in the context of contemporary cultural needs.

d) Jagiellonian ideas appeared, developed and evolved over three centuries, namely from the 14th to the 16th centuries during a time of very significant changes in the internal and external context of the Jagiellonian era, thus from the late Middle Ages until the height of the Renaissance.[11] This was a time of enormous changes in civilisation, but also regarding new intellectual trends, transformations in

[10] See: V.W. Turner, E.M. Bruner (ed.), *Antropologia doświadczenia*, transl. E. Klekot, A. Szczurek, Kraków 2011, originally published in English as: *The Anthropology of Experience*, Chicago 1986.

[11] S. Wielgus, *Z badań nad średniowieczem*, Lublin 1995.

the organization of public life, as well as the consciousness of the groups participating in them. This caused that the scope of the ideas which are entering the field of contemporary interest and which may be also an inspiration during encounters, as well as the clash of cultures, does not constitute a uniform system. The political conviction, but also knowledge, mores and accumulated experience in realising that which we could acknowledge as a group of Jagiellonian ideas has significantly changed and matured creating its own developmental history. As Henry Samsonowicz writes: *If during the Jagiellonian times the union joined two completely different countries, it was in the 16th century when the problem of the legal relationship became relevant once again, already concerning the similarly developing and similarly shaped societies.*[12]

e) The skilled joining together of the vision of the local, national person, as well as numerous references to natural law and the display of universal values in the perception of mutual relations of ethnic and religious communities gives the Jagiellonian idea an essential anthropological dimension. The posing of questions by their creators present the issue of man, which contemporary humanities treats as a person unreduced, understanding specific traits of identity of the nearest reference groups, but viewed in a context of the values of the community they break. Through Christianity, reference is made to the issue of humanity as that, also at that time, which meant to defend the dignity of pagans, as in the example of the concept of Paweł Włodkowic.

f) In the development of the theory of 'the Laws of Nations' built up by the above-mentioned Paweł Włodkowic but spectacularly reflected and almost transmitted in the Jagiellonian idea, one may see a pioneering concept of the relations between nations, states and, equally important, among smaller ethnic, and even cultural groups.[13] Jagiellonian ideas are not limited to the political dimension and may today comprise a source of great inspiration for contemporary theories regarding intercultural relations, be an important reference point for 'cultural rights', constituting the development of 'the Laws of Nations' in their axiological and

[12] H. Samsonowicz, *Złota jesień polskiego średniowiecza*, Poznań 2014, p. 70.

[13] J. Łucyszyn, *Polska tradycja tolerancji w kontekście kształtowania nowego społeczeństwa*, Kraków 2014.

anthropological layer.[14] The search for a model for multicultural policy may be effectively inspired by the templates resulting from the practice of cultural interaction of an intercultural nature which have existed at various levels of social relations.[15]

g) Currently, interest both in the forgotten or little-known, but also symbolic dimensions of Jagiellonian ideas shows the revival of the processes regarding the 'communication of heritage'. Both as a practice and a reflection, and even a creative method, the search for appropriate solutions is, at present, something significantly greater than a one-way transfer. It is the active selection, revitalisation, sometimes reconfiguration of models, values and convictions exposing the potential which runs deep in the dynamics of modern transformation, the possibilities of designing reality in circumstances of the high mobility of resources, but also numerous processes of disintegration. In a world of continual and fast-paced change, the communication of cultural values simultaneously generates an important and necessary perspective of the anthropology of cultural heritage. The reception of Jagiellonian ideas over a long-lasting historical process, in which they define numerous fundamental values in the sphere of public life but also intercultural relations, attitudes towards the state and its functioning is the perfect field of investigation and reflection regarding the social history of the idea and its cultural experience.[16]

The scale of values which is depicted by the anthropology of cultural heritage, meaning that which in the field of personal, communal and organisational human experience is recognised by a person as an expression of their multiple creativities left by the generation of the predecessors, does not have to possess a hermetic character. On the contrary, it may show ways of their application in very different time and situational contexts, in the cultural space of modern man which has been extended by the virtual space, one which creates completely new types of challenges. The skilled, and above all creative analysis of cultural heritage may turn out to a useful method of comparative study, defining a broader horizon of their understanding, finding remarkable analogues, as well as specific

[14] S. Wielgus, *The Medieval Polish Doctrine of the Law of Nations:* Ius Gentium, Lublin 1998.

[15] See: J. Smolicz, *Współkultury Australii*, Warszawa 1999.

[16] W. Bernacki, *Myśl polityczna I Rzeczpospolitej*, Kraków 2011.

critical components of inheriting processes. Jagiellonian ideas constitute a very polymorphic arsenal of content which, however, consequently find a common orientation towards integrative values, going beyond the particularity of interests worked out in a short-term perspective and determined by the life boundaries of one group, one time and one place.

Axiological reflection on the conceived idea, apart from numerous and various possibilities, displays three basic axes around which it may be applied in analysing absolutely contemporary challenges. Each of these axes allows one to identify a disturbing lack of balance showing competing types of values as those which were perfectly recognisable in the multicultural and synergetic society of numerous groups and nations in the age of the Jagiellons.

Man and humanity

Despite the continuation of the medieval canon of intellectual, religious and social culture of the end of the 14th century, the first period of formation of Jagiellonian ideas had already come under the great influence of humanist sensitivities originating in the Renaissance, which came to Poland through its most outstanding scholars who still frequently chose Italian universities as the source of genuine truth, as well as new, inspiring and different values of the world at that time: *Humanist curiosity favoured the travelling of Poles. One could meet them in Morocco, Portugal, Turkey and, above all, in Western countries. Bologna, Padua, Paris, along with German cities hosted numerous travellers from Poland. On the other hand, various humanist scholars studying in Kraków were willingly accepted here.*[17]

An obvious characteristic of almost all concepts originating in this time and which defined intellectual standards of the position of thinkers and the theories they created, were the question regarding the fundamental characteristics of man and humanity. If, therefore, one acknowledges this attribute as distinctive for Jagiellonian ideas from the very beginning its formulation, a characteristic above-mentioned 'axis' is attention being paid to the balance between universal elements of humanity and their roots in unique, frequently particularistic situations of their realisation: *From the example of selected Polish medieval sources, one may show that already the first generation of Polish scholars directed Poland into the circle of Western cultural tradition, simultaneously creating a Polish culture, joining together characteristics of universalism and specific characteristics coming from local*

[17] H. Samsonowicz, *Złota jesień…*, p. 169.

and historical circumstances. Polish socio-political thought, having had its beginnings in the activities of 15th century Kraków scholars, not only quickly joined with the most modern ideological trends but even overtook them in certain aspects. Therefore, they worked out legal principles in the defence of one's one freedom which could constitute a template for contemporary international circles and have remained relevant up to today.[18]

It is difficult to come up with a more precise diagnosis of this axiological and intellectual ritual as was put together in the field of Jagiellonian ideas, simultaneously describing a key axis of the disturbed modern balance between what is universalising in human thought and action and the particularistic and attributed characteristics, as well as characteristics of ethnic and group belonging, functional kinds of social identification determined by an equally functional, sometimes partially defined role. This dissonance, so characteristic of contemporary culture, is unfortunately still frequently for the benefit of the latter threatening the person in his objectifying traits.[19] These do not facilitate the viewing of communities beyond temporary boundaries with frequent divisions. To put it more concisely, this is the preferring of behaviours, attitudes and emotions determined by needs, but of a utilitarian, contextual, environmentally determined kind shaping types of discourse, symbolic cultures and groups of customs.

The processes of globalization of the contemporary world not at least lead to the universalisation of cultural components and, what is more, unification, although more frequently attention is paid to the fact that the transference of cultural content leads rather to their diversification and loss of mixed identity than the finding of universal human rights, but at least to a characteristic balancing of universal and particularist values. Jagiellonian values determine a changing horizon of humanisation than that which is determined by the challenge of societies subject *en masse* to commercialisation and the shaping of market behaviours.

[18] W. Bajor, 'Idee wolności i równości w polskiej kulturze politycznej doby średniowiecza', in: L. Korporowicz, P. Plichta (ed.), *Mosty nadziei. Jagiellońskie inspiracje dialogu międzykulturowego*, Kraków 2017, p. 38.

[19] See: M. Walzer, *O tolerancji*, transl. T. Baszniak, Warszawa 2013, originally published in English as: *On Toleration*, Yale 1997.

Interaction, communication, dialogue

Both the multicultural society of the Jagiellonian age and, above all, contemporary processes of globalisation lead, in a natural way, to the transfer of an intensifying process of cultural interaction in numerous groups. The intensification of this type of relationship does not always lead, however, to the complete development of values which with total awareness, simply an academic precision already indentified over six hundred years ago in the 'spirit' of the Jagiellonian idea, thus mutuality, exchange and the maintenance of objectivity and causativeness of each of the participants of that interaction, independent of the size of the groups engaged with it and even professed faiths. This constitutes the fundamental transfer of Paweł Włodkowic's concept of 'the Laws of Nations'. Explaining the axiological nature of cultural interaction as Włodkowic analyzed and appealed to, Bogdan Szlachta writes that: *An emperor may, therefore, put universalist aspirations into practice working in accordance with the demands of justice, meting it out both to the faithful, as one belonging to the Church, as well as to the unfaithful. 'The meting out of justice', a format displaying its actions in normative circumstances, is not based, however, just on entering into the spiritual realm reserved only for the Church but also the justification of the broadening of faith with actions which lead to the 'oppression' of one's subjects*.[20]

The prohibition of mutual oppression, respect and esteem for the dignity of every person, as well as the community and those participating in the process of interaction, place it into such conceived rules of cultural relations of the cultural values of truly conceived communication, and even more, leads it towards dialogue. This becomes the Jagiellonian criterion for intercultural, international and inter-state relations crucial for the idea of social relations.

Referring to the principles of dialogue and its axiology concerning the contemporary challenges the processes of communication generate, allows one to search for balance between the superficial communication typical of mass culture and that which is deep, mechanical and organic. From the perspective of cultural sociology, the first of these distinctions refers to the opposing communicative meanings and behaviours with characteristics, on the one hand, temporary, changeable, relatively simple to decode and lacking roots in the cultural heritage of a group, and on

[20] B. Szlachta, 'Uwagi o dwóch problemach znajdowanych w nauczaniu Pawła Włodkowica, Rektora Akademii Krakowskiej', in: L. Korporowicz, P. Plichta (ed.), *Mosty nadziei…*, p. 61.

the other hand, permanent and set into a system of core values for a particular society. The second of these proposed distinctions between mechanical and organic communication alludes to traits which are on the one hand instrumental, calculated according to the wielding of power and the utilitarian-oriented influence on communication activities, and on the other hand, on traits of an integrative, socio-creative character in which interaction in itself becomes a value, not an instrument.

A major challenge for contemporary culture is the disruption of the balance between the above-mentioned types of communication with a disturbing predominance of superficial communication over its deep, mechanical and organic forms.[21] The consequences of this type of predominance are visible when we recall from a previous chapter, the anthropological perspective of the perceived Jagiellonian idea. The human view which shows the possibility of breaking its environmental, situational and group circumstances in the direction of actions, motives and, above all, attributes opening up to other people, to other communities by maintaining their own identity and the common good, is a vision which is highly desirable today.

There are still more possibilities for analytically perceiving the challenges of contemporary cultures which are opening themselves up to crossing the above-mentioned distinctions, as the following table shows.

Table 1. Types of communication activities.

	MECHANICAL COMMUNICATION	ORGANIC COMMUNICATION
SUPERFICIAL COMMUNICATION	COMMUNICATION FOR SHORT-TERM NEEDS	SITUATIONAL COMMUNITY COMMUNICATION
DEEP COMMUNICATION	COMMUNICATION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL MANIPULATION	COMMUNICATION TOWARDS FORGING PERMANENT LINKS

The most important thing, from the dialogical point of view, is

[21] L. Korporowicz, *Osobowość i komunikacja w społeczeństwie transformacji*, Warszawa 1997.

that communication towards forging permanent links also avoids the instrumental character of actions in which the participants treat each other in an objectifying manner and one devoid of mutual sensitivity, but simultaneously go beyond the situational goals, to a large degree of variability and breaking away from the key values for the identity of all its participants. This kind of mutual relationship lies at the basis of, and evolved within the long history of the Jagiellonian idea, both in the period of the dynasty's reign and the time when it began to be written about during the post-partition period. Unfortunately, the remaining types of communicative activities, namely the expression of short-term needs, the building of situational communities, as well as psychological manipulation generate relations which are difficult to call dialogical, although these are, in fact, a typical product of contemporary civilisation.

It is worth emphasising here that communicative activities are not only something which accompanies 'real' reality, and which stands alongside as a side effect. These same activities constitute a reality, constituting but not accompanying real relationships, experiences and the types of values created by it. The ontology of communicative activities is a problem which we understand and appreciate more and more in age of the information society. Relationships between people, groups, organisations and cultures are intensifying giving them a universal, everyday status but also a more important strategic reality. Jagiellonian values summon up a way of seeing things but also the building of all those relationships of a organic and deep character as a characteristic antidote to the threats of civilisation which are being discussed more and more frequently in the anthropology of contemporary cultures. The human communicational environment does not, therefore, only create the context, framework and circumstances for practicing dialogical values but penetrates its interior, creates content of specific meanings and values, builds personality and the bases of subjects of interaction. The inspiration which Jagiellonian values contain lead, in this way, to the discovery of two different perspectives regarding the anthropology of communication and dialogue while simultaneously revealing the creative possibilities of understanding and reviving cultural heritage. This is an axiological perspective of intercultural dialogue upon which is based the growing and ever-more burning contemporary question of cultural security in an age of increasing multiculturalism. Both of these perspectives determine, however, another crucial axis of balance, in the social reality, being built around the imperative of development.

The Jagiellonian axiology of development

A fundamental message of the imperative of development which results from the Jagiellonian axiology of the Man and dialogue is the defence of the values which one should find in the actions of the state, community, as well as each individual. In this manner, one will be closer to the principles of integration and balance between objective, instrumental and, in fact, subjective values which we find in a frequently reduced understanding of progress, or also growth regarding the economic or civilisation. The above-mentioned axiology of intercultural dialogue, as well as cultural security as a route to the integrated understanding of development can be best seen in the Jagiellonian concept of the Laws of Nations regarding which the most outstanding representative and originator was the previously mentioned Paweł Włodkowic. As Bogumiła Truchlińska writes: 'Although the Polish school of the rights of nations grew out of a particular political situation, its theses and theories go beyond this historical particularism, constituting a source of inspiration for both for philosophers and lawyers of later periods.' As a an example, she cites the figure of the professor of the University of Salamanca Francisc de Vitoria (1480–1546), as well as Jakub Przełuski, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, Sebastian Petrycy of Pilsen, or the Polish brotherhood.[22] What is important, in the author's view, is that is its worth emphasising particular characteristics of the Polish way of thinking regarding the Laws of Nations which one may acknowledge as manifestation of Jagiellonian ideas. Already at that time: *two roads in European culture had appeared: Poland with a concept of toleration, pacifism and pluralism, and the west for which St. Bartholomew's Massacre was a symbol. One may add the difference in the concepts of power and the ruler. The West worked out an idea of the ruler as in Machiavelli … The Polish ideal, according to many thinkers for whom the good of the Republic was the common good, was a ruler who was useful, just, placing his subjects under his care and taking them into his protection. A ruler who kept in mind natural law, freedom and the dignity of everyone from which this right flows*.[23]

In Tuchlińska's view, the characteristics of the Polish doctrine of the Laws of Nations lay in 'thoughts from the scope of anthropology and axiology' and which 'characterise this original and attractive concept even

[22] B. Truchlińska, *Od Witelona do Karola Wojtyły. Z dziejów polskiej aksjologii i filozofii kultury*, Lublin 2016, p. 40.

[23] Ibid., p. 41.

for contemporary recipients.'[24] Those characteristics which we may entirely acknowledge as Jagiellonian values are: a supernatural source of human dignity as something personal, natural freedom, equality and justice, truth and wisdom as life guides, the ability to tell right from wrong, love of a close one as principle in interpersonal relations, the inalienable right to life of every person, the right to personal freedom and property, the right to religious freedom, the right to a dignified and fair trial, a duty towards the common good.[25]

The above-mentioned values, while being necessary to remember those which have been described in the sections on Man and humanity and anthropologically understood dialogue, constitute an idea towards the proper aim, as well as the manner in which the developmental routes of the Republic are realised, and which can, in many dimensions, respond to contemporary challenges. In many regards, it is also worth including here cultural security, whose idea we have already seen in the concept of a just war of Stanisław of Skarbimierz and the concept of the Laws of Nations. Therefore, cultural security does not limit itself only to static protection of the conceived cultural identity of groups and individuals but determines the right to independently chosen developmental routes, thus also changes to one's identity, its transformation and modelling while, above all, leading to objectification in each of these actions.[26] In fact, the emphasis on the right to inalienable human qualities, dignity in each dimension of their existence, and thus the community also, is the essence of the cultural security under discussion and to which we appeal in periods of open but also hidden aggression, the disruption of cultural balance which occurs through the processes of globalisation, commercialisation, marketeering, as well as uncontrolled migration.

Development in the understanding of the Jagiellonian system of values is not the multiplication of goods, not the subordination of new groups or even nations, but the building of genuine relationships respecting the conditions on which the common good arises. This has been given a universally understood term, namely *Republic*. The criterion for the common 'good', however, is not only a well-functioning economy or even a social order which may be achieved though violent methods. It is the principle of integration based on the voluntary acknowledgment

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., pp. 41–42.

[26] See: L. Dyczewski, K. Jurek (ed.), *Tożsamość w wielokulturowym kontekście*, Lublin–Warszawa 2013.

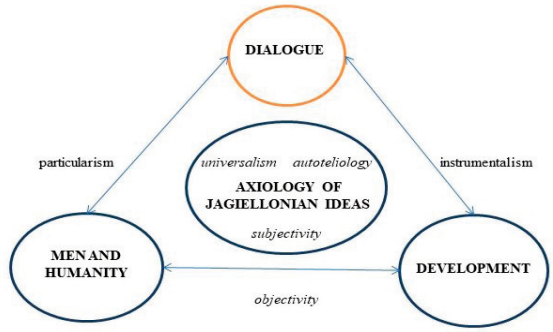
of values from the field of culture symbolic of each group but the 'native values' particularly respected present within it. Although in no way do they diminish the world of individual values, they place a burden on us, along with the privilege of responsibility directed towards conscience, maturity, experience and contemporary vision.

Conclusion

Solving the problems of the contemporary world, understanding its conflicts along with its future is not, contrary to appearances, only possible through the application of knowledge of the present. The dimension of time constitutes, therefore, only one of many parameters of human reality whose processes and phenomena, as well as rights determining its existence are as merging spaces, complementary blocks and twisting spirals. Many objects belong to many worlds which reveal themselves to be dependent on the way and reasons for how they are viewed. The universe of symbolic cultures facilitates our journeys through various areas of this space, our use of its various resources, as well as the flow and coming together of content. This is why it is worth tearing ourselves away from the historical force of arbitrary situational pressure, the conditioning and reduction of perspectives of learning, evaluation and judgement. Entering into cultural heritage may be, therefore, a kind of journey whose aim is to renew the present time as it is defined by other dimensions of reality. Whether these will be more particularist, universal, stable, relative, one- or multi-generational, is difficult to predict without putting it into practice. In this way, we open ourselves up to the anthropology of cultural heritage which allows us to participate in this more difficult but more enriching journey.

In this article, I have attempted to show just a few windows through which one may see similar landscapes which the people of the Jagiellonian period perceived and experienced, regarding only several but fundamentally similar issues to those of our own times. It seems that despite the entire changeability of the period in which they lived, they faced problems which seem relevant to modern man, at least in the scope which these windows reveal, while the values which they beheld, experienced and tried to employ are worth analysing carefully. If we term these Jagiellonian values and link them with ideas built on their basis, they will certainly reach beyond the sphere of politics and government into those of the intellectual, artistic, religious and social spheres, deeply penetrating all areas of symbolic culture, intercultural relations, as well as

the spheres of the spirit and imagination. In synthesizing and selecting the windows which are of greatest interest to us today, we may concentrate on three through which one can see the picture of *Man* and *humanity*, *dialogue* between perceived objects, as well as *development*, meaning the goal which people are aiming to achieve. Each of these identified areas sensitises us to the real importance of balance between competing values, simultaneously motivating us to take action regarding those which require defending and support and which create a basis for Jagiellonian ideas, greatly inspiring both in the understanding and design of the solutions which the challenges of contemporary culture demand. In order to present the proposed picture of these values in a synthetic manner, one may see this in the form of the model below.



The model presented here displays both the basic fields of Jagiellonian values but also their relations, mutual conditioning and transfers, simultaneously displaying opposition to that for which Jagiellonian ideas were created, independent of the degree to which it was possible to put them into practice. On the question concerning the contemporary value of inspiration, Jagiellonian values and ideas provide a decidedly positive answer in this regard. A separate task is the historical reconstruction of the process of their maturing, evolution and even crises, up to the time of their marginalization. Never, however, even in times when Poland had entirely disappeared as a state, did they cease to exist as cultural values, fields of memory but also motivation, judgement, along with the recourse to multiple rebellious uprisings. It is, however, worth noticing it in an open manner, inspiring contemporary searching within the fields of cultural rights, ethnic relations, intercultural communication and dialogue, ethics in public affairs and the common good in the quest for a model of the anthropology of cultural heritage.

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The Pragmatic Interpretation of Jagiellonian Ideas

Józef Łucyszyn CM*

Human societies usually appear to be varied, thus heterogeneous and pluralist, The concept of pluralism is used in describing the phenomenon of diversity and heterogeneity in the range of one social or cultural whole. Pluralism in such situations is characterised by a variety of traits of the members constituting a society, the heterogeneity of their views, aspirations and values. Moreover, pluralism may also denote a multitude of external forms by the homogeneity of their internal meanings. In this case, this concerns the unity of internal content by the diversification of the forms of their experience and manifestation. This means the unity of moral principles lying at the basis of culturally diversified forms of behaviour.[1]

The phenomenon of pluralism characterised the region of Central Europe which at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries was termed Jagiellonian Europe. In a pluralist social structure, the emphasis was not so much on the territorial space but the working out at this time of principles of coexistence and good neighbourliness, the shaping of closely linked social and political systems, as well as the development of both cultural and economic exchange. This also resulted in a tendency to create personal unions and plans to join Central European countries together. In the context of the subject of this article, one should recall and emphasise the Polish-Lithuanian union created by the Jagiellons. The process of joining these neighbouring countries together was carried out in pragmatic

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[1] See: F. Adamski, 'Tożsamość religijna w społeczeństwie pluralistycznym', in: L. Dyczewski, D. Wadowski (ed.), *Tożsamość polska w odmiennych kontekstach*, Lublin 2009, pp. 305–306.

regards towards understanding and peace, while demanding the acceptance of political elites and the setting out of common and coherent values. In a natural way, this resulted from the geographical location of Poland and the circumstances characterising the reality of the situation along its borders. The determining of this required, on the one hand, the opening of internally existing conditions shaping society and, on the other hand, a clear definition of the very complex identity formed by one's relationship with the state, nation, religion and ethnicity. From the beginning of the crystallisation of Polish society and the organisation of the state, these relationships influenced the creation of a very characteristic concept of social life. In the historiography, the principle of voluntary coexistence worked out from this process, along with, as far as was possible, the peaceful solving of conflict within the framework of one state body containing communities with different languages, religions, traditions and cultures, has over time been termed the 'Jagiellonian ideas'.[2]

Principles based on universal values were and are particularly important in societies which are seeking out new models of building a social order. This was especially visible in the heterogeneous circumstances characterising Central and Eastern Europe of the late Middle Ages. The application of such understood social practices facilitates the proper transfer to action and the efficient application of the requirements concerning the functioning and organisation of social life.

The Jagiellonian idea as a universal social idea is not only a political concept or a useful propaganda slogan to be employed in the struggle for power. It thus possesses the potential to inspire and shape the creative social and political processes serving the common good. Therefore, one may treat it as a social fact which existed at the time and which is considered by many until today to be relevant, inspiring and effective.

A social and unifying idea

The continuing process of Christianisation, the development of ruling dynasties, as well as territorial expansion was shown, on the one hand, by the continuity of the system and, on the other, by

[2] See: K. Baczkowski, *Polska i jej sąsiedzi za Jagiellonów*, Kraków 2012, pp. 2, 133–136. J. Łucyszyn, *Polska tradycja tolerancji, w kontekście kształtowania nowego społeczeństwa. Od Pawła Włodkowica do Jana Pawła II – recepcja polskiej myśli teologicznej i politycznej*, Kraków 2014, pp. 243–244.

changes based on the decoding of new social relationships. In the context of creating a new community spirit and a common understanding of culture, the necessity appeared of continuing traditions, enriched, however, by innovation worked out by the experience of diversity in the space of social life. Conflicts existed, and certainly continue to exist concerning the origin and the time of coming into being of principles related to a particular style of shaping the state and society. From Jagiellonian times on, one may discuss certain social ideas which were more and more common in Central and Eastern Europe whose significance was not always considered to be an achievement of civilisation. This idea was characterised not only by dynamically developing in the Polish state of the late Middle Ages but also constituted, in many cases, the basis for building societies in this region.[3]

It is interesting to view the relationship of the Jagiellonian idea as a social concept, and an earlier unifying concept of a geopolitical character from the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries featuring attempts to peacefully join culturally different regions together. Although this was also defined as 'the idea of Polish unity', 'the idea of the universal Kingdom of Poland' or 'the Piast idea', it was linked in Jagiellonian Poland with the first ideas of unifying the Kingdom of Poland. It maintained its relevance as it was not conceived in categories of single events but rather as a long-term process, one enriched by axiological elements which, as it turned out, are essential from a political point of view.[4]

In the practice of social life, alluding to values included within the concept of the Jagiellonian idea frequently helped calm situations threatening conflict created by, among other things, nationalist tendencies (connected with ethnic minorities and separatist tendencies), related to attempts to create ethnic boundaries or religious prejudice accompanying the absorption of various religions and faiths into social life. The fruit of these practices was the possibility of maintaining social calm and the appearance of a new political concept of society in Europe. Already in the 15th century, Paweł Wlodkowic, in demanding social justice, the right for national self-determination, as well as social peace, incorporated the political practices of the Jagiellons into the theoretical format of his doctrine presented during

[3] See: ibid., p. 247.

[4] See: W. Drelicharz, *Idea zjednoczenia królestwa w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie polskim*, Kraków 2012, p. 7.

the Council of Constance[5]. The elements of this concept are shown to be modern, as for the society of that time, stressed its universalism and became as pillars of the self-preservation instinct for all societies respecting natural law, the dignity of the human person, the freedom of nations, respecting the establishment of social contracts, and ready to put these values into practice as a guarantee of survival. This constituted the foundations of a new political system and society. The remarks of Stanisław Kutrzeba seem thus correct that: 'the Jagiellonian idea which joined the territory into one whole state through the route of voluntary incorporation and brotherly union, led more quickly and assuredly to the creation of the concept of one state territory than the violent means which other states employed.'[6] This kind of analysis confirms the effectiveness and universality of the values and principles constituting the idea under discussion. In the view of some, the Jagiellonian idea is considered as one concept and should be understood as such.

From the perspective of the social sciences, despite various reservations, one may consider the essential characteristics to be not only the reality of a state built according to a collection of determined values but, above all, to identify the process of absorption of these values with the experience of subsequent generations. It is believed that the processual character of changes and allusions to the Jagiellonian social system through the absorption of values are described as a consequence as a group of Jagiellonian values or as a Jagiellonian idea, to which belong, among other things, the dignity of the human person, peace, tolerance and respect for the law. The propagation of such values was carried out by Polish politicians, diplomats and scholars. In this regard, Stanisław of Skarbimierz and Paweł Wlodkowic deserve particular merit.

The dignity of the human person

The history of the concept of human dignity is linked with Christianity, not only the conviction lasting for over two thousand years but the experience resulting from history of cultures based on the history of ideas. It is sufficient to be human, thus an entity possessing understanding, spirituality,

[5] See: J. Ekes, *Złota demokracja*, Kraków 2010, p. 82.

[6] S. Kutrzeba, 'Siły państwowe', in: ibid. (ed.), *Przyczyny upadku Polski. Odczyty*, Kraków 1918, pp. 125–126.

deliberate acting on and responsibly using one's free will, in order to possess legal guarantees protecting the dignity of the person. A human being together with their dignity comprise a subject of social life. Applied by Paweł Włodkowic, anthropology was deeply rooted in Christianity and the tradition of Latin civilisation. A human being, created in God's image and likeness, was granted innate dignity and free will, meaning they constitute a value in themselves which is independent of one's origins or social status.[7] Włodkowic's concept of human dignity was saturated with humanism. A characteristic trait of this humanism was incorporated into his written remarks saying that the dignity of the person demands respect, even when faced with mainly religious or cultural differences. Despite the fact that such views were rather foreign in the West, he stressed that the dignity resulting from being human should be respected in everyone, with compulsion used towards pagans violating it.[8]

Applying the proper method in itself, referring to fundamental sources and invoking authorities unquestioned at that time, Włodkowic created a scientific, legal and moral basis of the functioning of a society in which the person along with their dignity lay at the centre. The protection of human dignity and coexistence in mutual respect constituted a moral system based on respect for the law which allowed one to live in peace, as well as on social justice emphasising the reasons and scope of social respect.

The law of love incorporated into Holy Scripture becomes the basis of establishing laws respecting the dignity of every human being. The uniqueness of each person and the dignity which is attached to them was stressed by Stanisław of Skarbimierz in his sermon regarding just wars, employing the following vivid comparison: '… if in just wars Catholic rulers may use catapults, machines, bombardment and similar things, for the curbing of injustice they may use even more so all sorts of people, given that a human being is the most worthy creature in the world.'[9]

As human beings, in contrast to other creatures, are rational beings, this differentiation shows the particular dignity of the person and their

[7] See: M. Bizoń, 'Wojna sprawiedliwa w myśli Pawła Włodkowica', *Pressje*, Vol. 16 (2008/2009), pp. 170–180.

[8] See: A. Górski, *Ku czemu Polska szła*, Warszawa 2007, p. 90.

[9] L. Ehrlich, *Polski wykład prawa wojny XV wieku. Kazanie Stanisława ze Skarbimierza 'De bellis iustis'*, Warszawa 1955, p. 131.

place in a created world. As Paweł Włodkowic writes: '… God himself gave everything to the rational being, for whom he created everything.'[10] Human dignity also demands freedom due to the fact that this what God wanted as 'by nature all people were free.'[11]

Włodkowic believed that as all people were created by God and possess the same nature, human dignity demands not only respect but love and life lived in friendship: *(…) however, according to human nature, in accordance with which man was created in the image and likeness of God, with love regarding God he should be loved in accordance with the Lord's commandments (…) While we love those closest as ourselves, if we were to love not for our own benefit, not for benefits expected or received, not for family connections or kinship, but only because they are participants in our nature; and this normal gloss regarding the word 'participants' shows that Jews and Saracens are also our close ones and should be loved by us as ourselves, it is to that which it is to us. And this is why the laws permit communing with unbelievers and sitting with them at the table in order that we may benefit.*[12] In many places he stressed even more the meaning of God's law and the interpersonal relations resulting from it. Usually this was in a similar form, for example: 'Thus, our close ones are both the faithful and unbelievers, without any difference.'[13]

Peace

In the period being discussed, when war was a common experience, the justification for waging war was connected with a concern for peace and proper international relations. Certainly, the issue of war appeared more frequently in the deliberations of thinkers than the above-mentioned questions concerning the conditions for the peaceful coexistence of nations. The question concerning just wars was laid out precisely by Stanisław of Skarbimierz in his inaugural sermon at the renovation of Kraków university. In describing the content of the sermon, L. Erlich states that:

[10] Paweł Włodkowic, 'Opinio Ostiensis (1415)', in: L. Ehrlich (ed.), *Pisma wybrane Pawła Włodkowica*, Vol. I, Warszawa 1968, p. 129; similarly: Paweł Włodkowic, 'Saevientibus (1415)', in: ibid., p. 12.

[11] Ibid., p. 13.

[12] Paweł Włodkowic, 'Ad aperiendam (1416), pars II', in: L. Ehrlich (ed.), *Pisma wybrane Pawła Włodkowica*, Vol. II, Warszawa 1966, p. 26.

[13] Paweł Włodkowic, 'Opinio Ostiensis…', p. 129; similarly: idem, 'Saevientibus…', p. 59.

Stanisław's sermon, De bellis iustis*, should occupy an important place in the history of studies concerning the Laws of Nations, above all, in the history of medieval Polish legal thought. It is a scientific tract in the field of the law of international relations; it is a legal tract of the first professor of the department of law and the first rector of the renovated Kraków academy; it is one of the earliest, possibly the earliest surviving Polish legal tract, while at the same time being the earliest surviving tract in world literature devoted exclusively to a public discussion regarding the legal issues of war. Finally, what is most important, the De bellis iustis sermon does not yield to the scientific values of some widely known later scientific works.*[14] This raising of the achievements of this scholar from Kraków to an international level reminds us of his merits which had been forgotten in history and frequently overlooked in literature.[15]

Włodkowic decidedly opposed the prevailing opinion that every war against unbelievers was always a just war.[16] In his legal-theological tracts he sought a deep justification in natural 'pre-Christian' law concerning general morality.[17] In the dispute going on between theologians and lawyers on the subject of the morality of war, Włodkowic's opinion is important as he believed that which is just is that which is right. However, rightness is in his view adequate and suitable mutual application and the harmonization of law and theology.[18] In alluding to natural law, he stressed that unbelievers were also the entirely legal owners of their lands with their dispossession of this being unjust and an abuse.[19] With time, an understanding of peace

[14] L. Ehrlich, *Polski wykład…*, p. 5.

[15] J. Łucyszyn, *Polska tradycja tolerancji…*, p. 241.

[16] See: P. Pomianowski, 'Argumentacja Pawła Włodkowica przeciwko krzyżakom podczas soboru w Konstancji', *Mishellanea* 2008, no. 3.

[17] See: S. Swieżawski, *U źródeł nowożytnej etyki. Filozofia moralna w Europie XV wieku*, Kraków 1987, p. 83.

[18] See: ibid., p. 94

[19] In *Quoniam error*, Włodkowic wrote: *but as pogans possess their own state on the basis of natural law and justly, this is why it is not allowed to occupy their state (...) and from this it is, of course, clear that it is an error of those who think as though unbelievers did not have just rule over their lands but this is considered as heresy by the most outstanding theologians as this error is not only against natural law but divine law*. Paweł Włodkowic, 'Quoniam error (1417), pars I', in: L. Ehrlich (ed.), *Pisma…*, Vol. II, pp. 229–231. In 'Saevientibus' he stated that *attacking unbelievers especially without just cause is not in accordance with love of close ones as entering into one transgression causes another while our close ones are, ac-*

appeared not only in a negative sense, as a lack of war, but peace described as positive and enriched with content which is descriptive, normative and evaluative. The view being put forward in recent years that peace as a basic value is put into practice not only through the elimination of wars but also by imparting it with positive content, expressing itself through social justice, along with the dignity and freedom of the individual, equality before the law, the roots of which extend to 15th-century Polish social (theological) thought. It had already begun to be appreciated that lasting peace may be achieved not through the use of force but through dialogue, tolerance and cooperation.[20]

Tolerance

Paweł Włodkowic was considered as a philosopher and theologian characterised by an orientation towards the humanisation of religious relations. Among other things, he expressed this through his recognition of the right of those of other religions (Jews and Muslims) and pagans to possess their own homeland and practice their own faith. Moreover, subject to the condition that their own religion would be practiced within the framework of natural law, he recognised their religious rights even if they were living in Christian countries, writing 'as unbelievers want to live in peace among Christians, they should not be subjected to any injury either to their person or their property.'[21]

It seems that Paweł Włodkowic's invoking of tolerance on the basis of fundamental and inviolable divine law already in the 15th century, displays a specific understanding of the ideas allowing one to maintain its significance and relevance. Human dignity, taken by him as the basis for one person dealing with another has its source in love. Through the lack of love or errors in its interpretation, tolerance is required which does not violate this dignity. At the same time, it is violated by hate and the rejection of divine law. Such a basis goes beyond the boundaries of tolerance and the justification for defence against the consequences of hate and life

cording to the Truth, both the faithful and unbelievers, without any difference. Paweł Włodkowic, 'Saevientibus…', p. 59.

[20] See: W. Michowicz, 'Pokój jako przedmiot badań naukowych', in: E. A. Wesołowska (ed.), *Śladami Włodkowica. Człowiek, prawo, pokój*, Płock 1998, *Zeszyty Naukowe Szkoła Wyższa im. Pawła Włodkowica w Płocku*, Vol. 7, pp. 42–44.

[21] Paweł Włodkowic, 'Saevientibus...', p. 59.

in opposition to God. This shows its justification in the understanding of the concept of tolerance – here there is an error as an error in itself is not always a conscious anthe raid voluntary human action. From here, tolerance in such a context takes on a new significance if relations to an existing state following the committing of an error up to the time of restitution and a return to a state of balance.[22]

Respect for the law

As a lawyer, Włodkowic sought in logic the right to strengthen theological arguments aiding the discovery and unmasking of an error which resulted in the immoral practices employed at the time in Poland by the Teutonic Knights, ostensibly as concern for the faith. Based on divine law directed to all, it provided the possibility of invoking values displaying respect for this law.

In interpreting and assessing the existing social situation, the use of the innate character of natural law may be observed, a law which is of divine origin as God encoded it into human consciousness and thoughts, although it did not have a sacred character. Paweł Włodkowic saw one of the main traits of natural law in universalism and a certain conviction that absolutely everyone is of the same nature and connected by one aim, which is why they should treat each other well. However, the dictates of the laws of nature are not determined by religion alone and also place an obligation on Christians and pagans, rulers and subjects, to the same degree.

Paweł Włodkowic warns against the employment of the authority of divine law against natural law in the name of protecting allegedly religious and threatened values. This has frequently constituted an argument justifying the use of force and violence for the spreading of the faith or in its defence. Acting on behalf of the king and the school of law at the University of Kraków, he employed the thoughts of St. Thomas Aquinas declaring that divine law is never in opposition with natural law and not only tolerates this law but bases itself upon it.[23]

The premise accepted by Włodkowic that genuine Christian study is valuable for everyone while natural law – acknowledging such values as human life, freedom, justice and truth – must be in accordance

[22] See: J. Łucyszyn, *Polska tradycja tolerancji...*, p. 243.

[23] See: S. Swieżawski, *U źródeł...*, pp. 144–145.

with positive divine law, has constituted a continually confirmed view throughout history.[24]

The argumentation of Paweł Włodkowic based on timeless values has maintained its relevance. Modernity which restores subjectivity is with the greatest respect the perception of continuity in events in which God the Creator prescribes and orders man to discover and deal with the world to be subdued. However, a person living in a society, shaping and organising community life in accordance with the will of the Creator emphasises social subjects in which one should direct one's life with divine law and the good of the person. Andrzej Niesiołowski stresses that Włodkowic was a thinker of genius about who was head and shoulders above his opponents and who overtook the political concepts of other nations by a century.[25]

It is worth underlining that the argumentation arising in the Kraków school of law at the beginning of the 15th century and which proved so effective at the Council of Constance, constituted a crucial element in the process of the maturation of legal culture.[26] It is worth emphasising that the creativity of the Kraków legal milieu may not be overestimated as it from here that concepts arose which, either in a direct or indirect manner, influenced the crystallisation of legal concepts in the modern age. Ludwik Erhlich states resolutely that creators of the Laws of Nations understood as the laws of international relations at the beginning of the 15th century were Stanisław of Skarbimierz and Paweł Włodkowic.[27]

Elements of pragmatic methods

Historical facts are subject to continuous interpretation depending on the context of their analysis. Generally, this does not concern a change

[24] See: T. Rutowski, 'Filozoficzno-teologiczne poglądy Pawła Włodkowica. (Na podstawie pism 'Saevientibus' i 'Opinio Ostiensis')', *Studia Płockie*, Vol. 13 (1985), p. 194.

[25] See: A. Niesiołowski, 'Paweł Włodkowic i jego doktryny na tle epoki. (Z okazji 500-lecia jego śmierci)', *Przegląd Powszechny*, Vol. 4 (1935), p. 153.

[26] Although western sources do not present this, one may not exclude the influence of Polish schools of the Law of Nations on the shaping of the later concepts of de Vitoria or Grotius which are regarded to be the first. One may say that in this creative and inspiring, albeit indirect and unappreciated way, Włodkowic and the representatives of the Kraków school led Polish theological and political thought into European culture. J. Woleński, 'Średniowiecze', in: J. Skoczyński, J. Woleński, *Historia filozofii polskiej*, Kraków 2010, p. 51.

[27] See: L. Ehrlich, *Polski wykład…*, pp. 77–79.

of perspective on the importance of past events but on the employment of the wealth of possibilities regarding their perception. Although the pragmatic interpretation of historical facts refers to certain elements of historical methods, this does not mean, as Claude Lévi-Strauss considered, that the reality of history is neither related to man nor any particular object. This completely comes down to one's own methods which, as experience reveals, is essential for taking stock of the entirety of elements or any structure, be they spiritual or material. Seeking an understanding of reality may not, therefore, end with history as its own destination but that history should, in fact, constitute a point of departure for every reflection.[28]

In science, pragmatism is a very well-known as a empirical stance. The pragmatic method was used by Socrates, Aristotle, Locke, Berkeley and Hume. In the view of William James, however, all the forerunners of pragmatism employed it only as a selective instrument. In its pure form, pragmatism is a much more radical stance, breaking away from abstraction and imperfection, verbosity, *a priori* causes, unchangeable principles and closed systems. It turns itself towards that which is concrete and appropriate, towards facts, actions and effectiveness. At the same time, it does not base itself on any concrete results.[29] It is solely a method whose aim is to show on what the results of acquiring knowledge depend and the way their significance is assessed.[30] Thus, the pragmatic method does not indicate any concrete results but only certain stances, namely those depending on the rejection of that which is supposedly necessary and turning oneself towards results, outcomes, consequences and facts.[31]

It was Dewey who popularised the pragmatic method and who proposed reconstruction as a method of philosophical investigation. Reconstruction organises past ideas regarding current needs and real issues. This is why one may acknowledge it as a certain form of the history of ideas as its material is drawn from, among other things, the past or knowledge from which always comes a prospective, not retrospective character. Reconstruction is 'redevelopment' or 'reorganisation' of one's experience up

[28] See: C. Lévi-Strauss, *Myśl nieoswojona*, transl. A. Zajączkowski, Warszawa 1969, p. 394.

[29] See: W. James, *Pragmatyzm. Nowa nazwa kilku starych metod myślenia. Popularne wykłady z filozofii*, transl. M. Filipczuk, epilogue P. Gutowski, Kraków 2005, p. 28.

[30] See: H. Buczyńska, *Peirce*, Warszawa 1965, p. 63.

[31] See: W. James, *Pragmatyzm*…, p. 30.

to now into the perspective of current problems which place past theories or ways of conceptualisation into new intellectual frameworks. The aim of reconstruction is not something completely new but the new organisation of contents and selected concepts on the plane of satisfactory research results which have been raised. Pragmatism opens up, therefore, new perspectives not necessarily including the area of research exclusively in the practical dimension but also more simple usefulness. It is a defined research stance. All ideas are the product of a defined place, period, as well as people and possibilities, which is why their significance and value are revealed only in relation to particular situations while rationality is inseparably linked with practice, regardless of the field which it concerns. Thus, pragmatism as a metaphysical programme displays certain utopian traits regarding the generality and undefined nature of the proposed programme.[32] However, as a method of substantiating social facts in the dynamic of history it seems to be a useful tool taking into consideration the three dimensions described, namely facts, actions and effectiveness. It is, at the same time, a proposition disseminating the most popular utilitarian-axiological justification of the social fact in the form of the Jagiellonian idea.

Social facts exist not only regarding the useful consequences to which they give rise but must be useful in order for them to be maintained. In seeking the causes of social facts, in the opinion of E. Durkheim, one should look among earlier social facts, not however in a state of individual consciousness. The function of a social fact may be only social, meaning it depends on the creation of outcomes which are socially useful. Thus, the function of a social fact should always be sought in its relations to a social aim. The usefulness of social facts may change independently of arbitrary settings.[33]

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[32] See: K.A. Król, *Pragmatyczna rekonstrukcja racjonalności*, in: Z.J. Czarnecki (ed.), *Dylematy racjonalności. Między rozumem teoretycznym a praktycznym*, Lublin 2001, pp. 185–192. Dewey treated history as a fundamental phenomenon and derived scientific reality as a peripheral example from historical reality. Critics of this thought have drawn attention to the fact that 'sciencifying' everything in way, Dewey caused that science itself through the washing away of contrasts between it and other fields of culture becomes unscientific. This is one of many ambiguities of pragmatism as a meta-philosophical system. See: R. Rorty, *Obiektywność, relatywizm i prawda*, transl. J. Margański, Warszawa 1999, p. 98 and J. Dewey, *Filozofja a cywilizacja*, transl. S. Purman, Warszawa 1938.

[33] See: E. Durkheim, *Zasady metody socjologicznej*, transl. J. Szacki, Warszawa 1968, p. 123 onwards.

Conclusion

Although the philosophical master Paweł Włodkowic did not employ the concept of the Jagiellonian idea, he did, however, show an axio-normative system which not only shaped values but also guarded them. Standing up for rights in social life, Włodkowic raised, among other things, the issue of respect for the dignity of the human person, as well as respect for the law, tolerance and peace. He took his arguments from universally understood and accepted commandments and dictates regulating relations between man and God and man and fellow man. They constituted for him the foundation of the shaping of the social order. He recalled that each person also has the right to identity and being different, while communities and nations have the right to their own sovereignty and a life of peace regarding the dignity of the human person which constitutes the basis of building and maintaining social relations.[34]

Jagiellonian ideas, treated as social facts, were brought to life by Włodkowic, Stanisław of Skarbimierz, as well as generally by the politicians and diplomats of that time. The implementation of a new axiological system demanded concrete actions thanks to which a state was organised and a social order was introduced based on a new legal-administrative structure. The activities taken within the scope of implementing Jagiellonian ideas resulted in effectiveness regarding the organisation of the state and the carrying out of international politics which both shows and confirms the pragmatic character of the need for faith in values, principles, rules and ideas in social life.

The role of Jagiellonian ideas as a practical collection of principles for organising social life, as well as introducing peace in international relations is still relevant. From time to time, they are invoked by social, political and moral authorities. Among others things in the teachings of John Paul II, one may observe a continuation of the theological, political and social concepts incorporated into the addresses of Paweł Włodkowic. In the view of Swieżawski, 'the ideas defended by Włodkowic are the extension of this line of the conception and this spirit which was an expression

[34] See: J. Domański, 'La tolleranza religiosa e la guerra giusta negli scritti di Stanislao di Scarbimiria e di Paolo Vladimiri', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, Vol. 39 (1995), pp. 19–30.

of the tolerant tendencies of the Latin *Christianitas*.'[35]

For centuries, the practice of social principles resulting from Jagiellonian idea and their theoretical strengthening in society, caused that the Polish republic of that time became a centre for political and religious refugees, an asylum for those of other faiths and the largest concentration of the Jewish population in the entire world of the day.[36] In such an atmosphere, within this republic a Polish concept of tolerance arose, developed and was crystallised, having an important and constructive influence on society. The historical legacy of the Polish republic co-creates a European current of history, even when forgotten or deliberately overlooked. This is also why it is important for contemporary Europe to open itself up to the richness of the heritage of Central and Eastern Europe of which it has been deprived. The maintenance and continuation of the universal elements of Jagiellonian ideas in social life will certainly aid in strengthening identity and cause it to open up and focus attention on respect for the human person and concern for cultural security.

[35] S. Swieżawski, *U źródeł…*, p. 253.

[36] See: T. Jasudowicz, 'Zasada tolerancji religijnej w nauczaniu Pawła Włodkowica', *Roczniki Nauk Społecznych*, Vol. 22–23 (1994–1995), no. 1, pp. 47–51.

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Jagiellonian Values in the Freiburg Declaration of Cultural Rights

Andrzej Porębski*

The considerations presented in this short text are an attempt to analyze the so-called Freiburg Declaration of Cultural Rights[1] for the presence of what is sometimes referred to as *Jagiellonian values*. It should be emphasized that what is meant is not a commonly known in the literature on the subject 'Jagiellonian idea', understood as *cooperation within one political body not based on coercion, and not only justifying coexistence of two entities*.[2] *Jagiellonian idea* may be understood more broadly as *a political system, which involves attracting to Poland the neighboring territories located in the geographical area between the Carpathians and the Baltic Sea through voluntary accessions or unions. The Jagiellonian Republic, created by way of a union, was based on the following principles: the union system (The Crown – Lithuania), and within it there was autonomy of its individual components, administration composed of local citizens, language equality, religious tolerance, development of democratic civil liberties, reconciliation of patriotism of the Commonwealth with local and local-national patriotisms, the apostolate of Western civilization*.[3] Władysław Konopczyński expressed this notion briefly, writing that the Jagiellonian idea is on the one hand

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[1] 'Kulturelle Rechte, Freiburger Erklärung', in: Universität Freiburg, at https://www.unifr.ch/iiedh/assets/files/Declarations/Erklaerung-dt4.pdf, 20 September 2017.

[2] See: 'Od redakcji', *Politeja*, Vol. 16 (2011), pp. 5–6.

[3] A. Górski, 'Idea jagiellońska', *Niezależna*, at http://niezalezna.pl/49037-idea-jagiellonska, 21 October 2017.

the opposite of the possessive imperialism in foreign policy, and on the other – rejecting nationalism in internal politics.[4]

Jagiellonian values

This article will be devoted to the Freiburg Declaration of Cultural Rights and *Jagiellonian values,* for which the three sets of values proposed by Leszek Korporowicz will be treated as a foundation for 'Jagiellonian Cultural Studies': *The inspiration for Jagiellonian cultural studies is determined by three major values – which have shown their significance both historically and presently, wherever they found understanding, as in the era of the search for their rebirth of Poland in the era of 'Solidarity' and they will certainly be necessary in the future, when we must undertake the task of fully perceiving man and culture, without functional, political and economic reductions*.[5] Leszek Korporowicz further specifies this area of mega-values, pointing to its three components.[6] These are:

- **man** as the principal subject of culture; in contrast to the British tradition of cultural studies which focus on relationship between *culture and power,* here the relation between *culture and man*[7] is of primary importance.
- **dialogue**: emphasis on the dialogic nature of interpersonal relations; communication is not only the transmission of information but, in essence, inter-action. The first part of the word, *inter*, means a kind of reciprocity, while the ending *action* points to the intentional orientation of relations between entities; communication understood in this way respects the subjectivity of its participants, and further – reciprocity, empathy, the ability to transcend one's point of view and the ability to learn,
- **development**: here Leszek Korporowicz emphasizes that *the developmental aspect of culture is openness to holistic but also dynamic processes combining different potentials of the human condition in the multiplicity of their real forms of existence and in various types of contemporary cultural space (…) Development, in contrast*

[4] Ibid.

[5] L. Korporowicz, 'Jagiellonian Cultural Studies. Preface', *Politeja*, Vol. 2/1 (2012), p. 11.

[6] Ibid. pp. 11–12.

[7] Ibid.

> *to growth, means not only quantitative increase or increased technological and functional advancement of culture, usually defined as progress. Development is a structural, ontological change, engaging a more multidimensional and even trans-structural dynamics of the social and human personality and identity (…) In the Jagiellonian tradition, development meant mutual complementation in diversity, taking on the unknown and indescribable challenges over real differences and without taming (or even by stimulating) the subjectivity of process participants, both collective and individual*.[8]

What is very important, the three mega values – characteristic for the 'Jagiellonian Cultural Studies' – *find their contemporary analogies in the situation of the challenges of the multicultural world, community interactions, intercultural communication and threats to hybridization of social identities. Jagiellonian references do not particularize and close the 'cultural space' that is the subject of analysis, but on the contrary broaden it and open it to relations in the transnational and even virtual space*.[9]

Taking additionally into account the analyses carried out by Józef Łucyszyn[10], it seems that the following conceptualization of the abovementioned Jagiellonian values is possible:

1. **Man (individual) and his cultural community**. (1.1) Man and community are subjects of the created culture; (1.2) man is endowed with inalienable dignity, just as dignities are enjoyed by cultural communities to which he belongs. (1.3) Diversity is one of the natural properties of individuals and communities. (1.4) The description and understanding of the cultural community requires, among others, recognition of its core values[11]. (1.5) The individual and the cultural community have the right to existence, defence and development.
2. **Dialogue**: (2.1) the postulated type of relationship between cultural subjects (individuals and communities) should take the form of interaction. Interaction assumes (2.2) subjectivity of dialogue

[8] Ibid., p. 13.

[9] L. Korporowicz, *Jagiellońskie studia kulturowe jako projekt kulturoznawczy*, manuscript.

[10] J. Łucyszyn, *Polska tradycja tolerancji w kontekście kształtowania nowego społeczeństwa. Od Pawła Włodkowica do Jana Pawła II – recepcja polskiej myśli teologicznej i politycznej*, Kraków 2014.

[11] On indigenous values see: J.J. Smolicz, *Współkultury Australii*, Warszawa 2000.

participants, (2.3) their causative position, (2.4) purposefulness of relationships. (2.5) Interaction (dialogue) in intercultural space is also a value.

3. **Development**: as development is not just about quantitative growth, but primarily means qualitative changes in the area of the collective structure involved in the dialogue and the combination of individual and collective levels, thus, development as a value will manifest itself in: (3.1) the tendency to learn cultural diversity, and – what is very important – (3.2) the ability to exceed one's point of view, one's habits, particularisms, and even valuation patterns (generally, the ability to transgress). It is also necessary to take into account (3.3) the mutual complementation of the local and universal perspective when it comes to cultural heritage.

Cultural rights

Cultural rights are treated as the newest, third generation of human rights.[12] The first generation includes personal and political rights, which are considered fundamental, as those resulting from human nature. These include: the right to life, to personal freedom, the right to freedom of religion and conscience, the right to information, equality before the law, etc.

The second generation, in turn, includes economic, social and cultural rights. They are the basis for physical and spiritual development and guarantee of social security. They consist of: the right to work and pay, the right to join trade unions, to obtain health care, the right to education, etc.

These two sets of human rights were recorded in two covenants: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (both documents were adopted by the United Nations in 1966 and entered into force in 1976).

From the late 1970s the need for a third generation of human rights has been very much pronounced. They would be formed by collective and solidarity rights (the right to self-determination, the right to maintain

[12] M. Kania, 'Prawa człowieka i prawa kulturowe. Zarys problematyki', in: K. Derwich, M. Kania (ed.), *Prawa człowieka w Ameryce Łacińskiej. Teoria i praktyka*, Kraków 2014, pp. 66–85.

ethnic identity, the right to peace and development, the right to democracy and equality of all peoples and nations, the right to humanitarian aid, the right to a healthy natural environment and resources and natural resources or the right [access] to the common cultural heritage of humanity). Cultural rights have been included in several important international documents:

- UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001)
- UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)
- UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity in the Forms of Expression of Culture (2005)
- UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (2007)[13].

When talking about cultural rights, it is worth pointing to two related sets of issues. The first one deals with the beginnings of reflection on cultural rights. In this context, one should mention Paweł Włodkowic and his concept of 'the basis of contemporary cultural rights', both individual and community subjects of intercultural relations (…). This axiology is characterized by several important contemporary features:

- basing on the dignity of person and ***dignity of communities*** as an irreducible value in the understanding of human cultural rights
- ***transfer of the rule of*** respect for the dignity of the person and community into understanding the relationship between nations and cultures[14]
- ***the pioneering outline of reflection about*** cultural rights ***as an aspect of human rights in the community and intercultural dimension***
- the application of the well-known theory of just war, which can inspire contemporary concepts of ***cultural security*** in multiple ways as the axiology of the right to defense, existence and development of cultural communities under conditions analogous to the law of nations.[15]

[13] Ibid., p. 77–83.

[14] L. Korporowicz, 'Jagiellońskie studia…'; S. Wielgus, 'Teoria *ius gentium* w średniowiecznej Polsce. Geneza, historia, twórcy, oryginalność, główne problemy', *Człowiek w Kulturze*, Vol. 8 (1996), pp. 23–58.

[15] L. Korporowicz, 'Jagiellońskie studia kulturowe…'.

The second set deals with criticism of the very concept of cultural rights, formulated by Bogdan Szlachta in the text on the problematic nature of this kind of rights.[16] Bogdan Szlachta refers in particular to the two documents mentioned above: *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* from 2.11.2001 and to *the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression* from October 20, 2005. The basis of these documents is the assumption of the equivalence of all cultures constituting the heritage of humanity.

According to Szlachta, the problem is that *the protection of cultural diversity is an integral part of human rights and as such should be perceived as an ethical imperative*. Cultural diversity is associated with rights granted to groups, not to individuals, including minority groups, and their protection is to be supported by public funds. In this context, Szlachta indicates the need to differentiate between actual multiculturalism of contemporary societies (which is an undeniable sociological fact) and multicultural projects. In order to be able to determine the value and consequences of granting cultural rights to groups in multicultural communities, it is necessary to analyze what the sources of these projects are and what political and legal answers they offer. Thus – still following Bogdan Szlachta – *the most theoretically fruitful and the point of reference for apologists and critics of the 'multicultural ideology' is the project by Will Kymlicka*[17], born in the liberal tradition (liberal culturalism). And the fundamental question that arises concerning cultural rights is the question of a unified normative order referring to all individuals, *regardless of their affiliation to a group belonging to the same country as other groups. The main conclusion is (…): the diversity of citizens connected with belonging to various groups cannot lead to differentiating between individuals and in their function of justifying universal norms binding all individuals in the same way, regardless of their possible membership in groups*.[18] Therefore, the ideologues of multiculturalism are facing *the prospect of having to reformulate the legal systems in place in individual countries (no longer 'national' ones) or even putting in their place 'conglomerates' of legal systems derived from many different group identities. But the main question*

[16] B. Szlachta, 'Problem of Cultural Rights', *Politeja*, Vol. 44 (2016), pp. 7–16.

[17] W. Kymlicka, *Współczesna filozofia polityczna*, transl. A. Pawalec, Warszawa 2009.

[18] B. Szlachta, 'Problem…'.

(…) is extremely serious: will it then be possible to defend the existence of any normative point of reference common to all new legal systems (…)? The importance of this question can be demonstrated by the fact that when the meeting on 'Prepolitical moral foundations of the liberal state' of Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, or later Pope Benedict XVI with Jürgen Habermas took place at the Bavarian Catholic Academy on January 19, 2004, Ratzinger emphasized that attention is paid to the fact that *in the process of communing and intermingling of cultures, the ethical certainties, which used to be the signposts, have been destroyed to a large extent. The question is, what is good, and why, even to the detriment of oneself it should be done – this basic question remains largely unanswered.*[19]

The Swiss researcher Alex Sutter points to another aspect of risk associated with minority rights: *legal protection of minorities has side effects – it gives ethnicity political strength. There are fears that minority rights strengthen those behaviors that are aimed at collective identity politics, with an increased risk of stressing a sense of community and collective separation in politics. For this reason, minority rights should be considered counter-effective or even dangerous, and should be rejected for socio-political reasons.*[20]

To sum up, cultural rights granted not only to individuals, but also to entire communities, can lead to weakening of social cohesion, either through the deconstruction of the existing normative order, or by strengthening the separatist tendencies in minority groups.

Freiburg Declaration of Cultural Rights

A set of cultural rights referred to as *Freiburg Declaration of Cultural Rights* was proclaimed on May 7, 2007 at the University of Freiburg, and the next day at the Palace of Nations in Geneva. The document was created at the Observatory of Diversity and Cultural Rights, whose leadership is related to the Interdisciplinary Institute of Ethics and

[19] 'Stellungnahme – Professor Dr. Jürgen Habermas, Stellungnahme – Joseph Kardinal Ratzinger', in: *Katholische Akademie in Bayern*, at http://www.kath-akademie-bayern.de/tl_files/Kath_Akademie_Bayern/Veroeffentlichungen/zur_debatte/pdf/2004/2004_01_habermas.pdf, 20 October 2017.

[20] A. Sutter, 'Ausgleich statt Anerkennung Zur Begründung von Sonderrechten für Angehörige kultureller Minderheiten', in: *Die Informationsplattform humanrights.ch*, at https://www.humanrights.ch/de/menschenrechte-themen/minderheitenrechte/begriffe/minderheitenrechte-ethnisierung-identitaetspolitik, 20 October 2017.

Human Rights at the University of Freiburg (Switzerland).[21] The authors of the Declaration represent the following scientific institutions and institutions: the Arab Institute of Human Rights (University of Tunis), Collège de France (Paris), OIDEL Geneva[22], Council of Europe, UNESCO, University of Abomey Calavi (Cotonou, Benin), University of Amsterdam, University of Freiburg, University of Geneva, University of Nouakchott (Mauritania), University of Paris, University of Paris II, Robert Schuman University (Strasbourg). The ambition of the authors of the *Declaration of Freiburg* was to gather together those human rights that apply to culture, and which so far have been dispersed in various codes of civil, political, economic and social rights[23].

The authors of the commentary to the *Declaration of Freiburg*[24] state that its main purpose is to emphasize and increase the importance of cultural rights in international human rights documents, as well as the function of culture as a factor in creating identity. The main emphasis of the *Declaration* lies in an attempt to weaken the conviction that human rights have no universal binding force due to differences in cultural identities. In this way, the danger of relativism would be removed. The abovementioned commentators to the *Declaration*, however, see some risks associated with the fact that the *Declaration* refers to the concept of *cultural identity* regarding both the individual and collective level. While at the individual level this does not raise doubts, at the collective level there is a threat of association with certain forms of culturalism, understood as ideologies built on the myth of culturally homogeneous groups. In other words, the *Freiburg Declaration* can be used as an argument for the supporters of various ethno-nationalist views whose identity discourse would thus

[21] 'Kulturelle Rechte…'.

[22] 'Presentation', in: *Oidel*, at http://www.oidel.org/en/presentation.htm, 20 September 2017.

[23] 'Launch of the Fribourg Declaration on Cultural Rights', in: *Die Informationsplattform humanrights.ch*, at https://www.humanrights.ch/en/standards/international/un-bodies/launch-fribourg-declaration-cultural-rights, 20 September 2017.

[24] 'Lancierung der Fribourger Erklärung über die kulturellen Rechte', in: *Die Informationsplattform humanrights.ch*, at https://www.humanrights.ch/de/internationale-menschenrechte/nachrichten/initiativen/lancierung-declaration-de-fribourg, 20 September 2017.

gain legitimacy within the framework of human rights. Is this 'political naivety?' – the commentators rhetorically ask.

Jagiellonian Values in the Freiburg Declaration of Cultural Rights

The analysis of the presence of Jagiellonian values in the Freiburg Declaration of Cultural Rights will be carried out in reference to the conceptualization of these values, presented above.

Ad 1.1 and 1.2. ***Subjectivity of the individual and cultural community and personal dignity*** are confirmed in the Declaration several times. First, this thread appears in the document's preamble. Just after mentioning the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity of Cultural Expression Forms (2005) and the UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001), the authors of the Freiburg Declaration emphasize that 'cultural rights, like other human rights, are an expression and a precondition for **human dignity'** [p. (2) of the preamble]. A little further, in Article 1, it is stated that 'all the rights mentioned in this Declaration are relevant to **human dignity**'. Article 9 states that the recognition of cultural rights imposes on every person and community a special obligation, which, by responsible cooperation within the framework of democratic state structures, should identify and take into account the cultural dimension of human rights, with the prospect of enriching what is universal through what is diverse and contribute to the fact that each person, individually or in combination with others, she could have these rights [Art. 9., para. d]. And finally Art. 11 refers to the fact that individual states, together with various other public entities, should provide each person, individually or in combination with others, with defence against violation of their cultural rights [Art. 11, para. c.].

Ad 1.3. ***Diversity as a natural property of individuals and communities*** it is indicated first in Art. 3, when talking about the right of every person – individually or in combination with others – to choose their cultural identity and to be respected in the diversity of forms of expressing this identity [Art. 3., para. a.], and the right to know and respect their

own culture as well as other cultures that 'in their diversity constitute the common heritage of humanity' [Art. 3., para. b.].

Ad. 1.4. ***Recognition of indigenous values*** of cultural communities is mentioned in Art. 5, when, after finding that each person, individually or in combination with others, has the right – also across state borders – to have free access and participate in cultural life, it is pointed to the requirement of freedom 'in performing their cultural practices and maintaining such a lifestyle is indicated, which is in line with respect for one's own cultural resources' [Art. 5., para. b].

Ad. 1.5. ***The right to existence, defense and development of the individual and the cultural community*** is indicated in two articles: in Art. 7. which decribes the right to free and diverse information which supports full development of cultural identity; and in Art. 8., confirming the right of each individual – individually or together with others – to cooperate for the development of those communities of which he remains a member.

Ad 7. ***Dialogue***: Although the very concept of dialogue does not appear in the Declaration, it seems, however, that the imperative of cooperation between the main recipients of this document – the governments of states, non-governmental organizations and entrepreneurs, formulated in Art. 9 – is based on the value of dialogue.

Ad 3.1. ***Getting to know and learning cultural diversity is included*** in the Freiburg Declaration many times. Article 3. tackles the right to learn one's own culture and other cultures that make up the diverse heritage of humanity [Art. 3 para. b.] and the right to education and information that allows access to this heritage [Art. 3., para. c.]. Article 5 mentions the right to free development of knowledge of cultural expressions [Art. 5., para. b]. The next, sixth article of the Declaration concerns the right to acquire knowledge about one's own and other cultures [Art. 6., para. b]. Finally, Art. 9. calls for staff training in government, NGOs and private agencies that will ensure knowledge of cultural rights [Art. 9., para. c].

Ad 3.2. ***The need to go beyond one's point of view and particularisms*** is mentioned in the fifth article, where on the occasion of formulating the right to access and cooperation in cultural life, the issue of sharing knowledge and forms of cultural expression with others is also tackled [Art. 5., para. b].

Ad 3.3. ***Mutual complementation of the local and universal perspectives*** is implicitly included in the call for such action by various social, governmental, non-governmental and private entities that will enable enriching the universal with what is different [Art. 9, para. d].

Summary

The analysis presented above seems to allow the statement that the Freiburg Declaration on Cultural Rights contains a variety of references to Jagiellonian values. Although the creators of this document do not *explicitly* express Jagiellonian cultural heritage, the presence of a way of thinking about man and culture shaped by the greatest thinkers of that era, including the most modern catalogue of cultural rights, seems to be indisputable.

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Jagiellonian Inspirations in Inter-cultural Education

Sylwia Jaskuła*

Along with progressive transformation and globalisation, both also through modernisation, the possibilities of communication have changed the character of contemporary intercultural and multicultural processes. In current transformations, the Internet has had and continues to have a particular part to play. As an additional dimension in the world of the human presence, it carries out, without limits, human aspirations related with the need to go beyond the frontiers of one's own culture, within which it indirectly shapes one's ability to exist and function on the cultural, intellectual, psychological, social and political frontiers, etc. Therefore, the possibility of has appeared of moving between different cultures, talking to and being in contact with people thousands of kilometres away who differ not only regarding language but in their way of interpreting facts and events. On the other hand, technology has limited interpersonal contact to electronic messaging which has a direct influence on the shaping of intercultural communication. The web has become, therefore, both a liberating and a limiting instrument. Although it facilitates constant intercultural contact, at the same time, prevalence of anonymity and haste in the virtual space impoverishes intercultural communication in the non-verbal dimension, limiting direct contact, making closeness shallow, increasing short-term and superficial interpersonal relations. Many of these virtually generated elements are subsequently transferred to reality and vice versa. The relationship of these two dimensions and their

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mutual influence is a fact, albeit one whose range has not been examined. The conduct and attitudes of shaping in one space are frequently translocated to another, most often in a symbolic dimension. Similarly, the process of shaping intercultural relations entering into the virtual space, with the above-mentioned dysfunctions, may be transferred to the field of a genuine reality. In turn, the models of behaviour formed in reality may find their reflections in cyberspace.

Currently, both the first and second spaces, in creating a hybrid world which is mobile in various dimensions and spaces, have generated cultural contact more often than any period in human history. The merging of the real and virtual spaces itself has already dynamized the process of broadening cultural fields, a natural result of which is their superimposition on each other. In this way, new multicultural fields arise, thus fields in which cultures may exist alongside each other while not entering into deep interaction with each other, within which they do not establish different types of relationships. The multicultural space may evolve into an intercultural space or also close itself off to cultural diversity. In the first case, the establishment of a group of two or more cultures is characterised by the development of mutual relations which exhibit change, transfer and cooperation. This is a dynamic situation, simply one which is transgressive with significant potential for development. Multiculturalism itself is a significantly more static situation, may possess a conservative character in which cultures tolerate each other, may coexist, not entering into deep relations with each other, while at the same time, not mutually drawing from their values. Multiculturalism is, therefore, a certain kind of resource which may, but does not have to be employed, one which contains an enormous potential for interaction, although it can also be diversity in a 'frozen' state. This also occurs when there exists a high degree of hostility between cultures with each of them surrounding themselves with safety barriers, thus dividing the world into areas reserved for themselves and in which they close themselves off from others.

In new circumstances, the processes of globalisation, mobility and the erasing of borders gives rise to a need for intervening in worlds which are isolated, divided and closing themselves off from contemporary challenges, displaying how wise it is to benefit from the richness of many cultures, their mutual merging, as well as how to stop processes of exclusion. The seeking of answers to key questions regarding how to develop intercultural

relations in a new hybrid environment, ones which will build, not destroy, ones which will integrate, not divide, through maintaining and respecting the cultural separateness of all sides and linking itself with the development and implementation of the principles and tasks of intercultural education. This constitutes, therefore, a crucial element in the processes of building proper intercultural relations, raising and shaping appropriate bases, stimulating reflection on the possibilities of development and self-development in a culturally diverse environment. In this regard, intercultural education has a significant role in deepening respect towards others and simultaneously to oneself, mutual familiarisation, creating understanding and mutual enrichment through interactions, the strengthening the importance of diversity, and within this, shaping the basis of tolerance and mutual acknowledgement. One may seek the inspiration for this type of education in distant Jagiellonian times in which the coexistence of cultures and the building of appropriate relations, not so much multicultural but intercultural, was the result of a correct understanding of social needs in the context of not only the politics of the state but, above all, interpersonal relations.

It is this intercultural education which is characterised by complexity and multi-dimensionality while, at the same time, not tearing itself away from its history and positive examples of building values in diversity. It does not limit itself exclusively to learning about reality but also changing it. It may, therefore, take on the contemporary challenges of civilisation, concentrated around the issues of maintaining cultural dignity through respecting the needs of others and, above all, by respecting their rights. They demand reflection going beyond the technocratic and technological question 'how does contemporary intercultural communication develop?' It has become essential to understand the origin, motivation, aims and point of human activities, including also the employment of contacts, incorporating them into interactive communication processes in which they may become a subject of dialogue and moderation, interpretation and inspiration. This necessity depicts itself very clearly when we look at the significant increase in the role of communication, as well as changes in its forms and motives.

In an age of cultures and value systems coming together and sometimes clashing, in an age of strategic planning of the development of organisations, educational programmes, professional careers and

models of social interaction, getting to know people and the world around us may not abstracted from questions regarding the intentions and cultural models of the evaluation and development of intercultural competence. Many phenomena of cultural confusion indicate that we are not prepared to effectively and wisely conduct an intercultural dialogue as we are lacking the ability to understand and interpret various cultural facts. Much support and inspiration in the development of intercultural education may flow from other contemporary social sciences and the humanities, as well as the anthropology of intercultural relations which present, as a whole, human relations with the surrounding world in the context of the need to understand the diversity of cultures and the philosophy of dialogue related with it. Also of huge significance are conscious relations, not only with cultures which we consider modern but with the enormous achievements of each culture accumulated on resources of its heritage which may include examples of good practice, effective and tested solutions, albeit forgotten and pushed into a characteristic culture of amnesia. Getting to know, and sometimes decoding cultural heritage is a kind of intercultural communication. Communicative abilities developed during intercultural communication indicate what one should do for them to become an instrument of understanding, discovering one's own identity built on still more basic skills of recognising the values of one's native culture, as well as foreign cultures. In this way, we build bridges between the generations, environments, religions and civilisations, occasionally between those in our closest circle, also securing them from the building up of nationalism, conflict or cultural violence. Such bridges, built through understanding one's intercultural educational role also aids one in understanding ourselves. This is even more so when one considers that effective forms of intercultural education were comprised of the educational experience of many distant periods which inspire us up to today, among which the Jagiellonian age deserves particular attention. However, before dealing with the issue of Jagiellonian inspirations, it is essential to discuss contemporary challenges.

The contemporary intercultural educational space

The multi-dimensional nature of contemporary processes blending cultures inclines one, when analysing them, to assess the various possibilities of their coming into being, also including their generation through the development

of information-communication technologies. New technological solutions have increased the world we have known up to now by another dimension, namely the virtual space. Currently, we are witnesses to the ever more dynamic transfer of multiple components from the real world to the new field of the human presence. The virtual web is more and more broadly organised at a pace which it had never been possible to introduce change in all of human history, up to today. It is probable that this impetus of change, in fact, will become the main cause of both 'real' reality and human needs being unable to keep up with changes in the virtual space. Our experience up to now has shown that the newly generated field has been neglected and not frequently encompassed by actions aimed at leading to usefulness, order and regularity. The above charge also applies to education whose interest in the human presence in the virtual space is rather biased. Currently, we are at a stage of employing the web for educational aims but not shaping one's abilities to use web resources. An example of such disproportions is, unfortunately, media studies which, as practiced in schools, mainly directs its activities towards shaping one's ability to use information technology tools. In practice, this means computer equipment and applied programs completely omitting the broad range of information-communication competences, including multiple cultural components.[1]

Among many unorganised problems in this virtual space, this issue of the human presence in a virtual space without limits deserves attention, as the definitions of the concepts 'multiculturalism' or 'interculturalism' lose their differing meanings in the traditional sense. These definitions most frequently allude to cultures functioning in the real space, existing in a particular territory in which the phenomenon of the appearance of different cultures and national, ethnic or religious groups undoubtedly comes into play. In new virtual spaces of the human presence, connecting the real and virtual elements, the definitions of multiculturalism and interculturalism must separate themselves from the determinative character of the physical parameters of the space. From here, the definition of these two terms which are key to further deliberations must take on slightly different content which takes the different types of spaces into consideration.

Multiculturalism is a phenomenon co-occurring in different cultures and national, ethnic or religious groups, employing the same space

[1] B. Siemieniecki, 'Kognitywistyka a edukacja medialna', in: T. Lewowicki, B. Siemieniecki (ed.), *Współczesna technologia informacyjna i edukacja medialna*, Toruń 2005, pp. 11–18.

at a different level and interactive character. The fact of multiculturalism has not yet resulted in a scale of mutual interest, or types connecting their relations. Multiculturalism is a situation which may generate various attitudes from hostility to synergy, from isolation to cooperation of various levels of awareness.

Interculturalism is a phenomenon of the interaction of different cultures which, employing this same space, enter into open and permanent relations with each other whose *raison d'ètre* is the exchange and transfer of cultural content. However, if by interculturalism one understands the merging and coexistence of national and regional traditions, history, as well as spiritual and moral values, it is undoubtedly a growing phenomenon, one which is currently spreading on a global scale.[2] This dynamic state, in which regular relations exist between significantly different human cultural identities, should be characterised by relations allowing the creation of a harmonic form above one's differences, while not eliminating them. Contemporary cultural studies must, however, consider the fact that these interactions may be practiced both in real and virtual spaces. What is more, they do not have to be linked with a necessity for cohabitation in the same territory. The virtual character of the contemporary space of the human presence creates, in a physical sense, a possibility to place distance between different cultures while simultaneously facilitating an unprecedented scale of blending and merging of cultures.

The concept of multiculturalism itself, as that of interculturalism (although both terms continue to be mixed up and used interchangeably), have for many years appeared in scientific deliberations in the context of the challenges facing humanity in the 21st century. The context of such interests is usually consideration regarding the dynamic changes appearing in the world which are aimed towards the creation of a world without borders and which are defined by the term globalisation. For some globalisation, which causes the blending, synergy and multiple cultural encounters, has become a desirable process, providing the hope that many problems may be solved. For others, it is depicted as a dangerous phenomenon. Regardless of which point of view we accept as correct, in order that living together in integration and interaction may happen in harmony, it

[2] H. Bednarski, 'Wielokulturowość – zagrożenia i szanse', in: M. Janukowicz, K. Rędziński (ed.), *Edukacja wobec wielokulturowości*, Częstochowa 2001/2002, pp. 109-113.

is necessary to have a properly considered and suitably planned process of intercultural education. These needs have been indicated for many years by Tadeusz Lewowicki, the author of many publications devoted to the subject of intercultural education, perceiving them in the context of being an answer to contemporary problems. He states that *in carrying out socio-political changes, they are the answer for the needs of many groups of people, they are also a characteristic variant of the humanist ideology of behaviour and a field of social practices serving the unrestricted development of people (independent of their nationality or background) and their cultures*.[3] The developmental opportunities of intercultural education lie not only in applying and suiting them to the needs of a political system, governing ideology, the participation of states and societies in international economic and cultural life but also in predicting social changes and the discovery of new areas of human activity, not covered up to now by organised and real education.

The development of contemporary web-based civilisation, in possessing a global character, has become an even stronger mechanism spreading cultural values, creating in a wider and wider range multicultural societies, on the one hand, and societies closed to cultural difference, as polar opposites. In the conditioning of unrestricted mobility, a world without borders, we feel ever more strongly the need for not as much multicultural or intercultural education but that which leads to cultural dialogue and their mutual coexistence. This does not only concern the comparison or confrontation of different cultures with each other, or also inspiring mutual encounters and the exchange of experience, as these continuously occur in the virtual space. It concerns the deepening of the character of these contacts from observing to understanding, from one who is unreflective to one consciously participating and, finally, from polemics to dialogue.

The deliberations of scientists up to now have concentrated on intercultural education entering into the traditional real space. The contemporary Giddens' 'period of bewildering change'[4] directing an new virtual dimension of the human presence, inclines one more and more

[3] T. Lewowicki, 'Wielokulturowość i edukacja – zagadnienia ogólne, ujęcie porównawcze', in: T. Lewowicki, F. Szloska (ed.), *Kształcenie ustawiczne do wielokulturowości*, Warszawa–Radom 2009, pp. 27–28.

[4] A. Giddens, *Socjologia. Zwięzłe, lecz krytyczne wprowadzenie*, transl. J. Gilewicz, Poznań 1998, p. 15.

towards refection on the course of the blending processes and cultural relations, as mentioned earlier, in the virtual space. The case at which users of the Internet establish intercultural contacts is extraordinary and one may pose the question whether intercultural education is necessary at all given that involvement with different cultures runs here in a voluntary, even a remarkably natural manner. The answer to this question seems to be simple. Although it is true that people from different cultures are meeting each other more often than any time in history, this does not mean that difference has stopped giving rise to misunderstandings and conflict. While the world has become a global village, this is mainly at the level of business, media and economics. The members of different cultures dress the same, listen to the same music, study at the same universities, use the same symbols, contact each other using Facebook, and search for information first on the Internet, not in books. However, in particularly important situations, deeply rooted primal social reactions come into play. Thus, intercultural education is necessary for them, both at the interpersonal and inter-group level, as well as between cultural organisations.

The Jagiellonian idea in contemporary education

The roots of intercultural education in Polish tradition may be found in the distant Jagiellonian past when the practice of relations coming between different cultures created a reality described in theory significantly later. Many of these past Jagiellonian inspirations may be a stimulus to the development of contemporary multicultural but, above all, intercultural education whose adapting to current contexts provides an opportunity not only to deepen one's knowledge on the subject of different cultures but, above all, learn the ways of understanding them, as well as cooperation through diversity.

Jagiellonian ideas, one of the great ideas of the state which came into being in the territories of the Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth, have been defined and assessed in various ways. One should, however, remember that they were described at the theoretical level in the 19th century, while with the perspective of time, they have been subjected, and are still subjected to various interpretations. However, the true Jagiellonian idea is the embodiment of a certain ideal group of values in real, albeit changeable historical-geographical circumstances. It joined together in a peaceful manner a society coming from different

cultures into one state and taught the principle of coexistence, one which was difficult, sometimes full of conflict but beneficial, and one which invoked not only instrumental values.

This peaceful unification was emphasised by one of the first creators of the theory of Jagiellonian ideas, the historian Karol Szajnocha (1818–1868), writing in his work *Jadwiga and Jagiełło* that: this *was the only example in history of a voluntary unification of people who had been hostile for centuries, to whom history even more precisely was to grant peace. The happy cooperation of different reasons changed this unprecedented union of nations into a closer union of families and people.*[5] The Polish-Lithuanian Union and the Pact of Horodło were undoubtedly a precursor of political, cultural, educational and economic actions displaying how, by not employing violence in times full of war and aggression, one could unite different cultures and create conditions allowing their equal coexistence.

This equal coexistence was possible through the guaranteeing of autonomy of certain constituent parts of the union by, above all, religious and linguistic tolerance, but also not differentiating its citizens regardless of background, religion or language, handing control of administration over to them on the basis of one's place of residence not background, the creation of elements of democratic freedom, etc. Witold Kamieniecki focused attention on all of these elements formulating, in 1929, one of the first full definitions of Jagiellonian ideas: *The Jagiellonian Idea is a political system based on the drawing in to the Polish state by way of voluntary accession, a union of neighbouring territories covering the geographical region between the Carpathians and the Baltic. Created as a result of the union, the Jagiellonian Republic based its structure on the following principles: a unified political system (the Polish Crown/Lithuania), autonomy for certain constituent parts of its territory, an administration comprised of local citizens, equal linguistic status, religious tolerance, the development of civil democratic freedoms, the reconciliation of patriotism towards the Polish republic with patriotism of a local and local-ethnic, [and] the advocacy of western civilization.*[6]

Of course, not all historians have assessed Jagiellonian ideas positively and, while among them there is no shortage of supporters or

[5] K. Szajnocha, *Jadwiga i Jagiełło 1374–1413. Opowiadanie historyczne*, Sandomierz 2014.

[6] W. Kamieniecki, *Ponad zgiełkiem walk narodowościowych. Idea jagiellońska*, Warszawa 1929.

opponents, it is a fact that the eastern policy of the Jagiellons while on the Polish throne took various aspects into account including those which were religious, economic and political but, above all, cultural and which were meant to ensure unity in various dimensions. This encapsulation of various aspects ensured a greater chance for a peaceful joining together of sides hostile to each other and displayed the wisdom of Polish and Lithuanian rulers.

It seems that the Jagiellonian format may be extended to contemporary times. Suitably modified and applied to today's reality, as well as social needs, it may become an element of intercultural education, showing using real examples how, in practice, to ensure the coexistence of different cultures in a long-term perspective. The Jagiellonian idea, although one may talk also of many Jagiellonian ideas present in the intellectual, artistic and religious life of this time far from forcible restrictions, is an example of a the planning of multiple-range activities, encapsulating various aspects of the whole ensuring not only the coexistence of cultures but their in-depth interaction. This does not erase cultural differences, respecting their diversity but has stimulated deeper interaction on both sides. All of these components may become the goal and task of contemporary intercultural education while its understanding must be linked with, on the one hand, the perception of the need of its application in a broadened hybrid world of the human presence while, on the other, with invoking real historical examples of its use.

Intercultural education may, therefore, be perceived at multiple levels regarding the various dimensions linked to it, namely political, economic, social and cultural, which create an attitude of openness, as well as building culturally shaped systems of norms and cultural models. Co-dependences may comprise the basis for their more integrated and reflexive understanding while at the same explaining their dynamic and evolution. In such a context, the understanding of intercultural education could take on the following form: Intercultural education is an open system which, on the one hand, includes the knowledge, ability and attitudes of members of various cultures shaped under the influence of planned actions, as well as experience of a social and civilising character while, on the hand, including their goods resulting from a creative and meaningful participation in the process of cultural interaction.

The following is how intercultural education is understood, shaping its characteristics through:

1. *Participation* – both in structures, sources, processes, as well as cultural changes. Its conditions, principles and scale simply determine the degree what we want to call openness to cultural diversity. It is, in fact, this participation which becomes the principle value, premise and aim of social development as a value essential for the development of the individual and society. We assume by this that is has a developmental character and is not linked to the degradation of particular cultures, divesting them of their identities and differences.
2. *Transgression* – the overcoming of many cultural frontiers, in many areas and in many regards. In the context of intercultural education the most important of these are cultural, along with psychological and spatial transgressions, which in an age of the most modern information-communication technology is becoming ever more possible, and simply advanced. Transgression in the intercultural education context means the learning of existing changes, as well as generated cultural models. The dynamic perspective of intercultural education means both the activating of the transgressive potential of subjects coming from different cultures, accepting that the types of actions generated by individuals are an effect of the creative modification and synergy of particular cultural models as a consequence of dynamic changes in one's surroundings.
3. *Communication* – contemporary intercultural education does not fulfil the condition for participation or transgression without intensively developing the means and forms of communication, both interpersonal, cultural or intercultural, as well as those which are currently performed with the aid of electronic communication in the rapidly developing 'web' of connections and messages.
   The development of processes of intercultural communication, understood by this not as a one-way message, thus a transmission but a form of interaction, is becoming an inherent characteristic of contemporary intercultural education, as in culture itself in a general sense, causing their dependence on each other in more and more ways.

4. *The creative revitalisation of cultural heritage* – which constitutes a kind of a separate space of values, models and inspirations regarding a rich source of good practices, ideas and experience, of which the best example is the Jagiellonian cultural heritage.

Conclusion

Today's world of virtual and media culture may not be viewed in the category of one which is in an unmoveable state: it is not a rigid quasi-object but a continuous, infinite stream of changing events. The processes included within it of various intensities and speeds constitute the basis of generating new forms of cultural encounters of an unprecedented strength but also structure, roles and functions. It is a world of growing interaction which will enter the area of the direct competence of many groups, institutions and people unprepared for this phenomenon. All of this has a key significance for the contemporary understanding of intercultural competences essential in situations of cultural encounters and interactions. The changing character of intercultural processes, carrying out, in a unlimited manner, people's aspirations related with needs to go beyond the boundaries of one's own culture, require deeper, more intense and more reflexive shaping of the capabilities of being and functioning on cultural, intellectual, psychological, social and political frontiers etc.

In using the Internet, almost as a rule we find ourselves in a world of the mixing up of many cultures, regardless of whether we want this or not, or whether we agree and what our attitude to diversity is. The merging of the real and virtual spaces has initiated a process of broadening the cultural fields which are superimposed upon each other, entering into various processes of interaction. As a consequence, they constitute, to an ever greater degree, not only multicultural but intercultural, by the fact of their mutual influence, transfer of content, cooperation but also sometimes intense clashes and conflicts. This is, in fact, why in these new circumstances the human presence has given rise to an enormous need for intercultural education, broadening its scope beyond the real space while not overlooking it. Both the first and second dimensions, in the context of contemporary challenges and requirements, demand not repressive, prescriptive actions but exemplary, educational and appropriate bases founded on values allowing for the deepening of relations of different cultures. By this, contemporary education in the field of cultural diversity should not cut itself off from its own history, to which belongs, for instance,

the successful exemplification of the policy of multiculturalism of the Jagiellonian Polish Republic. Appearing during the period of the 14th–16th centuries, multicultural interactions showed how complete understanding ensures not only a knowledge of languages but a significantly deepened motivation, common interests, multifactorial and multi-range actions, referring to instrumental, symbolic and spiritual planes of the existence of culture. Of significance is that a broadened analysis of the pluralism of Jagiellonian values reveals how important the idea of balance is in thinking regarding what is 'our own' and what is held in common, which constitutes the particular and universal need of every cultural group present in an interactive space. The history of formal agreements between Poland and Lithuania from 1385 to 1568 shows, at the same time, how much can be learned from one other, how to better understand different points of view in the dynamic of a common search for the common good.

Therefore, in order to be effective, contemporary intercultural education, in alluding, on the one hand, to tradition while alluding to the demands of a modern, hybrid world on the other, would have to both refer to many new cultural forms and methods along with those that are old and lie in the fields of cultural heritage, namely forms and methods of dealing with multiculturalism, the various results of reaction and interaction, and diversity which demand entering deep into the foundations of core, frequently inspiring values. Intercultural education understood in this way could be an active step preparing society to function in a new reality. However, allusions to the rich achievements of the Jagiellonian heritage are surprisingly creative whose remains being little known, contrary to appearances, may be an arsenal of ideas joining together values which are local and universal, national and of the state, and those which are individual and of the community. Jagiellonian inspirations of intercultural education ensures it an axiological base for respecting an opening up to the values of other cultures, as well as to the transfer of the most important of its traits into the contemporary hybrid space.

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Jagiellonian Ideas Towards
Challenges of Modern Times

CREATIVE HERITAGE

On the Political Thinking of the Jagiellonian Day

Bogdan Szlachta*

The reflection on the political thinking of the Jagiellonian era covers the period of almost two centuries. The Polish reader already knows the excellent studies contained in the volume *Political values of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* – volumen 3 of the series 'Culture of the First Polish Republic in dialogue with Europe. Hermeneutics of values'.[1] When the reader found out what happened next, it is worth encouraging him to think over the previously formulated positions, those which – on the one hand – are associated with the speeches of outstanding jurists from the first half of the 15th century, mainly from the reign of Władysław Jagiełło, and on the other with proposals of Jan Ostroróg, from the second half of the same century, who was aware of the changes occurring in the time when Jagiełło's son, Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, sat on the throne, and finally from with the extensive and diverse studies drawn up by numerous political thinkers of the next century, already forming under the reign of King Sigismund the Old, or his son, King Zygmunt August, exquisitely described a century ago by Stanisław Tarnowski[2] and recently by Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves[3]. The attempt to briefly present the basic elements

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[1] J. Axer, A. Grześkowiak-Krwawicz (ed.), *Kultura Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej w dialogu z Europą. Hermeneutyka wartości*, Vol. 3: *Wartości polityczne Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. Struktury aksjologiczne i granice cywilizacyjne*, Warszawa 2017.

[2] *Pisarze polityczni XVI wieku*, the latest edition: Kraków 2000 (as the first item in the series of more than one hundred volumes published by the Center of Political Thought in Kraków under the name 'Library of the Classics of Polish Political Thought').

[3] D. Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Ład Rzeczypospolitej. Polska myśl polityczna XVI wieku a klasyczna tradycja republikańska*, Kraków 2012.

of political thinking of the authors writing under the Jagiellonian rule is not an easy task and in the light of extensive studies and the extent of their analyzes and in relation to the extraordinary and extensive political creation that existed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including the Crown of the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania remaining in various political and legal relations. Such an attempt requires a selection of threads: The author will limit himself to reflection on the three basic categories for the so-called Western political thought, of which the thought delineated during the reign of the Jagiellons was certainly a part. Research on the transformation of meanings of the categories, important in contemporary reflection, because they complement their search, being embedded in various contexts, is extremely necessary in relation to the political traditions of the multinational and multi-confessional Jagiellonian monarchy; they are needed to capture not only the variability of its fate, but also to change the ways of describing what, after all, has undergone changes under the influence of external political forces and changing, formulated as new or changed political, legal, social and economic ideas.

It is usually said that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the dominant tradition reflects the tradition of republicanism, referring to pre-Christian approaches, to Aristotle especially and also to Cicero, but it is supplemented with themes and solutions characteristic of the Christian approach, associated mainly with the reflection of St. Thomas Aquinas, and to some extent also St. Augustine. The republican tradition is said to influence the understanding of such categories as the state (or rather a monarchy in a juxtaposition with the Republic understood as a form of political existence, and not as a community, which makes the existence of a Polish state which took into account the position of a king not legitimising his power 'from above', i.e. as in the doctrine of the divine authority of the king, absent from the Polish experience, but as a 'man-citizen' (invariably understood not only in relation to 'the state' or rather the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) and finally as the law somehow ordering the freedom of both the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the citizen living in it (with a rather narrow understanding of citizenship, not covering all residents of the territory, but only a group indicated and treated differently in legal settlements). The first of these categories, typical of modernity, but unknown in a similar sense before the 15th and 16th centuries, exposes the 'externality' of postulatively

disinterested and impartial (in some approaches even depersonalized or abstract) instance in relation to the collective of individuals, it is sometimes critically (also today) juxtaposed with the category of 'community', which individuals are to co-create, with which they would somehow identify or 'blend in' with it. (Here there is a need to discuss the relationship of the community thus understood not only to individuals 'blended' in it, but also to society, taking into account numerous intellectual traditions, including Aristotle and the so-called modern counter-modernists, and what is more: there is a need for a debate about the correctness of the approach called methodological individualism). This juxtaposition already shows the importance of reflection on the political thinking of the Jagiellonian era; it seems that its creators were still honouring the kind of thinking that directs the citizen towards the community to which he belongs, and not towards the state as an abstract being, nor even towards the monarch (which can be – and sometimes was – pointed out as something peculiar and dangerous in the future) but towards the Commonwealth. What is more important also today (not only because of migration or refugee problems leading to projects of 'multicultural societies', preserving the liberal-democratic values, but also because of the relationship between human rights and citizens' rights, in any case with a certain or at least a potential tension between the 'humanity' of the individual and perhaps built on it – or on its dignity, its political dimension), the relation of the individual and citizen was also presented as demanding and rooting every individual in the genre, and finding it as an element of political community; community, which will be a peculiarity found in the predecessors by Polish authors of the 17th and 18th centuries, who will not approve the results of the search of their sixteenth-century predecessors, which precedes it and determines its individual freedom. Finally, there is a third element, especially one that is still current today, which is related to the relationship of law and freedom (not only because of the classic search of ethics, but also, again because of the creation by modern legislators of various catalogues of rights and freedoms of individuals, and in the last decades also cultural and ethnic groups. In this area it is also necessary to continue the debate on ways of understanding freedom and possible entanglement of the subject's will in the differently understood normative order and the one that exceeds the 'power of the human legislator', and that which is the result of applying this power).

Perhaps it is reasonable to assume that the specific republican elements that were supposed to be characteristic of the political thinking of the Jagiellonian day made them clearly different from absolutist and later liberal approaches of the monarchies located west of Jagiełło's and his successors' domain. Indeed, many Polish authors, especially in the sixteenth century, still referred to the reflection on the normative entanglement of decisions already taken by individual members of the community, at least by those who rule them. Legislation of the rulers was to take into account the order not established by them, but it is associated with the law revealed by the only God, or inherent (natural) law, recognized by the 'natural reason'[4]. The reflection on the normative order ahead of the law laid down in various procedures and by various organs was important for the authors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries not only for analyses regarding legal relations (understood both as a subject, as a set of norms and subjectively as the potential / potency due to subjects of the law as well as the resulting laws: based on the will of a specific subject, perhaps based on time?) and freedom (sometimes also recognized as a state in which the will of the moral agent chooses to act in accordance with the requirements of such order); it is also important for analyses concerning the community (what normative foundation is it build on?) and man (are there any criteria or measures of his humanity, the nature of his 'species'?). Essentially, it seems that the 'classic' approach was dominant: the reflection focused on the 'higher' and 'lower' normative plan, concerned norms rather than rules or potency, what binds all individuals (also the legislator, not only the king, but also possibly members of the collective legislative body) rather than what justifies the separateness and the different actions of the entitled individuals. It also seems that this 'higher' law understood objectively was associated – as in St. Thomas – with the real and knowable power of the innate human reason of nature, based on the understanding of which it was possible to conclude the norms of natural law; norms that had to be taken into account to establish a fair law (the mere observance of the procedure of establishing legal norms was not a sufficient condition for recognizing them as binding).

Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves rightly points out that it is not the concept

[4] Evidence for this can be found in the writings of Catholic authors (such as Stanisław Orzechowski), and in the writings of authors who adopted Calvinism or other reformed denominations (such as Andrzej Wolan).

of 'state' but the notion of 'Rzeczpospolita' (*res publica*) that was *the most important category of Polish political theory that took shape in the 16th century and with various modifications survived until the time of the partitions*; she is rightly saying that this category defined *the image of the state as a political community – a republic, requiring the introduction and maintenance of not only certain institutions, but above all a certain ethos manifesting itself in the interest of citizens for the public good*; she rightly adds, finally, that the term 'state', which was supposed to become more popular *in western Europe with a particular connotation*, was accepted in Poland, but it was associated with something different, because *the term 'Rzeczpospolita'* was best reflected by a notion *dominating from the sixteenth century onwards that the Polish state is a public thing, something that is shared and what must be collectively cared for*. Thus, the point was not *the republican (in a later sense) form of government referring to the non-monarchical regime, but a mixed monarchy in which the king and some other authorities were to rule together.*[5] Marcin Kromer could then propose a term for this solution – *regnum et res publica,* which distinguished it from the royal rule devoid of the component of the Commonwealth (was it in reference to the fourteenth-century category introduced by John Fortescue *dominium regnum et politicum*?). It is worth noting that the authors of the Jagiellonian era associated the concept *regnum* not with the state, but with the monarch, slowly abandoning it for the category of *res publica*, requiring not only to find the king's position inside it, but also to recognize the dominant position of the political whole (which translated into looking for justifications for the monarch's cooperation with bodies / organs representing a group not created by the king but existing and possibly caring for their behavior as such, perhaps resulting from the existence of the 'inherent nature' of community life found in every human individual as a representative of the species). If we take these remarks into account, we can see again that an individual was described as being in relation to the species, and thus to God, and as such was bound by norms predicated by innate reason (by which it could not oppose its own pretences

[5] See: D. Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Ład Rzeczypospolitej…*, *passim*. See: also reflections on two republican traditions: Greek and Roman, of which the first, *Platonic-Aristotelian*, was supposed to dominate the views adopted by Polish authors of the Jagiellonian era.

associated with individual powers recognized by law), and as the one who remains in the Republic, being its component, which should report its particular behavior to it, strengthen its 'free existence' even at the expense of its own 'interest' (the problem of 'citizenship'). In this way in the sixteenth century (although clear traces in this respect also lead to the fifteenth century) it was attempted to solve the problem of potential arbitrariness of the legislator and the mistaken use of freedom by the individual. The 'double binding' of the will of every participant in the legislative body and every citizen by referring them to natural law (and sometimes also to God's law) and to the political community as an existing whole played a key role here. This role was also important even in speculations left by Paweł Włodkowic in the first half of the fifteenth century, who, after all, mentioned the law of God, and the natural law, and the law of nations, the three 'types of rights' derived from three different traditions – of Jerusalem, Athens and Rome, which were used in Christian reflection even when in the West was dominated by the approach called hierocratic, clashing with the first absolutist attempts, referring not to the emperor, but to the so-called national monarchs[6].

A similar approach can be easily seen also by a much later author, blamed sometimes for the 'confessionalisation of the language' of the Polish debate after the Council of Trent, one of the main fencers of the victorious native Counter-Reformation, namely Piotr Skarga. He also emphasized (after the departure of the rulers from the Jagiellonian dynasty) that the normative order may be learned my man by himself, as he is able to

[6] Already in the text entitled *Saevientibus* from 1415, Włodkowic argued, sharing the opinion of Pope Innocent IV that *property, power and possessions (rerum dominia iurisdicciones et possessiones) can rightfully and without sin belong to non-believers*. The Pope (whose works he recommended) was supposed to prove that *in fact, the earth and everything that is on it is God's (...), but God Himself has subjected everything to a rational being for whom he created everything (...).* Hence, *it was at first common to all, until it became the practice of the first couple, that some people should have and take some (things); this is because it is natural that common things are neglected and the community gives rise to discord* (recalling the *Decree of* Gratian). *And that is why, according to the law of nations, states and separate kingdoms were distinguished* (in: L. Ehrlich (ed.), *Pisma wybrane Pawła Włodkowica*, Vol. I, Warszawa 1968, pp. 6–12). See: B. Szlachta, 'O Saevientibus Pawła Włodkowica uwag kilka', in: J.W. Adamowski, T. Wallas, K. Kakareko (ed.), *Między Klio a Themis. Księga dedykowana Profesorowi Jackowi Sobczakowi*, Warszawa–Poznań 2016, pp. 875–886.

see that *governments and affairs of kingdoms and states exist with God's providence and help*, using his *natural reason*.[7] This 'natural reason' not only decides that 'God's providence and help' creates both governments and affairs of kingdoms and states (everyone should see'for themselves' the proper foundation of governments, and the affairs of each political entity probably regardless of the form of government adopted in it), but also influences (or should influence) the content of legislation (though, let us emphasize, 'wisdom of God' may be recognized mainly by priests, who are more – as it turns out – 'epistemically capable' than laymen[8])[9]. As already mentioned, almost all thinkers of the Jagiellonian era justified the existence of a normative order which – as 'higher law' – was to be known by 'innate

[7] Piotr Skarga, *Kazania sejmowe*, J. Tazbir (ed.), Warszawa 2003, p. 4.

[8] Skarga wrote: *For repairing of things thus contaminated*resulting from the disruption of unity, the weakening of power, the abandonment of discipline and the adherence to liberty as playfulness, *one needs great wisdom. Not just the innate wisdom* (but, let us note), *that which people acquire with joking, good upbringing, reading, especially of stories and other teachings on the Commonwealth, advice, company of wise men, practice and touching and experiencing things themselves, their years and old age. But also you need to reach for the wisdom to heaven* (*Kazania sejmowe*, pp. 14–15). *Senators, what you need is wisdom from heaven. Because human wisdom might get lost and will not see or prevent everything* (ibid., p. 16).

[9] Let us note that Skarga's writings include elements of so-called the dualistic (gelazian) doctrine and its papalist variant, and also a hierocratic approach – once used by Włodkowic. Elements of all three positions can be recognized also in the writings of other Catholic polemicists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and thus the problem of so-called erastianism with which Catholics struggled may be grasped. Skarga, however, seems to refer mainly to the dualist tradition, treating 'temporal affairs', the affairs of 'Crown and Republic' as relatively different from those 'eternal', 'holy' or 'spiritual' matters, yet without a radical break of ties connecting both types of issues or both 'dimensions', without tearing apart man, who is a being that transcends a 'political plane' (towards the 'metaphysical dimension') and in a plane where he is embedded – a non-bodily or extra-bodily (spiritual) and carnal entity at the same time. The tradition which was close to him assumed that 'universal spiritual moment,' having a normative value, is carried out by the Church, which, (while exercising the authority of the type of*auctoritas*) is to testify to the identity of all its members in the spiritual plane, transferred to the order of the 'earthly state' through the guardians of secular power, those who did not establish legal norms arbitrarily nor did fall into the tyrannical power, because they were aware of the content of the rules which were also binding to them. The church proposed and presented a normative draft, but was not able to force it to implement it, but the ruling authorities were to apply coercion, possessing the authority of the *potestas* type (See: more in: B. Szlachta, 'Piotr Skarga SJ (1536–1612)', *Teologia Polityczna*, Vol. 9 (2016–2017), pp. 65–79).

reason'. It was to serve as a reference point for legislative activity undertaken by relatively numerous citizens, and not only by the king. Thus, the issue of confessional entanglement of the legislation, its instrumentalization against the pretensions of, for example, Roman Catholics, was moved to a somewhat further plane, for the sake of normatively merging of an over-denominational political whole. The problem of the existence of the Commonwealth as the 'object of love' of the citizen appeared especially in the statements of Skarga, who saw love as the main unifying factor indicated by the 'wisdom of God' by 'Lord Jesus, God and our Lord'; mutual love of people, 'peace between them and the holy consent', are the unifying moments that should be taken into account by all the rulers who had to 'light up' with *such a love for people or the Commonwealth*[10] especially (though not only) when fathers and guardians discuss issues of common good for the subjects. It's none other than *God raised them to high offices* but he did not do it for them not alone *or for their benefit, but for the people* whom *God has entrusted with justice and peace, which they got from God*.[11]

It turns out that Skarga found the provenance of 'justice and peace' in God himself, however, taking into account some elements of the dualistic (gelazian) doctrine he saw secular rulers rather than priests to be in charge of dealing with the common good, to be 'minds and heads' of the subjects; the Church was not to indicate the content of 'common good', but them; the hierarchs of the Church were to lecture on the content of the 'wisdom of God', which should be taken into account by laity in determining the content of the 'common good'. This content came to them as if from the outside, from the side of priests, it was not determined by them because of their lack of appropriate 'epistemic capacity', unjustifiably attributed to themselves by some of the secular superiors ruling in 'Protestant political entities' (also mentioned by Tarnowski[12], noticing that Catholic rulers

[10] Piotr Skarga, *Kazania sejmowe*, p. 32.

[11] Ibid., p. 34.

[12] Tarnowski argued in connection with Skarga's *Sejm sermons* that *one cannot imagine in today's world [which was late nineteenth century!] a preacher who would accuse some parliamentary majority of misconduct pointing that it adopts laws against morality or those harmful to the state, that it is wrong in its unjust treatment of a minority, who would accuse government that it uses impure means to secure a victory, falsifies the electoral lists etc. It would be considered something strange, it would be said that there are necessities that can*

sometimes also performed this 'attribution'[13]). The Pope and other Church hierarchs were not to determine the content of the 'common good', in particular the content of legal norms; this was to be done by lay people, whose responsibility in this regard was great, although they did not work for the Church (not as participants of the political community), for the 'Crown and the Republic' (it is ameaningful contrast, referring us to the previously mentioned Kromer) known by Jesuits as 'mother Church'.

Placing by many authors of the Jagiellonian era, not only Orzechowski or Rotundus, the analyses of individual freedom in the context of the 'proper measure' associated not only with normative measures, but also with the immortal soul and God, to whom this soul is heading, leads to reflection and the entanglement of choices carried out by the will of the moral subject in relation to human law, and – again – over the law of the 'higher order' and over the relation of man-made law to it. It seems that Orzechowski, Skarga, and many others (even the already mentioned Wolan, and also – in reference to the leaders of the Teutonic Order – much earlier Włodkowic and his contemporaries) entangled the human will into a normative context, seeing the freedom of the subject using the will as achieved or fulfilled when he chooses what the standard requires (this applies to the choices made by the king's 'legislative will' as well as the choices of each other subject)[14]. It also seems that the thinkers

not be avoided, that every government has the right to defend its rule and that the preacher mingles into affairs that are beyond him (*Pisarze polityczni XVI wieku*, p. 348).

[13] One can also ask whether Skarga's reflections do not ask a question present also today in the reflection on the so-called democratic or liberal democratic societies, about the epistemic ability to recognize the content or conditions of God who are to give 'justice and peace' through the so-called electorate; apparently, its members now have influence (at least postulatively) on political decisions, and not just their representatives. In the conviction of Skarga, reason is absent in 'common people' who care for their particular interests (See: *Kazania sejmowe*, especially pp. 134–138).

[14] Presenting in the sixth Sejm sermon four types of freedom, Skarga recognizes, for example, on the one hand 'holy freedom' as good (*Do not serve sins and devil, and avoid the tyranny of hell*), on the other, independence from foreign lords and pagan kings (not being subject to them *but to ours or those chosen by us*), and finally the 'golden freedom' of the third (*not to have a tyrant, or not to serve such a king that he would have us, as he wished, regardless of the law, judged, killed, and possess our goods, daughters and wives, and do what he pleases, regardless of God and righteousness*). Fourth freedom or the fourth kind of freedom is called 'freedom of hell' or 'devil's freedom' and means *living without law, without office, do not care for authority, do not give way to the wise and elderly, have*

of this period considered living in community as a natural, and therefore an effective and fair way to achieve moral goals, indicated by law, but directed not at what is temporal but at the afterlife; the implementation of moral goals required, therefore, free acceptance of the normative order, postulatively reflected in human law defining the rules of behavior in the community (the Commonwealth) and the free will of the free person (also participating in creating the norms), freedom of the possessor, remaining in the state of freedom or practicing freedom.

We know that the sixteenth century was dominated the disputes

freedom to sin, to kill and take away (all quotes from *Kazania sejmowe*, pp. 126–128. See: also p. 144 and next (considerations about the relation of rights and freedoms). The first three freedoms or types of freedom explicitly report the will of the subjects towards the normative order that human law precedes, or even to such a law. Such liberties or such kinds of freedom are achieved only when the will of the subject chooses not what is sinful or contrary to the law (see, in particular, the eighth sermon), but what indicates order; if this is the will of the ruler, he is already conformed to the norm, sometimes a legal norm (this issue is important for everyone who reflects like Skarga, for example, B. Szlachta, 'O problematyczności uchwał ludu jako źródeł prawa (na przykładzie 'Polityki' Arystotelesa)', in: M. Marczewska-Rytko, S. Stępień (ed.), *Polska-Europa-świat. Prace politologiczne i historyczne. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Edwardowi Olszewskiemu z okazji 70. rocznicy urodzin*, Lublin 2012, p. 35–47, oraz idem, 'Prawo a pożytek jako dwa węzły spajające wspólnotę u Cycerona (uwagi wprowadzające)', in: Z. Władek et al. (ed.), *Księga życia i twórczości. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Romanowi A. Tokarczykowi*, V: *Prawo*, Lublin 2013, pp. 351–360). On the other hand, if the will of the subject chooses an act contrary to the requirements of order, sometimes (postulatively always) with the requirements of law, then none of the first three freedoms can be realized, because the choice opposing order is a sign of the implementation of the fourth, 'hellish' or 'devilish' freedom, the wrong one, identical with 'playfulness'. Skarga writes: *You are only tyrants to yourself, when you do not exercise your rights, but with false freedom and wantonness create obstacles for yourselves* (*Kazania sejmowe*, p. 37): While the members of the 'mother', 'Crown and Republic' are not enslaved by the 'God-fearing' after all, 'masters and kings', they themselves become tyrants when their freedom is wrong, when it is not just, but is rather agianst justice inscribed in the order of God and taught by priests. Also in this respect one can speculate on how much it is advisable to separate the will (even the wrong one) and the freedom of a given entity, but it is worth realizing that Skarga advises *You hurt yourselves and raise one over the other with tyranny, not executing laws, and limiting God's power wherever you need it* (ibid). Despite these possible speculations, it is worth noting that it implies an unusual (but is it legitimate and well-founded?) faith in the saturation of law with content that should be chosen by will to confirm the freedom of a particular moral subject who is a member of the political community.

initiated in the Renaissance, strengthened and certainly enriched during the Reformation; that apart from crystallizing, based on different reasons and coming from various premises, the doctrines of the monarch's absolutism, not only new concepts of state and law were established in this period, but also new approaches to politics; that the discussions caused by Republican Venetian and Florentine thinkers of the first half of the sixteenth century, Sarpi and Machiavelli, Giannotti and Contarini, and the decline of irethnic tendencies in France of the last quarter of this century led to the establishment of tendencies emphasising the position of the political ruler as the only keystone of the political community on the other hand, tendencies emphasizing the sovereign character of the community as a whole or its representatives as the source of power of those who personified the whole of the community; we know, and probably (at least according to Tarnowski) they were also known by Polish thinkers of the sixteenth century, arrangements made by French 'politicians' and supporters of Jean Bodin's position based on the premises found in Roman law, indicating the need to submit the full authority in one organ, whose order it is a source of law and the theses of radical 'monarchomachs', both from the Protestant and Catholic camps, which exaggerate usefulness for the community or its representatives as a criterion for the lasting of the ruler, and hence undermine the hereditary title of monarchs. We also know that critics of new approaches, freeing political reflection from the relation to the universal religious and ethical foundations of the Pope and a community of faith and doctrine rooted in the teaching of Christ, which expose the qualitative differences of political and religious-ethical aims, the separateness of the public and private spheres, even the independence of law as a 'command of the sovereign' from conditions reaching those normative domains, was accompanied by opposition of many political thinkers referring to late medieval Christian reflection, exposing the conditions of the existence of the universal Christian community, the limits of established law and the model of the political ruler, contributing to the duration of this community and beyond the limits of the freedom to decide about the content of the law. Disputes dividing the irenists and supporters of the national churches, conciliarists and papalists, opposing the attempts to question the unity of the Church, polemics between erastianists, subordinating the Church to the state, followers of the gelazian

dualistic doctrine, defending the autonomy of the Church towards political rulers, and ultramontic hierocrats, advocating papal authority also in the political plane did not only divide Western thinkers, but also made an impression on discussions of Polish authors. Nevertheless, the style of political thinking in the 15th and 16th centuries, almost two centuries of Jagiellonian rule in a vast monarchy located between East and West, was dominated by approaches exposing the moment of entanglement of the legislator (as well as every individual) into a 'higher normative order' (which was still used as a 'legal' value), and the moment of linking the citizen with the political whole to which he belongs, and the moment of community which was slowly washed away not so much from reflection (iuntil the 18th century), but from the current political activity, and perhaps even from 'political practice'. Three of these moments, which are often displaced by other moments, more 'legal-positive', 'legitimate' and 'individualistic', still require reflection; maybe more than the usually raised problem of the 'Jagiellonian idea' as justification for attempts to strengthen the position of the Polish State towards its ever stronger neighbours should be remembered from the presentations of contemporary authors contemporary to the Polish rulers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries?

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The Cracovian Precursors of *Ius Gentium* in the Jagellonian and Contemporary Periods

Wanda Bajor*

Poland never agreed to the theory of an empire built upon the ruin of national sovereign kingdoms (…).[1]

In the introduction to his work, *The Medieval Polish Doctrine of the Law of Nations: Ius Gentium*, Stanisław Wielgus ascertains: *If, for example, one of the criteria for being 'European' lies in respect for human rights, particularly respect for the rights of neighbouring countries, as well as ethnic minorities living in a given country, then Poland had already met that criterion at the start of the 15th century, a full 120 years before any other European state. Poland had then already developed appropriate legal principles which guaranteed those freedoms. Not only did Poland develop those principles, it defended them before the highest international tribunal of the time and, most importantly, Poland put them into practice*.[2] He stresses that it is not by chance that Poland, for many centuries and through the difficult period of the Reformation and later, was an exceptionally tolerant, democratic country, respecting the freedom of dissenters and national minorities.[3]

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[1] S.F. Bełch, *Paulus Vladimiri and his Doctrine Concerning International Law and Politics*, Vol. I, London–The Hague–Paris 1965, p. 21.

[2] S. Wielgus, *The Medieval Polish Doctrine of the Law of Nations: Ius Gentium*, transl. J.M. Grondelski, Lublin 1998, p. 9.

[3] See: ibid.

Today, when the cultural identity of Europe is discussed and one endeavours to determine who can be called a 'true European' and 'democrat', it is worthwhile recalling these facts in order to seek advice in the experience and great intellectual and spiritual heritage of this identity's co-authors. This truth was very adequately expressed by Bernard of Chartres in the 12th century in his well-known phrase: *We are dwarves who have mounted the shoulders of giants, thence we see more and farther than they do, not because our eyesight is sharper or our height is greater, but because they are the ones who have lifted us up thanks to their gigantic stature*.[4] The virtues and ideas which inspired Polish men of learning in the Jagellonian age, creating a modern, wise, tolerant and universal system of international law, are a great intellectual investment, thus the 'sleeping giant' needs to be awoken and invited to act in *the planning of new forms of state activity, of social subjects, culture-forming circles, of educational systems and leaders of present-day community life*. Our world at the beginning of the 21st century, marked out by dangerous and bloody conflicts of an ethnic nature, by a constant violation of human rights and those of smaller nations, by military threats with weapons of mass extermination, by the devastation of the natural environment, etc., requires this type of ideological inspiration in order to be able to find effective solutions to these immense global problems.

When we speak today of the 'rights and freedom' of a human being, it seems that we could learn much from our predecessors, the founders of the Polish school of the Law of Nations, whose genius and outstanding courage brought about the defence of fundamental human rights in relation to the highest tribunals and the establishment of the contemporary world. Looking at their achievements, we should consider whether the present-day formulation of these laws is not too restrictive, solely concentrated on the sphere of rights, overlooking that of responsibility and duties in relation to one's self, other human beings, as well as to human communities. The question should be asked whether the contemporary theory of freedom, understood as an unconstrained liberty, detached from philosophical anthropology, does not jeopardize Euro-Atlantic civilization, founded on Christian values and based upon Greek, Roman and Jewish culture.

[4] Cit. after: J. Le Goff, *Inteligencja w wiekach średni*ch, transl. E. Bąkowska, Warszawa 1997, p. 32.

Moreover, the system of international law elaborated by the Cracovian scholars constituted a foundation for the creation and defence of the union of the Kingdom of Poland with the Grand-Duchy of Lithuania making a 'Republic of Two Nations'. This Polish-Lithuanian state of the Jagiellonian dynasty was a multi-national community, a federation of duchies and regions; it secured the autonomy of peoples of different languages, religions and cultures. The quality of Polish aristocratic culture, together with a respect of the rights of the individual and a policy of ideas of freedom and equality, was so strong that not only the Lithuanian-Ruthenian, but also the German nobility succumbed to polonization. This specific community of cultures and traditions, which was formed by Lithuanians, Ruthenians, Germans, Armenians and Jews, persecuted in the West and coming over in great numbers,[5] may serve as an example for today's plans of creative co-operation and the integration of many cultures and religions, benefiting from tolerance and the retention of their own national identity.

The aim of this paper is to recall and discover anew the forgotten intellectual capital which is the Polish medieval doctrine of the Law of Nations, and which comprises an integral exposition of human laws so modern that it could be considered necessary today.

It is an invitation to consider, as the eminent philosopher of the previous century, Edmund Husserl, proposed in his lectures on the subject of the crisis of European humanity, whether the humanities may become a remedy for nations and supranational communities (after the fashion of the natural sciences), which would heal European nations.

Historical background

In the *Corpus iuris canonici* there is the statement: '*Ex facto ius oritur*', which in the case of birth of the Polish doctrine of *ius gentium*, refers to the fact of the long-lasting bloody and destructive dispute between Poland and the Teutonic Knights. The Teutonic Knights[6] (originally called the

[5] See: J. Kłoczowski, *Decydujący etap – wiek XIV–XV*, in: idem (ed.), *Uniwersalizm i swoistość kultury polskiej*, Vol. I, Lublin 1989, pp. 85–86.

[6] The name 'Krzyżacy' in Polish (Cross-Bearers) came from the black crosses which appeared on the white cloaks of the members of the Order. The roots of the Order, in the form of a German hospital in Jerusalem, already existed at the start of the 12th century.

Order of Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem), after being expelled from Transylvania by King Andrew II in the year 1225, were established by the Polish Duke Conrad of Mazovia in the region of Chełmno, in exchange for protection against the aggression of the pagan Prussians. In submitting the pagan Prussians to a gradual extermination, the Order organized in this territory a powerful military state, of which the Church was by no means its most important part. Despite protests lodged at the papal court, the Order conducted a brutal policy of expansion and conversion by sword on neighbouring lands. This type of activity of the Order was ostensibly warranted by missionary campaigns or the protection of Christianity against the attacks of infidels. The Teutonic Knights referred to the ideology of the holy war, justifying aggressive action, maintaining that it was the mission of the Order to subdue barbaric nations in a military fashion in order to convert them to Christianity.

Christianization by force had its origin in the policies of Charlemagne. This practice of this ruler was opposed by Alcuin who reminded him that the proper way to gain souls for Christ was that of love. However, the few who voiced such criticism had little influence and the crusades against the pagan Slavs were led with the same brutal force as those against the Saracens in Palestine and Spain. Such action was sanctioned by documents issued by ecclesiastical and lay authorities, for instance the highly influential *Golden Bull* (1226) of Frederick II, in which he identifies himself with the Church (wishing to create something of a 'secular papacy') and arrogated for himself the right to convert the whole of the world to the Christian faith. In this document, the German rulers identified the interests of the empire with those of the faith and sanctioned draconian methods of 'conversion' to Christianity, giving the emperor the right to destroy, convert and subjugate all barbaric nations.[7]

The Teutonic Knights founded their existence and actions on many real or false privileges, including the above-mentioned *Golden Bull*, in which the emperor, referring to his rights of 'ruler of the world', confirmed the bestowing on the Order of the land of Chełmno by Conrad of Mazovia. After the conquest of Prussia, Poland together with Lithuania and Samogitia were under threat, as well as orthodox Ruthenia, which was a likely future 'candidate' for conversion. Meanwhile, the union

[7] See: S.F. Bełch, *Paulus Vladimiri…*, p. 56.

of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand-duchy of Lithuania, stood in the way of the expansion of the Order. This union was the result of the marriage of the Polish queen, Jadwiga, with the Lithuanian duke, Władysław Jagiełło, which necessitated both his baptism and Lithuania's Christianization (1386) and, in consequence, the successful and peaceful conversion of the Lithuanian people to Christianity. This was a voluntary act of the nations of the Union to enter into the Latin circle of *Christianitas* and a peaceful coalition of many cultures: Polish-Latin, Lithuanian, deriving from paganism, as well as Ruthenian-Orthodox, unlike the bloody conquest of the Teutonic Knights supported by the Christian world.

This epoch-making event dealt a catastrophically strong blow to the Teutonic Knights, anticipating the end of their mission, for how were they now to justify their conquests under the guise of defence of the faith? In this situation, they multiplied their military attacks, initiating an extremely aggressive propaganda campaign by proclaiming a charge that the marriage of Jagiełło and Jadwiga was invalid, that Jagiełło's conversion was insincere and that the Christianization of the Lithuanians was make-believe. Presenting themselves as defenders of Christianity against the aggression of 'barbarians', they gained many adherents from among the knightly classes, as well as among intellectuals in the West, among whom was the well-known philosopher Pierre of Ailly who called for a crusade against Poland to defend the threatened Teutonic Knights. The climax of such propaganda was a text disseminated in the West, namely *Satira* written to order by John of Falkenberg, just after the battle of Grunwald. This work defamed King Władysław Jagiełło for his alliance with pagans and schismatics (the Tartars and Ruthenians) and called for the extermination of the Poles as a nation, thus justifying the predatory wars of the Order of Teutonic Knights. It was only by dint of the determination and persistent efforts of the Polish delegation that *Satira* was condemned and its author imprisoned.[8]

After the victorious battle of the allied forces of Poland and Lithuania at Grunwald in 1410, the matter of the dispute between Poland and the Teutonic Knights came to light at the forum of the Council of Constance (1415–1418), which at that time was the highest ranking

[8] See: S. Wielgus, *The Medieval Polish Doctrine…*, pp. 57–58; A. Nowak, *Dzieje Polski*, Vol. 3: *1340–1468 Królestwo zwycięskiego orła*, Kraków 2017, pp. 186–187.

international forum, gathering the most eminent individuals. Defending the Polish reasons of state at the council, Paweł Włodkowic (Paulus Vladimiri) presented his own formulation of the Polish doctrine of the law of international relations, one which matured in the milieu of the University of Kraków. The members of the Polish delegation were well prepared for their mission, both the Poles, their colleagues and teachers (headed by Francis Zabarella) of the time of Italian studies, represented a high intellectual standard. It was headed by the Archbishop of Gniezno, Mikołaj Trąba, responsible for negotiations with Sigismund of Luxemburg, while his secretary was Piotr Wolfram of Lwów. However, the immediate diplomatic and intellectual battle with the Order of Teutonic Knights was fought by Paweł Włodkowic.[9]

The conflict between Poland and the Teutonic Knights took place on two fronts, namely military and ideological. As regards the latter, the Polish scholars' purpose was to denounce the calumnies thrown at King Władysław Jagiełło and the Lithuanians by the propagandists of the Teutonic Knights; to prove that the war waged by Poland against the Teutonic Knights was a just one; that the Order's aggression was unlawful and criminal; that in resisting such aggression, it is permitted to enter into an alliance with infidels; that pagans have a right to exist as an independent state, as well as to hold other properties; that one cannot invade pagans living in peace; and that all people, not excluding pagans, have a right to self-defence, when they are unjustly attacked.[10]

In discussing the dispute between Poland and the Teutonic Knights regarding the aspect of a clash of two concepts, namely a just war and a holy war, present-day historians indicate two fundamental normative orders which may be distinguished here, the first of which regulated relations between countries within *Christianitas* itself. On the one hand, there is the confrontation of the Christian world with the Teutonic Knights and their 'legal' mission of conversion by sword with expansion and

[9] The remaining participants of the delegation were: Andrzej Łaskarz, then Bishop-elect of Poznań, the Bishop of Płock, Jakub of Korzkiew, a Cracovian doctor of theology, Andrzej of Kokorzyn, Canon Piotr Bolesta and lay gentlemen – the castellan of Kalisz Janusz of Tuliszków and the famous knight Zawisza Czarny. See: P. Czartoryski, 'Średniowiecze', In: B. Suchodolski (ed.), *Historia nauki polskiej*, Vol. I, Wrocław et al. 1970, pp. 139–140.

[10] See: S. Wielgus, *The Medieval Polish Doctrine…*, p. 59.

domination in mind. On the other hand, was the legitimate claim of the Poles to regain territories taken in such a way and for whom the common plane was that of Christian values. The second order was that which regulated relations between the Christian world and that which did not belong to it (the pagan world), lacking a subjectivity and solely constituting an object of activity for the first (as, for example, conversion by the sword and confiscating territory). By wanting to transpose the dispute with Poland onto such relations (Christians-pagans), the Teutonic Knights questioned the authenticity of the baptism of the Polish king, Władyslaw Jagiełło, and that of Lithuania itself. The delegation of Polish lawyers was able to hold its ground in this dispute within *Christianitas,* fighting on equal terms. Owing to their intellectual superiority, they crushed the Teutonic Knights as though these were ignorant 'barbarians'. The Poles questioned both of the afore-mentioned normative orders, arguing that the treatment of some as a subject of law and duty and others solely as an object of the first, is incompatible with the essence of Christianity. This was an extraordinary courageous and radical rejection of the hitherto existing normative order representing two states, namely that of the religious and of the knights in the defence of international justice.[11]

The Polish founders of the Law of Nations and its sources

The main founder of the Polish doctrine of the Law of Nations is the Cracovian scholar and diplomat, Paweł Włodkowic (+1435/6) and the first rector of Kraków University and diplomat, Stanisław of Skarbimierz (+1431). From their extant writings we may learn of the Polish theory of *ius gentium* in which the concept of a just war is the point of departure. These theories were representative of the opinions of Poles, the Royal Court and the knightly class of the time.

Chronologically, the first important source of the Polish doctrine of *ius gentium* is the university sermon *De bellis iustis* of Stanisław of Skarbimierz (dated 1410 or 1414), written before one of the wars between Poland and the Teutonic Knights (preceded by a sermon of Bishop Jakub Kurdwanowski given to Polish forces a few weeks before the battle of Grunwald). It was addressed to the contemporary Polish elite,

[11] See: Z. Tau, T. Tulejski (ed.), *Bellum iustum versus bellum sacrum*, *Uniwersalny spór w refleksji średniowiecznej. Konstancja 1414–1418*, Toruń 2014, pp. 16–22.

among whom the Teutonic Knights had spread propaganda with the intent of halting King Władysław Jagiełło from carrying out an armed campaign against the Order. The remaining writings of this author dedicated to the study of this subject are *Sermo, quod sapientia sit armis bellicis praeponenda* and *Consilia contra astrologum Henricum Bohemum*.

Paweł Włodkowic's writings are of substantial importance among Polish sources of the theory of *ius gentium*, having been composed after the victorious battle of Grunwald, when Poland was set in the pillory of accusations of being an aggressor allied with pagans and schismatics in a war against Christians. These are the texts of pronouncements made at the Council of Constance where Włodkowic was the representative of the Polish king in the conflict between Poland and the Teutonic Knights, as well as writings in which he defended the Polish reasons of state against the Teutonic Knights before the pope and the emperor. They take the form of treatises, letters, legal conclusions, supplications and sentences. These comprise the following texts: 1) *Tractatus de potestate papae*; 2) *Tractatus de potestate papae et imperatoris respectu infidelium*; 3) *Tractatus 'Opinio Hostiensis'*; 4) *Conclusiones tres I, II;* 5) *Articuli contra Cruciferos de Prussia*; 6) *Scriptum denunciatorium errorum in duobus tractatibus Ioannis Falkenberg*; 7) *Scriptum denunciatorium errorum Satirae Ioannis Falkenberg*; 8) *Litterae ad Regem Poloniae missae*; 9) *Ex parte Regis Poloniae in causa contra Cruciferos de Prussia ad Martinum Papam V supplicatio*; 10) *XXII positiones et articuli in causa Regis Poloniae contra Cruciferos de Prussia*; and 11) *Epistola ad Sbigneum episcopum Cracoviensem*. In the writings listed above, Włodkowic formulates a daring and innovatory doctrine of the Law of Nations on the basis of moral and legal problems in connection with the conflict between Poland and the Teutonic Knights. He bases his exposition on hitherto existing legal, philosophical and theological traditions.

The problem of the Law of Nations is also dealt with in two anonymous texts kept in the collection of the Jagiellonian Library. The first is a note (MS. BJ 723 and MS. BJ 1203), in which the author addresses the Polish king and argues, on the basis of comprehensive scientific literature, that he has the right to make use of the help of pagans and schismatics in the just war he is waging. He contends that the king may also support unbelievers by force of arms when they are unjustly attacked, even when the aggressors are Christians. Furthermore, he reminds one of the

truth that no one has the right to deprive non-Christians of their property, because they too are God's creatures, equal by nature, as Christians are. The second of these anonymous texts is a 14th century letter entitled *De iusto vel iniusto bello* (MSS. BJ 2126, BJ 2134, BJ 2140) in which its author quotes Raymond of Penyafort's four of the five conditions for a just war.

Another representative of the Polish school of the Law of Nations is Jakub of Szadek, a professor of law who represented Kraków University at the Council of Basel. He is the author of a work entitled *Oratio contra cruciferos* which contains the first systematic collection of principles of international diplomacy, which, in the opinion of historians, allows him to be considered as a precursor of Grotius. In his *Sermo,* Szadek in aiming to regain lands occupied by the Teutonic Knights, makes use of modern arguments taking into account toponymic, linguistic, ethnic, demographic and geographical data. He reminds one of the natural right of nations to rebel against subjugation by invaders.

The above-mentioned sources originated in a particular political situation and were to serve as an intellectual weapon used by Poles in their defence against the Teutonic Knights. Apart from the main creators of the Law of Nations, there were other distinguished lawyers acting in the 15th century; unfortunately their works perished in the fire that destroyed the Collegium Iuridicum of Kraków in 1719. We may only reconstruct the ideas on the subject of *ius gentium* of the milieu of Kraków University by referring to theological works, especially biblical commentaries, in which, occasionally although very competently, the problems of *ius gentium* were raised in connection with other relevant legal problems, such as those of the just war, and those concerning peace and the state. These comprise texts by Benedykt Hesse, Maciej of Łabiszyn, Mateusz of Kraków, and Stanisław of Zawada, among others.[12]

The research status quo

The problem of *ius gentium*, and of the theory of a just war with which it is combined, has been thoroughly researched by such eminent scholars as: A. W. Heffter, J. Schulte, J. Eppstein, K. Koranayi, J. L. Brierly, L. Ehrlich, A. Nussbaum, H. Kupiszewski, J. Rohls, and has been put to good account

[12] Sources quoted after: S. Wielgus, *The Medieval Polish Doctrine…*, pp. 12–20.

in handbooks on the history of law, particularly of international law. There is abundant literature regarding the Polish school of *ius gentium*. Starting from the 16th century, it has been dealt with by the following scholars: Marcin Kromer, Szymon Starowolski, Emanuel Schelstrate, Hermann von der Hardt, Thomas J. Schreiber, Jacob Caro, Constantin von Höfler, F. Kasparek, A. Prochaska, J. Fijałek, S. Krzyżanowski, P. Nieborowski, K. Völker, A. Niesiołowski, E. Lüdicke, K. Górski, T. Brzostowski, L. Ehrlich, E. Schulz, J. Moreau-Reibel, A. Bruce Boswell, H. D. Kahl, S. F. Bełch, S. E. Nahlik, T. Jasudowicz, Z. Rau and T. Tulejski. However, the fundamental works presenting the problem of the medieval Polish school of *ius gentium,* are works by three of the above-mentioned authors, namely: L. Ehrlich, S. F. Bełch and T. Jasudowicz.[13]

The philosophical foundation of *ius gentium* in the mediaeval Polish tought Paweł Włodkowic's method and its application

In his works and pronouncements concerning the dispute between Poland and the Teutonic Knights, Paweł Włodkowic applied an extremely well-thought-out methodology. As the dispute concerned both particular (state borders) and doctrinal questions regarding essential principles, he examined these problems taking into account two aspects: the doctrinal aspect in relation to general principles, namely *processus doctrinalis*, as well as the judiciary aspect regarding facts, namely, *processus iudicialis*. He distinguished precisely between methods belonging to legal matters and methods proper to theology and philosophy. In putting forward the matter of regaining territories occupied by the Teutonic Knights, he acted as an advocate of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand-Duchy of Lithuania. However, in doctrinal controversies before the tribunal of scholars and public opinion, he acted as a scholar and rector, whereas during the Council he discusses a given matter in its dogmatic aspect and acted as a theologian and public prosecutor. The subject of the conflict developed from one of a territorial dispute in the sphere of international law, into one on universal ethical and political principles, reaching the philosophical and theological sphere and covering the concept of God and His rule over the world, missionary law, the cognitive possibilities of the human mind as regards the question of objective norms of behaviour and judgement

[13] S. Wielgus provides a full bibliography (until 1998) on the subject, ibid., pp. 11–25.

in the light of human activity in complicated international situations.[14]

Włodkowic's purpose was to give the matter a universal signification on the plane of general principles, so as to question the whole point of the existence of the Order, as well as to undermine it in the opinion of the West. This universal significance was warranted by the common values represented by *Christianitas*, in whose midst both parties of the conflict found themselves. At the same time, Włodkowic never lost sight of the balance between abstract ideas, legal, universal or moral principles and the factual reality, and *vice versa*. He placed strong emphasis on the fact that a concrete reality should correspond to concepts and strove to explain given phenomena by a precise comprehension of their nature. An example of this type of philosophical argumentation was the giving of evidence that the Order of Teutonic Knights was not that, which it claimed to be or was held as such by others. The full title of the Teutonic Knights used in papal documents ran: 'Brothers Hospitallers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Teutonic House.' If one accepts the Aristotelian method that the essence of something is described by the aim it realises, then Włodkowic was able to declare that the Teutonic Knights did not realise their aim for the sheer reason that they did not possess hospitals. To be a 'hospitaller' without a hospital was contradictory to the natural order – hence the conclusion that Teutonic Knights were not the 'hospitallers' whom they pretended to be. As this was an empty name which in no way corresponded to reality, their existence was without purpose and of no value and was, indeed, some kind of anomaly.[15] Furthermore, the Knights did not fulfil a religious purpose in the case of a religious order, one that would lead man to God, to which also belong acts of mercy and the protection of the weak and oppressed, whereas the Teutonic Knights lived in fortresses rolling in wealth and waged savage, bloody wars. In respect of the above, Włodkowic formed the following conclusion: taking into account those for whom donations and privileges were granted, in this case, according to papal and imperial documents, these were granted to 'hospitallers' for the purpose of maintaining hospitals and not to build an independent monastic state – this was not in keeping with the law while such donations were not the Teutonic Knights' due; in their case the name 'hospitallers' was null and did not correspond to reality. They also had no right to call themselves

[14] P. Czartoryski, 'Średniowiecze', p. 141; S.F. Bełch, *Paulus Vladimiri…*, pp. 207–208.

[15] See: ibid., pp. 209; 222.

a 'religious order'. In the light of principles of theology, they were not and cannot be a religious order, due to the reason that they wage cruel wars repugnant to all law, they invade Christian neighbours, and although they have taken the vow of poverty, they enrich themselves by pillaging. As the sheer essence and status of the Teutonic Knights are erroneous, they are not subject to any reforms and the only thing that can be done is to excommunicate them.[16]

As regards the legal-judiciary aspect of Paweł Włodkowic's pronouncements, he relied on the legal axiom that in judicial matters, both international and private, the law and justice are depend on factual and real incidents. He insisted that what is most important is the truth about facts and their factual circumstances, supported by direct experience and by giving an ear to trustworthy witnesses. He made use of the pragmatic method of induction, *a posteriori*. In order to issue a just verdict, the tribunal must possess proof based on facts, for the law emerges from facts (*ex facto ius oritur*). In turn, thoroughly researched facts should be studied in the light of the principles and norms of justice. Włodkowic also rejected the defence applied by the Teutonic Knights, one based solely on the speculative-deductive and *a priori* method of proof, as incapable of proving material facts. Resorting to *reductio ad absurdum*, he shows that argumentation in legal matters by way of speculation or learning alone, is just as incompatible as the study of colours using the sense of hearing. Relying on such an *a priori,* Falkenberg argues in his *Satira* that extermination of the whole of the Polish nation is in compliance with the law and a course of action meriting implementation. Such a deductive attitude, in Włodkowic's opinion excludes any doubt and does not admit a contrary argument, making a defence quite impossible, leading to dogmatism. Thus, using empty concepts leads to dangerous sophistry.[17]

In his methodology, the Polish scholar reaches also for Aristotle's method of causal interpretation, analyzing key problems in the aspect of four causes, namely: final, efficient, material and formal. Following, however, the example of medieval practice, he refers to various authorities. In the analysis of divergent opinions, he applies probabilism, that is, from among many probable views he chooses that which he deems to be most

[16] Ibid., pp. 222–223.

[17] Ibid., p. 233.

probable; thus, he chooses the one which is in accordance with reason and is generally accepted.

We observe in the contemporary political discourse a tension between the option of those who opt for the motto 'let's choose the future' and those who value the role of so-called historical politics. Contemporary philosophers, abiding by the ancient principle *historia magistra vitae,* agree with the latter and warn of breaking with the past.[18] Włodkowic is an example of such an attitude as one making use of the historical method; before presenting the solution of a problem, he offers a historical review of relations between Poland and the Order of Teutonic Knights, formulating in this way a material base for his arguments and for the defence of the interests of his country. In applying the method of textual criticism, he studies the authenticity and legality of documents regarding the conflict and proves that some were forged, gained by force or by fraud. He does this by referring to those fields of knowledge, which we presently call auxiliary sciences of history, as e.g. heraldry and chronology, linguistics, topographical analysis and historical biographies. He sheds light on important problems from various perspectives, taking into account every nuance of opinion. He constructs a comprehensive and coherent system, founded on the whole of tradition, starting with antiquity, quoting the texts of accepted authorities. However, when he formulates his own revolutionary conclusions, he is alone, not relying on anyone.[19]

In the face of such an attitude and chosen methods of the Polish diplomat and scholar, a thought comes to the mind regarding the level of discourse in our times in today's intercultural and political relations. Could not Włodkowic's example serve to inspire contemporary intellectual, political and media elites in order that the formation of relations between different subjects be based on respect and a sound knowledge of facts,

[18] The contemporary philosopher, Roger Scruton writes: *I have no doubt that hope separated from faith and not taking into account the inferences of history is a dangerous instance which not only threatens its adherents, but also those who will find themselves within the orbit of its illusions*. R. Scruton, *Pożytki z pesymizmu i niebezpieczeństwa fałszywej nadziei* (*The Uses of Pessimism and the Danger of False Hope*), transl. T. Bieroń, Warszawa 2012, p. 5; So too the well-known logician, J. Bocheński wrote: *We are presently experiencing a crisis caused by a change of the spiritual situation and linked to this, a rupture with the fundamental visions accepted in the past*. J.M. Bocheński, *Polski testament. Ojczyzna, Europa, cywilizacja*, Warszawa 2006, p. 192.

[19] S.F. Bełch, *Paulus Vladimiri…*, pp. 234–235.

coupled with a high standard of professionalism and scientific qualifications? This should be so that by defining and solving both international and individual problems, empty sophistry may be avoided, as well as not succumbing to sinister utopias disengaged from reality, as those, which led mankind to accept false idealisms such as Nazism, fascism, communism, which brought about twentieth-century genocide.[20]

The unity of ethics and *praxis*

One does not need to comment on the fact that the founders of the Polish school of the Law of Nations accepted the Christian vision of man, established in the European philosophical tradition. In the aspect of faith, the human being is understood as having been created by God in His image and likeness; he/she is distinguished by rationality, freedom and dignity, as well as finality of action, which allows him/her to achieve perfection. The main author of the Law of Nations, Paweł Włodkowic accepted the 13th century Augustinian concept of man in which his freedom, inscribed into his nature, is greatly emphasized. Freedom of choice is a great gift while constituting, at the same time, a difficult task of responsibility for him/herself, as well as for the whole world. The human being possesses 'natural human reason' which co-operates with the will and conscience and is, therefore, capable of understanding the metaphysical order, his/her place in this, his nature and the ethical norms which result from this. The norms given to man by God are, in Włodkowic's opinion, simple and easily recognizable, hence the ignorance of these and an erring conscience (due to ignorance) does not acquit, but accuse. A guilty and obstinate persistence in evil cannot be tolerated and should be opposed. Opposition should also be shown to all who subscribe to such an attitude. Włodkowic had in mind here the unjust war waged by the Teutonic Knights and all those who supported them and aided them in their crimes.[21]

One of the specific characteristics of Polish medieval philosophy was its practicalism, which found expression both in the doctrinal sphere,

[20] Quite a few analogies come to mind here as regards contemporary political practice – here in the face of the globalised world, we are menaced by centralized dissident circles and decisions accepted *a priori*, not backed by experience and sound knowledge of concrete facts and singular occurrences, effectuating a rupture with reality and leading to injustice.

[21] See: S. Wielgus, *The Medieval Polish Doctrine…*, pp. 86–89.

as well as in the serious involvement of many Polish philosophers in matters social and political. The authors of the Polish doctrine of the Law of Nations, Stanisław of Skarbimierz and Paweł Włodkowic belonged to this current of practicalism. As both were not only scholars and diplomats and lawyers, but also philosophers, they kept a universalistic perspective in all their discussions and legal expositions, constantly referring to the ethical sphere. Historians have observed that the exterioristic practicalism of the Polish authors of *ius gentium* should not be merged with the European current of political practicalism of the Machiavellian type. Their practicalism is of a specific nature, for, contrary to its European version, it preserves the unity of ethics and *praxis*. The final point of reference of the Cracovian scholars in their legal-philosophical exposition was practical wisdom and not the public interest. This is to be seen explicitly in Stanisław of Skarbimierz when he values the role of wisdom in the state more than the force of arms, and makes love of one's neighbour the guide of law.[22] As historians emphasize, both political practice (among others), the election of a king, widely represented parliament in pristine Poland, along with the doctrine of the Law of Nations, were founded on Christian values, particularly on the respect of equality and freedom of everyone, and it was a definite rejection of Machiavellianism and every possible despotism. On the contrary, it marked the way to modern democracy.[23]

The theory of the just war

The Polish doctrine of *ius gentium* derives from the concept of a just war (*bellum iustum*), which was formulated by the first rector of the Kraków Academy, Stanisław of Skarbimierz in the form of a sermon entitled *De bellis iustis* around the year 1410. This is one of the earliest, probably the first legal treatise in European scientific literature (despite its having the form of a sermon) on the subject of international relations and on the laws of a public war. This text discusses the current and burning problem

[22] *Non est autem concordia, nisi ubi regnat caritas, quae «multutudinis credentium facit cor unum et animam unam» (...). Proinde, ut res publica crescendo crescat, opus est ut divinis legibus et Dei sapientia dirigatur, nec sibi de armorum multitudine, nisi sapientiam habuerit, blandiatur, quia «melior est sapientia quam arma bellica»*. Stanisław of Skarbimierz, (XLVI) *Sermo, quod sapientia sit armis bellicis praeponenda*, in: *Stanisław ze Skarbimierza. Mowy wybrane o mądrości*, comp. M. Korolko, Kraków 1997, p. 126.

[23] M. Płotka, *Filozofia jako praktyka. Myśl krakowskiego praktycyzmu w XV i XVI wieku*, Warszawa 2016, pp. 137–138; See: S.F. Bełch, *Paulus Vladimiri…*, p. 99.

of the Teutonic Knights' warfare ravaging against Poland, Lithuania and Samogitia. Referring to earlier sources in the domain of theology, philosophy and law, the author gathered into one systematic whole the problems of warfare. Of crucial importance is that he pointed out the equality of Christians and pagans, resulting from the law of nature, as regards matters of peace and war, which had been hitherto questioned. He argued that a just war is admissible not only against pagans, but Christians also and that in a just war a Catholic ruler may be allowed to enter into alliance with non-believers; that the right to benefit from the aid of non-believers in order to assure peace ensues from natural law. Non-Christians also have a right to defend themselves against aggression in order to protect their property, especially their own country, which they have a right to possess.[24]

All Polish medieval scholars concerned with the problem of warfare, agree with the view that war is a necessary evil, acceptable only in the case when all other measures to ensure justice or withhold unjust aggression fail. Referring to such authorities as St. Augustine, Isidore of Seville, St. Thomas Aquinas, Raymond of Penyafort, Cracovian scholars define the concept of a just war and formulate its conditions, they establish how it should be conducted, and indicate the aims which it should secure. Włodkowic supplements the widely known five conditions of a just war, established by Raymond of Penyafort, (these are: 1. Only the laity may engage in warfare; 2. It can only be waged in order to regain illegally seized property or in defence of one's fatherland; 3. It must be a necessary means for restoring peace; 4. It cannot be motivated by hatred, vengeance or greed, but by zeal for the law of God, love and a sense of justice; 5. It must be supported by the authority of the Church, especially when it is waged in the interests of the faith) with his own three conditions, namely: the duty to study the justness of war, which demands diagnosis and a legitimate declaration of its causes; proof from law and that based on facts are to be presented; supposition of its justness is insufficient. This is an obligation for everyone

[24] See: L. Ehrlich, *Polski wykład prawa wojny XV wieku. Kazanie Stanisława ze Skarbimierza 'De bellis iustis'*, Warszawa 1955, pp. 3–14; The doctrine which was formulated by Stanisław of Skarbimierz in his *Sermon*, was introduced into international practice only in the middle of the 19th century, when Turkey being a non-Christian country was admitted to the European international community; the importance of this doctrine will be fully realized during the Nürnberg process. See: P. Czartoryski, 'Średniowiecze', p. 141.

who intends to unleash a war, including the pope or emperor who are the authorities issuing warrants for warfare.[25]

However, a different Cracovian scholar, Benedykt Hesse omitted the first and third of these conditions, proposing two others, namely: 1. An uninterrupted continuity of incitement to war; 2. A permanent attitude of enmity on the part of one's opponent. Cracovian scholars constantly stressed that for international relations regulated by *ius gentium,* good faith, honesty, good will and pure intentions are necessary for both parties. They forbade the waging of war in an undignified or villainous way, ruling out wars for the sake of booty, power and other similar advantages.

Taking up the subject of the war with the Teutonic Knights in his pronouncements, Paweł Włodkowic showed that the waging of war does not constitute the destiny of a religious order, but that of lay organizations as armed conflict is not a religious act. In the opinion of our author, by defending the opposite doctrine, the Order of Teutonic Knights and all who support it, commit heresy, and which is hostile to faith and the human community, infecting the whole of Europe by its error and cruel application.[26]

Touching upon the question of peace in connection with war, the Cracovian scholars accepted that this is a natural state of things, one which is highly desirable as a condition of normal life and development of the human being. It also has its profound justification in the law of God, for Christ said : 'I leave you peace, my peace I give you.' As the highest good, peace should be protected in all possible ways. War, however, is evil in itself, but is justified only when its purpose is the attainment and establishment of peace, and this in turn is only possible by restoring justice. Even then it is to be treated as a last resort.[27]

Regarding the problem of a just war, we are dealing with a medieval stereotype, which was the division of the world into the 'Christian' one and the 'non-Christian' – called 'pagan' or 'barbarian' and, what follows, their dichotomous valuation and division of norms. The Polish authors of the Law of Nations, having had experience of the Polish-Lithuanian

[25] L. Ehrlich, *Polski wykład…*, pp. 59–60; S. Wielgus, *The Medieval Polish Doctrine…*, p. 67.

[26] *In virtue of this, one may have a clear answer to the following question: that the Teutonic Knights etc., fighting the peaceful non-believers as such, never waged a just war. This is obvious, because the law speaks against those who attack the ones who wish to live in peace.* Cit. after: *Bellum iustum versus bellum*, p. 382.

[27] See: S. Wielgus, *The Medieval Polish Doctrine…*, pp. 92–93.

Union whose territory joined the peaceful co-existence of pagan peoples representing a religious multiculture, did away with this stereotype; having accepted natural law as one common to all peoples, they defended the law of equal treatment. We may ask, who then was the barbarian – whether it was the Poles, defending the rights of conquered nations deprived of subjectivity or the Teutonic Knights converting others by force. Today, the so-called modern democracies existing within the structure of the European Union, unfortunately succumb constantly to this stereotype. A proof of this is the need to remind ourselves of the appeal of a contemporary thinker (a successor of Włodkowic) and at the same time pope, John Paul II, who invited Europe to breathe using both lungs, having in mind the temptation of dividing it into a 'civilized' West and an East 'needing to be civilized.'

The Polish school of the Law of Nations and the laws of man

The Polish theory of *ius gentium* was formulated 200 years before Grotius (+1645) and over 100 years before the works of scholars considered to be precursors of this law, namely: N. Machiavelli; Francisco de Vitoria; B. de Las Casas; P. Belli; B. Ayala; J. Bodin; F. Suarez and A. Gentili. When Francisco de Vitoria, a theologian in Salamanca, was writing his renowned lectures (*On the law of war* and *On the American Indians*) in connection with the analogical situation of the subjugation of American Indians by the Spanish, he formulated strikingly similar principles (basing his writings on the same sources as those of the Cracovian masters), he was undoubtedly unaware of the fact of having Polish precursors. Gentili made use of de Vitoria's texts at the end of the 16th century and Grotius at the beginning of the 17th century. Despite this, it is Grotius, who stands at the end and not at the beginning of the first phase of the development of international law and whose writings regarding international procedures are very undeveloped, who is considered to be the author of the Law of Nations. However, the original and innovative theory of *ius gentium* of which Polish medieval scholars were the authors, is still barely known, notwithstanding what some scholars maintain (e.g. S. Bełch), that it was by far superior and more polished from the legal point of view.[28] Although it was strongly based

[28] Wielgus wonders why the theory of the Poles was not valued and forgotten. He indicates the following causes: after a peace treaty was concluded in Toruń in 1466, the Teutonic Knights lost their repute and importance, the whole documentation regarding the Polish-Teutonic Knight's conflict fell into oblivion. Furthermore, apart from the general ignorance in the West of that happens to the East of Germany as if this were an intellec-

on existing theories, especially the concepts espoused by Pope Innocent IV, it was original, innovative and universal to such an extent that it could be accepted as universally binding by Church councils, as well as lay rulers.[29] The novelty of the Poles consisted mainly in this, that it was the first to systemize and clearly explain the principles of the co-existence of nations, as well as to construct a synthetically expressed uniform doctrine, based on a widely conceived the Law of Nations (*ius gentium*), as well as on empirical material taken from the specific case of the conflict between Poland and the Teutonic Knights. It should be emphasized that the doctrine of the Poles was addressed to assembly of the Council, during which is was established amidst the heat of discussions and confronted with the circle of the most eminent minds of Europe at the time.

The Polish authors of the Law of Nations based their theory on the concept of *laws of nature* and *divine laws*. Paweł Włodkowic accepts that the source of law is nature which sets norms and constitutes their measure; this is not, however, nature in the sense of the Stoic cosmos, but

tual desert, the cause was a lack of the publication of Włodkowic's works and of the text of Stanisław's *De bellis iustis*. Even in Poland, their importance was at first not appreciated, whereas the works of Western authors were quickly printed and disseminated. The works of Włodkowic and sermon of Stanisław of Skarbimierz were not published until the 19th and 20th century. See: S. Wielgus, 'Paweł Włodkowic', in: A. Maryniarczyk et al. (ed.), *Encyklopedia filozofii polskiej*, Vol. 2: *M–Ż*, Lublin 2011, p. 308; It was only at the end of the 17th century when the publisher of the acts of the Council, von der Hardt, noted the role of Paweł Włodkowic as a 'great Polish legate' at the Council of Constance, when his views on the Council and the conflict between Poland and the Teutonic Knights were taken into account. See: P. Czartoryski, 'Średniowiecze', p. 143.

[29] The concept of 'ius gentium' was for Włodkowic and later lawyers a reflection of the laws of nature, in the relations between communities of people (*gentes*), or their rulers. See: S.E. Nahlik, 'Przyczynek do znajomości poglądów Pawła Włodkowica', *Miscellanea Iuris Gentium*, no. 1 (1990), p. 19; *Ius gentium*, understood as the practice and customs regulating mutual relations between peoples, goes back to prehistoric times. In due course, this law was subject to codification and theoretical working. The Greek-Roman doctrines of this law were developed by Christian thinkers: Augustine, Isidore of Seville, Decrees of Gratian, Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas. In the 14th and 15th centuries, Raymond of Penyafort, William of Rennes, Henry of Segusio (Hostensis), Ordladus de Ponte, Johannes Andreae, John of Lignano, Bartolus, Baldus, Giles the Roman, Augustine Triumphus of Ancona, Dante, William of Ockham, Marsilius of Padua, Jan Quidort, Pierre Dubois, Zabarella. Paweł Włodkowic firmly set his doctrine on this tradition, either accepting it or engaging in polemics and rejecting certain solutions. See: S. Wielgus, *The Medieval Polish Doctrine…*, pp. 31–52.

the nature of man, his/her *recta ratio* understood as the innate principles and norms of behaviour. Włodkowic made use of the concept of the law of rights and permissive law, namely *ius* (which we find in the writings of the Decretalists and later philosophers of law, among others Suarez and Grotius), as opposed to *lex*. Thus, *ius* is the law concerning liberty and the property of man (concentrating on rights, while *lex* is the law of obligations and property of the world (concentrating on duties); both of these kinds issue from nature and, in turn, its realisation is the aim of law. These two types of law are correlated with each other – in order to fulfil a duty (*lex*), one must have the power to execute such action, namely *ius* (as a potency of action). The law as *ius* was understood as a subjective law, i.e. it accepted that each man, regardless of the fact whether he was a Christian or not, constitutes a subject of laws and for this reason he is entitled to 'laws', if only for the reason that he is a human being. The law is, therefore, a kind of power of man – *facultas*, a term used later by Suarez in his definition of law; this power endows him with further dispositions, as for example, the owner having a right regarding what they own, which enables him/her to take further action, namely to dispose of it as he/she sees fit.[30] Włodkowic also argues in this way, proving that Lithuanians and Samogitians have a right to their lands, which, in turn, allows them to take up action in order to protect them – in this instance, to oppose the armed invasion of their lands by the Teutonic Knights. A similar type of process of reasoning was later used by the Spanish Thomists, headed by Francisco de Vitoria, defending the rights of Indians exterminated by the Spanish conquistadors.[31]

Włodkowic states that laws are not an aim in themselves, but solely means to an aim, which is the self-realisation of man, both in his personal dimension, as well as in the communal dimension, which constitutes the tending towards good and moral perfection. Hence, the human being is not only entitled to rights, but also has duties: towards one's self, consisting of a comprehensive development of one's personality, which should help to correct one's errors and weaknesses, as well as towards one's neighbour (based particularly on the commandment of love of neighbour), which pertains to

[30] A century later, F. Suarez defined law as *a moral power (facultas), which everyone possesses and which concerns their property or something which is their due*, cit. after: M. Płotka, *Filozofia jako praktyka…*, p. 142.

[31] T. Jasudowicz, 'Zasada tolerancji religijnej w nauczaniu Pawła Włodkowica', *Roczniki Nauk Społecznych*, vol. 22–23 (1994–1995), no. 1, pp. 61–62.

all people, since they all share in the same common human nature; as well as duties towards the national and international communities.[32]

The Cracovian scholar stressed that the basis of binding of the law is freedom, as one assuming the equality of all human beings and of their freedom which, in essence, is unlimited.[33] In his opinion, only God as the supreme being, the source and principle of every being, may have power over mankind. Freedom is realised in the sphere of rights, the right to freedom being a primordial category which differs from e.g. the right of property, which Włodkowic acknowledges to be a historical category, deriving from human experience. This right constitutes the foundation of those claims which the human being may put forward in respect of other human beings, society or authority.

The rights of man in the Polish school of the Law of Nations

The system of international law elaborated by Polish medieval scholars, headed by Paweł Włodkowic, comprises the fundamental rights of man, namely: the right to life and self-defence; the right to freedom; the right to property and the right to a fair trial.

The right to life and self-defence

Referring to natural law and the Ten Commandments, Włodkowic contends that the foundation of all law must be the recognition of life as a fundamental value which demands respect and protection. At the same time, he considered to be invalid and not binding, any laws, privileges and entitlements which would lead to the killing of innocent people. Apart from the prohibition of killing, the forbiddance of use of force, rape, robbery and cruelty is a consequence of the right to life. Positively speaking, Włodkowic also mentions the assurance of the means of subsistence and of security. Christians have, therefore, the right to make use of the military assistance of non-believers, as this results from the permissive right to self-defence and is the realisation of the potency of action established by one's rights.[34]

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[32] See: S. Wielgus, *The Medieval Polish Doctrine…*, p. 89.

[33] *(…) super homines tamquam super servos nullus habuit dominium ante ius gentium, natura enim omnes homines erant liberi.* Causa, 119, ibid. 120 *lex naturae omnibus gentibus communis*, cit. after: S.F. Bełch, *Paulus Vladimiri…*, p. 398.

[34] *Cuius falsitas est evidens, tam respectu Christianorum quibus sic negatur necessitatis tempore talium infidelium auxilium contra ius naturale, quam respectu dictorum infidelium quibus in eo quod falso imponitur iniusta terrarum Christianorum occupatio contra bonos*

At the Council of Constance, the Poles condemned the militarism and genocide which they and their neighbouring countries had experienced at the hands of the Teutonic Knights, and by standing in opposition to the extreme theses of Falkenberg, calling for an extermination of the Poles,[35] they were the first in Europe to condemn the idea of a holocaust. Replying to the reproach (contained in Falkenberg's *Satira*) that Jagiełło had made a pact with pagans and schismatics against the Teutonic Knights, Włodkowic based his opinion on natural law, demonstrating that their participation in a just war was correct, as it arose from the right to self-defence.

Opposing the papal and imperial rulings which authorized a policy of extermination of non-believers, Włodkowic presented his reasons by distinguishing two matters in these documents, namely: the matter of faith as an aim and the matter of wars and occupation of territories, of invasion and the subjugation as a means to attaining an aim. These should be examined separately. The first matter involves faith, belongs to theology and resolves itself into the role of love. The second matter consists of the actual state regarding means, and belonging to moral and legal doctrine, resolves itself into justice. In the light of the law, these means are unjust as the Christian religion cannot be propagated by way of an unjust war and by the occupation of territory.[36] The Polish delegation denounced the ideology of the Teutonic Knights (branded as the *haeresis Prussiana*), which in the name of false aims i.e. the conversion of pagans, justified crime, looting and the extermination of whole nations, and demanded that all works which propagated such an ideology should be eradicated as ones leading to bestial crimes. Words failed Włodkowic to express his indignation for and condemnation of the inhuman crimes of the Teutonic Knights and

mores cum ipsi iure naturali gentium talia possident atque iuste ut supra patuit. Cit. after: M. Płotka, *Filozofia jako praktyka…*, p. 146.

[35] *(…) and so without doubt it is a most pertinent matter (…) to kill the Poles and their king Jagiełło on account of the danger which menaces on their part the Church in future, even before they begin the conflict. (…) And so the Poles and their king Jagiełło are and pass for heretics, therefore regardless of the circumstances, it is a greater merit to kill heretics rather than pagans.* Cit. after: Z. Tau, T. Tulejski (ed.), *Bellum iustum…*, pp. 358–356.

[36] *Since the primary efficient instrumental cause of these wars (that is the bulls) cannot be reduced to just causes (meaning that in this case the faith cannot be true) or to the norm of justice, in consequence, the wars and also all other consequences of these bulls, are of necessity erroneous.* Cit. after: S.F. Bełch, *Pauluis Vladimiri...*, p. 214.

their depravity and hypocrisy, when they called on all the Christian world to help them.

As the contemporary medievalist Stanisław Wielgus maintains: *the achievement of the Cracovian authors of the Polish school of 'ius gentium' lay in advancing and defending the thesis that war does not follow in any way from the principles of the Christian faith; that war cannot serve the propagation of Christianity; and that those who regard other nations with contempt and try to subjugate them should be opposed*.[37] Thus, they denied the pope the right to sanction unjust aggression against pagans and rejected the pretentions of the emperor of ruling the Christian world, while also defending the right to sovereignty. They insisted that those guilty of genocide be pursued and punished on the level of international law, which in reality makes them precursors of the convention accepted shortly before the Declaration of Human Rights was issued.

The right to freedom and tolerance

As has been mentioned, Włodkowic considers freedom as a primordial category, to which man is entitled by virtue of his nature. That is why subjugation and slavery introduced by men, are not something natural. There are two dimensions of freedom – the external and the internal freedom of thought and speech, which cannot be infringed by anyone (this is what Christians are taught by the Eighth Commandment: 'Though shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour'). At the same time, Włodkowic indicated the abuse of this freedom of speech by the Teutonic Knights who directed calumnies against the Polish king and the Poles; in his opinion, the imperial and allegedly papal documents, which permitted the Knights such criminal conquests of innocent nations, were also a violation of this freedom.

Freedom also guarantees the proper functioning of a state, whose foundation has its origin in the agreement of its inhabitants, otherwise tyranny comes about. The most essential condition of the proper functioning of the state are proper laws,[38] whose value Stanisław of Skarbimierz sets above a well-armed army and the participation of citizens in government,

[37] S. Wielgus, *The Medieval Polish Doctrine…*, p. 89.

[38] They ought to have the following attributes: rationality, clarity, usefulness for everyone, and should be just and noble, i.e. they should encourage patriotic acts for the common good.

with conditions love and responsibility towards them. He contends that the most important binding agent of a state is the equality of its citizens in face of the law and the preservation of universal justice, whereas Włodkowic emphasizes that lawful power originates from the will of God and, crucially, from the concord of its citizens. Thus, the state is obliged to respect the religion, morals, proper customs and the conscience of its citizens.[39]

Włodkowic strongly asserts and defends the ideal of religious tolerance. Standing consequently on the ground of the Christian religion, he drew from it the principle of the dignity of each human being, and consequently, free will, as well as the duty to love one's neighbour. This constituted a basis for clear opposition in the face of using violence in conversion to Catholicism and thereby taking the side of religious freedom. Alongside the theological foundation of religious tolerance, it is also a guaranteed legal order (also binding the pope), in which Włodkowic refers to divine laws, 'to the law of the human community', and distinguishes in them into natural law, the Law of Nations and civil law. Hence, the state, besides its many other duties, should guarantee its citizens tolerance which is combined with the protection of infidels, especially Jews and Saracens, who are considered inhabitants of the state on condition that they are good, peaceful citizens. Thus, one should convert by word, example, prayer and, most of all, by love.[40]

The right to freedom also meant for Włodkowic freedom of choice of the place of one's abode regardless of one's faith or nationality and, in consequence, the prohibition of expulsing foreigners and of confiscating their property for ideological or religious reasons. He also mentions the right of every human being to form unions, both natural (nations, towns, villages), as well as artificial (religious orders, confraternities, etc).

[39] Although citizens have many rights in the state, however, the government should be strong, should be treated with respect, and should be able to rely on their fidelity and spirit of sacrifice. When the government is illegitimate and one breaking the law (calling one to engage in an unjust war, in robbery, to commit crimes, etc.), citizens not only have the right, but also the duty to oppose it.

[40] He reminds one that the Christian *is obliged to love to Saracens and pagans, for the reason that they are participants of human nature not only due to their soul, but also to their body. (…) love does not do anything out of spite, and a righteous will does not do anything which is wrong. (…) we are obliged by law to help others in need.* Cit. after: T. Jasudowicz, 'Zasada tolerancji…', pp. 53–54.

In proposing new principles of international relations, Włodkowic, also presented a project of founding something as an international tribunal, which as a kind of federation of all sovereigns (including non-Christians), would be responsible for security and international justice.[41]

Paweł Włodkowic himself made use of the right to freedom of speech when he chose to be outspoken before the general council, mentioning unpopular and sore truths which for many a magnate of this world were unbearable to hear; for this he was severely attacked and subjected to accusations. In opposing the highest political, as well as academic authorities, he ardently defended the weak, along with expelled minorities.

Although our contemporary world seems far from the times when the sword was used to convert others, this is not what it appears to be. Each period has, unfortunately, its 'faithful' and 'infidels', 'equal' and 'more equal'. Today, nations which were until recently converted by brute force from Christianity to communism, have to strive for respect for their rights which are questioned in the name of an ill-conceived tolerance, and have to prove that they are not 'heretics' from outside the sphere called *European identity*.

The right to property and the rights of women

In the above-discussed conflict between Poland and the Teutonic Knights, the principal question was whether it was permissible to attack peaceful pagans and convert them by force in order to occupy their lands. In order to solve this problem, the limits of power and competence of the pope and emperor regarding the non-Christian world needed to be determined. Taking up this subject at the Council of Constance, Paweł Włodkowic declared boldly that pagans have a right to have their own states and independent rulers and to defend these, as do the Christians. In his opinion, although property is a historical category, it has, however, a fundamental and universal character, secured in divine law (the commandment 'Thou shalt not steal'). The division of goods has been made by virtue of the Law of Nations (*iure naturali gentium*) which cannot be suppressed even by popes or emperors, despite the false theory that the coming of Christ had changed this, depriving pagans of all property. Property unjustly appropriated is an act of unlawful annexation which is subject to restitution, and such a duty

[41] See: S. Wielgus, *The Medieval Polish Doctrine…*, p. 94.

does not expire, nor does it admit culpable ignorance.[42]

The originality of the attitude in question of the Polish scholars consisted in a limiting of the power of popes and emperors. They rejected the concept proclaiming that the pope and the emperor are rulers of the whole world in mundane matters and are allowed to dispose of the property of others. The Poles gave proof of the legal groundlessness of the imperial and papal privileges (e.g. that of Frederick II: 'to subjugate barbarian nations and bring them to the faith'[43] by means of force), which the Teutonic Knights made use of in their invasion-led expansion. Relations between the leaders of the Christian and the pagan worlds are subject, nonetheless, to the norms of natural law, which does not distinguish between believers and non-believers.

The thesis on the right of pagans to have a state independent of imperial jurisdiction issued from the laws of nature and was coherent with the situation at the time firmly set on ancient Polish legal and national traditions which rejected universalist medieval theories on the dominion of the emperor over the whole world and strongly accentuated the sovereignty of the Polish king.

The rights of women, although they were not mentioned *expessis verbis* at the time, may be spoken of in the context of one of the quarrels in the conflict between Poland and the Teutonic Knights regarding the regaining of occupied Samogitia. The Teutonic Knights had at their disposal legal acts in which Vitold and Jagiełło had renounced their rights to these lands which was tantamount to their being lawfully acquired. During the hearing in Kaunas in 1413, Mikołaj Cebulka, a Canon of Sandomierz, defended the Polish-Lithuanian cause and applied a 'truly revolutionary' line of defence. As the heiress of the lands occupied by the Teutonic Knights was Vitold's adolescent daughter Sofia, the Canon defended her rights to inherit.

[42] It is worth comparing the declarations of both parties. The Teutonic Knights ascertained: *(…) after the coming of Christ, all government, monarchy, reverence and property were transferred from the pagans onto the faithful (…). Today, there is no government, nor power, nor property among the non-believers, for they are unfit for these. (…) One should combat non-believers who do not recognize the Roman empire. Wheareas Włodkowic referred to the principle of natural law: «Whosoever wishes to be treated justly, ought to act similarly towards others (…) and should not do to others what he would not like to be done to himself». [Opinio Ostensis]*. Cit. after: T. Jasudowicz, 'Zasada tolerancji…', p. 58; See: S. Wielgus, *The Medieval Polish Doctrine…*, pp. 99–100.

[43] Cit. after: S.F. Bełch, *Paulus Vladimiri…*, p. 230.

He even argued that Vitold himself had no right to renounce this land without her permission, this making invalid the acts presented in this case by the Order. A similar argumentation was used by master Mikołaj Wiśliczka who was the legal guardian of the four-year old Jadwiga, daughter and heiress of Władysław Jagiełło. A second, even more important argument in defence of Samogitia, was derived by Cebulka from canon law: 'what concerns everyone, should be approved by everyone' (*quod omnes tangit, ab omnes debet approbari*). It was evident from this that the Teutonic Knights had no right to these lands, as the renouncement of these should have been agreed beforehand by all the proprietors. This principle was an anticipation of the right to vote for all citizens in public affairs, by way of respecting their dignity. As the historian, Andrzej Nowak, remarks, the Polish Canon by defending the rights of the pagan Samogitians to administer their own lands became the first in Europe to proclaim in an international dispute the fundamental principle of the right of free nations to decide freely for themselves. As regards the rights of women, the claim was made of their right to inherit titles of political authority over lands or dukedoms, as well as to inherit the royal crown; these rights operating in Poland at the time were hitherto unknown to their Eastern neighbours.[44]

To some extent, the adorning of the above-mentioned rights of man is the right to a fair trial. Włodkowic claims that every human being, as well as every nation, has the right to self-defence, both militarily and legally.

To sum up, it should be emphasized that the system of international law created by the Cracovian scholars, founded on the inherited legal and philosophical-theological tradition and the intellectual achievements of Kraków University and their own genius, taking into account the principles of divine and natural law, the evangelical law of love, binding law with morality and justice with truth, was suitable to be applied not only for the solution of problems in the conflict between Poland and the Teutonic Knights then, but also in other European matters of that time. Although the Polish delegation at the Council of Constance had as its purpose the defence of the Polish reasons of state, it did, however, take up its position in a context of universal ideas and most esteemed values, involving itself in essential ideological solutions affecting the whole of Western civilization.

[44] See: A. Nowak, *Dzieje Polski*, pp. 282–283.

Conclusion

The Polish historian, Andrzej Nowak, gave the following title to a chapter he wrote on the *ius gentium* theory of the Cracovian scholars: *The mystery of love or on the Polish school of law of nations*. The reader may be surprised as to why the author evokes love in the context of international law. The answer may be found in a fragment of a text from the act of the renewal of the Polish-Lithuanian union, the so-called Pact of Horodło of 1413, which runs as follows: *It is common knowledge that he shall not be redeemed who is not supported by the mystery of love (mysterio caritatis) which does not act improperly, but beaming with its own goodness, it reconciles those at odds, unites those who have quarrelled, modifies hatred, soothes anger and gives to all the fare of peace, it gathers those who are dispersed, fortifies the oppressed, levels the rough, it straightens the crooked, supports all virtues, does harm to no one, it loves all, so that whoever seeks refuge in its arms finds safety and will not be afraid of anyone's assault. Laws are made by it, kingdoms ruled by it, it orders towns and the state of the commonwealth (status reipublicae) comes to the best of ends; among all virtues, it holds the first place and he who despises it, will lose all good*.[45]

In commenting on these words, Nowak expresses his wish that this beautiful text be one day accepted into the curriculum of all schools, not only in Poland but in the whole of the European Union.

The contemporary personalist philosophers, Jacques Maritain and Karol Wojtyła (John Paul II), reflecting on the difficult situation of present-day Europe and of the world, outlined a new order of civilization inspired by Christianity, calling it the 'civilization of love'. On the other hand, the German philosopher, Martin Heidegger who kept his distance from all religion, bearing in mind the most esteemed values established by God, values whose crowning is holiness, said: *It may be that the dominating feature of our times is the closing up of that dimension which is salvific. It may be that this alone is fatal for us*.

[45] Cit. after: ibid., p. 284.

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Multidimensionality of the Category of Action in 15th century Kraków Practicism

Magdalena Płotka*

The concept of 'action' has undergone a radical transformation in recent years with respect to its classical Aristotelian understanding. What does it mean to 'act' today? Is 'action' synonymous with 'behaviour'? Does 'acting' mean taking on continuous activity? Is the value of action exhausted in the action itself? Is the value of action contained in its effectiveness, as pragmatists suggest? Is the truth about man included in the sum of his actions, as behaviourists claim? Similar questions and doubts have accompanied humanity for centuries, and today, in an era of economic, migration, climate change and political crisis, they are of particular importance. Is action, activity, taking action – both on the macro and micro-scale – a remedy for today's crises? If so, how should they be understood?

Similar dilemmas accompanied philosophers, intellectuals and people of the culture of the Jagiellonian era, in particular, masters of the Jagiellonian University, who as part of their academic activity, laid out the main routes of political, as well as civic, individual or even moral and spiritual action. It seems to be worthwhile revisiting the heritage of Cracovian philosophy once again, which may offer alternative answers to the problems of contemporary humanity in relation to today's intellectual currents.

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Therefore, the purpose of this article is to define what essentially was meant by 'action' in Cracovian practicism – the philosophical trend that prevailed at the Jagiellonian University in the 15th century. Practicism as an intellectual and philosophical current had a profound and significant impact on Poland's political and social shape in the Jagiellonian era. What was action for Cracovian intellectuals in the 15th century? Why was it important to act? In what area of life was it necessary to take action: the social, political, or personal sphere? How did action result from knowledge? The answers to these questions outline the basic issues of this article and will allow a deeper insight into the unity of Polish culture during the Jagiellonian dynasty. This unity was contained, in the author's view, in the continuity between academic practice and the realisation of its postulates in the social and political arena. As it turns out, the 'bridge' of this continuity was 'virtue in action' (especially in the views of Wawrzyniec of Racibórz), i.e., individual personal practices for the formation of virtue.

The term 'practicism' in the historical perspective refers to the convictions of a group of scholars of the University of Kraków operating since the founding of the university in 1364,[1] throughout the 15th and early 16th century. In this context, both the masters from the early period of the existence of the University practised practicism[2] (such as Mateusz of Kraków or Stanisław of Skarbimierz), as well as philosophers from the beginning of the 16th century representing humanistic philosophy (e.g. Jan of Stobnica).

In the systematic perspective, the term 'practicism' is characterized by a set of views of authors with different intellectual profiles and interests. It concerns diverse views, phenomena and directions, because – as Swieżawski rightly points out – a practical attitude *is marked by authors with very different intellectual profiles, for example Mateusz from Kraków (his practicality is probably of Platonic-Augustinian origin), Jan of Dąbrówka (who represents practicism and uses it in the presentation of history as*

[1] The foundation of the University of Kraków was approved on September 1, 1364 by the bull of Pope Urban V. M. Markowski, *Uniwersytet Krakowski w kontekście środkowoeuropejskim późnego średniowiecza i wczesnej nowożytności*, Olecko 2005, p. 48.

[2] J. Domański, 'Swoistość i uniwersalizm polskiej myśli średniowiecznej', in: idem (ed.), *700 lat myśli polskiej. Filozofia i myśl społeczna XIII–XV wieku*, Warszawa 1978, pp. 27–28; W. Seńko, 'Mathieu de Cracovie et son oeuvre *De praxi Romanae curiae*', *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum*, no. 16 (1971), p. 39.

a source of moral examples) or Grzegorz of Sanok (professing political and eudemonist practicism).[3] While in historical terms practicism includes a certain period of the history of Polish medieval philosophy, in systematic terms it includes all those elements of Cracovian philosophy in which the problem of action appears. The duality of perspectives – the historical and systematic perspective – and the diversity of positions and views of Cracovian practitioners themselves does not make the term 'practicism' refer to any compact or homogeneous theory that the Kraków milieu developed. Thus, practicism is not a coherent philosophical theory developed by the Cracovian masters, but rather a useful term describing the philosophical views and attitudes of Polish academics of the late Middle Ages.

The multitudes of perspectives from which historians of Polish philosophy examine Cracovian practicism have given rise to a variety of its proposed definitions, interpretations and understandings. However, although it is a nuanced and multifaceted current of thought, the common ground of its various types is the category of 'action'. It is therefore worth looking at its individual interpretations, and then gathering its basic definitions identified by researchers in order to be able to make a preliminary outline of the field.

The article consists of four parts. The first of them will deal with the introduction of the relationship between the category of action and Cracovian practicism. In part two, the relation of science and politics in the 15th century will be discussed and the article will try to provide the answer to the question of how university was supposed to serve the state and society. Part three will present civic actions on the social and political level, while the fourth part will present individual actions of people which shape their virtues.

Action in Cracovian practicism: an introduction

In the view of historians of Polish philosophy, Cracovian practicism is a direction which (1) narrows the pool of philosophical interests to the practical fields of philosophy (J. Rebeta[4]); (2) ascribes value to 'good' and

[3] S. Swieżawski, *U źródeł etyki nowożytnej. Filozofia moralna w Europie w XV wieku*, Kraków 1987, p. 47.

[4] J. Rebeta, *Komentarz Pawła z Worczyna do 'Etyki Nikomachejskiej' Arystotelesa from 1424. Zarys problematyki filozoficzno-społecznej*, Wrocław–Warszawa 1970, p. 7.

'truth', 'virtue' and 'cognition' (J. Domański[5]); (3) presents the view that action is the most important anthropological category (S. Swieżawski[6]); (4) proposes a thesis on the active and dynamic nature of man (S. Swieżawski[7]); (5) is based on voluntarism (J.B. Korolec[8]); (6) is more focused on man and his life rather than being, which results in less interest in metaphysical issues, or even the absence of metaphysical issues (J.B. Korolec[9], Włodek[10], Czerkawski[11]); (7) is utilitarian (Wąsik[12]); (8) puts *vita activa* and action over *vita contemplativa* and contemplation (J. Domański[13], S. Swieżawski[14]); (9) includes the political and diplomatic activity of Paweł Włodkowic (P. Czartoryski[15]); (10) is a metaphysical proposition (J. Domański[16]).

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[5] J. Domański, *'Scholastyczne' i 'humanistyczne' pojęcie filozofii*, Kęty 2005, p. 137; idem, *Scholastyka i początki humanizmu w myśli polskiej XV wieku*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 227-228, 241–274.

[6] S. Swieżawski, *U źródeł etyki…*, p. 45.

[7] Ibid., p. 50.

[8] J.B. Korolec, 'Praktycyzm piętnastowiecznej etyki krakowskiej', in: idem, *Wolność, cnota, praxis. Studia dziejów filozofii*, (ed.) M. Olszewski, D. Zygmuntowicz, Warszawa 2006, p. 187.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Z. Włodek, *Dzieje filozofii średniowiecznej w Polsce*, Vol. III: *Filozofia bytu*, Wrocław et al. 1977, pp. 180–181.

[11] J. Czerkawski, *Humanizm i scholastyka. Studia z dziejów kultury filozoficznej w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku*, Lublin 1992, p. 87.

[12] W. Wąsik, *Historia filozofii polskiej*, Vol. I: *Scholastyka, renesans, oświecenie*, Warszawa 1958, pp. 107–108. For the sake of clarity, it should be stated that by saying that Cracovian practical philosophy is utilitarian, Polish scholars did not, of course, have in mind the seventeenth-century philosophical current, according to which a morally good action is the one that leads to the greatest benefit of the individual or society. Charging Cracovian practicism with utilitarianism rather refers to the fact that Cracovian masters gave up selfless philosophical research and practised only that which results in measurable benefit (especially social benefit).

[13] J. Domański, *Scholastyka i początki humanizmu w myśli polskiej XV wieku*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 242–243.

[14] S. Swieżawski, *U źródeł etyki…*, p. 45.

[15] P. Czartoryski, *Wczesna recepcja 'Polityki' Arystotelesa na Uniwersytecie Krakowskim*, Wrocław et al. 1963, p. 37.

[16] J. Domański, 'Swoistość i uniwersalizm…', p. 25. For more on the meaning of Cracovian practicism, see: M. Płotka, *Filozofia jako praktyka. Myśl krakowskiego praktycyzmu w XV i XVI wieku*, Warszawa 2016, pp. 16–23.

On the basis of the above-described state of research, Kraków pragmatism can be broadly defined as an intellectual current consisting of many threads and aspects. Historians of Polish philosophy generally agree on the basic features of this current; they unanimously state that Cracovian practicism values practical sciences more than those which are theoretical, proclaims greater value of action than contemplation, puts *vita activa* over *vita contemplativa,* insists on political activity, puts virtue and good over cognition and truth, etc. From definitions of the current proposed by researchers, the following image emerges: Cracovian practicism deals with broadly understood action, i.e. ethical conduct, political activity, the description of metaphysical human condition (as part of activism) and the way of human life (*vita activa*). However, researchers disagree on the amount of the metaphysical in practicism and, as a consequence, their opinion of practicism as a whole.[17]

From knowledge to action: *conservatio civitas*

It seems that the most characteristic feature of Cracovian practicism as a whole was granting superiority to practical areas over those which are theoretical. One of the arguments supporting such a stance was formulated by Paweł of Worczyn. He perceived mathematics and ethics as representative disciplines of theoretical and practical sciences. He argued that studying ethics is more valuable as this area, in contrast to speculative mathematics, has practical implications such as moral conduct, which mathematics is not able to present or teach. Mikołaj Gelasinus asks a rhetorical question in a similar vein: 'What benefit to nations and their citizens is carried by reflections on the subject of nature?' He admits that theoretical reflection on the subject of nature may bring knowledge, but this knowledge is

[17] Views of Polish researchers on the relationship between Cracovian practicism and metaphysics may be classified starting from the weakest and ending with those which are most radical. Swieżawski, for instance, is of the opinion that practicism is a metaphysical proposal alternative to Aristotelianism. Włodek believes that the insistence on practical areas of philosophy has led to decreased interest in metaphysics. Czerniawski favours a stronger view – he believes that a *signum specificum* of practicist trends is the essence of metaphysics. Czartoryski takes the most radical stance, whereby he sees practicism as identical with utilitarianism.

absolutely useless.[18]

Paweł of Worczyn's view on the value of science depending on its practical consequences had been present in the Polish school since the beginning of its existence, the roots of the practical character of Cracovian science, and especially philosophy, being most often seen in the founding acts of the university, which in this case specified the legal and political character of the university and the practical interests of Cracovian masters. Although one of the reasons why the Polish monarch, Kazimierz the Great, established a university was his wish to 'increase the prestige of his kingdom' and 'enable his subjects to acquire university education in the country', the main motivation of the king was the need to educate an elite of academics (mainly lawyers) ready to work for the benefit of Poland. Kazimierz was primarily interested in creating the faculty of law, which was listed as the first one in the founding charter of the university. This is evidenced by the number of the planned departments: for legal studies seven departments were planned and only two for liberal arts.[19] As Markowski recalls, 'the united kingdom of Poland needed notaries and officials in state administration and lawyers for diplomatic service.'[20] According to Domański, such an extensive law department was to meet the needs arising both from the king's foreign policy (negotiations with the Teutonic Order concerning the northern and western disputed territories), and internal politics characterized by a desire to consolidate the state, for which one of the most important tools was unification of the law.[21] For these reasons, Kazimierz's university was called the 'University of Law'.[22]

[18] *Hoc exponit Buridanus sic, quod demonstrationes mathematicae non sunt per causam moralem bec demonstrant, quod hoc sit melius vel peius. Aliter sic exponitur, quod mathematicus non docet homines velle vel bene facere moraliter*. Paulus de Worczin, 'Quaestiones super tres libros *De anima*', ed. J. Rebeta, in: *Materiały i studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii Starozytnej i Średniowiecznej*, Vol. 10, Series A: *Materiały do historii filozofii średniowieczne w Polsce*, Wrocław et al. 1969, p. 52. J. Czerkawski, *Humanizm…*, p. 23.

[19] J. Domański, *Scholastyka…*, p. 27.

[20] M. Markowski, *Uniwersytet Krakowski…*, pp. 43–44.

[21] J. Domański, Z. Ogonowski, L. Szczucki, *Zarys dziejów filozofii w Polsce. Wieki XIII–XVII*, (ed.) Z. Ogonowski, Warszawa 1989, p. 27.

[22] M. Markowski, *Uniwersytet Krakowski…*, p. 46. For the importance of the department of law for the Jagiellonian University, see: K. Morawski, *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Vol. I: *Średnie wieki i Odrodzenie. Z wstępem o uniwersytecie Kazimierza Wielkiego*, Kraków 1900, pp. 239–252; M. Markowski, *Uniwersytet Krakowski…*, p. 43–44.

Although the Kraków University actually satisfied the 'intellectual needs of the nation'[23] and thanks to the university, according to Markowski, *the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland entered […] into the European university family and together with it created the history of higher education*,[24] the circumstances of the founding of the university prove that the intentions behind it were to pursue non-scientific objectives connected with the internal organization of the state and international politics, rather than willingness to devote oneself to selfless academic inquiry. Bartłomiej of Jasło mentions the above in one of his speeches, seeing the main value of studying in that it introduces one to the art of governance and provides one with political skills. He reminds Jagiełło that *he himself needs enlightened people to govern the state*[25]: *Whoever wants to govern anyone, must first subordinate his senses to reason and cannot ignore the seven liberated arts, the best ways to learn philosophy*.[26] Bartłomiej sees philosophy as a necessary skill in politics: the purpose of studying *artes liberales* is, in his opinion, the acquisition of skills of governance. He also highlights the benefits for poorer subjects that result from the renewal of the university, stating that those *who suffer from cruel subjugation because of their ignorance; thanks to the proximity of the university, they could easily acquire knowledge and be freed from the yoke of serfdom, and they could themselves become masters and superiors of others*.[27] Bartłomiej's argument is well illustrated by the tendency in Kraków to *connect scientific activity … with the affairs of the state-forming community* which *has been the focus of the long-term thinking and writing of Polish academics*.[28]

Equally great was the need for learned lawyers. And while the imperial or papal notaries were increasingly appearing in the country, though the royal chancellery had people acquainted with law and the work was done, the demand for lawyers was still great. K. Morawski, *Historia…*, p. 18.

[23] M. Markowski, *Uniwersytet Krakowski…*, p. 45.

[24] Ibid., p. 51.

[25] Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, 'Odnowienie jagiellońskie Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego', in: K. Lepszy (ed.), *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, Kraków 1964, p. 37–38, cyt. from: J. Domański, 'Swoistość i uniwersalizm…', p. 8.

[26] M. Kowalczyk, 'Mowy uniwersyteckie Bartłomieja z Jasła', *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, vol. 1–2 (1964), p. 25.

[27] Bartłomiej z Jasła, 'Pierwsza mowa z okazji odnowienia uczelni', in: E. Jung-Palczewska (ed.), *Prima verba. Krakowskie mowy uniwersyteckie*, Łódź 2000, pp. 21–23.

[28] J. Domański, 'Swoistość i uniwersalizm…', p. 10.

A similar goal, namely caring for the social body, guides the law[29]. It is also a key discipline for Stanisław of Skarbimierz, who says that 'because of the form in which it acts, should be regarded as divine.'[30] Domański points out that law for the Cracovian preacher rises to the rank of 'almost universal knowledge'.[31] Stanisław emphasizes in particular the role of canon law, which is the most versatile field because it combines Roman (civil) law and theology:[32] *Civil law deals primarily with secular government, theology predominantly with the soul, and canon law may once deal with secular things and then those which are spiritual. In addition, theology serves here as the head, the civil law – the legs, while canon laws are like hands.*[33] There is an interesting relationship here between canon law and theology, as if canon and secular issues fall within the scope of canon law, theology becomes essentially superfluous. The metaphors present in the sermon show the functions of law. Stanisław, comparing both kinds of laws to hands and feet, seems to emphasize their active role. He places much hope in the law, to which he attributes the task of broad and multi-dimensional renewal of the state. It is therefore necessary to agree with Domański's opinion that *this priority granted to law takes into account the same social and national functions of science for which Kazimierz's University was founded.*[34]

The benefits of practicing the liberal sciences are neatly enumerated by Stanisław, and these are: 'multiplying the honours of the Church and the Kingdom of Poland', 'enriching the body', 'ennobling the soul', 'glorifying the majesty of the King', 'decorating the whole community', and being the 'gold of wisdom', 'silver of speech', 'salt of prudence', 'amber of justice', 'lead of temperance' and 'seed of valour'.[35] What is important is that he does not mention the pursuit of truth or desire for knowledge among them, while for Aristotle these would be most innate and natural.[36]

[29] Juliusz Domański draws attention to the parallel between medicine and the law in Stanisław's speech, see: J. Domański, 'Swoistość i uniwersalizm…', p. 10.

[30] Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, 'Pochwała Uniwersytetu na nowo ufundowanego', in: J. Domański (ed.), *700 lat myśli polskiej...*, p. 79.

[31] J. Domański, 'Swoistość i uniwersalizm…', p. 9.

[32] J. Rebeta, *Komentarz Pawła z Worczyna...*, p. 54.

[33] Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, 'Pochwała Uniwersytetu...', p. 80.

[34] J. Domański, 'Swoistość i uniwersalizm…', p. 10.

[35] Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, 'Pochwała Uniwersytetu...', p. 80.

[36] Arystoteles, 'Metafizyka', 980a, in: idem, *Dzieła wszystkie*, Vol. 2, transl. K. Leśniak,

A similar disregard for the cognitive goals of study is present in the speeches of Bartłomiej of Jasło. He lists three types of students: those who learn for wealth, those who learn for vain notoriety and those who, by studying, want to become good people.[37] Although Stanislaw of Skarbimierz had nothing against the pursuit of fame, he encouraged the study of canon law, arguing that this science 'teaches one a profession capable of giving fame to those who pursue it.'[38] Bartłomiej has a positive opinion only regarding the last group of students and claims that the only valuable goal of studying is 'to improve oneself.'[39] Although perfecting oneself is a noble pursuit, it seems to be a secondary rather than a primary purpose of practicing science. Bartłomiej sees them as practical purposes, being a proponent of a similar sense of practicism in science, as Paweł of Worczyn. They both see the value of learning in the moral benefits that it brings, with Paweł emphasizing the role of moral action in the world, arguing that *it is better to give money to the poor than to philosophize*,[40] while Bartłomiej stresses the role of shaping one's character.[41]

Like Paweł, Bartłomiej of Jasło affirms the practical aims of the sciences, but also goes one step further – he negates the value of theoretical research. While the condemnation of the pursuit of fame and wealth may be understood, as well as the acceptance of the desire to improve oneself through knowledge, a negative perception of knowledge for its own sake is completely incomprehensible.[42] However, Bartłomiej of Jasło attributes the same value to the three goals of studying (*intencio finis*) – the desire for fame, wealth and selfless knowledge – expressing a strong disapproval for

Warszawa 2003, p. 615.

[37] M. Kowalczyk, 'Mowy uniwersyteckie Bartłomieja z Jasła', p. 30.

[38] J. Domański, 'Swoistość i uniwersalizm…', p. 10.

[39] M. Kowalczyk, 'Mowy uniwersyteckie...', p. 30.

[40] *Melius est paupere ditare quam philosophari*. Paulus de Worczin, *Quaestiones super tres libros 'De anima'*…, p. 58.

[41] Paweł of Worczyn writes of 'moral conduct' (*bene facere moraliter*) and Bartłomiej of Jasło about 'improvement'. The difference between them lies in distinguishing between external actions in the world and the formation of an inner moral attitude. The attitudes represented by Paweł of Worczyn and Bartłomiej of Jasło can be described as characteristic of two types of practicism described by Juliusz Domański – those which are external and internal. More detailed discussion of these two is provided later in this paper.

[42] M. Kowalczyk, 'Mowy uniwersyteckie...', p. 24.

all of them.

The lack of respect for theoretical intellectual activity and related matters may mark the dark side of Cracovian practicism. One of the later Cracovian masters, Stanisław of Dąbrówka, was of the opinion that 'the best thing is to do good'[43] and proposed to explain the anti-theoretical attitude of Polish science. In his view, Poles as a nation are more suited to action (to fighting, for example) than to thinking: *Aristotle, on the other hand, says that the people of the North are best suited for war – for example Poles – because they are courageous, but not very intelligent*.[44] His view on the unreasonable nature of Poles was presented in the context of general considerations on the justification for waging war through political power, i.e. by 'the rulers of everything'.[45] This variant of Cracovian practicismin which a sharp reformulation of the opposition between knowledge and action occurs appears in darker colours, even more so since its doctrinal and ideological context is quite clear.[46]

Although, as Domański rightly points out, the phrase 'the function of science in the service of the state'[47] does not appear in the speeches of Kraków's professors at the opening of the university, it is impossible to resist the impression that the function of *conservatio civitas* was a programme goal of the studies offered in Kraków. The fact that 'theoretical science has become … a source from which materials have been taken to defend the interests of the Polish state' has already been mentioned by Konstanty Michalski.[48] In his most significant[49] speeches Stanisław clearly expresses the concern for the state and the common good[50] to which the whole of university knowledge should be subordinated. The affirmation of practical sciences (Paweł of Worczyn) occurs in parallel with the disapproval

[43] Stanisław z Dąbrówki, 'Traktat na temat nowo kreowanych władców', in: J. Domański (ed.), *700 lat myśli polskiej…*, p. 284.

[44] Ibid., p. 290.

[45] Ibid., p. 283.

[46] Ibid., p. 27.

[47] J. Domański, 'Swoistość i uniwersalizm…', p. 9.

[48] K. Michalski, 'Prądy filozoficzno-teologiczne na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim w pierwszej dobie jego istnienia', in: idem, *Filozofia wieków średnich*, Kraków 1997, p. 113.

[49] J. Domański, 'Swoistość i uniwersalizm…', p. 9.

[50] See: Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, 'Mowa o powinności poszanowania wspólnego dobra'' in: idem, *Mowy wybrane o mądrości*, (ed.) M. Korolko, transl. B. Chmielowska, Kraków 2000.

of the selfless pursuit of knowledge (Bartłomiej of Jasło). While these elaborate speeches show the political benefits of medicine, theology[51] or even meteorology,[52] the law is still pointed out as being the most important academic discipline.

Socio-political action in external practicism

The demands formulated at the academic level, concerning the practice of science transformed into a service of the state and society have been further clarified within the framework of the so-called 'external practicism'. This was the kind of practicism that emphasizes the importance of action in the world and action directed towards the outside. Within this trend, 'expansive activity',[53] which aims at transforming the world, seems to be the supreme human good. External practicism is broadly defined by Domański as 'creative practice'; as a current, *which […] seeks examples that confirm the greatness and dignity of man … beyond the limits of his internal moral perfection … it tries to transform the external world for its own benefit*[54] Its purpose is to develop virtues, but such virtues through which an active human being will contribute to changing the world. In external practicism virtue is important, 'but', as Szymon Marycjusz of Pilzno wrote – *not that which is silent and passive, which is pure contemplation, but one that looks at the purpose of actions and creates the honest and pleasant effects of philosophy, because all praise of philosophy consists of action*[55]; virtue,

[51] Z. Włodek, 'Krakowski komentarz z XV wieku do *Sentencji* Piotra Lombarda. W poszukiwaniu tendencji doktrynalnych na wydziale teologicznym Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w XV wieku', *Studia Mediewistyczne*, vol. 9 (1968), p. 133.

[52] *In the university milieu of Kraków, where practicism was particularly lively in the first half of the fifteenth century, practical aspects of some of the branches of natural philosophy were also pointed out. One of the most prominent supporters of Kraków's fifteenth-century pragmatism, Paweł of Worczyn, mentioning the theoretical benefits of meteorology, pointed out at the same time to its practical usefulness. In his view, the results of contemporary meteorology were used to select the 'best' days for important life activities, anticipating earthquakes, hail and heavy rains, and even settling political matters.* M. Markowski, *Filozofia przyrody w drugiej połowie XV wieku*, Wrocław et al. 1983, Seria: *Dzieje filozofii średniowiecznej w Polsce*, Vol. 10, p. 36.

[53] See: K. Bochenek, *Filozofia człowieka w kontekście piętnastowiecznych krakowskich dyskusji antropologicznych (ciało-dusza)*, Rzeszów 2008, pp. 21–23.

[54] J. Domański, *Scholastyka…*, p. 43.

[55] Szymon Marycjusz z Pilzna, *O szkołach czyli akademiach ksiąg dwoje*, transl. and ed. A. Danysz, preface H. Barycz, Wrocław 1955, pp. 59–60.

which results in 'civic happiness', active happiness, which is, according to Jan of Stobnica, 'the consequence of the active practice of moral virtues'.[56]

On the one hand, external practicism embraces man as engaged in socio-political affairs and, on the other, sees him as a factor creating not only a state around him, but also the world, and thus nature. Accordingly, two varieties of this trend, namely political and non-political, may be distinguished in Kraków. The first one emphasizes the themes of life in a state and contributing to the common good, civic and political activity.[57] This trend may be observed primarily in Kraków University comments on Aristotle's *Politics*.[58] In the initial issues, the commentators, advocating political studies, particularly praised its social benefits and pointed out its pragmatic aspect. Studying politics leads to the acquisition of skills that can later be used in action; in addition, this is a large-scale activity, because it concerns the management of the state community. The ideal of political action could be found in the person of the ruler, of whom Stanisław of Dąbrówka writes: *The ruler is the best among the numerous and very noble, and is characterised by a multitude of actions. […] What is the best is most desirable, and the best thing is to act well*.[59] The knowledge contained in *Politics* was a condition of good governance – as Czartoryski recalls, discussing the importance of Kraków political philosophy.[60] Therefore, the theme of political action as the highest level of human activity is constantly present in comments from Kraków, creating the framework of what Domański describes as 'civic practice'.[61]

In the second type of Cracovian external practicism, it is non-political action in the world which is emphasized, such as the praise

[56] Jan ze Stobnicy, 'Komentarz do Leonarda Bruniego *Wprowadzenia w filozofię moralną*', in: J. Domański (ed.), *700 lat myśli polskiej…*, p. 493.

[57] The interest in political philosophy in Kraków stemmed from *both the mental currents that dominated in the University and the fact that the social role of the university, and perhaps even the explicit requirements of its founders and carers, set such tasks before it.* P. Czartoryski, *Wczesna recepcja…*, p. 37.

[58] Czartoryski chooses as the subject of his deliberations the so-called 'Kraków's introduction to *Politics*', which consists of political writings preserved in manuscripts BJ 513 and BJ 502. Later they were merged with the Codex of Wawrzyniec of Racibórz BJ 675 and in this form they survived until the sixteenth century. See: ibid. p. 46.

[59] Stanisław z Dąbrówki, 'Traktat na temat…', p. 284.

[60] P. Czartoryski, *Wczesna recepcja…*, p. 122.

[61] External practicism is also often regarded as identical with civic practicism. See: J. Domański, *Scholastyka …*, p. 213.

of military life by Stanisław of Dąbrówka or the praise of work as expressed by Jan of Ludzisko. Moreover, a more general reflection of Cracovian philosophers on acting in the world and assuming an active attitude may be included in the non-political type of external practicism. Such reflections may be found in the comments of Paweł of Worczyn, who writes that activity is the necessary condition for protecting the common good (*salvandum commune bonum*) and in the sermons of an anonymous author (BJ 513) whose philosophical considerations aim at showing the role and the importance of activity on the metaphysical and cosmic plane.[62]

In Kraków's external practicism it is possible to distinguish its political interpretation (connected with political activity), that which is non-political (accentuating other than political activity), and that which is most general, comprising an attempt at a philosophical justification of action and emphasizing its importance to man and the world.

Virtue in the internal practicism

Internal practicism was one of the less popular kinds of practicism in the fifteenth and sixteenth-century Kraków. In fact, it was rather marginal. The academic atmosphere was conducive to this trend, as the emphasis was laid more on the praise of active life rather than on the glorification of inner self-improvement. Moral improvement as an action directed towards the interior of man, seeing value in the actions where one's soul (the will and intellect) was too closely related to contemplative and theoretical life in order for the Cracovian masters, whose attitude was strongly pragmatic, to make internal practicism the main goal of their scientific interests or life aspirations. Nevertheless, internal practicism was present in Kraków; indeed, it is possible to identify such masters who, with greater or lesser enthusiasm, paid homage to the idea of internal practicism and appreciated the merit of inner virtue. An example may be the thought of Henryk

[62] Stanisław z Dąbrówki, 'Traktat na temat…', pp. 21–23. Jan z Ludziska, 'Mowa pochwalna na część filozofii', in: J. Domański (ed.), *700 lat myśli polskiej…*, pp. 265–266. *Nihil est, quod simpliciter dicendo melius esset habentis homines esse speculativos quam practicos, sed in certo casu et certis circumstantiis quandoque fallit, quia si omnes homines essent speculativi per argumentationes communitates et politicae, quia quis vellit pistare et sic de aliis, et ergo ad salvandum commune bonum expediencius est aliquos esse practicos et aliquos speculativos*. Paulus de Worczin, *Quaestiones super tres libros 'De anima'…*, p. 59. Czartoryski draws attention to the obvious allusions of the author of the *Sermons* to 'Platonian and Augustinian direction' and quotations from *Liber de causis*. See: P. Czartoryski, *Wczesna recepcja…*, p. 101, ref. 8.

Bitterfeld, who identified 'inner labour' (*labor interior*) with effort to subjugate passionate tendencies of man and attaining virtue.[63] Henryk also assumed that internal effort precedes actual external action and is external action's condition.[64] In its other variation, internal practicism may found in the writings of Bartłomiej from Jasło, who emphasizes the acquisition of virtue as the main benefit of studying.[65]

Among the representatives of Kraków internal practicism there is also Stanisław of Skarbimierz and Wawrzyniec of Racibórz, although their attitudes towards it are different. The first of these, inspired by the subject of *contemptas mundi* and under the influence of St. Augustine's thoughts, emphasized the practical significance of wisdom that leads to God. The second of these was known as the Cracovian founder of the 'voluntarist conception of contemplation,'[66] saying that contemplation and thinking belong to the sphere of *praxis*. The differences between these two proposals are significant. Stanisław's approach emphasizes the importance of the kind of knowledge which results in virtue and leads to God. That is why Domański rightly describes his concept as 'ethical practicism'[67] The concept of Wawrzyniec of Racibórz is, however, devoid of the 'ethical element'; it focuses more on clarifying what 'inner action' is, its relation to 'external action', and justification why internal acts (such as contemplation) should be understood as actions.

One of the reasons why Stanisław of Skarbimierz touches upon the Augustinian problem of man turning inwards, towards his own soul[68] is contempt for the world.[69] Stanislaw devoted one of his sermons to

[63] *[…] ille labor sit interior et exterior pro tempore, interior ad regulandum passiones animi, immo ex decymo 'Ethicorum' ostenditur […]*. Henricus Bitterfeld de Brega OP, *Tractatus de vita contemplativa et activa*, (ed.) B. Mazur, W. Seńko, R. Tatarzyński, Warszawa 2003, p. 144.

[64] *Prius ergo activum laborat interius, post hoc exterius*. Ibid.

[65] M. Kowalczyk, 'Mowy uniwersyteckie...', p. 30.

[66] P. Czartoryski, *Wczesna recepcja…*, p. 10.

[67] J. Domański, *'Scholastyczne...'* Kęty 2005, pp. 21–23.

[68] *[…] in interiore homine habitat veritas*. Św. Augustyn, 'O prawdziwej wierze', in: idem, *Dialogi filozoficzne*, transl. J. Ptaszyński, Kraków 1999, p. 788.

[69] According to Bochenek, one of the reasons for the emergence of reflection on the necessity of man's efforts for self-improvement and growth in virtue is the subject popular in the Kraków milieu – *contemptus mundi: Outstanding writers and preachers*

this subject, which was popular in Kraków and known as *De contemptu mundi*.[70] He encourages contempt for this world, comparing it to 'an enormous sea of reptiles'.[71] He carefully mentions all the imperfections of this world, proclaiming in his apocalyptic vision its end, which will occur with the coming of Antichrist.[72] He therefore warns against the bodily temptations of the world,[73] claiming that 'the wicked spirit cannot be filled with pious feelings.'[74] Interestingly, he also warns against acquiring knowledge. The strongly anti-theoretical tone of his sermons manifests itself in statements that undermine the values of knowledge as such: 'he who broadens knowledge, broadens sorrows,'[75] or 'Knowledge does not ennoble or embellish those who fill themselves with it, but causes lament.'[76] Stanislaw likewise compares the suffering of a knowledgeable man with the suffering of a woman in labour.[77] This knowledge is contrasted with the wisdom of God, coming from God's enlightenment and grace;[78] the wisdom that sends consolation.

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of the period reach to 'De contemptu mundi' by Lotariis, and the motif of almost Manichaean contempt for the world is not rare here at all. In the general opinion of the period, the life of the flesh and satisfaction thereof are strongly opposed to truly Christian life, and man can only be fascinated with God through asceticism, directing his activity towards greater spiritual perfection. K. Bochenek, *Filozofia człowieka…*, p. 243.

[70] Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, *Sermones*, Vol. II, transl. B. Chmielowska, Warszawa 1979, pp. 21–23.

[71] *In hoc tamen mari magno et spatioso, in quo reptilia […]*. Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, 'De contemptu mundi', in: idem, *Sermones…*, p. 287.

[72] *Et ideo vaticiniis iam usque ad fastidium repleti sumus de antichristi adventu, de signis iudicii, de destructione religionum, de persecutione ecclesiae et variis mundi pressuris, quibus etiam viri graves et devoti plus, quam oportuit, creduli exstiterunt.* Ibid., p. 290.

[73] *Ecce namque, si Apostolus post ieiunia nuditatem, post laboras et carceres in semetipsum reversus exclamat: [Infelix ego, quis me liberabit de morte corporis huius]; tantus et talis! Quis, quaeso, erit a temptationibus immunis?*. Ibid., p. 289.

[74] *[…] spiritus malignus non possit affectum devotionis infundere*. Ibid.

[75] *Qui addit scientiam, addit et dolorem*. Ibid., p. 286.

[76] *[…] scientia nec extollit, nec superbientes, quos replerit, sed lamentantes facit*. Ibid., p. 286.

[77] *[…] quis habeat scientiam, quasi parturiens ingemiscit*. Ibid.

[78] *Illustrata quippe lumine scientae vel gratiae aut sapientiae Dei anima ad multa cogitanda se levat et et dilatato corde iam hoc, iam aliud videt, et alia ex ratione colligit, alia ex spirituali illuminatione intelligit, alia ex revelatione divina vel angelica discitatato corde iam hoc, iam aliud videt, et alia ex ratione colligit, alia ex spirituali illuminatione intelligit, alia ex revelatione divina vel angelica discit*. Ibid., p. 287.

Stanislaw sees a remedy for the 'suffering of the spirit' in turning away from the world and turning to God. This cannot happen otherwise than by turning towards one's own soul, as the human soul is the proper field of divine action in man. According to Stanisław, the Holy Spirit energizes the mind for the right and just action, reveals to man what is hidden, inspires, enlightens the mind, shows things in their proper form, and even discovers facing man.[79] God can speak to man by sending him visions, may speak to him directly or in a dream, the author of *Sermones sapientales* writes, referring to various biblical examples.[80]

The issue of contempt for the world, which occurs in Stanisław of Skarbimierz's writings, consists of several threads. Firstly, it is firmly embedded in theological contexts; firstly, the soul should to turn to God to find comfort there. Secondly, one should turn away from the world because both the world itself and one's knowledge of it cause suffering (doubt, hesitation, uncertainty, etc.). The problem of uncertainty of knowledge comes from St. Augustine, who condemned 'vain curiosity,' and examining the world just for the sake of knowledge was considered by him an unnecessary human movement towards the world.[81] Stanisław additionally pointed to suffering – a negative emotional component – which accompanies the knowledge of the *res naturae*. The way to be free from suffering is to gain God's wisdom, which brings consolation and sweetness. These two themes, strongly emphasized in Stanisław's sermons, are not yet the core of 'internal practicism' in the philosophy of the Cracovian master. This lies in the third motive, namely the practical meaning of wisdom. Let us note that the reason why man facing the choice between the knowledge of the temporal world and God's knowledge should choose the other that man is morally built only by 'enlightenment by grace.' On the one hand, 'wisdom consists of obedience to God, and stupidity on 'establishing for

[79] *Spiritus sanctus inspirat menti, quid in factis propriis vel alienis agere vel facere debeat, vel cum eis futura vel absentia, seu abscondita revelat; et sic prophetans inspiravit. Alio modo non spiritualiter de isto agendo vel faciendo inspirat, sed generaliter ad plura videnda et cognoscenda mentem illustrat ostendendo sibi, quid secundum veritatis iudicium sit melius vel non melius*. Ibid., 'De contemptu mundi…', p. 292.

[80] *Sic etiam revelatio fit quandoque per vocem, ut beatis apostolis Petro, Iacobo, ubi vox de nube dixit: [Hic est filius meus], vel Samueli, cui primus sermo Dei factus est in Silo. Aliquando vero revelatio fit per somnum, velut Ioseph, cui apparuit angelus in somnis, ut acciperet Mariam et puerum […]*. Ibid., p. 291.

[81] Św. Augustyn, 'O wielkości duszy', (II 19, 33), in: idem, *Dialogi filozoficzne…*, p. 371.

oneself the law contrary to God's law'[82] while, on the other hand, wisdom is above all a practical virtue. Thanks to wisdom, one may learn not only the truth about things but understand 'what to do, what or how to speak and what to avoid. Thanks to wisdom one can distinguish good from evil, just from unjust.'[83] What is more, moral perfection is not only the result of wisdom, but also its basis and condition. Stanisław mentions the threefold basis of wisdom, namely: strong faith, an honest life, and true penance.[84] However, the truest wisdom is love.[85]

Another example of Kraków internal practicism is the proposal of Wawrzyniec of Racibórz, a scholar known for his political activity, a Cracovian advocate of conciliatory ideas.[86] Wawrzyniec expresses his views in his commentary on Aristotle's *Politics* (BJ 675). As mentioned, he is credited with the 'voluntary concept of contemplation,'[87] according to which contemplation is firstly an act, and secondly, is an example of the most perfect action and a model of action in general.

His views are presented in the initial commentary to *Politics* in which he contemplates the nature of politics and governance, and also reflects on the political and social nature of man. He argues that politics is essentially about 'how to act and how to live well in a society.'[88] Politics is thus primarily concerned with human activity; it sets standards of conduct and practical principles for the whole of society (*in tali communitate*). Governance is a particular type of political action according to Wawrzyniec. However, in order to better define what managing a state or a larger community is, Wawrzyniec proposes to consider this action on a micro-scale. In other words, the answer to the question of what governs

[82] *[…] sicut oboedire Deo et legi suae est sapientia, ita non oboedire et se legi divinae opponere ac legem sibi contra legem Dei velle vel facere, est non parva stultitia*. Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, *Wybrane mowy…*, p. 38.

[83] Ibid., p. 39.

[84] *Tria igitur considero, in quibus consistit vera scientia, per quam itur ad contemplandam faciem sapientiae Dei summi, videlicet: recta fides et bona vita, et si quis peccaverit, poenitentia vera*. Ibid., p. 144.

[85] *Vera quippe sapientia est Deum ex toto corde ex tota anima et ex totis viribus diligere*. Ibid., p. 38.

[86] K. Morawski, *Historia …*, pp. 21–23.

[87] P. Czartoryski, *Wczesna recepcja…*, p. 10.

[88] *[…] quid sit agendum et quo modo sit recte vivendum in tali communitate*, BJ 675, in: P. Czartoryski, *Wczesna recepcja…*, p. 18.

the state (i.e. governance in case of a community) requires a consideration of how man manages himself (self-governance). Wawrzyniec argues that *On the basis of his nature, man is the master of his actions*,[89] in order to show the natural tendency of man to manage himself and others. This tendency flows from his skill of self-determination. It is also a cornerstone of his approach to political action and the legitimacy of political power. The key stage in the argumentation of Wawrzyniec, which makes him a part of internal practicist thought, is the comparison of two types of government, namely: political action as a macro-management; and self-management as micro-management. Wawrzyniec argues that the second type of government is realised in contemplation, as it is an 'absolute act.' *Contemplative life* – argues the Cracovian philosopher – *is more perfect than that which is active as happiness lies in action and not in action with respect to another* [human being – Author's comment*], as in the case of commanding or ruling, but is included in absolute action.*[90] One must agree with Czartoryski, according to whom contemplation in Wawrzyniec's view of is an 'absolute act' as man has full power over himself. Compared to contemplation from which man in the most perfect manner is the master of his own actions, exercising political power is less effective, less perfect and more limited because it applies to other people.[91] Contemplation is, in the view of Wawrzyniec of Racibórz, the primary active state and the highest type of activity, because it is the most free. *Contemplation is not absolute from action, but has action as the active* [principle – Author's comment],[92] Wawrzyniec adds. Therefore, governing a state and a number of other political activities are secondary to contemplation. Contemplation, which is an 'absolute action,' is also the most perfect action, that which is freest and a pattern or model for all other types of action.

If 'internal practicism' is defined as the transfer of activity from the external world (the world of politics) to the internal state of theoretical life (contemplation), then the position of Wawrzyniec of Racibórz is its fullest expression. It is also the most radical, as 'perfect action' consists not only

[89] *[…] in principiis sue proprie nature, […] [homo] est dominus suum operacionum*. Ibid.

[90] *Vita contemplativa est melior active, patet quia felicitas consistit in operacione, et non in operacione que est ad alterum, ut est ducari vel principari, igitur consistit in operacione absoluta*. Ibid., p. 10.

[91] Ibid.

[92] *Contemplativa non est absoluta ab accione, sed habet accionem sicut et activa*. Ibid.

of building one's own interior through moral improvement (the acquisition of virtue), but it is accomplished in contemplation by its very nature. The 'internalism' of Wawrzyniec's practicism consists of identifying action with contemplation (the field of thought). Therefore, Czartoryski's view of the Cracovian master's stance as 'a voluntarist concept of contemplation' may be misleading; Wawrzyniec does not associate action with will, which means that he does not include action into the scope of the volitional authority of man, but he is much more radical – he identifies action with a contemplative life.

Cracovian internal practicism is present in the comments on Aristotle (by Wawrzyniec of Racibórz), sermons (by the anonymous author of BJ 513 and Stanisław of Skarbimierz), as well as philosophical treatises (Henryk Bitterfeld). It has various sources: on the one hand this includes the popular Kraków theme of *contemptas mundi* whose roots go back to St. Augustine's philosophy – Augustine believed that the only knowledge useful for man is the knowledge of what leads to God, and thus guarantees eternal salvation and happiness[93]; and, on the other hand, the neo-Platonic thought which inspired Cracovian scholars to develop the question of contemplation as 'inner action,' an action that is of an absolute character.

Internal practicism in the first variant, represented by Stanisław of Skarbimierz, is called by Domański 'self-creationism' – here man transforms himself, by attaching importance to practical wisdom, achieves moral perfection and, in the end, becomes closer to God.[94] Internal practicism in the second variant, namely that developed by Wawrzyniec of Racibórz, shifts emphasis from the ethical dimension of 'internal actions' to their metaphysical dimension. The difference between the concept of the internal practicism of Stanisław and Wawrzyniec is, *de facto*, the difference in the questions that both Kraków scholars seem to pose: while Stanisław wonders about the role of a specific kind of inner action, namely, the acquisition of practical wisdom, Wawrzyniec asks for such a definition of action which would also involve contemplation. In this sense, the internality of practicism in Stanisław's concept is narrower than the broad views of Wawrzyniec. Stanisław distinguishes moral improvement as a kind and an example of inner activity (in this sense his approach is closer

[93] Św. Augustyn, *Wyznania*, V. 4, (ed.) Z. Kubiak, Warszawa 1992, p. 125.

[94] See: J. Domański, '*Scholatystyczne*'…, p. 297.

to Aristotelian *praxis*[95]). Wawrzyniec, in turn, starts with an indication of such qualities of action, which allow even contemplation to be included among them. Although both approaches to internal pragmatism underline the importance of internal action, the first emphasizes the ethical nature of 'internalized activities.'[96] The other, in turn, tries to determine the characteristics of internal action as such.

Conclusion

On the basis of the above considerations, it may be concluded that the philosophical category of 'action' in Cracovian practice was understood broadly and multi-dimensionally – as the service of the state or *conservatio civitas* resulting from academic education; as engaging in social and political affairs in external practicism; and as a moral and contemplative internal practice of man in internal practicism. Despite this significant diversity, however, there is a certain continuity between the various aspects of 'action' and it is possible to point to a three-step mechanism for the relationship between knowledge, action and good, namely: (1) a university provided knowledge that was meant primarily to answer the question 'what to do?' 'how to act?'; (2) then, in the framework of the concept of external practicism, both the motivation and justification for concrete real actions in the world were found, and within this trend, action was taken to ensure political, social and individual well-being; (3) and, in the context of internal practicism, personal virtues of mind and character (moral virtues, and the wisdom and prudence acquired through contemplative practices) were to guarantee a more effective implementation of knowledge in action. Knowledge (1) was realised in action (2) through virtue (3); and thus, internal practicism functions in the above-mentioned division as a mediator connecting general knowledge with individual action and, on the other hand, as a controlling mechanism to ensure knowledge is always transformed into action in the light of good and wisdom.

Can the above considerations – one of the strongest expressions of the Jagiellonian ideas – become an inspiration today in the theoretical and conceptual spheres in the theatre of contemporary challenges? Cracovian practicism, as presented above, would require a careful accumulation of knowledge to be used in action, but in such a way that this action preserves

[95] Ibid., p. 298.

[96] Domański calls internal practicism 'internalized practicism'.

the dimension of virtue and is mediated by it. In this way, the dimension of wisdom is preserved, both on an individual and on the universal, namely social, national and global level.

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Subjectivity in the European Thought. The Significance of Paweł Włodkowic's and Bartolomé de Las Casas' Philosophies

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The concept of subjectivity is as central to the humanities as it is vague. In the era of a post-industrial crisis of civilization and the postmodern weakening of social thinking, however, it is worthwhile to attempt to adopt this term into academic language. While the idea has a solid standing in the language custom, it does not yield easily to academic rigor. However, should we abandon it altogether, we will be hard-pressed to express something that clearly exists in the ontological sense; something that encompasses a certain range of phenomena which are important even though they are not wholly understood or precisely defined. In my book *Subjectivity in an era of post-industrial crisis.*[1] I attempt to further develop the issues of subjectivity. It appears that a properly developed *concept of subjectivity* may become an invaluable aid in reflections on the ontological status of the individual and of a group, as well as on the relationships between people and societies, and the meaning of a person in societies.[2] I am of the opinion that such a concept may, and in fact ought to, be the starting point of a reflection upon

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[1] K. Wielecki, *Podmiotowość w dobie kryzysu postindustrializmu. Między indywidualizmem a kolektywizmem*, Warszawa 2003.

[2] M. Rembierz, 'The Play between Freedom and Power. On the Human Quest for Self-Determination and Subjectivity in Times of Ideological Fighting for Man's Appropriation', in: K. Śledzińska, K. Wielecki (ed.), *Critical Realism and Humanity in the Social Sciences*, Warszawa 2016, *Archerian Studies*, vol. 1, pp. 149-160.

the society, the state, politics as well as upon the individual, their mental health, and their identity. I would argue especially fervently that a theory of subjectivity should be construed in our era of the above-mentioned crisis of civilization which is wont to forget individuals and values in its *liquid reality*.[3]

Any serious study of subjectivity must begin with a reconstruction of this term in the humanist and social thought. It is important to note what a 'good society' was considered to be in the past and what it is supposed to be now; how the thinking changed of human nature and duties of individuals who, out of necessity (though sometimes not without enjoyment), remain in mutual relationships with others. It is especially at a time when science is dominated by relativist and interactionist ideology that such a reflection is of fundamental importance.

This paper is a modest and very brief sketch of an overview of standpoints on the matter at hand. More information can be found in my book mentioned above (*Subjectivity in an era of post-industrial crisis. Between individualism and collectivism*). I hope that this sketch will prove useful in highlighting the contemporary meaning of the ideas of the selected authors – Paweł Włodkowic and Bartolomé de Las Casas – which I review here. They obviously represent the catholic school of thought, but there are curious coincidental similarities between their respective works. I believe that showing these among their ideas that relate do subjectivity may be of great importance for the concept of subjectivity as such.

An outline of the history of the concept of subjectivity

The issue of subjectivity is for me a question of the relation between the individualistic and the collectivistic image of the individual and society. The thinker who first set foot on this long road of European thought was naturally Socrates, even though he himself obviously did not use this particular term. But any attempt at reconstructing the standpoint of this philosopher which could lead to a deeper understanding ends in the conclusion that on the grounds of Socrates' thought subjectivity is a task to be done, nay – a moral obligation to be fulfilled. The path leads through knowledge to virtue, without which a human being cannot be truly happy. As long as one follows that path, they need not fear death or

[3] Z. Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, Ithaca, NY 1991.

any other misfortune. Scarcity of material goods and lack of sophisticated desires also help in attaining happiness. Beyond any doubt, those who want to be subjective, must be responsible for others. This is what drove Socrates to teaching. A sense of being true to himself and one of sensitivity towards, and responsibility for, others were payment enough and compensated for the mockery and verbal and physical abuse that were often his reward for the knowledge that he tried to impart. His chosen teaching methods, the elenchus and maieutics, angered his wretched students, who were not that interested in happiness and virtue (at least in their Socratic sense).[4] The final facet of his standpoint of ethical intellectualism was the belief in an inner voice (the *daimonion*) of a transcendental origin, that is – in a religious factor.

The key to unravelling the Socratic concept of subjectivity as I understand it here, is his ethics, with the assumption of a universal and objective nature of values, which in turn come from a supernatural source. A transcendental power placed the good inside humans, and now they must discover it by way of reason. Subjectivity according to Socratic thought has certain attributes, derived from the value which is the good. Amongst these attributes, apart from the already-mentioned responsibility for others, are: obedience to *polis* (as far as the limits of moral principles allow), courage, ability to withstand suffering, dignity, disregard for one's own needs.[5]

Plato also takes gods to be the source of values; gods who supply the soul with ready knowledge, which – sadly – is then forgotten. Learning is then remembering (*anamnesis*). Having made a distinction between the nature of the thing from its concrete instantiation, Plato ascribed the knowledge of the former to reason, while that of the latter – to senses. Especially the *universals*, or fundamental ideas, can only be known through reason. Gods are the source of the highest concept, that of the good. Subjectivity here is also a question of choosing one's way of life aimed towards good. It also needs intuition, faith and the practice of virtue. Subjectivity is the pursuit of knowing the good and living in accordance with the virtues which follow from it. The virtues

[4] Diogenes Laërtius, *Żywoty i poglądy słynnych filozofów,* transl. I. Krońska et al., introd. K. Leśniak, Warszawa 2012.

[5] Platon, *Menon*, transl. and ed. W. Witwicki, Warszawa 1959; idem, *Obrona Sokratesa*, transl. and ed. W. Witwicki, Kraków 2007.

of the soul are above all order and harmony, which can be achieved by keeping a close rein on one's desires and passions. This calls for wisdom, courage and restraint (each of these virtues corresponds to one part of the soul) as well as mature love. Such love is achieved by progressing from sensual love through love for spiritual beauty, then love for the idea of beauty, finally to arrive at the adoration of the highest ideal, that of the good.[6]

Aristotle was convinced that the *rational soul* is meant to recognize and understand the good and to direct the will towards it. In turn, *practical reason* makes a human being a subject by directing their will towards life in accordance with the recognized good (*eudaimonia*). According to Aristotle, *eudaimonia* is a virtue accessible to all those who live according to the principle of *the golden mean*.[7]

In the Middle Ages, when the predominant perspective was that of religion, two figures played a crucial role. The one that came earlier, St. Augustine, referred back to Plato and his theory of ideas and universals. However, for St. Augustine the central point was the belief that the sole source of happiness for man can only be God and knowing Him. All good is linked to God and comes from God. Evil is thus the absence of good, he claimed. Probably the fullest explication of Augustine's philosophy of man, his happiness and subjectivity can be found in *De Trinate*.[8] Man is free, because it is he who can choose between good and evil. In order to understand God, that is – the nature of the good, however, man needs *divine illumination*, or enlightening. And in order for man to achieve salvation, that is – the ability to fully know God (this also refers to being in communion with God), man needs divine grace. Man's subjectivity, as a potential, is included in God's love for man and in the fact that man was created in God's image and likeness. The realization of subjectivity is achieved through one's development in the knowledge of, and love for,

[6] Platon, *Uczta*, in: idem, *Dialogi*, transl. W. Witwicki, A. Lam (ed.).,Warszawa 1993.

[7] Arystoteles, *Dzieła wszystkie*, vol. 5: *Etyka nikomachejska*, *Etyka wielka*, *Etyka eudemejska*, *O cnotach i wadach*, transl. and ed. D. Gromska, L. Regner, W. Wróblewski, Warszawa 1996.

[8] Św. Augustyn, *O Trójcy Świętej*, transl. M. Stokowska, introd. J. Tischner, J.M. Szymusiak (ed.), Kraków 1996.

God.[9]

St. Thomas Aquinas on the other had was closer to Aristotle and his ethics of *the golden mean* as a principle of moderation. He too saw the happiness of man in knowing God and in salvation, as the human soul has a natural desire (*desiderium naturale*) for eternal life. This desire may lead man to hope or to despair and resignation. After the original sin, says Thomas Aquinas, we humans lost the capability to strive for eternal happiness. However, Christ's crucifixion redeemed this sin, thanks to which we receive three *theological virtues*: faith, hope and charity, which return us onto the path to salvation. Man's sins make this difficult (venial sins) or impossible (mortal sins); conversely, gifts of the Holy Spirit are a boon.[10] The soul is guided by its own will. St. Thomas names four chief obstacles on the way to obtaining virtues: weakness of reason, especially as a consequence of sin, e.g. pride; perversity of will; moral weakness (sin weakens man); disorder (when man is overwhelmed by a desire).[11]

Yet another perspective on subjectivity, one I would call sociological, was provided by Immanuel Kant. The intersubjectivity of the practical reason, focused on the subject, has replaced the objectivity of moral criteria. According to Kant, great philosophical problems lie beyond the limits of certain knowledge.[12] Only faith can serve us here. And it is faith that told Kant that God exists and that man is equipped with a soul which is immortal and free. Such convictions are practical postulates, that is – assumptions taken without proof. They are necessary for man's morality. The mind is capable of distinguishing between good and evil thanks to practical reason. Kant was of the opinion that there is a moral law that exists beyond all experience and which is necessary for man's life. In order to discover it, one must consider what might be a principle which will withstand criticism from all people, a principle which will appear obvious

[9] Idem, *Wyznania*, transl. and ed. Z. Kubiak, Kraków 2007

[10] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, London 1962–1986; See: also: F.W. Bednarski (ed.), *Skrót zarysu teologii (Sumy teologicznej) św. Tomasza z Akwinu OP*, Warszawa 2000.

[11] Św. Tomasz z Akwinu, *Kwestia o duszy*, transl. Z. Włodek, W. Zega, introd. Z. Włodek, Kraków 1996.

[12] I. Kant, *Prolegomena do wszelkiej przyszłej metafizyki, która będzie mogła wystąpić jako nauka*, transl. and ed. A. Banaszkiewicz, Warszawa 1993.

to everyone. He dubbed this principle *the categorical imperative*, which can be related as the recommendation: *Act only according to that maxim whereby you can, at the same time, will that it should become a universal law*.[13]

Kant's idea of subjectivity can be reconstructed on the basis of his ethics. He wanted the human being to be treated as an end in itself, never as a means to an end. Kant put individuality in the centre of sense and meaning as well as an axiological fulcrum. What – in the absence of God – could make the emancipated man follow moral principles? According to Kant it was duty. It is because of a sense of duty that individuals limit their egotism. The very intention to fulfil one's duty determines moral judgement. Duty frees man from his individual undetermined latitude. And without such freedom there can be no subjectivity. As a side remark, Kant took the sense of moral duty to be the presence of God in man as certain and unperturbed as the starry sky above (*the starry skies above me and the moral law inside me*) [14].

Quite the contrary was the case with Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who not only did not take society and culture as a precondition for man's subjectivity, but claimed that they take freedom away from man and disfigure him. Subjectivity seems for Rousseau to be a state of harmony between the spirit and nature, which personifies perfection. It is therefore only outside of society that the natural good of the human being comes to the fore; this is a concept of a good man in bad culture and society. The source of social evil is private ownership, as it violates the fundamental principle of good among people – that of equality. In order to protect the inequalities arising from ownership, a *social contract* was drawn, and on it the state was built with its institutions, political system, culture with its morality, says Rousseau, this Columbus of European philosophy. Remember that Columbus was an explorer who set sail towards an unknown destination, returned from a place he did not know, and died thinking he had visited a place which in fact he had not.[15]

For Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel subjectivity, as an attribute

[13] Idem, *Uzasadnienie metafizyki moralności*, transl. M. Wartenberg, R. Ingarden, Warszawa 1984.

[14] Idem, *Krytyka praktycznego rozumu*, transl. and ed. B. Bornstein, Warszawa 2011.

[15] J.J. Rousseau, *The Confessions*, transl. A. Scholar, Oxford 2000 and idem, *The Social Contract' and Other Later Political Writings*, transl. V. Gourevitch, Cambridge 1997.

of an individual, has no value, other than perhaps as an instrument of the realization of *Spirit*. It lends itself to analysis in this great thinker's work only from the perspective of a historic process of development of a collective subject, mainly that of a nation. Subjectivity seems to begin and end as a step stool in the dialectic realization of *Spirit* in the idea of the state.[16]

What Karl Marx did was an organ transplant. He removed the concept of Spirit from Hegel's philosophy and replaced it with that of social justice, which, however, is for him not linked to benevolent nature, but rather to industrial production. The fundamental functions of Hegelian nation and state were to be taken over by social class. The process itself loses its idealistic character and becomes a materialistic process of the realization of the idea of social justice in the practice of industrial production. When this historic process encounters an obstacle, then – by way of some mysterious materialist metaphysics that Marx calls dialectic – the obstacle is necessarily removed by a revolution. By no means is it my desire to reduce the differences between Hegel's and Marx's philosophies to the ones outlined above, but from the point of view of the nature of subjectivity, the differences are not very substantial. In both cases man is but an element of a much larger historic order. For Marx the ultimate goal is the freedom of mankind (*the leap to the kingdom of freedom*)[17], which can only be realized by removing inequality. Ironically, it is here that the idealist Rousseau spiritually meets the materialist Marx. The joke is that probably neither would have liked to live in the *paradise on Earth* envisioned by the other. [18]

It is difficult to say anything about the concept of subjectivity in the philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer, for whom man is part of the irrational nature. This makes his life – wildly driven by unfulfilled desires – a veritable torment that must end in the catastrophe of death. One could hardly call subjectivity the rare lull in an otherwise permanent torture brought about by contemplation or sacrifice for others. [19]

[16] G.W.F. Hegel, *Wykłady z filozofii dziejów*, vol. 1–2, transl. J. Grabowski, A. Landman, introd. T. Kroński, Warszawa 1958 and idem, *Fenomenologia ducha*, vol. 1–2, transl. and ed. A. Landman, Warszawa 1963–1965.

[17] Must see: A. Walicki, *Marksizm i skok do królestwa wolności. Dzieje komunistycznej utopii*, Warszawa 1996.

[18] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Dzieła wybrane*, vol. 1–2, Warszawa 1948.

[19] A. Schopenhauer, *O podstawie moralności*, transl. Z. Bassakówna, Kraków 2015; idem,

Friedrich Nietzsche adopted more than just the pessimistic air from Schopenhauer's thought. He referred to the above-mentioned aspect of practice, but gave it a broader meaning – that of life. It is life that is the source of morality. Everyone has the sort of morality they are comfortable with. The nature of subjectivity for Nietzsche seems to lie in *power,* the most important force of life. Subjectivity thus would probably be about personifying and displaying power. Those who are not subjective are slaves, upon whom the subjective individual can and should impose, by law of moral superiority, his egotist values. Sadly, numbers give the weak slaves an advantage, which allows them to impose upon the world the degenerate morality of relativity, love, compassion and altruism. One is tempted to note that the Nietzschean *power* seems rather weak, and what he deems weakness – oddly powerful. However, outside of this context of subjectivity Nietzsche points out another – that of dissent for the world as it is. Life is for him ceaseless activity and creation. A subject is the person who takes up the challenge of such a life, who accepts that subjectivity is not a constant, but a creative act, forever renewed. This is expressed in the Dionysian attitude that the philosopher recommends – one that is vivacious, rebellious, dynamic, focused on constant development.[20]

Before Rousseau, nature was feared as a dangerous force, an element in which subjectivity is dispersed. Rousseau disagreed, seeing in nature an opportunity for the fulfilment of the individual, while society, culture and civilization were for him a dangerous element. Similarly, Nietzsche created the concept of the Übermensch, a Super-human who has enough power to oppose reification by culture and society and who can tap nature for strength. Subjectivity in Nietzschean thought is then a dynamic phenomenon, and in its ceaseless becoming (otherwise there is no subjectivity) one can discover the order of development, with its clear phases (the camel, the lion, the child).

Subjectivity is thus a road, one which can be travelled thanks to one's ability to withstand suffering and hard work, to make sacrifices and

Metafizyka życia i śmierci, transl. Józef Marzęcki, Warszawa 1995; idem, *Świat jako wola i przedstawienie*, vol. 1–2, transl. and ed. J. Garewicz, Warszawa 1994–1995.

[20] F. Nietzsche, *To rzekł Zaratustra. Książka dla wszystkich i dla nikogo*, transl. S.Lisiecka, Z. Jaskuła, Wrocław 2005; idem, *Poza dobrem i złem. Preludium filozofii przyszłości*, transl. S. Wyrzykowski, Łódź–Wrocław 2010; idem, *Wola mocy. Próba przemiany wszystkich wartości (studia i fragmenty)*, transl. S. Frycz, K. Drzewiecki, Warszawa 1911

rejoice at taking up the challenge of a travelling subject's fate. In such a way one can arrive at a narcissistic acceptance of one's strength, but also at a rebellion that destroys everything, needs no support, hates any governance or supervision, wants to be led solely by its own will, to re-evaluate all values. The third phase is one of creation, which builds with the same fervour that the lion destroyed. This is a phase of creating one's freedom. It requires the innocence of a child, and forgetting which frees one from being deformed by culture and society. The conclusion of the third phase cannot be a new order but never-ending creation, re-evaluation and searching.

In the view of William James it is life needs that make people act, and the psyche is largely shaped in accordance with the utilitarian principle; it is secondary to action. Henri Bergson pointed out the creative nature of life, in whose homogeneous stream two aspects may be distinguished: actions and experiences. Subjectivity, as I understand it in Bergson's thought, has its source in God, and is led mostly by intuition, which in turn is a function of the stream of experiences. The other aspect of the stream of life is action. A highly significant attribute of subjectivity is creation and development, understood as broadening one's horizons. In many ways it resembles the philosophy of Edmund Husserl, who seems to have understood subjectivity as the ability of the subject to sustain *unity of the stream of experiences*. He did away with the opposition between the subject and nature, as he believed that the world we have access to is not a *world in itself,* but rather *a world for someone* – in other words, it is the subject that establishes it.

A similar sentiment can be found in the works of Søren Kierkegaard. The torment of living, which was so pointedly stressed by both Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, stems – according to the Danish philosopher – from trepidation. It is caused by the fear of death and the perspective of the mystery of the eternal God, which is difficult to bear for a mortal man. This drama of human existence is unsolvable. One can choose the way of the coward, that is escape into the future; alternatively one can escape into the past – this is the way of the hedonist. But there is a third way: that of subjectivity, which chooses the present and the truth. Religion does not have to be treated as an escape if one realizes that it will not save him from the torment of life; rather, the opposite will happen, it will worsen the torment by demanding sacrifices, by exacerbating the tension and despondency.

But this is the way of subjectivity. Therefore, as I understand it, subjectivity is for Kierkegaard a question of choosing one's way of life. In his *Either/Or* the philosopher nobilitates *authenticity*. Frankness in expressing who one is, necessarily preceded by actually being oneself, acceptance for oneself as one is, for one's choices – these would also be attributes of subjectivity.[21]

Gabriel Marcel understood the despair of man, but he saw a way out, one that could lead to God and other people. Being with others can be, to an extent, a communion with God. Hence springs forth hope, which – when it becomes reliance on God, meeting Him, communion in love – will cope with despair. Subjectivity as I see it in Marcel's thought is a particular way of existence. We are *substantiated* in existence through love. Existence is always *being-in*. Subjectivity thus appears to be the ability to commune, that is – to exist in-you through love. So it is not a shelter – *from* but an opening – *towards*. Nor is subjectivity a seat of originality (as it is for many thinkers before and after Marcel) which must be discovered and expressed in an act of authenticity, but rather an experience of a gift in the dialogical relation *I – you*.

The concept of a meeting was also central for the philosophy of Martin Buber. Man is a subject in the sense of being someone who can act as a free and responsible person. He can choose a monological relation with God and other people (I – it) or a dialogical one (I – Thou). The former impoverishes, reduces, depersonalizes; the latter places one on the road to developing oneself as a subject. It is man's own autonomous choice that decides whether good or evil will actualize itself inside him. Both potentials are there. God's participation in our subjectivity is not reduced to endowing us with the potentials and enabling us to choose. God gives us the grace of internal integration, without which there is no autonomy. But the subject is the source of their own subjectivity, as it is the subject who chooses and follows the path of their choice. Therefore dialogical opening, sensitivity towards other people, towards God, are significant attributes of such subjectivity. Of fundamental value is non-instrumental attitude towards *Thou,* responsiveness to their call. Buber understands man's trepidation and his suffering arising from fear of the future, death and the mystery of God and the world. Buber knows that man does not understand God or

[21] S. Kierkegaard, *Albo–albo*, vol. 1-2, transl. and introd. J. Iwaszkiewicz, Warszawa 1982, p. 237.

the world he lives in; that man doubts in the meaning of life. Experiencing God's realness gives meaning to life, but this perspective will not be fulfilled without love and choosing openness to *Thou*.

Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus chose the path of atheist existentialism. The latter is especially terrified by the *absurdity* of life. He knows there is no way out from this absurdity. All that is left is the courageous acceptance of a contemptible fate and the heroism of existence in spite of understanding that fate. This gives man a certain freedom, the freedom of a demiurge who has to make a choice and is proud to choose the more difficult path.

The problem that was central to entire generations of philosophers, namely whether man really exists, whether his being is not threatened by nature, other people, culture – this problem was of little significance for Martin Heidegger when confronted with the fact that man keeps losing himself, or at least (as I would put it) his subjectivity. This happens chiefly because man loses the truth of being. He also loses contact with the true being, which is a rapid, complex *stream of life*. Heidegger was mainly motivated by his fear for man, who, as Nietzsche proclaimed, lost God. We could add, following Józef Tischner, that he did so without noticing that he is losing himself in the first place.[22] It is true especially of the philosophy of the Enlightenment that the man is seen as the subject that establishes himself, chiefly in order to put himself face to face with being and feel its objectness, and thanks to it – his own power, to be able to rule. But this is not the truth about man. What is true, though, is that he is filled with trepidation which arises from his experiencing nothingness and the awareness of *being-toward-death*. The path to truth requires that one *enters the stream of life* before it becomes falsified by the instrumental reason and feels, experiences as a *being being-in*. Existence is happening. We need *a more subtle philosophy* than the traditional one. Truth is being. The truth about man is his *existence in being*. Truth is a more subtle matter than it used to be assumed and requires more refined thought. Man cannot understand the world, but he can ask questions, assume an open, creative, curious attitude. This and the courage to keep searching is where subjectivity manifests itself.

Subjectivity also manifests itself in freedom. But man is not free. He is conditioned by the world, diffused in everyday life, unable to change

[22] K. Michalski, *Heidegger i filozofia współczesna*, Warszawa 1978, p. 209.

much, and especially unable to escape death. Human life is *being-toward-death*. But it is precisely this tragedy and the horror it evokes which may become an opportunity to realize that the only solution is to understand and take responsibility for one's life. Choosing responsibility, the responsibility itself, they are already a certain degree of freedom. Especially if, being aware of its end, we will direct our life as *being-toward-life-and-freedom*. Then, freedom is also the ability to give meaning to one's life. Subjectivity as we could interpret it in the context of Heidegger's philosophy is thus activity within the relation man-world which is oriented toward knowing the world through experiencing-understanding which denounces aspirations towards totality and certainty; through broadening the horizons of freedom, giving meaning to one's life and taking responsibility for it.

Man is a being torn between his materiality and spirituality. But the 'naturalness', fleshliness condemns us – according to Ferdinand Ebner – to suffering, loneliness and death. However, there is a spiritual element in man – the *I*. It exists only in a relation with *Thou*, that is – something which is also spiritual, but external to the *I*. In the relation *I-Thou* true spiritual life of man is found.[23]

The starting point for contemplating the nature of man was for Franz Rosenzweig the *experience of death*. It is the experience of death that reveals the falsehood of the reasoning of a totalizing thinker. Total thought is helpless faced with death, but also faced with the separation of God, man and the world, realities which in life are not separate, which 'transcend their nature' and enter into relations, as we can clearly experience.

We shall not devote space here to the interesting and complex creation of Rosenzweig's, the concept of 'Star of Redemption', made of the dimensions of God and the world, linked by Creation; God and man, joined by Revelation; and man and the world, bonded by Redemption. Instead, we will focus on another postulate, that God reveals Himself through love, through the word of the commandment of love. A dialogue, wherein love is expressed as transcending, stepping outside of one's self, a dialogue between people built on the word of God – this is a recurring theme in all the religious philosophies outlined here. For Rosenzweig freedom is limited by the self-criticism of the subject, incorporated into an axiological order; yet the subject is still a separate entity, disconnected

[23] F. Ebner, 'Fragmenty pneumatologiczne', transl. J. Doktór, in: B. Baran (ed.), *Filozofia dialogu*, Kraków 1991.

not only from other people or various *totalities*, but also from the *Infinite*, which gives subjectivity a chance by retreating from the ontological space and leaving it to man.[24]

Emmanuel Lévinas finds a *fulcrum* in the Old Testament God and the Great Commission. But meeting God is always meeting another person. Apart from the face of the other person we encounter the *non-face* of God. In this philosophy it is crucial to make the distinction between need and desire. The former is a void that wants filling, is oriented towards something that can satisfy it. Desire, in turn, can never be satisfied, but rather fed; it is oriented towards *the Other*, which is not wanting, but rather striving for something that may not be defined and yet it speaks with great strength, the power of its meaning freed from all context. The object of desire can be that *absolute Other*. It may be God, or another human who *resembles God*, through whom we are bonded to God. For that a meeting is necessary, but a pre-condition for a meeting is loneliness which is a suffering, torture. Only through it can we discover the proximity of another and open to the meeting. *Separation* is necessary for a relation. The key here is the experience of the Face. It is a sort of *moral challenge* which awakens our freedom. But this challenge is also a border of sorts, a prohibition, a request from the other. And not just the particular other, but also from him whose Face and promise the other resembles. Here we come to ashamedness, enter ethics, which always leads to self-limitation. [25]

The German philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas set about finding a new fulcrum for values and the despairing subject, now completely distrustful, especially toward all totality. And let us add that this subject after cancelling God went on to cancel itself – through the criticism of subjectivity, through the unconsciously suicidal orientation of the subject toward its own subjectivism, the expression of its tormented originality, autonomy and authenticity, etc. Habermas found his fulcrum in the *communication community,* oriented towards mutual agreement as a result of the practice of *open discourse*. This community is the source

[24] F. Rosenzweig, *Gwiazda zbawienia*, transl. and ed. T. Gadacz, Kraków 1998; idem, 'Nowe myślenie. Kilka późniejszych uwag do *Gwiazdy zbawienia*', transl. T. Gadacz, in: J. Tischner (ed.), *Filozofia współczesna*, Kraków 1989.

[25] E. Lévinas, *Całość i nieskończoność. Esej o zewnętrzności*, transl. M. Kowalska, J. Migasiński, introd. B. Skarga, Warszawa 1998; idem, *Humanisme de l'Autre Homme*, Montpellier 1972; idem, *O Bogu, który nawiedza myśl*, transl. M. Kowalska, introd. T. Gadacz, Kraków 1994.

of values which are created as intersubjectivity established in the course of non-violent practices. It also mediates truth.[26]

For Zygmunt Bauman, as I understand it, subjectivity is taking responsibility for one's own identity in an era of *liquid modernity*. One must accept one's alienness and loneliness as well as their inevitability, understand that we are all being *devoured* and constantly *vomited out* from the illusion of order. Each person must ceaselessly *re-anchor their drifting identity in the ambiguous modernity*.[27]The contemporary post-modernity is without a doubt a source of suffering, Bauman says, travestying in the title of one of his books[28] the title of a famous work by his namesake, Siegmund Freud[29], but this is a necessary price we have to pay for the freedom to self-construct our identity. This, it seems, is what man's subjectivity consists in; this and the respect for the stranger-ness of others and for their right to author their own identities.

The concept of subjectivity in the philosophy of Józef Tischner must be sought, I think, in two perspectives of his theory: the philosophy of drama and the philosophy of dialogue. According to Tischner, we live our lives in *encounters* with other people; these encounters make it necessary for us to confront one another and choose between good and evil. This gives human existence a dramatic character[30] while at the same time opening an *agathological* horizon, that is, introducing into human life and humanist thought *the good* as a central point of reference[31]; the good thus becomes *rooted* in our lives and its real tragedies.[32] First, *I* experiences himself/herself as a value. Even though the axiological *I* realizes itself as a value only in particular forms, it is still in its essence an *irreal value*. However,

[26] J. Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 1-2, transl. T.A. McCarthy, Boston Mass. 1981; idem, *Theory and Practice*, transl. J. Viertel, London 1977; idem, *Filozoficzny dyskurs nowoczesności*, transl. M. Łukasiewicz. Kraków 2000.

[27] Z. Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence...*, Ithaca, NY 1991.

[28] Idem, *Ponowoczesność jako źródło cierpień*, Warszawa 2000.

[29] Z. Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, London 2002; published in Poland as literally: 'Culture as a source of suffering' - see: idem, *Kultura jako źródło cierpień*, transl. J. Prokopiuk, R. Reszke (ed.), Warszawa 1995.

[30] J. Tischner, 'Spór o istnienie człowieka. Z księdzem profesorem Józefem Tischnerem rozmawia Tadeusz Gadacz', *Nowe Książki*, vol. 3 (1998), p. 6.

[31] Idem, *Filozofia dramatu*, Kraków 1998, p. 63.

[32] Idem, *Myślenie według wartości*, Kraków 1982, p. 369.

the primary *source of ethical experience* is the Other, his/her presence.[33] The *meaning* of an encounter lies in the fact that humans are open beings, which means, among other things, that we are inevitably characterised by desiring the Other. Here is the reason for a *dialogical opening*. The Other, through his/her very presence, words, gestures, glances even, *asks a question* and issues a *claim* for a response.[34] The *claim* establishes an encounter and a dialogue, which result in a *dramatic thread*.[35]

The human being is free in the sense of choosing values, and especially choosing between good and evil; also, by choosing who he/she is and thus creating himself/herself. A dramatic tension between good and evil appears in the *agathological space*, which is at the same time the *space of the meeting*. As Tadeusz Gadacz writes, relating Tischner's views: *In the meeting a two-faceted nature of transcendence reveals itself: the meeting steps towards the other to whom it bears testimony as well as towards the Other – God – in front of whom it bears testimony. Thanks to a meeting, aimless meandering may become shared pilgrimage and the refused land – the land of promise. The essence of a meeting is the Good*.[36] But there the drama (and sometimes – tragedy) of human existence is also revealed, as in a meeting *evil is also possible: escape instead of meeting, a hideout instead of a home, forced labour instead of a workshop, damnation instead of salvation. The horizon of hope is thus revealed in the other dimension of the transcendence of a meeting – the divine one*.[37]

In the thought of Karol Wojtyła the concept of subjectivity makes sense only from the perspective of the freedom of the human being in relation to God. The starting point for reflection on subjectivity may be the phenomenological discovery of the experience 'I can – I do not have to – I want to'. It is here that man's causality is revealed[38], and the problem arises of his subjectivity and freedom, as freedom is a characteristic peculiar to humans. Other fundamentals for man's subjectivity are reason and spirituality. Spirituality, in turn, means inner life, which is centred around

[33] Idem, 'Etyka wartości i nadziei', in: D. von Hildebrand (et al.), *Wobec wartości*, Poznań 1982.

[34] Idem, *Filozofia…*, p. 64.

[35] Ibidem, p. 19.

[36] T. Gadacz, *Historia filozofii XX wieku*, vol. 2, Kraków 2009, p. 637.

[37] Ibid.

[38] K. Wojtyła, *Osoba i czyn*, Lublin 1994, p. 151.

truth and the good. This determines man's two central orientations: one directed towards understanding the ultimate cause of everything, and the other directed toward the good. Yet man is not solely spiritual, we belong to the outside world as well. We want to *leave our mark* in it, as this is what human nature demands. The same nature gives us the power of *self-determination*, or free will.[39] Subjectivity understood as self-determination is not simply the freedom to do what you will. A condition here is that of self-possession, that is, being a person *sui iuris*, which enables *self-governance*. Will transcends a person in action.

Here we reach the other experience, of fundamental nature for this paper – that of the phenomenological obviousness of shame as something that refers us to *something still other*, which in turn directs us towards the transcendental value of the human being.[40] Let us return to the 'I can – I don't have to – I want to' trio, where the horizon of man's freedom is revealed; man who *does not have to*, for whom *inclination* is not determination, who can choose as he wishes. Thus the subject becomes entangled in ethics, as the choice is in fact often between good and evil. According to Wojtyła, we become free, in the sense of freedom from the determinism of feelings, by being obedient to truth.[41] A *person* is a *substance* but also a *relation*. Especially a relation with another human being. In the words of Zofia Zdybicka: *The fundamental source of Wojtyła's philosophical reflection was experiencing the human being: directly, objectively, understandingly. Man can experience himself, his inner self, thanks to reflection accompanying every activity (deed). A reflective analysis of every act, an understanding experience, lead to the discovery of the subject – the doer of the act and one who experiences his own subjectivity – and therefore to the discovery of the person*.[42] The way we enter these relations determines our subjectivity, that is whether we will be able to lead our human being to *the fullness of being-ness*. We can see that subjectivity is a task to fulfil the potential that we have as humans. A condition here is treating the other non-instrumentally, as that would strip the person of the *dignity* that springs

[39] Idem, *Miłość i odpowiedzialność*, Lublin 1986, pp. 9-10.

[40] Ibid., part III.

[41] Idem, *Osoba i czyn...*, p. 150, passim.

[42] Z.J. Zdybicka, 'Wojtyła Karol (Jan Paweł II)', in: A. Maryniarczyk et al. (ed.), *Powszechna encyklopedia filozofii*, vol. 9, Lublin 2008, p. 816.

from the fact that humans are children of God. It is possible to be fully oneself, that is – fully subjective, above all in a *meeting* with Jesus Christ, in whom God reveals himself and the truth about man. The only possible sort of relation in response to the dignity that man receives as grace is love. Love which is not so much an emotion as it is a choice, or will, and which takes Christ crucified as its model. Here lies the reason for subjectivity to be considered as obedience to truth and love, like in Christ who served God and people. This kind of communion which joins God and man through love ought to be followed in the practice of human relations. Only in practicing so understood love towards others, love rooted in the love of God, man's subjectivity is possible.[43]

The significance of Paweł Włodkowic and Bartolomé de Las Casas for the concept of subjectivity

Before focusing on the philosophy of Paweł Włodkowic, we must necessarily mention another great name of that era, Stanisław of Skalbmierz (formerly Skarbimierz). Born ca. 1365 he was w lawyer, a canon priest in the Wawel cathedral chapter in Kraków, the first rector of the Kraków Academy (reconstituted in 1400), again appointed rector in 1410. Having studied in the faculties of *atrium* and law of the Prague University, Stanisław received his Doctorate in law in 1396. After his return to Poland he was royal confessor, cathedral preacher, vicar general to the Kraków bishop. Together with the slightly younger Włodkowic, Stanisław of Skalbmierz is considered to be one of the fathers of the Polish school of international legal thought. In 1422 he was appointed by the Gniezno archdeacon Mikołaj Kiczka his representative in the lawsuit against the Teutonic knights which was taking place in the papal court in Rome. Before his death in 1431 Stanisław of Skalbmierz penned some 500 sermons. In this work of particular interest is especially his sermon *On just wars* (*De bellis iustis*). Therein he questioned the then commonplace belief that no treaties should be made with heathens and that war against heathen states is naturally good and just.

Paweł Włodkowic himself, who, as has already been mentioned, owed much to Stanisław of Skalbmierz, was born in early 1370s. Like Stanisław, he graduated from the *atrium* and law faculties of the Prague University and then continued his studies in the University Padua (1404–1408) and the Kraków Academy, where he received his doctorate (ca. 1411)

[43] K. Wojtyła, *Osoba i czyn...*, part II, II and IV.

and subsequently the post of a lecturer. King Władysław Jagiełło appointed him his emissary for the purposes of the lawsuit against the Teutonic Knights. Between 1414 and 1418 Włodkowic actively participated in the Council of Constance.[44]

It was there that on 5th July 1415 Włodkowic presented his treatise, *Tractatus de potestate papae et imperat* (*On the power of the pope and the emperor with respect to non-believers*).[45] He based it on the assumption that it is possible for Christian and heathen states to coexist in peace. He was convinced that non-Christians have a right to be politically sovereign and that forced Christianisation flies in the face of the fundaments of religion. Taking their belongings, their rights, their land is unacceptable, Włodkowic said, as they came to have these things without committing any sins. Pagans have also been created by God in his likeness and image.[46]In this matter, apart from support from Stanisław of Skalbmierz, Włodkowic could have been referring to the work of Wincenty Kadłubek, who criticised using force against non-Christians.[47] *Non-believers* – says Włodkowic – *can own land and estate as well as be in a position of power without committing any sin, since all these things were created not only for the faithful* [=*Christians*], *but for all rational beings.*[48] These ideas are closely related to the theory of warfare that Włodkowic was then working on, and which referred back to his predecessors. As Magdalena Płotka writes[49]: *Włodkowic's theory of warfare is also linked to theories by Raymond of Penyafort*[50]*, Spanish Dominican friar who attempted to list the necessary conditions for warfare*

[44] See: L. Ehrlich, *Paweł Włodkowic i Stanisław ze Skarbimierza*, Warszawa 1954, p. 45; idem (ed.), *Pisma wybrane Pawła Włodkowica*, vol. 1–2. Warszawa 1966–1968.

[45] M. Bobrzyński, *Starodawne prawa polskiego pomniki*, vol. 5, Kraków 1878; See: also: K. Baczkowski, 'O władzy papieża i cesarza wobec niewiernych 1416', in: idem, *Dzieje Polski późnośredniowiecznej. 1370–1506*, Kraków 1999.

[46] Ibid.

[47] S.F. Bełch, *Paulus Vladimiri and his Doctrine Concerning International Law and Politics*, vol. I, London–The Hague–Paris 1965, p. 67.

[48] See: M. Kridl, W. Malinowski, J. Wittlin (ed.), *Polska myśl demokratyczna w ciągu wieków. Antologia*, Warszawa 1987, p. 118.

[49] M. Płotka, 'Od prawa natury do praw człowieka. Teoria prawa naturalnego w ujęciu Stanisława ze Skarbimierza i Pawła Włodkowica', *Edukacja Filozoficzna*, vol. 54 (2012), p. 5.

[50] In addition to Raymundus, Paweł Włodkowic followed into the footsteps of pope Innocent IV, Thomas Aquinas and Petrus de Anchorano. See: S.F. Bełch, *Paulus Vladimiri...*, p. 80.

to be just: the condition of person, object, reason, spirit and mandate.[51] *These conditions are also discussed by Stanisław, who argues in line with [St.] Augustine that the only kind of war that can be justified is war aimed at restoring peace*.[52]

According to Paweł Włodkowic, war is just only if it does not result *from hate or revenge or greed, but seeks betterment and love, justice and obedience, as it is not sinful to make war, it is sinful to make war for profit*.[53] At the same time Włodkowic condemns acts of violence and looting, while postulating holding the aggressor responsible for the consequences of his violence, including the necessity to make reparations. Thus the only justifiable war is one that results from attempts to keep or restore peace.[54] Interestingly, the basis for thinking so is the idea of natural law and an assumption – philosophical and anthropological *par excellence* – of the nature and rights of the human being: every person, regardless of their nationality and religion, has a right to keep himself alive, which includes the right to defend himself.[55] For Włodkowic, war is contrary to human nature, which relishes peace and harmony.[56] He is clearly of the opinion that all people are brothers, and therefore pagans are also brothers for Christians. What follows from this is that we must treat them with love and friendliness.

Bartolomé de Las Casas (Bartomeu Casaus) was a Spanish Dominican friar, and – like Włodkowic – a lawyer. He was born in Seville in 1484, half a century after the Polish scholar's death, the son of a merchant who travelled with Christopher Columbus in 1493. Having graduated from the law faculty of the University of Salamanca he himself participated in an expedition to the island of Hispaniola (now Haiti) in 1502. During his decade-long stay there, Las Casas witnessed the brutal colonization of the Antilles. This left a deep mark on his psyche: in 1510 he was ordained priest

[51] *Unde ad evidenciam clariorem procedencium et sequencium sciendum quod quinque requiruntur ad hoc ut bellum sit iustum secundum Ostiensem post Raymundum (loco peoxime allegato), scilicet persona, res, causa, animus et auctoritas* (Paweł Włodkowic, 'Saevientibus, I', in: L. Ehrlich (ed.), *Pisma wybrane Pawła Włodkowica*, vol. I, Warszawa 1968, p. 66).

[52] See: R. Tokarczyk, *Klasycy praw natury*, Lublin 1988, p. 122.

[53] Paweł Włodkowic, 'Saevientibus...', p. 66–68.

[54] Ibid.

[55] See: M. Płotka, 'Od prawa natury...', p. 7.

[56] Paweł Włodkowic, 'Saevientibus...', p. 59.

and began an animated campaign against colonialism. In 1516 Cardinal Francisco de Cisneros appointed Las Casas Protector of the Indians. A Dominican friar since 1522, he visited Cuba, Peru, Nicaragua, Venezuela and Mexico, where he was bishop of Chiapas between 1543 and 1547. Upon his return to Spain in 1547, Las Casas continued to campaign for better treatment of Indians and to oppose barbaric Christianization, slavery, abuse and bloody terror.[57] His work inspired king Carlos I (emperor Charles V) to issue *New Laws*, which outlawed slavery and forced labour.

Las Casas famously polemicised with Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1550, upon which polemic the modern sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein based his book *European Universalism*.[58] Sepúlveda presented Indians as hateful, obtuse barbarians who are prone to *godless* customs, including human sacrifice. For their own good these barbarians needed the *Spanish yoke*. Bartolomé de Las Casas opposed that view saying that wicked people, barbarians, can be found everywhere in similar proportion – including in Catholic countries. All societies are morally equal, and therefore nothing can justify colonization, violence and cruelty.[59] Las Casas was convinced that any war waged for religious reasons must necessarily be unjust. Non-Christian societies in Catholic countries are not under the jurisdiction of the Church, therefore neither should people who have never heard of God or the Church. Any deeds done by them which are sins against God, like idolatry, can only be judged by Him. That innocents should be saved, e.g. children killed as sacrifice, is refuted by Las Casas, who argues that committing a terrible crime in the name of a lesser of two evils, and punishing entire societies for the crimes of but a handful, is not doing good. And for the purposes of this paper of paramount importance is Las Casas' opinion that it is good to convert people to the rightful faith, but only while respecting the free will of those being converted, and by means of love, the word of God, kindness, charity, and the good example of one's own life, and never through violence.[60]

[57] B. de las Casas, *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*, transl. H. Briffault, Baltimore 1974.

[58] I. Wallerstein, *European Universalism: The Rhetoric of Power*, New York 2006.

[59] B. de las Casas, *Apologia, o Declaración y defensa universal de los derechos del hombre y de los pueblos*, V.A. Castelló et al. (ed.), Valladolid 2012, pp. 15–44.

[60] Ibid., p. 360.

Summary
The aim of this paper was to present a certain way of thinking about man and society which has always been present in Europe since ancient Greece. While Europe could and did often think differently, yet there has never been a shortage of scholars whom I would like to include in one intellectual, cultural and moral formation; in a very strong, though sadly not always dominant, tradition of the concept of subjectivity. Living as these scholars did in different times and areas of the continent, nevertheless they were an important voice which spoke out in support of a subjective treatment of people and societies. One cannot fail to notice that many of the viewpoints sketched out here arose in reaction to evil happening in Europe of done by Europe.

The Polish medieval thinkers mentioned above developed their philosophies in defence of the fundamental values which were being threatened by Teutonic knights, a knightly order of ruthless robbers who acted under the guise of defenders of faith, and who plundered and murdered innocents while claiming to be spreading Christianity. The Spanish philosopher in turn reacted against the barbarism and cruelty of European bandits who also did evil deeds while justifying their actions with a religious rhetoric.

It is worthwhile to stress at this point the great traditions of the European Catholic Church, as these scholars were all priests and ecclesiastical intellectuals. Clearly, the Catholic thought, and more broadly – the Christian thought, creates in Europe a noble tradition of orientation towards subjectivity. It is highly likely that the distinct philosophies of father Józef Tischner and Karol Wojtyła (the late Pope John Paul II) fall broadly into the school of such thinkers as St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas on the one hand, while on the other being rooted in the great tradition of Polish Catholic thinking, whose medieval exemplars have been mentioned here. However, it remains true that both Wojtyła's and Tischner's viewpoints are easier to understand if one remembers that they represented a church oppressed, contested even more fiercely than the rest of the society by a state which was ideologically under the spell of the communist Soviet Union.

This paper was thus meant to show a certain image of Europe. True, not of the entire continent; I do not propose to claim that the Catholic tradition, or the Christian tradition, is the only one which cherishes subjectivity, both on the individual and group levels. It is significant, but only one

of three positive schools of thought that together make up European culture. I will happily devote other papers to the ones I was forced to exclude here for reasons of space. Especially since it was one of my goals to show the Polish contribution to this age-old tradition, and the scholars I mentioned were not all Catholic or even religious at all. Thus this paper is also a story of secular thought about subjectivity. A noteworthy factor is a very significant ingredient of European culture, that of Judaic, which oftentimes sounds in beautiful harmony with Catholic thought. All this points towards an intriguing and fascinating intertwining of influences and trends in European culture, rooted as it is – as is commonly known in the literature – in its Judeo-Christian tradition.

One other goal was on my mind. I wanted to remind the reader of all this history (though by necessity in a sketchy and fragmented fashion) of the subjective thought in order to suggest that it may provide a good context for reflection on problems that are both quite modern and not solely European. In a world that is becoming more and more conflicted and rife with tension, it is most worthwhile to recall the beautiful tradition of European subjective thought.

It was not my intention in writing this overview to discuss subjectivity in any depth , reasons of space preclude this. Voluminous books would be needed for that purpose, one of which I have already authored and published, while others will hopefully soon follow. What I did attempt to indicate, though is that this centuries-old discussion about human nature and the nature of societies revolves around certain common themes and tropes, which means that today we do not have to start the debate *ab ovo*. Perhaps this discourse, spanning centuries and thousands of kilometres, bears witness to an age-old tradition of opposing real evil; but it also shows that lack of acceptance for ideologies and practices that defy subjectivity is strong and lasting. So much so that it suffices to delegitimize evil and any attempts at relativising good. In the face of this powerful intellectual tradition one cannot pursue such ideals in clear conscience. I am of the opinion that the time has come to bring subjectivity to the forefront of our thinking and discourse.

In my opinion, it is worth paying attention to how a philosophical thought about the nature of human person, culture and society can become a reference point for the sociological concept, explaining and interpret-

ing specific social conditions from the perspective of the most important human qualities and values that co-construe its essence. From this point of view, it is worth reminding the views of the former masters, such as Bartolomé de Las Casas, and in particular Paweł Włodkowic. Their thought enlightens our problems today in a modern way, such as the attitude towards migrants, or those who are thinking otherwise or those which we refuse to honor of being fully human. For this reason, reading, especially the texts by Paweł Włodkowic should be obligatory at civic education lessons, but also in the education of sociologists, lawyers, political scientists and politicians. In this way, we also remind you of the beautiful tradition of the Jagiellonian Poland, which is worth using today, as fully as possible.

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The Contribution of Nicolaus Copernicus to Jagiellonian Ideas

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Research on the scientific and administrative achievements, as well as the private life of Nicholas Copernicus (1473–1543) has been developing intensively for many decades in various countries, primarily in Poland and Germany. Much progress in the research was made due to the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the birth of this great astronomer in 1973. Even a brief look at the classic works and the selection of newer publications makes it possible to distinguish three main areas in the reflection on the figure of the Toruń scholar. The subject of this research is, first of all, Copernicus' life story, the issue of his origins, education, book collections, readings, contacts, activities other than astronomy and other similar subjects, with most of the published research tackling the above. The second area is something that requires expertise in the history of natural sciences, namely reflection on mathematics and astronomy of the scholar, on his critical analysis of the works of Aristotle, Ptolemy, Regiomontanus and others, and the reconstruction of his cosmic model.[1] The third, relatively

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[1] The most handy, short edition: M. Copernicus, 'O obrotach ciał niebieskich i inne pisma', (ed.) L. Birkenmajer, Wrocław 2001. Full edition translated into Polish: M. Copernicus, *O obrotach*, transl. M. Brożek, S. Oświęcimski, in: idem, *Dzieła wszystkie*, vol. II, Warszawa 1976. See: also a study on Copernicus – L.A. Birkenmajer, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Studya nad pracami Kopernika oraz materyały biograficzne*, Kraków 1900.

small area, is the study of cosmology and philosophy which is the basis of the scientific work of this author of six books of *De Revolutionibus*.[2] This latter field seems to open the field to new discoveries, for example regarding Copernicus' relationship to tradition and scholastic method in science.[3]

The purpose of this article is to synthesize the subject matter that belongs to the first of these areas, and thus relates primarily to the biography and person of the Polish scholar. However, since the Jagiellonian ideas have historiosophical implications, when one reflects on Copernicus' contribution to the social and political ideas of his period, one will soon make the transition into the field of philosophy in order to show certain elements of the general world view of Toruń's noted astronomer. His reflection was not limited to the theory of the movement of spheres, but also concerned the variability of the surrounding world. Copernicus was a philosopher who not only believed in the mathematical order of the motion of celestial bodies, but also wanted the earthly phenomena to be characterized by the order which God intended and people implemented in the hierarchical, stratified society of the Jagiellonian kingdom. The analysis of these problems will allow us to look more broadly at Nicolaus Copernicus – look at him as a scholar with a compact, comprehensive picture of the world. Thus, we will use some of the philosophical ideas contained in the astronomer's methodological reflections in order to see his schema of the earthly world as a reflection of the harmony of the natural world, i.e., the stars.[4] Historians have noted that medieval and modern astronomers (including Copernicus) often combined mathematical research with reflections on economic issues. Speculative knowledge allowed it to have power over the laws that govern the economy. This is a proof that knowledge of this kind is not contradictory to, nor in isolation from practical matters, but rather that it allows their reasonable management in accordance with general laws. Moreover, other aspects of Copernicus' life are closely

[2] See: *Mikołaj Kopernik. Studia i materiały sesji kopernikowskiej w KUL 18–19 lutego 1972 roku*, M. Kurdziałek, J. Rebeta, S. Swieżawski (ed.), Lublin 1973.

[3] See: A. Crombie, *Nauka średniowieczna i początki nauki nowożytnej*, vol. 1–2, transl. S. Łypacewicz, Warszawa 1960. The basis for our research on this subject is earlier research. See: M. Karas, *Natura i struktura wszechświata w kosmologii św. Tomasza z Akwinu*, Kraków 2007.

[4] See: J. Dreyer, *A History of Astronomy from Thales to Kepler*, 2nd ed., New York 1953; *Historia astronomii*, M. Hoskin (ed.), transl. J. Włodarczyk, Warszawa 2007.

connected with his historiosophy – his speculative scientific reflection was a tool for further reflection in various fields, including in the philosophy of history. Thus, the perspective of the astronomical calculation of time, counted in hundreds and thousands of years, teaches humility towards earthly affairs.

Copernicus' national and social identity

Considering the biography of the scholar in question in order to reflect on his historiosophical views and contribution to the identity of the Jagiellonian monarchy is a very challenging task. The astronomer worked in the field of speculative science, where there was essentially no place for historiosophy. He neither wrote a diary nor left any memoirs. He never revealed details on how he made his discovery. We have learned many facts concerning his life and activities only indirectly. Neither did Georg Joachim Rheticus (1514–1574), the mathematician of Wittenberg and Copernicus' only student in Warmia (1539–1541), note any remarks that would allow one to describe the nationality, life and views of the creator of modern heliocentrism.[5]

As it is often the case with medieval and early modern scientists, facing a lack of sources, one is forced to make guesses and risky reconstructions. This issue first appears when considering the origins and national and political identity of Copernicus. The lack of sources is often conducive to creating propaganda interpretations, of which many appeared in German science of the 19th century, for example. In order to tackle the subject honestly, one would need some ancillary research, such as the linguistic studies conducted by Professor Stanisław Rospond in the 1970s.[6]

Establishing the nationality of Copernicus is a point of departure for reflection on his contribution to Jagiellonian ideas. Fortunately, what is available is quite abundant correspondence of the astronomer in various

[5] See: J.J. Retyk, *Relacja pierwsza z ksiąg «O obrotach» Mikołaja Kopernika*, transl. I. Lewandowski, (ed.) J. Włodarczyk, Warszawa 2015.

[6] S. Rospond, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Studium językowe*, Opole 1973. See: also J. Łoś, *Polskość Mikołaja Kopernika: w czterysta pięćdziesiątą rocznicę jego urodzin*, Kraków 1923. See: J. Sikorski, *Prywatne życie Mikołaja Kopernika*, Warszawa 1997.

matters, we also know opinions of his contemporaries and his public activity in Warmia. Investigating the above issue, this article will summarize and present the findings of research on Copernicus.[7]

Nicolaus Copernicus (the Elder) came from Silesia, his family originating from Koperniki in the Nysa region, located near the present Polish-Czech border. In the 14th and 15th centuries these lands were dominated by ethnically Polish inhabitants. Throughout the decades the Copernicus family moved around to other regions of the Jagiellonian state, including Kraków and Toruń. Nicolaus Copernicus (the Younger) had many Polish relatives who can be mentioned by name: Katarzyna Modlibożanka, the Konopackis, Kostkas and Działyńskis. Copernicus studied in the school of Bishop Piotr Moszyński of Bnin, where his classmates were: Drzewicki, Bokszyca and Mikołaj Wodka, and later he employed a Polish servant, Wojtek. In Krakow, he also studied under the guidance of Polish professors of philosophy at the Kraków Academy. In Olsztyn he prepared the defence of the city against Teutonic Knights, together with the Polish commander, Zbigniew Słupecki.[8]

Although modern national identity differs from that of contemporary times, Copernicus was no stranger to basic national distinctions, as in Krakow, Toruń and other cities the inhabitants favoured different political sides and ethnic arguments, used different languages, listened to different sermons and prayed to different patron saints, giving their children names clearly connected with German or Polish culture. Another factor which clearly showed one's Polish or German identity was their attitude towards the German order of the Teutonic Knights.[9]

Thus, while living in Toruń, Copernicus' parents, as a part of their private piety, joined the third Dominican order, not that by the Toruń

[7] See: J. Drewnowski, *Mikołaj Kopernik w świetle swej korespondencji*, Wrocław 1978 (*Studia Copernicana*, vol. 18). A recommended biography of Copernicus: K. Górski, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Środowisko społeczne i samotność*, Wrocław 1973, or J. Wasiutyński, *Kopernik. Twórca nowego nieba*, 2nd edition, Toruń 2007 (This is the second edition of a 1938 book, which does not include any new research findings, but presents the state of affairs influenced by a one-sided and false German perspective. The author creates his own esoteric philosophy under the influence of a well-known Polish fortune-teller. (Sic!))

[8] In April 1516, Copernicus noted a land grant in Warmia with the dating: *On the day of St. Wojciech, the father and apostle of our Homeland*. J. Wasiutyński, *Kopernik...*, p. 265.

[9] The importance of the issue is underestimated by, for example J. Małłek, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Szkice do portretu*, Toruń 2015, p. 133.

Convent (which supported the Teutonic Knights), but that based in a Kraków monastery. When writing to the Polish monarch, Sigismund the Old on behalf of the Warmia Chapter, Copernicus calls him "our king". He also cared about the economic development of Warmia (closely connected to Poland), enabling the settlement of newcomers from Masovia. He spoke Polish to them and wrote their names in Polish (which would have been incomprehensible to Germans) in the Latin log of his administrative activities (*Locationes mansionum desertorum*).[10]

What is very interesting in Copernicus' letters are his own signatures contained therein. In these times there were clear differences in Polish and German phonetic transcription of names as the rules of spelling were just being formulated then. Thus, Copernicus never signed letters with his name in its German wording, but always in its Polish or Latinised form. Preparing a letter to Prince Albrecht Hohenzollern in Konigsberg (in connection with the illness of the regional official, George von Kunheim), he wrote them in German, albeit making errors that made it clear he knew German as a secondary language for official and practical purposes. During the sessions of the local government of Royal Prussia (1504–1530), he was probably an interpreter for Polish officials there (who did not know German), acting upon the nomination of the Polish king.[11]

All these fascinating facts, often hidden in the background, make it clear that Nicolaus Copernicus was a scholar of Polish ethnic origin who lived essentially in the Polish community with which he was identified, was, of his own will, a member of the Royal Prussian community, loyal to the Polish monarch, whose general interests he represented in Warmia.[12] His homeland was Poland, and his ideological background, the Jagiellonian monarchy (his activity took place in the same years as the rule of Sigismund the Old, 1506–1548). Royal Prussia was his homeland in a narrower sense, and he devoted much of his strength to defending it against the Teutonic Knights, as well as caring for its financial and economic interests as the administrator of the land of the Chapter of Warmia.

[10] *Mikołaja Kopernika «Lokacje łanów opuszczonych»*, (ed.) M. Biskup, Olsztyn 1970, p. 26.

[11] J. Małłek, *Mikołaj Kopernik...*, pp. 97, 138.

[12] Also Copernicus' uncle, Bishop Lukasz Watzenrode, spoke Polish in the Senate of Kraków, See: J. Małłek, *Mikołaj Kopernik...,* p. 144.

Jagiellonian ideas in Copernicus' work

Copernicus was a supporter of thorough persistent work on developing the economy and strengthening economic relations in Warmia. By dedicating his life to mathematical and astronomical studies far from the main academic centres, he maintained scientific contacts with Polish, German and Italian intellectuals. According to the medieval ideal, he considered science transnational work, which was to be free from particularism and cultivated in the universal language of Latin. He diligently performed his administrative duties in the Warmian Church while not engaging in ideological disputes of the emerging Reformation. At the same time, he maintained good relations with some Protestants, namely Georg Joachim Rheticus and the Prussian Prince Albrecht. Rheticus did not meet any difficulties regarding his faith in Warmia, even though he stayed in a Catholic milieu for two years. Rheticus' work also lacked the spirit of doctrinal polemics.

As the author of a draft on monetary reform, Copernicus was supportive of the uniformity of foreign policy throughout the whole Polish monarchy, preserving the economic autonomy and strength of the north. According to Copernicus, a strong and stable currency guarantees the country's economic stability, strengthens confidence in the monarch and the state, allows investment and moderate but certain tax collection. Good money, which is free from inflation, also provides economic growth and fosters savings. Provincial and royal symbols, stamped on both sides of silver Prussian coins preserve the local patriotism of Polish Prussia and general Polish-Jagiellonian patriotism. Accurate calculations of silver content in coinage, as provided by Copernicus, confirm the scholar's economic knowledge.

By settling many poor people in Warmia, mainly from Polish Mazovia, Copernicus tried to counteract the influence of the Teutonic Order. He developed a system of incentives, providing the new settlers with free livestock, grain, agricultural tools and building materials, and generously granting them exemptions from taxation to the authorities. He cared not only about the strengthening of power for the elite, but also for ordinary men. On the other hand, he made sure that the rural population would meet their obligations by means of an oath and a guarantee system provided by witnesses of the transactions. Over the centuries, we may observe the moderation, justice and farsightedness of this diocesan

administrator, who also cared for securing pensions for farmers in their old age when they were no longer able to work. He knew such social activity from the already-developed insurance system used in metropolitan guilds and fraternities.

Knowing the power of the bourgeoisie and the German nobility, Copernicus was not drawn to them, as is evident when looking at his letters. Thus, when he received letters from Germans, his name would usually be written using the German form, but Copernicus never used it himself (therefore, he actually never used the form attributed to him today by various German researchers 'Niklas Koppernigk'). In response, he always signed his name in a Latinised Polish form ('Copernik, Coppernic, Copernicus').[13] Having spent many years in multi-lingual and multi-ethnic environments, he emphasized the need for co-operation of different nationalities, instead of competition. His Kraków studies certainly strengthened this attitude, as in Kraków there had been many students from Polish, Czech and German lands. The contacts which he established in Kraków lasted Copernicus' whole lifetime while his activity in the milieu of ecclesial elites also made it easier for the scholar to think in universal, Latin terms. Copernicus' humanism had a Catholic tone to it, despite the lack of evidence of the theological interests of the scientist. He fulfilled his priestly duties as a canon with diligence. In his private book collection there was no theological literature, as books of this kind were held by the general library of the Chapter of Warmia.

The development of Jagiellonian monarchy in Copernicus' mind was to be based on peaceful coexistence of various lands and nations inhabiting this vast state. At the root of development there were well-organized economic affairs, a strong defensive army and economic development. Copernicus supported international scientific and political contacts. In his youth he travelled extensively (he had studied in Italy for eight years), later he was often visited by Georg Joachim Rheticus, and thus supported scientific and social mobility and openness. He also wrote many letters, fulfilling his various administrative tasks in a diligent manner. Many of his initiatives may only be guessed at, since several sources have been lost during the numerous wars that Warmia has experienced in its history. The fame of the so-called *Sarmatian astronomer* was also

[13] See: S. Rospond, *Mikołaj Kopernik...,* p. 99.

an opportunity to propagate his ideas among scholars who had come to know his work. Indeed, even his opponents considered him to be an outstanding astronomer.[14]

He supported the idea of reforming the Catholic calendar in the interests of the Church and secular society. In this way, he took care of the liturgical order of the Latin *Christianitas*. Religious matters did not occupy him more closely, although he fulfilled his duties as Canon of the Chapter, without obtaining (according to the practice of those days) higher priestly ordinations, being only a subdeacon. Buried in the cathedral in Frombork, he also exercised moderation in doctrinal matters. In his scholarly work, there is no radical polemic typical of later periods, for he drew on the achievements of the late scholastic modifications of Aristotle and other ancient ideas (especially pythagoreanism as a heuristic principle), according to the eclectic spirit of the period.

The methodology of Copernicus's astronomical research contains general rules to describe the world according to the critically evaluated tradition of ancient and medieval science. The scholar collected all the available testimonies, observations and theories and subjected them to criticism according to the scholastic structure of the discussion, namely presenting various stances, enumerating doubts and counteracting them with other opinions, to finally give the correct solution and refute the presented doubts.[15] In this way he mastered all the achievements of modern astronomy and reconstructed this field. Similarly as an administrator of the Chapter's goods and a member of the Prussian political elite, he gathered opinions, confronting various proposals, and considering the interests of various groups to support the work of integrating Prussia with the Crown, while preserving a certain autonomy of the region that had fostered the development of commerce and agriculture.

He must have also appreciated the significance of the German element in Warmia and other cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He maintained good relations with Germany, criticizing only the Teutonic circles which opposed the Polish authorities. After the

[14] B. Chmielowski, *Nowe Ateny*, vol. I–IV, 2nd ed., Lwów 1755–64; Z. Wardęska, *Teoria heliocentryczna w interpretacji teologów XVI wieku*, Wrocław 1975 (*Studia Copernicana*, vol. 12).

[15] This is a classical method included in the *Summa theologiae* of St. Thomas Aquinas.

secularization of the Order, he went to Konigsberg to provide medical assistance at the court of Prince Albrecht. The Warmia Chapter agreed to this trip, and the health of the regional official, George von Kunheim, improved. Thus, relations with the former Teutonic Knights in Prussia were much better than one may imagine on the basis of Henryk Sienkiewicz's historical novels written in the era of the partitions and clearly rising against the germanizing policies of the German state.

The facts quoted above show that Copernicus maintained an equal distance towards two extreme attitudes alien to Jagiellonian ideas, namely cosmopolitanism and nationalism. The scholar's patriotism was balanced and creative for the sake of the further development of the multinational monarchy. Using modern language, Copernicus' social, political and historiological reflections may be counted among the views that pay homage to the principles of sustainable development and the long duration of ideas.

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Jagiellonian Ideas Towards
Challenges of Modern Times

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES: THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

Challenges for Ideology and the Politics of Multiculturalism

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In recent years, there has been a retreat from the idea and policy of multiculturalism seen as a process of integrating, merging and the politically unifying the political diversity of cultural groups within civil society. While this phenomenon is constantly present in the dimension of the social structure, it has intensified particularly in the area of values and norms, leading to growing tensions and cultural conflicts. The crisis of ideology and multiculturalism has various causes and leads to various consequences. Multiculturalism seen as a real, concrete model of shaping relationships between different racial, religious, and ethnic groups has been increasingly questioned in recent years. There is a withdrawal from the policy of assimilating foreigners, mainly post-migration communities, and growing reluctance may be observed as regards including refugees and newcomers from other cultural areas in social structures. The principle of cultural equality of groups, the freedom to cultivate one's own religious or linguistic distinctiveness is questioned, while the rights of individuals are violated because of a different system of values. Criticisms and modifications are applied to the established and applied models of American and European multiculturalism. These phenomena appear at an intensified scale in the face of the growing threat of radical religious fundamentalist groups, ultranationalist-oriented representatives of the cultural

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majority, the resistance of members of minority groups against growing reluctance, intolerance, discrimination and exclusion. On the one hand, the European model of multiculturalism – the axiological and legal basis for the functioning of the European Union – is being questioned by some member states. On the other hand, there is growing dislike towards foreigners and the threats that they pose in societies of colonial and migratory origin and pluralistic social and cultural orientation. The tendencies for cultural and social exclusion, as well as isolation are increasing together with the rising feeling of danger and decreasing security of individuals, resulting from the instability and rapid dynamics of social change, terrorist attacks, migration, and the discourse of political elites. The clash of civilizations, which was announced to the world by Samuel Huntington[1] and whose existence has been proved by the hybrid war on terror which has lasted at least since the attack on the World Trade Centre, has become the cause of the global abandonment of the principles of integration, tolerance, and interculturalism. The fundamental determinants of multiculturalism's ideology and policy such as heterogeneity, polycentrism and cultural universalism have been displaced by homogeneity, monocentrism and particularism.

The fundamental contemporary challenges of ideology and the policy of multiculturalism (against the background of exponentially growing immigration and population transfers) are terrorism, populism, revitalized nationalism and religious fundamentalism. The dangers carried by socially, legally, ideologically and politically established multicultural models in the countries of the European Union, the United States, Canada, Australia, but also in South America, Asia and Africa lead to a clear formulation of social demands for them to be changed. This is the direction of the policy of Great Britain, Hungary, Poland, but also other EU Member States. The same demands are put forward towards the political elites and raised by the election-winning politicians in the United States. Hence, the social resistance against the principles of integration and assimilation is on the increase. This resistance appears against the growing opposition towards liberal tendencies of globalization, leading to the approval of institutional restrictions on civil rights and the freedom of individuals.

[1] S. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York 1996.

The voice of right-wing and extremist religious groups and national political movements is becoming more audible, dominating over the voice of civil social movements which defend democracy, freedom and equality.

In this melting pot of opposing expectations and aspirations of diverse social and political circles, a climate has emerged that challenges the ideological principles of multiculturalism. This situation may also be seen in Poland, where the slogan of 'good change' carries the political doctrine of retreating from the principles of the European model of multiculturalism. There is also an ongoing debate, as well as a conflict between supporters and opponents of different concepts of pluralism and multiculturalism. Hence, the question arises not only of what this new model of multiculturalism and pluralism is to be, but also on what values and principles it is to be based. The key to the proper implementation of any ideology and policy of multiculturalism is the issue of freedom and dignity. As Jadwiga Staniszkis writes in her introduction to the well-known monograph by Paweł Jasienica, *it is not the (Polish-Lithuanian) union and not Grunwald that made the Commonwealth of Both Nations famous. 'But what did this was the freedom under the rule of the last of the Jagiellonians'*.[2] Furthermore, she writes: *Today's return to those threads of Polish tradition that separate dignity from freedom (treating the latter as suspect, requiring justification and clear boundaries, and forgetting that this freedom decides the moral character of the act is not only the factor that bewilders […] but threatens, similarly to what Jasienica says, with destruction in the sphere of public communication.*[3]

Multiculturalism as a consequence of diversity does not come out of nowhere. It stems from historical processes as a consequence of conquests, annexations, colonisation and migration. It is born and is formed in the long chain of human substrate, which consists of groups of a different origin, language, religion or skin colour. Polish society went through various developmental phases. The nation-building process since the Piast dynasty was based on the increasing universalisation of pre-national groups. While the Piast political system sought to homogenise and unify the various constituent elements around the monarch, the next phase of the nation-building process under the rule of the Jagiellonian

[2] J. Staniszkis, 'Wstęp', in: P. Jasienica, *Polska anarchia*, Warszawa 2008, p. 5.

[3] Ibid., pp. 5–6.

dynasty was based on the principle of polycentrism and the integration of many distinct cultural groups. Polonisation, considered as a process of assimilation and universalisation of distinct ethnic groups, consisted of the creation of a political and religious institutions binding society together which, at the same time, allowed the freedom of religion and protected the cultural distinctiveness of the king's subjects, including their linguistic and ethnic diversity.

The ideas of Jagiellonian multiculturalism in the two-tier, union political system were for more than a century innovative and leading principles of integration and acculturation in Europe. The multicultural Polish society under the authority of the Jagiellonians created conditions for the functioning and development of diverse cultures – Polish, Lithuanian, Jewish or German – and also encouraged the autonomy of regional groups. In the context of Europe's growing religious conflicts, dynastic conflicts, tensions and ethnic antagonisms, wars and the continent's weakening against the growing aspirations of oligarchic families, multiculturalism began to transform into anarchy. Nevertheless, at the climax of the times, the Jagiellonian model of multiculturalism was the most mature and well-developed political project, leading to the integration and integration of diverse cultural groups into society, while introducing the principles of freedom, equality, tolerance and responsibility before the king. Later, this noble freedom ended, in contrast to state freedom.

The foundation of the idea of multiculturalism is the principle of the freedom of individuals and groups to cultivate their own cultural traditions and to draw satisfaction from this fact. This is the case when the principles of freedom for the protection of one's own dignity are respected, dignity stemming from cultural identity, including religious and linguistic identity. Although nobody questions the need for multiculturalism, a political battle is underway for its model and the political shape of pluralism. This raises the question of the kind of multiculturalism that is desired. Patterns that may be cultivated and applied in the search for social *consensus* may be provided the idea and policy of the Jagiellonian union's state of 'both nations'.

Multiculturalism – but what kind of multiculturalism?

Multiculturalism is both a state of affairs and its reflection in the minds of people and social groups. Multiculturalism is a social fact, as is culture, religion, civilization, state or nation. It occurs in a multitude of cultures

of varying size, outreach, genesis, range of distinctiveness and originality. It is an inalienable component of social reality, which manifests itself in many ways and on different levels of human activity. On the one hand, it is based on the diversity of languages, customs and identities and, on the other hand, is associated with a multitude of material and non-material goods, products made by hands and thoughts, adapted to the needs of human beings that made them. Multiculturalism functions in the cultural products on offer daily. It is made up of both agricultural crops from different climates, the products of various technologies present in the markets as commodities, as well as products in the form of websites, films, theatrical plays and musical works. Multiculturalism is the living, pulsating social fabric in which various components and elements move, mix, combine or divide. The diversity, multiplicity and distinctiveness of human forms and cultural creations is a fact that shapes human consciousness and generates a variety of emotional and axiological responses. Around this diversity, myths, ideologies, concepts and theories that form the basis of social, economic and political activities are formed and consolidated. Multiculturalism also has an economic, mercantile dimension, consisting of the necessary and continuous exchange of diverse goods from the spiritual, intellectual and material spheres.

Diversity is the genetic basis of multiculturalism and is a mere continuation of the historical processes of settlement and displacement as a result of migrations, resettlement and voluntary and forced population transfers. It is a natural derivative of complex historical processes which locate within one territory people and groups of different religions, languages, skin colours or ethnic origin. The dimension of multiculturalism combines and mixes objective and subjective criteria of distinctness. It is a very complex, real dimension of functioning of individuals and groups in different economic, political and social settings.

One of the first observers and commentators of multiculturalism was the Greek traveller, historian, and philosopher, Herodotus. According to Ryszard Kapuściński, *for Herodotus, the multicultural world is a living, pulsating tissue in which nothing is given and defined once and for all, but continually transforms, changes and creates new relationships and contexts.*[4] He further states: *The centre of this world was the Aegean Sea, its coast and*

[4] R. Kapuściński, *Podróże z Herodotem*, Kraków 2004, p. 107.

islands. This is where all Herodotus' journeys begin. The further he moves towards the ends of the world, the more often he encounters something new. He is the first one to discover the multicultural nature of the world, the first one who argues that every culture requires acceptance and understanding. And to understand it, one has to get to know it first.[5]

Furthermore, the necessary consequence of multiculturalism and diversity and their simultaneous occurrence in both the normative and spatial context are various strategies and models of mutual reference and the adaptation of various cultural groups. Diversity criteria may be multiple, and they may overlap, creating religious, racial, ethnic, linguistic, mental or social barriers. The consequences of these diverse models are both conflict and division, as well as integration and cooperation. At one end, we may find monocentric models, based on exclusivism and the superiority of certain groups over others. These models lead to phenomena of monocentrism, prejudice and lack of tolerance of differences. At the other end of the spectrum there are integrative, unifying, standardizing and universalizing models, forming polycentric structures, introducing the principles of cultural equality, tolerance and integration. Their consequence is the phenomenon of acculturation, leading to syncretization, hybridization, creolization and amalgamation.

Multiculturalism generates a new dimension in relations, namely intercultural relations. Interculturality is an area of events, facts, and activities appearing at the meeting point of two or more cultural groups. Interculturality is an extensive cultural, social and economic space, where meetings, coexistence and communication between different cultures take place. Intercultural space is created spontaneously, in a bottom-up fashion, following interactions between people who migrate or move individually or in groups. It may also be designed, intentionally, in a top-down fashion by groups, organizations, social institutions, including those which are economic and political.

[5] Ibid., p. 81.

Pluralism or ethnocentrism?

Pluralism is a structurally, legally, constitutionally and institutionally structured form of multiculturalism. Cultural pluralism has social, religious, racial, ethnic or linguistic background and is, or should be, resistant to current threats and challenges. Pluralism is a fixed, concrete model of intercultural relations, adapted to a historical background, the presence of diverse cultural groups in civil society and their mutual configuration against each other. We may speak of pluralism only in the context of the political model of multiculturalism, with regard to the real, functioning principles that constitute the structure of civil society. Pluralism is based on equality of all cultural groups, the freedom to cultivate traditions and preserve one's heritage and ensure the protection of one's language and religion. Its ideological basis is the acceptance of distinctiveness and absence of discrimination on grounds of cultural origin. When these principles are questioned, one deals with false pluralism, its caricature and an ideological mystification. Full pluralism, tailored to the needs of a specific civil society, takes account of all dimensions and components basing it on the notion of equality of rights, democracy and a right to cultural autonomy.

There are different types of pluralism, each of which reflects ethnic, racial, religious, linguistic and regional compositions. Pluralism adapts relations between people and groups to the actual multicultural population substrate, functioning in several perspectives and at several levels, namely: local, national and international. Pluralism is a structural, axiological and normative ordering of diversity and multiculturalism. It functions as long as none of the groups operating within this model aspire to a particular, unique, dominant and hegemonic role. Then pluralism loses its natural foundations, transforming itself into an anti-democratic, ethnocultural, nationalist or theocratic, fundamentalist monocentric model.

The claims of one (usually national) group to occupy a privileged position in the structures of power and prestige are a threat to the pluralist model which integrates all members of civil society socially, legally and politically, while preserving their ethnic, racial, regional or religious separateness.

In the real world, there are different models of pluralism that can be narrowed down to three which are actually implemented and encountered in different countries and societies. What refers back to pluralism is the scope of democratic freedoms for individuals and groups.

The table below presents three types of pluralism in civil societies: the first of which can be called the mechanical; the second, the compromise model; and the third, the discursive model.[6]

Table 1. Models of pluralism

	monocentrism	**polycentrism**	**interculturalism**
HEGEMONIC (MECHANICAL) MODEL	homogenization, hegemony of the sovereign, exclusivism, exclusion mechanical democracy	minority/majority relations, limited biculturalism	limited communication and intercultural competence, reluctance to integrate and assimilate
CONSOCIATE (CONCILIATORY) MODEL	lack of cultural dominance, acceptance of distinctiveness, protection of the rights of all cultural groups	lack of cultural hegemony, multiculturalism and diversity	integration
DELIBERATIVE (DISCOURSE) MODEL	civil society, protection of minority rights	protection of individual rights	assimilation universalisation, dialogue

In principle, the first model means a limited, conditional, and relative pluralism, although in concrete, real terms it may be more or less similar to the deliberative model. The consociate model is the foundation of parliamentary, proportionate democracy in which cultural groups participate in power relative to their size. The deliberative model, based on continuous discourse, negotiates the principles of protecting the rights of individuals and groups. It is the basis for the functioning of complex, large, multicultural, international civil societies such as the European Community. The European Union has created and implemented the latest, most democratic and complex model of pluralism, to which member states adapt their civic pluralisms. Under the influence of terrorist threats, religious and ethnic conflicts, increasing labour and political migration,

[6] See: J. Habermas, *Obywatelstwo a tożsamość narodowa. Rozważania nad przyszłością Europy*, transl. B. Markiewicz, Warszawa 1993.

this model is being questioned by consociate systems. The consociate model is, in most cases, a constitutional, parliamentary, state and a civic way of functioning of more or less homogeneous societies. On the grounds of tradition, historical processes, wars, treaties, conflicts, and agreements most countries have formulated constitutional rules for ordering and observing the rules of intercultural relations in all dimensions of their functioning. The mutual adaptation of different models of pluralism in the European Union has recently been questioned by political elites inclined towards right-wing populism, religious fundamentalism and nationalist ethnocentrism. There is a tendency to violate EU agreements, to move away from constitutional rights, to return to the idea of a monocentric state in which the sovereign is not the civil society – i.e. all the people – but one cultural group, which is the nation dominating in a linguistic, national and religious way.

The issue of the sovereign – a nation or a civil society?

Constructing social order, including the designation of the boundaries and the scope of intercultural space, involves diverse entities, people and groups and structures which they create. In the historical process of the functioning of societies, two principles have competed, namely that of community and union. The first is genetic, natural, based on origin, kinship, physical and cultural similarity. The second is based on the sense of belonging, membership and citizenship. The first one may be called ethnic, community-oriented, national or cultural, and the other, political, state or civic. These principles, complementary or alternative, depending on the ideological perspective, coexist in constructing different social orders. Contained in the old Enlightenment and Romantic concepts, formulated in the ideologies and political doctrines of nation states, these principles have defined modern models of the functioning of European and world societies for many centuries. Apart from the historical role of great religious and class groups, ethnic communities – including those which are national – are a fundamental, constitutive element and the foundation of all multicultural societies.

There is, however, the inseparable issue of the sovereign, the hegemon, the most important cultural group connected with the existence of a nation. This group designates the axiological and normative basis for the functioning of the state, the emergence of the authorities and

participation in the structures of civil society.

In classical 19th and 20th century nation-state concepts, linguistically, religiously and territorially homogeneous nations became natural hegemons. Nationalism in its different versions became the basis for the functioning of separate cultures, articulating different economic and political interests of states, protecting the collective right of the sovereign, i.e., the nation, and not a heterogeneous set of citizens. In modern times, nations have become the most important, main subject of intercultural relations, central to legal, political and economic structures, the centre of all concepts, theories, political doctrines that confer the status of sovereign to a nation instead of a monarchy, papacy, class or race. The concept of a collective, group sovereign in the form of a national community dominated the model of the institution of modern state. It was in the name of the nation that wars were fought, conflicts and antagonisms were born, alliances, unions and federations were formed. All models of multiculturalism started to be guaranteed by international law referring to the historically necessary will of the sovereign, i.e., the nation, in its relations with other cultural groups. In the background there were other pre-national cultural groups, namely regional, family or tribal groups, as well as multicultural civilizations. The nation was, and still is a basic collective being, the greatest real community, assuming the political shape of civil society in its own state. Statehood has become a factor distinguishing nations as sovereigns and communities which are autonomous and independent of other groups, pursuing their interests through their own political institutions.[7] The nation as a cultural community and hegemon of a state has become a sovereign, giving legislative power to those that exercise power on its behalf. This law is intended to protect its internal and external interests. External interests are the protection of borders and security in relations with other countries and cultural groups. Internal interests consist primarily in ensuring that all citizens are equal before the law and ensuring their security.[8]

[7] M. Weber, *Gospodarka i społeczeństwo*, transl. D. Lachowska, Warszawa 2002.

[8] B. Anderson, *Wspólnoty wyobrażone. Rozważania o źródłach i rozprzestrzenianiu się nacjonalizmu*, transl. S. Amsterdamski, Kraków 1997; A.D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford: Blackwell 1986, E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca, New York 1983; E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, Cambridge 1990; E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger, (ed.) *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge 2003.

The problems of maintaining a proper multicultural policy arise in all cases where the concept of national sovereign does not coincide with the understanding of what is called civil society. Separation, even partial, of these two entities leads to the emergence and functioning of many antinomies which are contradictory in the pursuit of group and individual interests. Human rights might become subordinate to group interests, defined by the political establishment and people in power.

Recently we have witnessed a 'nationalist turn' in right-wing, conservatively oriented centres of political power. This turn is a kind of critical reaction to the exceedingly fast pace of change of multicultural societies, excessive individualism and social liberalism, as well as relativism in the sphere of values and ideology. Nationalist rhetoric leads to an increased discourse over the directions and forms of development of modern civil societies. It leads to global discourse and polarization of opposing political orientations. Public debate is taking place in all environments, involving primarily theorists and politicians. Resistance to Europeanization and Americanization consists mainly in the criticism of cultural assimilation processes, leading, according to the opponents of the above phenomena, to uprooting the identity, the disappearance of tradition and erosion of the cultural heritage of indigenous national cultures. Scientific and political discourse is gaining momentum. It is accompanied by social phenomena such as mobilizing supporters and opponents of one or other political party. On the one side there are defenders of national unity, the principle of hegemony of the sovereign nation, supporters of collectivism and, on the other, advocates of heterogenisation, interculturalism and individualist liberalism. This is not a simple division between liberals and conservatives, as the issue concerns a question which goes deeper and is more important for the shape of multiculturalism in Europe and in the world, namely the role of the national state. Defenders of the traditional, historical role of the nation insist on preserving the cultural foundations of identity and separateness, defending particular values, languages, religions and institutions legitimizing the sense of ideological identity. They favour a unitary, centralist state that supports and actively contributes to national unity and solidarity through historical and cultural policies. Such policies lead in many cases to ethnic, racial and religious exclusivism, and consequently, to isolationism, the exclusion of culturally distinct groups and individuals and the closure of borders to immigrants and refugees. They also entail radicalization of some environments towards

ultra-nationalism, and manifest themselves through increased ethnic or religious mobilization, leading to discrimination, prejudice and, in extreme cases, terrorism. The idea and politics of integration is treated by ultra-nationalists as a Trojan horse, devised to capture the fortress of monoethnicity and national unity.

One of the instruments for constructing ideology and the policy of national unity and social solidarity is present in different varieties of populism.

Populism

Populism is the sort of ideology, doctrine, and socio-political movement which means governing on behalf of the people and for the people. In neo-populist versions, the term 'people' refers to civil society, excluding the elites. Populism is often not only egalitarian, but even anti-elitist. It collides with the interests and aspirations of those that dominate the economy, culture and society. In many cases, populism becomes a doctrine of real policy on behalf of the 'handicapped' majority against the liberal elites. It is connected with the concept of social solidarity and political unity and it is based on tradition and patriotism. Populism is accompanied by grassroots contesting and oppositional social movements, bringing to power people who are critical of the already-existing centres of power. Populism is opposed to the political and social establishment, seeking allies in the lower social classes and religious institutions.

New populist tendencies are both a collective, political, but also individual, psychological, emotional and dramatic response to the anxieties triggered by globalization. A populist turn in state policy has various consequences.

Firstly, new political populism perceives technological development and the rapid leap of communication capabilities as a natural and beneficial phenomenon. Mass communication is dominated by the mass media, which populists aptly use, achieving huge response from the public and support of the 'silent' majority, which becomes politically active. Participants and leaders of new populist movements always use all of the available means of modern communication technology in order to take over power or wield control over it.[9]

[9] More extensive information on these phenomena may be found in: M. Castells, *Siła*

Secondly, populism is not only a consequence, but it also contributes to greater and faster spatial and social mobility of people. They occupy public places, attracting the attention of public opinion and demonstrate in order to attract interest. In a word, they use mass media just as populist politicians do to increase their popularity. Thus, neopopulism is becoming a product of globalization, as well as an important element of its self-regulation and self-control.

Thirdly, the policy of populist leaders is highly correlated with the existence and operation of international governmental and non-governmental organizations. What is particularly clear is their relationship with the non-governmental sector. This means a growing activity of populists in the international arena and their influence on the policies not only of their own countries, but of the whole of the developing world.

Fourthly, the activities of populists lead to an increase in the feelings of political nationalism and a desire to strengthen the power of the state. This is usually achieved by increasing the size of the army, police and extending the powers of the repressive apparatus. It also means increasing control of state institutions over the citizen.

Particularism or cultural universalism?

The crisis of the existing approaches to multiculturalism and the functioning of their ideological and political models is cantered on several social, as well as cultural dimensions. One of the above is the scale of particularism and universalism imposed on various structural links between cultural groups, their ability to cooperate, adapt and integrate with others, the level of exclusivism, the tendency to homogenise or enter into heterogeneous organizational systems. Particularism implies a tendency to settle in clearly defined territorial, political, cultural, religious and linguistic boundaries. Particularism is a deliberate, conscious pursuit of one's own group interests, and in extreme cases, it takes the form of monocentrism, ethnocentrism, nationalism and cultural exclusivism. Particularism, in its real social shape, leads to religious fundamentalism and belief in the orthodox, dogmatic superiority of one's own culture over others.

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tożsamości, transl. S. Szymański, (ed.) M. Marody, Warszawa 2009; C. Offe, 'Nowe ruchy społeczne: Przekraczanie granic polityki instytucjonalnej', transl. P. Karpowicz, in: P. Sztompka, M. Kucia (ed.), *Socjologia. Lektury*, Kraków 2007, pp. 218–224; A. Touraine, *Wprowadzenie do analizy ruchów społecznych*, transl. J. Kubicka-Daab, in: J. Szczupaczyński (ed.), *Władza i społeczeństwo,* vol. 1, Warszawa 1995.

In its moderate versions, particularism is a derivative of group interest, denoting the existence of organizational structures designed to preserve the group's traditions, heritage and cultural identity. Particularism and a retreat from multiculturalism leads to undermining the role of intercultural communication, the disappearance of dialogue and focus on protecting one's own cultural resources. Particularism is a universal feature of any cultural community, and in its natural form it aims at upholding and developing one's own heritage, religion and caring for the wellbeing and satisfying the needs of its own members.

Particularism contributes to maintaining cultural diversity. It increases the scope of pluralistic dependencies, but when it is subordinate to the idea of the superiority of one's own group interest, it becomes a negative phenomenon which disorganizes the social and political order prevailing in civil societies developed in the long historical process. Critics of the theories, ideologies and policies of multiculturalism defending the distinctness of one's own cultural groups (i.e., nations and ethnic and religious groups) see the main threat in universalisation leading to blurring of identities, weakening community bonds, and relocation of power centres outside traditional elites. While proponents of particularism are adamant in their criticism of the processes of universalisation, including Europeanization, Americanization, Westernization or globalization, new attacks from the side of alter-globalists are also emerging. In their opinion, universalisation is happening too fast and threatens not only the stability of the existing structures of national states, but also does not encourage integration of cultural groups. Finding the right, the best, i.e., the most functional model for constructing international intercultural integration systems, such as the European Union, leads to the revitalization and flourishing of polemics and theoretical and political controversies concerning the fundamental principles of their implementation. It turns out that even the best theory does not lead to the realisation of its assumptions in practice. The participants of the new multicultural structure start to resist the scope and character of an intercultural space common to all, in the form of the Schengen zone, the single market or Euro. Individual participants in this intercultural structure defend not so much the principles of economic integration and political unification as the rights of cultural groups to protect their distinctiveness, preserve

their heritage and traditions. Europeanization, just like Americanization, leads to the overlapping of neighbouring cultures (or any other, not only those territorially distant) with one's own culture. In this way, Spaniards accuse the Catalans of overly exposing their own ethnic group's interests at the expense of a wider national-state structure. The French and Germans, like most other European countries, are reluctant towards closed minorities of Islamic immigrants striving to create separate cultural communities. Great Britain is leaving the European Union in the name of protecting its own particular interests. Examples of particularist behaviours of other nationalities like Hungarians, Poles, Swedes or the Dutch show the crisis of the present model of integration, not so much in the political or economic sense, but the cultural one. Europeanization means, in a longer historical process, as in the case of nation-forming processes, a gradual but not necessarily evolutionary way of increasing a common, intercultural and universalised intercultural space. The current crisis around the design of the model of the European Community which would satisfy all its participants has led to an intensification of debates and disputes, as well as questions not only about the state of affairs, but also their theoretical reflection. The scope of these questions is extensive: how will the status of the new civilization – the supranational, intercultural homeland of Europe change as the political and economic ties between the participants grow? To what extent will migration processes, including those occurring within the common economic zone as well as those external, leading to an influx of Asians and Africans, distant in a religious, racial and cultural sense, most often followers of Islam, delay and disrupt the pace and construction of a new European identity? What is the future of national states and elites and the centres of power in the member states? Is there a possibility of European acculturation and how is it supposed to take place in the sphere of language or religion? Beyond the question of whether or not these processes could be approved and possible, there are many contradictory concepts concerning the pace and scope of processes of Europeanization.

The crisis of the European intercultural community model was born as a result of the far too rapid and extensive changes of the composition of civil societies resulting from sudden and massive population transfers not only between member states, but also from the outside.

The construction of a new, transnational, and multicultural identity requires other political, educational and organizational rules and mechanisms shaping not only organizational structures, but also, or above all, human consciousness. The existing models have extensively and unilaterally exposed the positive and inevitable processes of universalisation, not perceiving or neglecting the threats and their negative effects.[10] The optimism of political elites, and the ideologies and theorists of multiculturalism behind them, did not translate into social acceptance for the top-down process of Europeanization. Hence, the resistance and ethnic mobilization of national opponents of universalisation and globalization, which finds its justification in its negative social and cultural consequences.

Conclusion

The policy of multiculturalism is based, according to ideological and theoretical assumptions, on the construction of a legal and social space for the integration of diverse and different cultural groups. It is based on the assumption of equality, freedom in cultivating one's own tradition, language and religion, as well as active participation in civil society. The policy of multiculturalism takes into account the complexity of civil society, with an emphasis on dominant groups, but does not grant the latter any exceptional rights. The policy of multiculturalism is based on the principles of the primacy of the protection of civil rights and participatory democracy. When any of these principles is challenged or its applicability is limited, the policy of multiculturalism is transformed into a monocentric, particularist, ethnophobic model leading to exclusivism, nationalism, and populism. The tradition of cultural freedom, rooted in the Jagiellonian idea of multiculturalism, is deeply embedded in the Polish and European notion of democracy and multiculturalism. On the one hand, he challenges of this tradition are impeded by the

[10] See: also (among others) A. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis 1996; G. Hofstede, *Cultures and Organizations. Software of the Mind. Intercultural Cooperation and Its Importance for Survival*, Glasgow 1994; R. Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*, Sage, London 1992, W. Welsch, 'Transkulturowość. Nowa koncepcja kultury', transl. B. Susła, J. Wietecki, in: R. Kubicki (ed.), *Filozoficzne konteksty rozumu transwersalnego. Wokół koncepcji Wofganga Welscha*, Poznań 1994; I. Wallerstein, *The End of the World As We Know It: Social Science for the Twenty-First Century*, Minneapolis–London 1999; idem, *World-systems Analysis. An Introduction*, London 2007.

processes of universalisationand transculturation, and on the other, they contribute to the development of a public discourse and to the growth of citizens' political consciousness and culture.

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The Jagiellonian Ideas in the Contemporary World Order in the Aspect of the National Identity and the Nation-States

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One of the lecturers from the Harvard University – Karl W. Deutsch – stated in 1960 that: *civilization would be killed not by famine or plague in the future but by foreign policy and international relations because people can cope with hunger and epidemics but they cannot deal with the power of their own weapons and with their behaviour as nation-states.*[1] Despite several decades, which have passed from this statement, the progress made by humankind, and the changes occurred on the international arena, these words are still true. What is more, this thesis is extremely vivid, in the context of growing terrorist attacks in recent years in the countries with rich history of statehood, well-established democracy, and social-cultural structure. In the world with strong integration tendencies and the increasing trend for multiculturalism, with which many countries is not able to deal, the form of a nation-state is still popular, although it arouses controversies, problems and discussions at the same time. Moreover, despite the fact that the archaic character of the nation-state is clearly indicated in the 21st century in the context of intensification of globalization processes and tendencies in the direction of the form of the multicultural society and state – based on the assumption of equal rights for all and respect for cultural diversity,

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[1] K.W. Deutsch, *The Analysis of International Relations*, Englewood Cliffs 1968, p. v.

the state still remains one of the actors on the international arena. Nowadays there are around 195 states in the world, including also the countries, which are the members of the United Nations, as well as the Holy See and Palestine[2]. About 195 countries, as depending on the source of information or the calculation criterion, this number slightly changes between 189–196. Such a huge number of states, achieved, among others, due to the decolonization process in Africa and Asia after the Second World War, indicates how important and required the form of the state is.

Nowadays the state, functioning next to many other actors – non-governmental organizations, intergovernmental and international organizations, churches or transnational corporates, still remains a very important and decision-making entity in shaping international order and international relations. Activity zones, in which interdependence meets inadequate control, which gives rise to various conflicts. The state, is based on the assumption that it should also guarantee its citizens the sense of security and stability, opportunity for development, prosperity and be strong source of national identification, identity and 'being rooted'. The quality and type of international order, in which we function, depends on quality and type of individual states. Therefore, it seems justifiable, even in the times of the so-called New World Order, also names as New World Disorder, to remember about the basic principles underlying modern international order, whose evolution officially started in the 17th century, whereas, in fact it started as early as in the 15th century. The rules, which despite the lapse of time are still important to some extent for functioning of the international system and the state as one of essential entities. Still giving the state its legitimization and justifying importance of its existence in the world with high level of dependence, communication and flow of information.

Nation-state

Firstly, let us define the term nation-state. This one of the basic terms regarding international relations is often overused or misinterpreted in

[2] *Worldometers*, at http://www.worldometers.info/geography/how-many-countries-are-there-in-the-world/, 10 January 2017; 'Independent States in the World', *US Department of State. Diplomacy in Action*, at https://www.state.gov/s/inr/rls/4250.htm, 20 January 2017.

a political debate. Andrew Heywood defines the nation-state as *a sovereign political association within which citizenship and nationality overlap; one nation within a single state*[3]. The Dictionary of Political Sciences[4] defines the nation-state as a sovereign state-owned entity dominated by one nation, indicating the source of meaning of this term at the same time resulting from combining two important terms: the state and the nation. The first one referring to a political organization characterized by sovereignty both within indicated geographical borders and also in relations with the other sovereign entities, implying in this way existence of the international system of sovereign entities, which are equivalent for each other. Whereas the second term – refers to people, community, culture, language or ethnical identity that has its historical continuity. Actually, it is hard to speak in contemporary times about the state, which is dominated by one nation. We can rather differentiate countries with more or less homogenous social structure, both in the past and in the present times, in which native people constitute different percentage of the whole population. That is reflected in understanding the nation-state by Norman Davies, for whom this is the state, in which the vast majority of citizens (not all of them) is aware of mutual national identity and belongs to the same culture.[5] Intensification of globalization processes in the last decades – including the so-called time and space compression by David Harvey[6] connected with rapid development of transport, communication, Internet and also liberalization of legal norms – led to the situation, in which citizens are physically not so strictly related to a geographical territory as it was in the past. 'Openness of the world' – especially within integrated political and economic entities as e.g. the European Union – intensifies movement, as well as permanent and temporary relocations of people over physical borders. Therefore, changing the point of reference for citizens from the original and new country of residence. However, official belonging of a citizen to a given state's territory reflected in possessing an adequate identity document and being subject to jurisdiction of a given country. It often gives rise to doubt whether a citizen still needs such sense of belonging. Especially due to the fact that official

[3] A. Heywood, *Politics*, New York 2007, p. 453.

[4] 'Państwo narodowe [nation-state]', transl. P. Kornobis, in: D. Dziedzic (ed.), *Słownik politologii*, transl. M. Kornobis, P. Kornobis, K. Wolański, Warszawa 2008, pp. 386–387.

[5] N. Davies, *Europe. A History*, Oxford–New York 1996, pp. 812-813.

[6] M. Waters, *Globalization*, London–New York 1995, p. 55.

nationality can be multiplied, which can raise problems of legal nature. All these issues explain transformation of the meaning of the term nation-state in common understanding, where it means rather one country of origin of a given individual, his or her upbringing, education, family relationships, native language community or traditions. Irrespective of drawbacks and advantages of the aforementioned state of affairs, as a result we must face the 'foreigner' in the perspective of own emigration or immigration of the other people to our country. However, it requires working out, learning about or approving some norms indicated already in the 15th century by the thinker of the golden era of the Jagiellonians – e.g. Paweł Włodkowic, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, Mikołaj Rej – who used to live in very difficult and stormy times, in which a modern multinational country was being formed and they tried to indicate a proper shape of relationships between social classes and nations, looked for the ways for solving international conflicts and answers to questions, which are also interesting for us today – about human dignity irrespective of a religion or a nationality, essence of power, the manner of solving international conflicts or justification for imposing religion and law by force and many others.

Evolution of the international system

The contemporary international order has evolved since the 17th century, when after a brutal and exhaustive Thirty Years' War at the end of 1648, after a few years of negotiations, the Westphalian Treaties were finally concluded. It is widely indicated that formation of modern international order has started to be shaped from that point. The principles of territoriality, sovereignty, autonomy and legality adopted at that time indicated the so-called the Westphalian Order. The order, which as a matter of fact did not end the wars in Europe at that time and took different forms with passing time and with different historical events – Vienna System (1815–1914), Versailles Order (1914–1945), Yalta–Potsdam Order (1945–1989), The New World Order (1989–untill now). However, thanks to determining the aforementioned principles of co-existence between the European nations formation of modern international order was started, which was fully formed as late as in the 19th century, yet is spread to the other continents with passing time.

The principles which have been promoted since the Westphalian Order, for example:

- non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other recognized states,
- relation between sovereign states subjected to international law,
- state permission as the basis of any international obligation,
- territorial state as a form of political rule or governance,
- state's right to own internal and external policy,
- equality of all states before law,
- their equal rights to self-determination,

are commonly known and recognizable in the contemporary world. They let manage the modern system of states which the main feature has been the balance of power, which of course has transformed as time has gone and some dramatic or rapid changes appeared in the world. It is worth to point here that above rules didn't just appeared in 17th century. They were based on the previous ideas propagated by many thinkers. Among them was Polish catholic priest, academic, lawyer as well writer of the Jagiellonian times – Paweł Włodkowic, or in Latin Paulus Vladimiri, who is almost forgotten today. What is more, he had been a precursor of law of nation and a just war about 200 years before Hugo Grotius – commonly known as a father of IR- even did it.

Paweł Włodkowic's ideas of international relation were especially focus on the rights of pagan nations in relations to Christian nations. He was really unsatisfied by the Papacy and the Empire's attitude to the pagan nations at that times. Thus, he pointed a strong need to reform the relationship among them. What was really evident in his defense of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania case against the Teutonic Order during the Council of Constance (1414–1418). He stated there that whatever the nations – pagan or Christian one – they could coexist peacefully because all human beings are the same in nature and come from one supreme God, and by this they are equal in rights and obligations. Thus, there is not possible to conquer the Pagan by Christian and subordinate them neither to the Papacy nor to the Teutonic Order. Additionally, the Pagan has right to own territory, rules and political identity. So, in that way, he proved the sovereignty and territoriality principle in 15th century and formed the main principle of international relations which he called 'the natural law of nations'. It is also worth to remember, that first Włodkowic's ideas and next the Westphalian Order were turning point not only in political structure and international

relations field but also in social thinking because of clearer and growing sense of identity – national identity which during the following centuries would be one of the main power of transformations in the world.

Of course, in the course of time, the world order and state itself have evolved significantly. And nowadays, for a long time, it is said that the Westphalian Order does not exist anymore. We rather discuss about Post-Westphalian Order or New World Order. By the way, the latter one is often overused due to some unexpected, dramatic events around us, such as New York World Trade Center attack on 11th September of 2001. Nowadays, we even operate the concept *the New World Disorder* which was first used by professor of political science at the Univeristy of California at Berkeley – Ken Jowitt – in the title of his essey in 1992 describing the ideological vacuum created by the Soviet collapse and foreseeing that new ideologies would come and challenge the hegemony of liberal democratic capitalism[7]. This New World Disorder, according to Zygmunt Bauman is negative globalization and *reflects, rather, the new awareness (facilitated, but not necessarily caused, by the abrupt demise of block politics) of the essentially elemental and contingent nature of the things which previously seemed to be tightly controlled or at least 'technically controllable'*.[8] The dissolution of the world of two super-blocks affected all the role of the sovereign state – military, economic and cultural self-sufficiency[9]. What is more, as Bauman states, there is nobody in particular who is able to lead[10].

In fact, the breakdown of the Westphalian System can be traced to I and II World War which showed that the existing world order was not effective. At time of I World War, the international order was understood as voluntary consent of states which core was right to peace. At that time, the international order was reflected in many international agreements or treaties, such as: a famous Woodron Wilson's 14 Points (1918) or Pact of Paris (1928). The latter one, which is commonly known as Kellogg-

[7] J. Larsen, 'Review – Russia and the New World Disorder', *E-International Relations*, 27 November 2015, at http://www.e-ir.info/2015/11/27/review-russia-and-the-new-world-disorder/, 21 October 2017.

[8] Z. Bauman, 'After the nation state – what?', in: J. Beynon, D. Dunkerley (ed.), *Globalization: The Reader*, New York 2000, p. 252.

[9] Ibid.

[10] R. Van Krieken et al., *Sociology*, Frenchs Forest 2014, p. 48.

Briand Pact[11], forbade an aggressive war as an instrument of national policy and called on nations to settle their differences by pacific means. So, there was repetition of Włodkowic's 15th century idea of peaceful coexistence among nations again. Then, in 16th century, there was also a call to peaceful relations towards other nations made by Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski in his *Consideration on Improvement of Kingdom of Poland*, section 3rd *About War*[12]. However, Modrzewski realized well that an armed conflicts were inevitable at that time so he gave some hints on a war prevention, management of the army and made some differentiation between fair and unfair war[13] what was a kind of some advice how to guarantee security of the Kingdom of Poland and its citizens – which is one of the most important role of each state.

In 20th century, as a result of II World War and threat of mass weapon and mass destruction, the idea of right to peace has been developed a lot in legal and political context as well. The Atlantic Charter and The Charter of United Nations have been here the essential document. What is more, there have been the fundamentals of many other declarations and resolutions focused on the peaceful coexistence among nations limiting in this way sovereignty of the states to some extent. Above documents have provided an international forum in which all states are in law equal, which points and guarantee common values and norms, or which may manage solution of international conflicts by peaceful means. At that time, it was said also about international order in economic, cultural, communication or ecological context. Demonstrating in this way that the sovereign state lost its widespread control step by step. The strongest tendency was visible in economy since the 1960s when some discussion about the creation of The Economic World Order were started.

The 20th century clearly demonstrated that the old idea

[11] Full name of Kellog-Briand Pact is *General Treaty for Renunciation of War as an Instrument of National Policy*.

[12] A.F. Modrzewski, *Dzieła wszystkie*, Vol. II: *Mowy*, Warszawa 1954, pp. 304–305. One of his most famous work comprised of five volumes: *De moribus* (*About Customs*), *De legibus (About Law)*, *De bello* (*About War*), *De ecclesia* (*About Church*) and *De schola (About School),* written in latin and pubished in Kraków in 1551, entitled in origin *De Republica emendanda* (in Polish: *O poprawie Rzeczypospolitej*), then translated in German and published in Basel. It was translated also in Polish in 1577, so after Modrzewski's death.

[13] A.F. Modrzewski, *Dzieła wszystkie*, Vol. II: *Mowy*, pp. 304–319.

of the Westphalian nation-state system and character of the sovereign state are inadequate for modern times and needs. As a result, the transformation of them has been watching for a long time. In the background of the military competition between the United States and the Soviet Union called *a Cold War* the amount of states in the world drastically rose at first as an effect of decolonization process and next the dissolution of the Soviet Union in a second half of 20th century. So that, it has checked the old idea of national self-determination. It was evident soon, that new states, especially these micro-states, were usually weak, poor and were not able to guarantee appropriate order and their security, like it was in the post-soviet states with nuclear supplies which was transferred to Russia because of that. There were sometimes also lack of correspondence between nation and territory within the new states what caused new conflicts. In addition to this, state's borders can change because of political or historical events. There are also some nations without own states, such as Native Indian. Problematic is even a sense of a term *state* in English which can mean country or a district of country in the same time. Nowadays, the term *nation* itself also started to be much more unclear than earlier. As I have mentioned in the beginning of this paper, due to the acceleration of communication, transport development, migration or re-settlement the multi-national loyalty or citizenship has emerged causing a loss of one national identity. Moreover, there is lack of international agreement on how nationality should be required: by residence, by government criteria, or by place of birth? It is respected in different way in different states.

The modern state also has to share its power with the other actors which have appeared on the international arena in the 20th century and are out of state's control to some extent even if they need state's consent to act – non-governmental organizations, the international organizations or the multinational corporations, which annual turnover is sometimes larger than some developing world states. Some of these bodies are also a guarantee of citizens rights or human rights. Thus, they take over partly state's original role. It is said even about internationalization of authority by the international organization. On the other hand, it is undoubted that state has to face new threats now, such as terrorism, ecological disasters, world economic crisis, piracy in the third world states, illegal arms trade, mass migration flow to Europe, or people and drug trafficking. An effective

results in fighting against them can be achieve only by common activities and agreements of both of them – old and new actors.

The fact is, that modern globalization and regionalization are restructuring Westphalian System and following ones based on sovereign state and territorial area. What is evident especially in vanishing boundaries between the national-international, foreign-domestic, or inside-outside the state. Therefore, some actions far away the state may impact often internal issues. As well, internal affairs are watching and can be effected with some means by external actors or international forum.

There is no doubts, that we are in the mid-change in the organization of the world economy and world politics, a transition to a transnational or Post-Westphalian Order, or New World Order. Even if the latter one is announced every time when some unexpected, dramatic change is occurred, like did it President Gorbachev in 1989 or President Bush in 1990 in his *Speech New World Order in the Middle East*, there are some distinctive aspects of that transition: the fragmentation of political authority which is manage on many levels, the diffusion of the boundary between the public and private spheres, the transformation of the nature and meaning of geographic context, common consent to solve international problems, economic and political integration, or a change in character of the world order which is now much less state-centric. Because all of these there is also transformation of community of sentiment[14] and the national identity that is not the only one which an individual possess. Cultural identity can be sometimes much stronger united factor of some group than national. However, the latter one is generally still really important even if has not been essential recently. Instead of this, the nostalgia of it can be essential.

Conclusion

Taking everything into account, it is clear that:

- the Westphalian Order is an historic phenomenon but its vital values of peaceful coexistence among nations and tolerance to others are still extremely important,
- the sovereign nation-state, which was the basic unit of the old world order politics even if transformed in the 20th century it is still the

[14] R. Jackson, G. Sørensen, *Wprowadzenie do stosunków międzynarodowych. Teorie i kierunki badawcze*, transl. A. Czwojdrak, Kraków 2003, p. 307.

main frame of world order (it does not matter the division into nation- or multinational states),
- the national identity is ticklish and problematic issue but it have not disappear yet,
- even if states integrate into bigger unit (EU), their citizens not necessary want resign their state territory, borders and national interest, they also highlighted their hierarchy of identity – 1. district (Małopolska) 2. state (Polish) 3. regional/supranation (EU),
- the nation-state order has never been static, besides this – the change has accelerated in recent times,
- there is transformation from old world order to new one, which is – generally speaking- an effect of globalization processes
- even if state's roles and its importance has diminished the amount of sovereign states with their own borders and independent government rose in second half of 20th century and is still required by some groups or regions which suffer from lack of it, such as Catalonia,
- nowadays a formula of the state is necessary still due to the fact that, as Zygmunt Bauman states, there is not any global bodies like this at the territorial state-nation in order to protect the marriage between authority/power and politic and these institutions which exist may be ineffective[15],
- an international world order and politics are joined with culture thanks to which today mixture of people with different values system can peacefully live together in all regions of the world,
- in spite of huge amount of time, the jagiellonian ideas have become universal rules until now, they not only let people coexistence in peace but they formed national identity of political elite of the Kingdom of Poland in the past understood as community of common origin, language and social organization which comprises all ethnic groups. They promoted also tolerance, law and order and participation in rules of most of the society. All of these patterns have been inherited by the next centuries.

[15] Z. Bauman, *Europa niedokończona przygoda*, transl. T. Kunz, Kraków 2012, p. 220.

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Reinventing the Narrative of Central Europe. The Imaginary Geography of Central Europe in the Era of Global Cultural Consumerism

István Kollai*

More than one decade ago, an intellectual movement was launched in Hungary entitled 'Reinventing Central Europe', initiated by a renowned sociologist Elemér Hankiss. His name is not well-known out of the country, due to the lack of English-language publications of him, but his intellectual role is indisputable in the post-socialist Hungarian public discourse, as an acclaimed public writer and as the ex-director of the Hungarian broadcasting company. Elemér Hankiss's initiative attempted to find the common narrative of Central Europe in the years of EU accession, based on the thought that the societies of little states between the Russian and German-language world will consist one socio-cultural area despite of the EU accession and despite the economic convergence. 'Narrative' means in this case an easily and globally 'readable' story which places Central Europe among the great regions of the globalised world, and which has strong local spiritual roots, with its own contribution to the great socio-cultural dilemmas.[1]

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[1] N. Thorpe, 'Eastern Europe Since 1989: Defending Power', *The World Today*, Vol. 65, no. 11 (2009), pp. 30–31.

Let's scrutinize a bit the expressions in the title, like 'imaginary geography' and 'global cultural consumerism'. This latter means – following the thoughts of the renowned experts of the globalisation – that by the dawn of the 21st century, global market strategies have been evolved, which triggered global socio-cultural counter-responses. Global market strategies do not mean necessarily that the whole global market of the cultural products had been homogenised. Many experts stress that counter-responses against homogenisation tendencies make the world culturally fragmented and divided; others point to the hybridization of globalised and local consumer attitudes. Regardless of these theories, nobody denies that a global cultural consumerism does exist.[2]

The other expression in the title which needs explanation is 'imaginary geography'. Imaginary geography includes all the intentional or accidental activities which form the image of a region, from the leaflets of the tour operators to the news which spread throughout on the world about this region. To some extents, the geo-branding of a region can be conceptualized as an intentional policy, as a tool of 'country image', helping the promotion of tourism destination, appealing investors or improving the diplomatic position of a country.[3]

Twelve years have passed since this intellectual action mentioned above, and the need of finding a common Central European narrative might be stronger than before. Some very concrete historical events strengthened the distinctiveness of Central Europe from its surrounding areas; and some very concrete events force Central Europe to form and represent its own narrative actively on the scenes of global consumerism.

The great 'historical event' putting Central Europe on the global map was the migration crisis in 2015, but it was not the first sign that Central Europe needs own regional narrative. Already the 2008-2009 financial crisis indicated that the great narrative of the post-socialist elites – the convergence and catching-up with the West within a tolerable timeframe – had been collapsed. The crisis made it clear that Central Europe remains lagging behind the West (from a pure economic point of view).

[2] G. Ritzer, 'Rethinking Globalization: Glocalization/Grobalization and Something/Nothing', *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 21, no. 3 (2003), pp. 193–209.

[3] H. Siegrist, 'Comparative History of Cultures and Societies. From Cross-Societal Analysis to the Study of Intercultural Interdependencies', *Comparative Education*, Vol. 42, no. 3 (2006), pp. 377–404.

The migration crisis was just a next event, which elucidated to the fact that Central European societies does not fit into the great 'Nort'–'South' division, which is the typical explanatory panel of the global crises. According to this public and academic discourse, there is a highly developed North – the First World, with dominant or hegemonic powers, being in a donor-position – and an underdeveloped South – the Third World, with fragile states. According to the pure statistics, Central and Eastern Europe belongs to the North, i.e. to the First World: they are EU-, NATO and OECD-members, donor states, with a high Human Development Index. Yet, Central and Eastern European societies do not feel themselves such actors which should or could react to the global crises: this region does not have any diplomatic tradition out of Europe, having never belonged to the 'colonial' states. Moreover, the century-long idea of 'catching up with the West' has made these societies a bit narrow-minded, focusing just on this great convergence challenge, and suffering from the failed attempts in this field. As a result, Central European societies have produced their own frustrations, being far from the feeling that they are communities which are to help others. An interesting fact about this phenomenon is that the happiness index of South America (which is officially less developed than Central Europe) is higher than that of Central and Eastern Europe.[4]

As a result, CEE region tends to be reluctant to participate in the global conflicts and cooperation. In turn, CEE remains invisible from a global point of view, as a blank patch on the map. It sparks off such misfortune situations like the election of the UN Secretary General. when the UN decided not to elect a Central European SG, despite the existing rotating system. UN members – the representatives of the world's sovereign states – could not 'read', understand the motivations and habits of Central Europe, at least in political terms.[5]

But Central Europe has remained a not-so-well-known region from the point of view of the global cultural memory, being overshadowed

[4] J. Helliwell, R. Layard, J. Sachs (ed.), *World Happiness Report 2017*, New York 2017, pp. 85.

[5] D. Clark, 'New secretary-general heralds a shift of power at the UN', *Financial Times*, 11 October 2016, at https://www.ft.com/content/efd5e44a-508e-39cc-b5aa-42be8223f334, 10 November 2017: *Unlike Latin America, Africa and Asia – other regions that have successfully pressed their claims in the past – the countries of eastern Europe failed to show the determination and unity of purpose required to win.*

by Western European nations, whose cultural influence has became global. This Western European cultural dominance rooted partly in the colonisation's centuries, which made Spanish, English or French languages being globally present, and which established a Europe-centered cultural memory on the whole world. This 'Westernisation' of cultural remembrance could be regarded as a great opportunity for Central and Eastern Europe – it could serve as a platform where the semi-peripheral national cultures of Europe could also place themselves. But it poses a great challenge as well: the predominant, well-routinized Western cultural patterns can outshine any kind of attempt coming from the Eastern hinterland.

Let be here two examples. First, we shall take a look at the world of Shakespeare: which countries, cities, regions had been depicted in the dramas of the worldwide-renowned genius of the literature? These are England, Italy, French, Spain, the Mediterranean as a whole; practically with no mention of the Eastern part of the continent. The only exception is Bohemia, where the play *The Winter's Tale* is set, but as a somewhat fictive land: this landlocked area is portrayed in Shakespeare's world as a country with seaside.[6]

As a second example, we shall take a look at the map, where to travel James Bond during his missions across Europe. It might sound curious to refer to James Bond movies in such an investigation, but these maps about Bond's filmed missions do exist, and can offer us some conclusions about the mental map of today's global consumers. The travelling destinations of James Bond can be categorized into two types: one is the Western European and Mediterranean cities, being exotic and luxurious, and the other is the Russian or Russian-like (Caucasian) cities, the dangerous ones. Being nor luxurious, exotic, or dangerous, Mr. Bond avoided Central Europe. The sole exception is Czech Republic, again, where the 007 agent spent some days, in Karlove Vary.[7]

But the ancillary, dependent situation of the Central European area can be depicted with its overall representation in the cinema industry. Or rather, it is more precise to speak about the lack or 'de-presentation' (lack

[6] R.J. Mayhew, 'Was William Shakespeare an Eighteenth-Century Geographer? Constructing Histories of Geographical Knowledge', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 23, no. 1 (1998), pp. 21–37.

[7] S. Reijnders, 'On the trail of 007: Media pilgrimages into the world of James Bond', *Area*, Vol. 42, no. 3 (2010), pp. 369–377.

of representation) of this region, since a great variety of movies are made in these countries, without mentioning the real locations in the films.[8]

Budapest is a good example of how Hollywood utilizes Central Europe. From the perspective of the 20th century, when Hungary was cut off from the West with the Iron Curtain, it would be a great relief and pleasure to see how the moguls of the 21st century film industry have raised their interests towards the streets and facades of Budapest. They begun to choose this city for the scenes of their films: a kind of sensation was when Madonna, Robert Redford, Brad Pitt, Angelina Jolie had worked in the city. Slowly, people of Budapest have accommodated to the new phenomenon, and it is already not a 'breaking news' if somebody meets Ashton Kutcher or Mila Kunis in a Budapest-located Starbucks. So, what can spoil our happiness about it? That their chose is influenced primarily by the cheapness and easy availability of the public spaces; they are not interested in presenting and re-producing the authentic atmosphere of the city, it is used rather as a scenery. Hardly any blockbuster can be mentioned where Budapest plays Budapest. In Madonna's film, it serves as the 19th century Buenos Aires; Robert Redford and Brad Pitt evoked here the air of East Berlin during the Cold War. And when Tom Hanks went to the building of the Hungarian National Museum, the building played the role of the Harvard University.[9]

This unfortunate, 'unnoticed' situation of Central Europe is more than ever highlighted in the case of Croatia, where Dubrovnik serves as the scene of *the Game of Thrones*. Thanks to its play in the fantasy series he city enjoyed – or rather encountered – a great influx of tourists. So from this point of view, some positive commercial and economic effect can be calculated in the short run, but more stable and fortunate tendency would be the exploration of the real Dubrovnik. It is worth mentioning that locals are also unsatisfied with the new popularity of their homeland, and not just because of the unbearable density of tourists, but because of 'cultural investors' failing to take proper care over it. This negligence was already experienced during the shooting of *Game of Thrones*, when the producers intended to use a temple as a fictional scene. After harsh reaction from

[8] P. Szczepanik, 'Transnational Crews and Postsocialist Precarity: Globalizing Screen Media Labor in Prague', in: M. Curtin, K. Sanson (ed.), *Precarious Creativity. Global Media, Local Labor*, Berkeley 2016, pp 88–103.

[9] J. Palotai, 'Várostérkép-. Új Budapest kortárs filmen', *Filmvilág*, no. 12 (2011), pp. 40–41.

the side of locals, the movie makers gave up with this idea.

A similar story began to be written in the island of Vis, where the *Mamma Mia 2* will take place. This case is very interesting from another point of view: the island will be served as a fictional Greek island: because according to the script, the film is played in Greece.[10] But the logical question can be brought up here: if the filmmakers are happy to have found a shiny, gorgeous Croatian island for their film, why they are reluctant to place the film to a shiny, gorgeous Croatian island? An answer might be found in the Big Data analysis of 'Croatia' and 'Greece' on the internet. According to Google data, the word of 'Greek' is written much more in the whole world, than the world 'Croatia' – with the exception of Central Europe, where Croatia outshines Greece. So, Greece is globally more-known, Greece is more popular: and hosts of cinemas from Chile to South Korea will be able to take a liking to a film placed there. Placing a film in Croatia can pose a slight risk – at least according to the film industry – that non-Europeans cannot imagine the atmosphere of the scenes with an empathy.

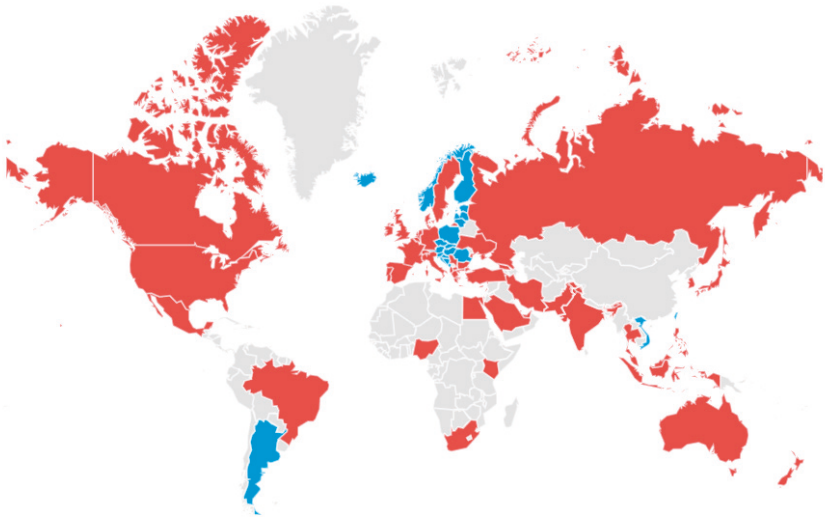

Figure *1*. Map – Frequency of Croatia and Greece in the online world. (Blue: countries where Croatia is mentioned more frequently than Greece. Red: Countries where Greece is mentioned more frequently than Croatia.) Source: Google Trends.

[10] S. Filming, 'Filming of «Mamma Mia» Sequel to Start in Vis, Croatia', *Balkan Insight*, 7 September 2017, at http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/mamma-mia-shoots-on-croatian-island-of-vis-09-07-2017, 10 November 2017.

Beside the danger of invisibility, another risk is posed for Central Europe in the various forms of Dracula-tourism.[11] This term was coined some decades ago when it became obvious that the main touristic feature of Romania is Dracula's story. The various forms of adaptations based on the novel of Bram Stoker are well-known on the whole world; and despite all the efforts of the official Romanian tourism policy makers, tourist events inspired by Dracula outshines all the other attractions. Eventually the Romanian official bodies accepted the situation and accustomated to it; but the whole phenomenon has brought up the danger of transforming Central Europe into a horror-style Disneyland.

Indeed, not just Romania is tackled by the Dracula-tourism. In Slovakia, one of the most prestigious touristic export product is Elisabeth Báthory, the 'bloody countess', who lived in the 17th century in today's territory of Slovakia and was accused of bathing in the blood of young ladies. Báthory's mysterious legend has inspired many film makers, writers and poets to recall the image of the bloody countess, even these days.[12] As a peculiar result, the CNN Travel section's sole article about Slovakia reveals the story of Báthory.[13]

It is worth mentioning that the Dracula-tourism is an overall Central European phenomenon. And not just due to the not-so-well-known-fact that Slovaks and Czechs played a main role in the original Dracula novel (placed them into Transylvania), but due to the similar position of the little nations of the region: they lack a 'great narrative' which could outshine the archaistic and tabloid stories about vampires and other beings. So we have arrived to the question: what kind of narrative could be 'the story of Central Europe', being readable enough to understand by non-Europeans, and being authentic much more than Dracula?

[11] D. Light, 'Dracula tourism in Romania. Cultural identity and the state', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 34, no. 3 (2007), pp. 746–765.

[12] E.g. in Argentina, the anti-Peron resistance recalled the image of the 'bloody countess', as a parallel between the feudal Hungary and Peron's Argentina. See: more in: N.L. Molinaro, 'Resistance, Gender, and the Mediation of History in Pizarnik's «La condesa sangrienta» and Ortiz's «Urraca»', *Letras Femeninas*, Vol. 19, no. 1–2 (1993), pp. 45–54

[13] J. Malathronas, '«Blood Countess» in Slovakia: Tourists on the trail of Elizabeth Bathory', *CNN*, 30 October 2014, at http://edition.cnn.com/travel/article/blood-countess-slovakia/index.html, 10 November 2017.

According to us, such a narrative has to be inspired primarily by one key expression, which is the phenomenon of *personal union* in Central Europe. Personal unions constitute a landmark of Central European history, reflecting to the co-existence of little nations, with its all positive cultural results. It embodies a typical Central European phenomenon: the alliance of nations on the level of the heads of states, ending up in a peaceful break-up.

Let's see which unions we speak about. The originally Lithuanian Jagellonian dynasty became Poland's ruling house in the 14th century, but it also gave Czech and Hungarian kings in later centuries. Among other things, the Polish-Lithuanian personal-union of the Jagellas (when the two states were merged only by the common king) laid the foundation for the later Lublin Union, which was an even more powerful level for the Polish-Lithuanian state union. The common form of government has inspired scientific life, too: scholars at the University of Kraków had dealt with the principle of equality of nations.[14]

Gaining post-modern message just from the remembrance of the sole personal-union of Jagellos is not a simple thing since the Jagellos' age was more than half a millennium ago and because, ultimately, a Poland-centered Central European conception is appealing for many Hungarians but can not be acceptable by e.g. Lithuanians.[15] But if we make a step away from the ethno-centric points of views, it seems to be true, that such personal unions and state alliances had practically developed a loose network, primarily in the semi-peripherical regions of Europe during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. It did not mean the dominance of one party and thus it opened space for mutual cultural interactions, even if only on the level of elites.

It is also interesting to scrutinize why such a network had become the feature of the semi-peripheries of Europe. When personal unions had been formed by Europe's strong core areas, it immediately implied their fatal dominance and a dominant-subordinate relationship. In this way, Scotland became 'subjugated' by England: the end of the Scottish independence

[14] H.E. Barnes, 'The Problem of the New and Small National-States in Central and Southern Europe: A Summary Survey', *The Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 10, no. 1 (1919), pp. 99–123.

[15] J.S. Lopatto, 'Lithuania: Its Desires and Claims', *The Journal of Race Development*, Vol. 8, no. 2 (1917), pp. 188–196.

begun with personal dynastic relations with England. And in Iberia, Castile melted Aragon (and Catalonia) through such steps as well, creating Spain, and terminating its former independent neighbours.[16]

In the historical semi-peripheries – in Central and Eastern Europe or in Scandinavia – the situation was a slightly different. There was a fragile equilibrium of state forces that did not have a clearly dominant party. Poland has been able to defend itself in the east and west for centuries, but it has not been able to act as a colonialist against others in a clear and persistent conquest. (But the same can be said about King Matthias of Hungary, about the Czech rulers or about Sweden). Actual personal union and state alliance, therefore, did not constitute the first step of a fatal conquest, but the channels of cultural interaction that led this semi-periphery from the Carpathians to Scandinavia. Hungarian kings and a Transylvanian prince also sat on the throne of the Poles, who, alongside the Lithuanians, also made a similar union with Sweden in history. And the Swedes lived together with the Danes and Norwegians within the Kalmar Union. Obviously, it would be unfounded to attribute exaggerated importance to such individual unions and federations, or to over-emphasize the role of Poles, Hungarians or Swedes for the history of the region. But as a phenomenon, such historical unions represent a unique layer of our heritage that can be re-discovered in the era of European integration and can still inspire the cultural openness of Central European national identities. So from the point of view of the intention, how to build a global narrative of the region, maybe personal unions give us the answer.

The narrative of unions of kings could be readable and understandable by non-Europeans as well. The great European cultural acquis of renaissance, Christianism, reformation or classicism have been also readable through rulers entitled 'rex' or 'dux', through Medicis, or through the Papas – they make Western European culture visible and readable. Dynasties like Jagełło, Corvin, Luxembourg, or Vasa can make Central Europe globally appealing – in contrast to *the Game of Thrones*, it is a real story with real persons, whose traces and cultural legacies can be discovered in today's Central Europe.

[16] N. Davies, 'How States Die', *New England Review*, Vol. 32, no. 4 (2011–2012), pp. 68–77. With reference to the Castilian and English personal unions, Davies put the question: *Liquidation is a concept well understood in company law; and there is no good reason why it should not be applied by analogy to the particular circumstances in which a state entity or 'political company' is deliberately suppressed*.

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University as the Space of Intercultural Communication

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All large-scale social transformations make it necessary to look again at such a socio-cultural phenomenon as the university, its role in the development of society and man. Today's world demonstrates a great number of new trends, which primarily change the institutional basis of higher education and the corresponding institutional status of the university. There are sweeping changes in teaching technologies, restructuring of the educational process and research organization, relationships between the university, the state and society.

At the same time, the role and place of universities in the civilization dimension of social development have not been sufficiently comprehended and adequately analyzed yet. As a result, the authorities and the public are guided mainly by simplified representations of the university functions, which are reduced to technocratic and economic postulates, to promoting economic growth and solving urgent technological problems. However, such an approach does not correspond to the socio-cultural mission of universities, which goes far beyond the economic and technocratic paradigm. In their long history, universities have never been merely the centers for knowledge production and training. They have always represented the centers of cultural life, the space of complex systems of human interaction, including also intercultural communication.

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Today, universities live in the world that is becoming more pluralistic, multicultural, and heterogeneous. Due to globalization, the harmonization of everyday standards of cultural life, homogenization of external cultural forms takes place. But the competitive relations between countries and peoples are intensifying; the problems of preservation and protection of ethno-cultural traditions, strengthening of patriotic and nationalistic sentiment are becoming relevant, without it the economic and political competitiveness of countries and peoples is lost. Therefore, the need to form a large-scale transborder and multicultural identity of the globalizing humanity is becoming more acute. We have to learn to live in different cultural spaces, to move from one space to another, without experiencing a cultural shock, without falling into chauvinism, xenophobia, and national narrow-mindedness. The universities, especially those that are actively entering the international education space face this problem today.

Globalization and massification of higher education have contributed to the rapid increase in the number of students studying outside their countries. About 0,5 million students left their countries for getting higher education abroad in 1975, nearly 5 million people did it last year. For thirty years, the number of foreign students in the world has increased by 10 times and continues to grow rapidly. The student environment is transforming into a broad, actually global space of direct interaction between large number of representatives of different cultural forms and traditions.

Millions of boys and girls find themselves in a different cultural environment, face problems connected with cultural adaptation, unfamiliar traditions and values, serious learning difficulties related to cultural barriers more than to a foreign language; all this makes their communication with teachers, local students and local population difficult.

Problems of intercultural communication also arise in connection with the intensification of international academic mobility within the Bologna process. They are exacerbated by the rapid development of on-line education on the basis of MOOC (mass open on-line courses). In addition, they are intensified by the migration crisis, which opened the flow of repatriates from the countries of the Middle East to European and American universities.

New technological, practical and ethical problems that require understanding of the role and functions of modern universities in organizing

intercultural communication between the students and the faculty arise. In this connection, the need to apply to historical experience of classical universities, to their cultural heritage, which includes various forms of intercultural communication, is actualized. *Because in the past you can find many characters, communities and events that fit into the modern concept of dialogue between representatives of different cultures, peoples, religions. These examples can inspire, encourage, and sometimes even direct how to continue the 'good practices' developed by previous generations*.[1] It is worth notifying that the problem of intercultural communication accompanies the university life from the early Middle Ages. Students from all over the world, representing various cultural and religious segments of medieval Europe, studied at the first universities. In addition, students of the early Middle Ages were characterized by a high level, in modern language, of academic mobility, propensity to travel and frequent changes of study places. A student began to study at one university, continued studying at another, and could get a degree at the third or fourth, or even at the fifth university. University degrees were recognized throughout Europe, the programs and books in use were not very different at different universities, and Latin was a universal language of the university communication.

Ukrainian students were no exception. Due to the absence of universities at the time in the Ukrainian lands, they traveled to Western European university cities to study either in a geographically close Jagiellonian University, or further to Paris, Padua, and Bologna. Many of them received academic degrees, taught and took administrative positions at various European universities. For instance, Ukrainian Yuriy Kotermak, from the city of Drohobych, received a bachelor's and then a master's degree at Kraków University and moved to Bologna University where he took a doctor's degree in Medicine, taught astronomy and even became in his time a Vice-Chancellor. He was also a Dean at Kraków University, made a significant contribution to astronomy, M. Copernicus was among his students. Ancient lists of those who studied at Bologna and Jagiellonian Universities show a significant number of students from the territory of Ukraine. *Since the foundation of Kraków University and by the middle of the 17th century, about two thousand Ukrainian students had*

[1] L. Korporowicz, 'Jagiellońskie inspiracje dialogu międzykulturowego', in: L. Korporowicz, P. Plichta (ed.), *Mosty nadziei. Jagiellońskie inspiracje dialogu międzykulturowego*, Kraków 2016, p. 10.

studied and lived there.[2] According to some sources, about 800 students of Ukrainian origin studied at Jagiellonian University during this period. Many of them later became influential figures in cultural life both in Ukraine and in Poland. Kraków was the place of active international and intercultural communication of both students and professors, where the models of tolerant understanding of bearers of different cultural mentality were born. The center for such communication was, of course, Jagiellonian University, which for six centuries remained a space and environment that facilitated contacts between people, different in many respects, in accordance with the peculiarities of their people and cultures.

Later, in the fifteenth century, the universal character of the university life was becoming less evident. Its national and regional components were intensified. There appeared new universities in which students were united by their regional and national affiliation. Mobility (pilgrimage) of students sharply weakened, it was kept within the domestic national cultural boundaries. In the 16th–17th centuries there appeared universities, formed on the common denominational basis (Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinistic), which further strengthen the cultural homogeneity of university life.

At the end of the 17th and early 19th centuries, there appeared universities that served the needs of industrial economies and nations-states. One of the important functions of universities then was to ensure the national-cultural identity of the society within the state borders. Intercultural communication under these conditions was largely transformed, and its quality and intensity changed. However, it still remained an essential feature of academic life. For example, at Kharkov Imperial University, founded in 1804, the vast majority of professors were of foreign origin; they were invited from Germany, France, Poland, and other countries. They had language problems in communication between themselves and their students, as well as problems related to cultural differences and to different political preferences. On this ground, often there were sharp conflicts between teachers, united by their origin into different academic factions. At that time foreigners were the majority of university professors, with the Germans prevailing in number the immigrants from all other countries. Russian subjects, then Slavs from the Austrian Empire, French, and others followed them.

University professors, divided into small parties and groups, carried

[2] V. Mykytas, *Davnoukrainski studenty i profesory*, Kharkiv 1994.

on a long, endless war. The Germans opposed the French. Foreigners often united against the Russians.[3]

During the long university history, the ethno-cultural structure of the teaching staff changed several times, but even until the Soviet era, representatives of other countries and cultures were present in the academic community, among whom there were the Poles such as Mickiewicz, Tsenkovsky, Psheborsky, the prominent Bulgarian scholar M. Drinov and many others. An important legacy of this period is the fundamental values that gradually crystallized and formed the corporate ethos of the university.

During its history, the University has accumulated valuable experience, created a special spiritual space, imbued with understanding of its mission, relations both within the university community and with the outside world. This is an important spiritual heritage that permeates the university statutes, documents of professorial collections, presented in the speeches of the Vice-Chancellors and Deans, in the books and articles of professors and graduates, and, most importantly, personified in the life of the outstanding university figures, embodied in their affairs, in their attitude to science, culture, and public life.

Appeal to these materials opens a tense, sometimes acute and dramatic struggle of ideological positions, political views, group and personal preferences.

In 2017, we attempted an axiological interpretation of this heritage, which allowed the Assembly of Scientists to adopt the Code of Values of Karazin University, among which the value of openness and tolerance was given an important place: the university is open to a world-wide intercultural dialogue, free exchange of information, publicity of scientific discussions, tolerant communication with different civil societies, expansion of international scientific, educational and cultural communication and cooperation.[4]

Today Kharkiv University faces a difficult problem of organizing training for more than 4,5 thousand of foreign students who have come from more than 70 countries and who represent different, sometimes quite different, cultures. Almost every fourth student of the university is a foreign citizen and therefore the problem of intercultural communication

[3] Ch.-D. Rommel, *Spohady pro moie zhyttia ta mii chas*, transl. V. Kravchenko, Kharkiv 2001.

[4] *Kodeks tsinnostei Karazinskoho universytetu*, Kharkiv 2017.

in the educational process, in the daily life of these students is quite pressing.

Intercultural communication stipulates both direct and indirect communication of representatives of different cultures in different social areas. It is the subject of interdisciplinary research (ranging from philosophy and cultural studies to sociolinguistics and ethno-psychology) aimed at studying interaction among the bearers of different cultures in various socio-cultural contexts.

Nowadays, intercultural communication takes a variety of forms: direct contacts of the representatives of different cultures, communication mediated by other social actors, assisted by technical means, implemented in the texts on different carriers – paper, electronic, audio, video, etc. Studying intercultural communication in modern social sciences is based on three main paradigms: information (with the emphasis on the process of exchanging messages); interactive (with the emphasis on producing and reproducing meanings); post-nonclassical (with the emphasis on discursive and narrative aspects of communication).[5]

Among many spheres of human life which are involved into intercultural communication, education is of supreme importance. Modern education is undergoing the process of rapid internationalization which leads to the intensification of intercultural communication in regard to different aspects of academic instruction and academic mobility.

Modern university occupies a special position in the realm of intercultural communication since it generates all main situations of intercultural communication, such as: continuous staying in the zone of another culture; interaction with modern texts of another culture; interaction with the texts of other historical periods; interaction with the texts of professional, domestic, social, political character, etc.; direct communication with representatives of another culture in their language; communication in mother tongue via translator in artificial conditions (classes in educational establishments, special events, etc.); monitoring communication of bearers of another culture both in real life and in media space, in literary works, at various public events, etc.; different forms of modifying texts from other cultures, such as full translation, abstract, or annotation.[6]

[5] V. Vasilkova, V. Kozlovskiy, A. Khokhlova (ed.), *Social'nye kommunikacii: professional'nye i povsednevnye praktiki. Sb. statej*, Sankt Peterburg 2010.

[6] P. Donets, *Osnovy obshhej teorii mezhkul'turnoj kommunikacii: nauchnyj status, ponjati-*

Proceeding from this, we believe preparing students for intercultural communication predominantly through the means of foreign languages and polycultural education to be unreasonably limited.

Intercultural character of social communications, including educational ones, requires tolerance which provides for efficiency of intercultural communication. The level of tolerance in university environment, motivation of tolerant social behavior among the agents of university education, as well as barriers on this way characterize the involvement of a university into the sphere of modern intercultural communication.

University education which hails tolerance is to master new principles of social interaction, according to which both domestic and foreign students are granted the opportunity to participate in the resolution of important questions of university life which immediately affect their rights and duties. In this context, it's hard to overestimate the role of students' self government which is to be viewed as a social technology of shaping an active and tolerant individual as well as creating corresponding atmosphere of intercultural communication.

We believe that it's necessary to distinguish two aspects of university's role in the process of increasing tolerance as a characteristic and a factor of successful intercultural communication: one – connected with practicing tolerance inside university environment, the other – in society in general. Thus, we can speak about perceiving the life of foreign and domestic students inside university environment through the prism of correlation between tolerance and intolerance; as well as about the possibilities for the university education to exert influence on the state of tolerance in relations beyond university walls.

We should also take into account that foreign students are bound to get through the hardships of adjusting to unusual life conditions as representatives of their own culture with its peculiarities, traditions, customs, stereotypes of behavior and system of values; as personalities with certain psycho-physiological characteristics; as objects of influence by the new ethnic, social, and cultural surrounding.

It's important for them not to just get adapted to new cultural contexts which admit preserving alienation and even negative attitude

jnyj apparat, jazykovoj i nejazykovoj aspekty, voprosy jetiki i didaktiki, Kharkiv 2002.

towards another culture, but also to accept this culture, to assimilate both its outer forms and inner values, to get interested in it and to learn to respect it.

The process of intercultural integration has an intricate structure and is characterized as an interaction of different forms of cooperation (psychological, social, cultural, domestic, etc.), not just those connected with overcoming cultural and language barriers.

Foreign students, who found themselves in a new cultural surrounding for the first time in their lives, often fall in the state of mental dissonance and feel like they lead a double life: in private situations remaining within their domestic culture limits, but in social life – trying to follow the norms of a foreign culture. The reason for this lies in both insufficient knowledge of the language of their new socio-cultural surrounding, and inability to learn different social roles assumed by the participants of different situations, to cope with the implications understandable tothe native speakers.

The practice proves that intercultural integration is connected with five stages that foreign students get through on their way to entering a new cultural environment: first stage is compared to 'honeymoon' as it doesn't last for long and is characterized by excessive enthusiasm and great expectations; second stage begins when euphoria fades away and a person faces mutual misunderstanding with locals and cannot accept them due to the lack of linguistic skills and cultural habits which may result in a string of communicative failures and, consequently, cause negative emotions and even depression; third stage is the hardest one and is characterized by an educational migrant's cultural shock which may lead to serious health problems, loss of control, feeling of helplessness. People who didn't manage to get adapted to a new cultural environment often return home before completing their education; fourth stage is marked by the gradual change of emotional state from depression to self-assurance and satisfaction with the situation when a person feels more adjusted and integrated into social life; fifth stage occurs when the process of adaptation comes to an end and a person feels completely accommodated to cultural specifics of a new environment.

Modern research dealing with the issue of foreign educational migrants' integration most often single out three groups of communicative problems: academic (connected with educational process); personal

(connected with individual traits); socio-cultural (connected with interaction).

Academic problems include contradictions between the level of foreign students' communicative competence, their abilities to perceive educational information, and requirements of higher educational system, as well as the lack of knowledge of academic stereotypes of the country-provider of educational services. For example, Chinese students find psychologically inadmissible and unacceptable an emotional and expressive manner of presenting information in a loud voice, with sharp gestures and declarations that someone knows the world better than they (even if the teacher speaks the language they learn). Their consciousness operates a system of values that differs from that of Europeans. Academic grades from 1 to 5 or a 100-point system of evaluation are still alien to their self-appraisal. So, if an experienced teacher is able to show to a student like this that his/her level of knowledge 'today is better than yesterday', it will become a much better form of appreciation than '5' or '100'.

The problems of socio-cultural interaction embrace the sphere of a person's dealing with national and cultural society represented by local population. That's why, adaptation processes should involve not only educational migrants, but also representatives of the country providing educational services, that are encountered by foreigners in different communicative situations.

The necessity of integrating foreigners, in particular, foreign students determines the main aim of educational process – to provide for the maximally favorable conditions for individual growth, that is, for the creation of an *efficient educational environment* as a multifactor polycultural formation that guarantees the conditions for cultural and educational growth of a person and contributes to his/her creative development.

Educational environment should be individually-oriented and capable of creating conditions for a person's self-development and self-realization; helping foreign students adapt themselves to the new living conditions and take an active part in intercultural dialogue. Forming creative educational environment in conditions of educational establishments can take place as a responsibility of linguo-socio-cultural adaptation center for foreign citizens. The center's work lies in:

- developing methods of communicative competence necessary and

sufficient for professional communication on different levels;

- developing programs for courses and trainings that teach tactics of speech behavior ensuring foreigners' integration into the sphere of social, group and interpersonal relations as well as their adaptation into Ukrainian social and cultural area; these programs should be directed at overcoming cross-cultural differences in both verbal and non-verbal communication;
- establishing courses for training social pedagogues that could oversee foreign citizens at the initial stage of their stay in Ukraine;
- working out new and correcting already existing textbooks and other kinds of teaching material for the abovementioned courses;
- developing software for the needs of educational process.

As experience shows, the process of intercultural integration is facilitated by special trainings that help foreigners penetrate the sphere of social relations in Ukrainian society (legal, health care, etc.).

The meaning of such trainings lies in organizing intensive interactive teaching during which the participants not only acquire some information but also learn how to act in typical situations.

The possibility of providing qualified psychological aid reduces considerably the terms of psychological adaptation. For this purpose, psychologists are involved to monitor foreigners' objective and subjective state on different levels and to give them effective correctional assistance.

The necessity of developing adaptive psychological-pedagogical technology of teaching foreigners requires the implementation of 'tutors' institute'. Tutors will provide continuous supervision of students in solving social and home problems. This 'institute' comprises tutors – teachers that work with foreign students all the time till their graduation, public tutors – Ukrainian and foreign students selected from among the group-mates of foreign students, or if there's no such an opportunity, from among other interested students (e.g., future psychologists).

Social-pedagogical supervision of foreign students' socialization in University's educational and cultural environment is aimed at protection, assistance and support in the process of acculturation through cooperation of a supervised person (foreign student) with his/her supervisor (social pedagogue, tutor, psychologist, or any other person providing supervision); contributes to creating optimal conditions for effective development of foreign students' sociality (its intercultural and professional components).

For the sake of providing continuous social and psychological assistance it is necessary to ensure information support of educational migrants in problem situations. This kind of assistance can be provided by the service of psychological consulting, 'hot lines', web-sites, etc.

All foreign students of preparatory department at Karazin University are obligated to have the course in Ukrainian studies aimed at their involvement into a new social-cultural environment. They also take part in different extra curriculum activities (thematic lessons, musical evenings, tours, national culture presentations). Foreign students also have an opportunity to choose from among different courses especially developed for their needs, such as History of Ukraine, Linguistic and country studies, Ukrainian culture, etc. Extra curriculum work is concentrated in cultural centers which function at the University as independent administrative units, such as: African Center, Bulgarian Center, Polish Center, German Center, French Center, Confucius Institute.

Difficulties of intercultural communication are determined not only by such linguistic reason as the lack of a foreign language competence. They also lie in the fact that people's ethnocentrism makes them perceive communicative situations (consciously or subconsciously) through the prism of their own culture's mental schemas and cognitive, emotive and evaluative stereotypes. They cannot always realize cultural peculiarities of their communicative partners, their worldview, normative and evaluative standards, general specifics of seeing the world. In order to integrate foreign students in a new cultural realm successfully, a lot of work is to be done as to the purposeful organization of various forms of intercultural communication.

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Jagiellonian Ideas Towards
Challenges of Modern Times

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES: THE ETHNIC CONTEXT

Cultural Security in Ethnic Diverse Society: Challenges for Ukraine

Volodymyr Yevtukh*

I. FIRST REMARKS

The familiarization of the meaning of 'cultural security' as a phenomenon and as a term defining this phenomenon started according to the well-known researcher Erik Nemeth a century ago, when the phrase first appeared in 1916. The trajectory of its usage dynamics was the following: beginning in 1930, the relative frequency of use started to increase with the peak in 1944 and then declined through 1951 before assuming a steady increase through 2000. *In the millennium, the phrase has appeared as a term in various contexts internationally, and the usage seems to fall into three categories: preservation of an indigenous culture, protection of a national culture, and 'power' of national culture in the global economy.*[1]

II. WHY CULTURAL SECURITY IS ACTUAL TODAY

The actuality of cultural security in theoretical and practical senses I would like to tie up to the following circumstances: 1) globalization of contemporary flows of cultural items and thoughts concerning culture. It occurs thanks to energetic development of transport and communication means and

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[1] Cultural Security: the Evolving Role of Culture in Politics, Economics, and Security. 13 April, 2013. at http://culturalsecurity.blogspot.com/2013_04_01_archive.html, 5 September 2017.

intensive interchange of ideas in process of continuous deepening direct and indirect contacts between peoples; 2) existence on the territory of one and the same country of numerous ethno-cultural communities; 3) active migrations of bearers of different cultural traditions, customs, ceremonies, lifestyles and ways of thinking.

These circumstances may cause: 1) losses of cultural items, their thefts, damages during the flows and exchanges; 2) transformations of cultural way of thinking under the pressure of other cultures following by weakening of traditions of own cultures and changing of attitudes of bearers of own ethnicity (ethnophors) towards their cultures; 3) violation of cultural rights of ethnophors of diverse traditions.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS GENERAL STATEMENTS

First. I would like to look at the cultural security as a 'socio-cultural phenomenon'. The reasons for such an approach are the following: 1) the core of it the culture in its quite different manifestations is; 2) the culture exists and develops in variety of environments one of which (the most influential and the most powerful in formative sense) the social environment is. The latter in broader conception, as Elizabeth Barnett and Michele Casper, *encompasses the immediate physical surroundings, social relationships, and cultural milieus within which defined groups of people function and interact*.[2]

The phenomenon 'cultural security' originates: 1) spontaneously (without interference from outside, motivated by inherent desire for preservation of habitual milieu for a group or for an individual); 2) under the influence of outside forces (political, business etc.), interested in cultural development of a group, country with the aim to take a worthy place in the system of international relations, in particular in the cultural spheres. This way of forming of the system of cultural security is dominating, that's why I inclined to analyze the phenomenon as socio-cultural construct.

The most productive ways of an analysis of the construct to my mind socio-cultural and organizational (structural) perspectives are. First one enables to look at its qualitative contents, its interactions of the components filling up these contents; the second one reproduces actually the structure

[2] E. Barnett, M. Casper, 'A Definition of «Social Environment»', *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 91, no. 1 (2001), p. 465.

of the cultural security. The comprehension of the last is very important for maximization of its functioning. Socio-cultural perspective opens way to understanding the role of the phenomenon in accumulation of social capital (resources based on group membership, relationships, networks of influence and support) and cultural capital (forms of knowledge, skills, education)[3] which form the base for successful existing and development cultural aspects of vital activity of a group or a society.

Second. Basing oneself upon the previous considerations I make a conclusion that the most successful way for understanding the phenomenon 'cultural security' is to look at it from the standpoint of its function (how it functions under different circumstances?). It means that one has to examine how the structure functions, which are the aims of cultural security system as a constructed phenomenon (what for the cultural security system is constructed?), in other words, the question is about instrumental role of cultural security system. In my opinion in this case the broadened treatment of the notion 'cultural security' (as the notion 'cultural security system' is needed, which can reflect other groups of attachments that include: 1) subjects in which cultural security functions (cultural environment) or subjects related to (cultural heritage, cultural survival, cultural memory, cultural practices, cultural participation, ethno-cultural identity, development of ethnic marked cultures); 2) the ways of forming of thinking and behavior modus concerning the culture items and cultural actions and as to building up an efficient system of cultural security itself (cultural management, cultural competence, intercultural education).

Third. Litmus papers of the state and the quality of cultural security system are: 1) the level of the realization of cultural rights; 2) the level and prospects of cultural development of a group or a society.

Fourth. As an instrument for a measurement of the state of cultural security system and for defining the possibilities of its impact upon the cultural developments of a society the evaluation methodology can be applied.

[3] P. Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in: J.E. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory of Research for the Sociology of Education*, Westport 1986, pp. 141–258.

OPERATIONALIZATION OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK (HOW KEY TERMS CAN WORK)

How to put into work the proposed theoretical framework to come to understanding of the phenomenon of cultural security and to build the efficient system of cultural security? Here the operationalization of terms used in this investigation can help to find the way. The last can be understood as 'a process of defining the measurement of a phenomenon'.[4] In our case it means that the quality of cultural security system one can measure thanks understanding of subjects in which cultural security functions or is related to mentioned above. But before to start the discussion we have to clarify the key terms which build up the fundament of the investigation.

Culture: According to A. Kroeber und C. Kluckhohn there are 164 definitions of the term 'culture'[5] in a fact based on three traditional approaches – the classical French notion of culture is centered on the idea of creation, of the art work; the German notion is closer to the idea of civilization and includes values, representations, symbols and patrimony as shared by a community at a moment in its history; the Anglo-Saxon sense, more anthropological, includes modes of living, lifestyles, common knowledge, images and myths. In my preferences of the definition of the notion 'culture' I go to the 1982 Mondiacult Conference in Mexico City and to the Universal Declaration On Cultural Diversity, UNESCO: *In the largest sense culture today can be considered as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group and that it encompasses, in addition to arts and literature, lifestyle, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs*.[6] This remark is very important in the case of ethnically diverse societies.

In context of cultural security one has to keep in mind the availability of other approaches including into definition more elements addressing to language, aesthetics, education, religion,

[4] 'Operationalization', in: *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopaedia*, at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operationalization, 5 September 2017.

[5] J. Hyatt, H. Simons, 'Cultural Code – Who Holds the Key? The Concept and Conduct of Evaluation in Central and Eastern Europe', *Evaluation*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (1999), p. 25.

[6] J. Tardif, 'Intercultural Dialogues and Cultural Security', in: *GlobalPolicy.org*, at https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/162/27588.html, 2 September 2017.

attitudes and values, social organization.[7] I have chosen for my investigation the definition of UNESCO because of two reasons: 1) it includes the three approaches mentioned above; 2) it embraces the framework within which an individual can realize itself as an intellectually developed human being. Among the variety of cultural characteristics the following are very important to discuss the aspects of cultural security formulated in this article: spiritual, emotional features, lifestyle, ways of living, value systems, traditions and beliefs, especially ethnic marked. I realize the importance of material items (material culture) in the life of peoples and the threats for them to be stolen, to be damaged, finally to be lost. In my opinion, these aspects are more investigated and they are intensively discussing in complex of international (interstate) relations.[8] My proposal is to argue more hidden agendas articulated below in the segment 'Focus of the Study'.

Security: In my case of study the broader sense of the notion cited by Jean Tardif is quite relevant: *the capacity of a society to conserve its specific character in spite of changing conditions and real or virtual threats: more precisely, it involves the permanence of traditional schemas of language, culture, associations, identity and national or religious practices, allowing for changes that are judged to be acceptable. This notion of security is rightly seen as a fundamental concern for every society, including for cultural matters, as well as a central question of international relations that must be addressed in present conditions*.[9]

Cultural security: It is to be stated that the notion is developing now. Its contemporary understanding includes such components as freedom of thought, conscience, language, life style, religion, and customs. The notion 'cultural security' comprises two aspects: first one reflexes the state of the security of cultural values in broader sense (material and spiritual) and

[7] 'What Are Examples of Cultural Practices?', in: *References.com*, at //https://www.reference.com/word-view/examples-cultural-practices-73e2678d109dae01, 2 September 2017.

[8] E. Nemeth, 'Cultural Security: The Evolving Role of Art in International Security', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 19, no. 1 (2007); idem, *Evaluating the Power of Culture in International Affairs*. London 2015; Yu Xintian (ed.). *Cultural Impact on International Relations,* Washington 2002. *Chinese Philosophical Studies*, Vol. 20; A.W. Ziętek, *Bezpieczeństwo kulturowe w Europie*, Lublin 2013.

[9] J. Tardif, 'Intercultural Dialogues...'.

what the state power does for their preservation and development; another one represents a set of different actions taken by different actors involving in the process of building of cultural security system.[10] But if we are looking at the activities of research centers dealing with that or that aspect of culture we find another interpretations of the notion in discussion. It is connected with such topics as the political economy of art, the power of cultural heritage in diplomacy, the space in which art and culture influence foreign policy and security, interrelation of cultural property, diplomacy and international security.[11] Certainly, to present the phenomenon as a system we have to take into consideration all the nuances of its manifistations.

STRUCTURE OF CULTURAL SECURITY

In my investigation I have proposed to see at the phenomenon as at socio-cultural construct with special emphasis on ethnic markers**.** In this sense cultural security will be presented at the same time as a structure which includes several integral components and actions (cultural security system) and qualitative characteristics of the phenomenon (cultural security). Australian researcher professor Julianne (Juli) Coffin has developed the model of cultural security in such a way (2007): cultural awareness, cultural safety, cultural security.[12] In this context, to my mind, it goes more about already accomplished structure. My proposal is to discuss this model in a broader sense so far as cultural security is a multifold phenomenon and it pertains to many issues of cultural life including cultural heritage, cultural memory, cultural survival, cultural environment, cultural practices, cultural rights etc. I any case, to reach the top of the model, properly cultural security, one has to secure the function of the all above mentioned issues under different circumstances.

The first component of cultural security ***cultural awareness*** is in a general sense an ability of a person to perceive, to interpret and to estimate own culture as well culture of others in the process of communication to avoid misunderstandings in using own meanings for evaluating 'otherness'. One has to take into consideration that cultural awareness is *the abili-*

[10] A.W. Ziętek, *Bezpieczeństwo kulturowe…*

[11] 'Cultural Security – Interrelation of Culture and Security', at http://culturalsecurity.net, 5 September 2017.

[12] Australian Human Rights Commission, *Social Justice Report 2011. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner*, Sydney 2012.

ty of standing back from ourselves and becoming aware of our cultural values, beliefs and perceptions, *cultural awareness becomes central when we have to interact with people from other cultures*, *misunderstanding arise when I use meanings to make sense of our reality*.[13] It is a foundation wall of cultural security, building up of which begins to my mind with the understanding of the state of the cultural environment in which an individual or a group are living, its values, its quality and possibilities for its development.

The second very important component of the structure ***cultural safety*** is to be understood as the level of comfort of cultural environment for vital activity of an individual or a group, a community. At the same time this component of cultural security is a sign that the people feel themselves safe, strength in their cultural identity and is a good platform for cultural revitalization.

The third component of the proposed structure ***cultural security*** is. Its contemporary understanding includes such components as freedom of thought, conscience, language, life style, religion, and customs. The notion 'cultural security' comprises two aspects: first one reflexes the state of the security of cultural values in broader sense (material and spiritual) and what the state power and other actors do for their preservation and development do.

IV. SUBJECTS RELATED TO THE FUNCTIONING OF CULTURAL SECURITY: CONTEXTUAL USING

Cultural environment I see as a key condition to speak about the functioning of cultural security and building its structure and defining ways of the future of cultural development of a group or society organized on the ethnic principles, or where these principles play significant role. Analyzing the role of cultural environment I prefer to use its following definition: *A cultural environment is a set of beliefs, practices, customs and behaviors that are found to be common (in my version, understandable) to everyone who is living within a certain population. Cultural environment shape the way that every person develops, influencing ideologies and personalities. Cultural environments are determined by culmination of many different aspects of culture that influence personal choices and behaviors*.[14]

[13] S. Quappe, G. Cantore, 'What Is Cultural Awareness, Anyway? How do I Built It?', at http://www.culturosity.com/articles/whatisculturalawareness.htm, 5 September 2017.

[14] 'What Is a Cultural Environment?', in: *References.com*, at https://www.reference.com/

Cultural heritage is one very important of many indices characterizing the level of cultural life of a group or a society and it is at the same time the object of concern for cultural security system. This concern has to do with tangible (monuments, buildings, books, works of arts, artifacts) and intangible (folklore, traditions, language, knowledge) attributes that are inherited from the past and natural heritage. Because of the focus of present investigation I do not go into detailed analysis of the role of each component of cultural heritage. The intangible objects ethnically marked are under the question and in further statements I contextualize (in Ukrainian case) the functions of the above mentioned components. First of all, operating in new cultural climate of values, traditions, customs, aesthetic and artistic expressions, spiritual beliefs, languages of ethnic groups being in turbulent situations under consideration will be.

Cultural survival is a state of continuing to conduct cultural activities in spite of difficult circumstances. As usual this phenomenon one connects with the indigenous peoples elsewhere, the history of which was the struggle for survival. Cultural component is in this struggle a very powerful one. Survivals of cultural surrounding is a good starting platform for preservation, maintenance and development of inherent for a group or community cultural characteristics, not only for indigenous people but ethnic minorities and immigrants throughout.

Cultural memory as a domain of individual and collective experience takes a good important place in building up of the system of cultural security. Basing upon the researches of Jan Assmann, Paul Connerton, Astrid Erll, Pierre Nora, Susan Stewart, Richard Terdiman[15] and other authors I am choosing as the most suitable description of the cultural memory

word-view/cultural-environment-8b07d454e1bf7c8ev, 2 September 2017.

[15] J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung and politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München 2013; P. Connerton, *Bodely Practices. How Societies Remember*, Cambridge 1989; A. Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen: Eine Einführung*, Stuttgart 2011; P. Nora *The Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory*, at http://www.iwm.at/transit/transit-online/the-reasons-for-the-current-upsurge-in-memory, 5 September 2017; R. Terdiman, 'Historicizing Memory', in: idem, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*. Ithaca, NY 1993; S. Stewart, 'Objects of Desire', in: *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, Baltimore–London 1993.

in given case which includes information bound with cultural elements accumulated and contained in different objects – souvenirs, art items, photographs, stories/narratives, obelisks, even human body. Adding to this – the role of bearers of ancient historical cultural information in today's cultural environment, as Richard Terdiman, is 'present past'.[16]

***Cultural practices*:** there are several approaches to define the subject. I draw attention to two of them: 1) cultural practices include a broad range of activities, such as religious and spiritual, art, medical treatment and customs, diet, interpersonal relationships and child care[17]; 2) ordinary processes of remembering and transmission can be understood as cultural practices by which people recognize a lineage, a debt to their past, and through which they express moral continuity with the past.[18] To my mind one can combine the main elements of them to have an operationalized definition for our case (keep in mind – ethnicities in turbulent situations) which illustrate how cultural security functions in this field: cultural practices are the activities of a person or a group connected with different cultural aspects of their vital functions which manifest singularity of bearers of ethnic traditions and ethnic marked communities in general and at the same time are directed to maintenance of cultural and historical heritage, to satisfaction of the special needs connected with ethnic origins, to providing of the access to cultural heritage of the whole society for everyone, to development of creative potential of a person and a group, to encouragement of positive developments of ethno-cultural diversity of a society. Cultural practices generally are close connected with traditions, customs and behavioral patterns; but they include new issues of contemporary intercultural communications first of all from youth environment (computer games, for example).

It is to be stressed that cultural practices interact productive with other functional aspects of cultural security – cultural environment, cultural survival, cultural heritage, cultural memory – stimulating their revival and development.

Cultural participation includes *cultural practices that may involve consumption as well as activities that are undertaken within the community, re-*

[16] R. Terdiman, 'Historicizing Memory...'.

[17] 'What Are Examples…'.

[18] 'Cultural Memory', in: *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopaedia*, at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural_memory, 5 September 2017.

flecting quality of life, traditions and beliefs. It includes attendance at formal and foré fee events, such as going to a movie or to a concert, as well as informal cultural action, such as participating in community cultural activities and amateur artistic productions or everyday activities like reading a book. Moreover, cultural participation covers both active and passive behavior. It includes the person who is listening to a concert and the person who practices music. The purpose of cultural participation surveys should be to assess overall participation levels, even though it may be difficult to distinguish active from passive behavior. For example, in some festivals, individuals may be performers at one point (active, creating and inspiring others) and be the audience at other times (passive or seeking inspiration). Cultural participation does not concern activities carried out for employment purposes; for example, cultural participation would include visitors to a museum but not the paid guide.[19]

Ethno-cultural identity as a constructive component of the cultural security system comprises two aspects – 1) concerning whole poliethnic society; 2) concerning certain ethnic community.

V. MOBILIZERS OF BUILBING UP OF EFFICIENT CULTURAL SECURITY SYSTEM

To have an efficient system of cultural security one has to build it. There are several factors which can help to stimulate this process: evaluation of cultural security, cultural management, intercultural education (including intercultural competences).

Cultural security evaluation. I stand for the following definition of the phenomenon: evaluation of cultural security is a process of systematic determination of its state, merit, worth, significance, modus and the results of its application and prospects for its development. It can be divided in two parts: 1) estimation of the state of cultural security; 2) maintenance, accompaniment of actions directed to improvement and development of system of cultural security. For the last aim different training model can be applied, for instance 'Kirkpatrick's Four-Level Training Evaluation Model'.[20]

[19] UNESCO Institute for Statistics, *The 2009 UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (FCS)*, Montreal 2009.

[20] 'Kirkpatrick's Four-Level Training Evaluation Model. Analyzing Training Effectiveness', in: *Mindtools.com*, at http://www.mindtools.com/pages/article/kirkpatrick.htm, 5 September 2017.

Cultural Management: basing oneself upon the general definition of management (function of coordination of the efforts to accomplish goals and objectives by using available resources efficiently and effectively[21], I propose to use this approach concerning the sphere of culture with a special accent on the values, beliefs and norms which influence the behavior of people as towards the own culture and towards culture of others too. One differs cultural resources management (CRM) – the vocation and practice of managing cultural resources (the arts and heritage) and as a part of the first cultural heritage management which is concerned with traditional and historic culture. In broader sense cultural resources management encompasses rather current culture than traditional forms of culture.
Intercultural Education refers to any form of education or teaching that incorporates the histories, texts, values, beliefs, and perspectives of people from different cultural backgrounds.[22]
Cultural competence, as James Green, is a process-oriented journey of learning how to perceive others through their own cultural lens, knowledge of certain cultural beliefs, personal comfort with difference, willingness to change one's ideas and ability to be flexible.[23] Such an approach is relevant to my case of study because ethnic cultures do not exist in 'closed container', they interact with each other. That's why one can speak about an intercultural competence the core sense of which, according to Altay Manço, *psychological capacities are that enable individuals or groups, and in particular members of immigrant communities, to 'confront', with some degree of efficiency, the complex situations arising of contact between cultures in an inegalitarian socio-economic and political context*.[24]

VI. THE LITMUS PAPERS OF CULTURAL SECURITY SYSTEM

The analysis of cultural situations in different countries, in particular ethnically diverse, I can make the following statement: litmus papers of functioning of cultural security system the realization of cultural rights at indi-

[21] 'Management', in: *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopaedia*, at https//en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Management, 2 September 2017.

[22] 'Multicultural Education', in: *The Glossary of Education Reform*, at http://edglossary.org/multicultural-education/, 2 September 2017

[23] J. Green, *Cultural Awareness in the Human Services: A Multi-Ethnic Approach*, Boston 1998, p. 75.

[24] *Achieving Social Cohesion in a Multicultural Europe. Concepts, Situation and Developments*, Strasbourg 2006, p. 161.

vidual and group levels and condition for cultural development are.

Summing up numerous interpretations of the phenomenon and basing upon the above chosen definition of notion 'culture' the most relevant to this investigation, to my mind, the following presentation of ***cultural rights*** is: these are rights related to art, culture and way of thinking and behaving based on cultural traditions. In this broad interpretation notion of cultural rights includes, according to Janusz Symonides, the right to cultural identity, the right to participate in cultural life, the right to education, the right to creativity and to benefit from the protection of the moral and material interest resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production, the right to information, the right to benefit from scientific progress and its application, the right to cultural heritage, the right to international cultural cooperation.[25] I can add to this list the rights related to language, to intellectual property. The importance of cultural rights as an integral part of human rights has been underlined by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in January 2012: *The right to take part in cultural life is – and shall be recognised as being – pivotal to the system of human rights. Those deprived of this right also lose the opportunity to responsibly exercise their other rights, through lack of awareness of the fullness of their identity. Moreover, access to the arts and free artistic and cultural expression contribute to the development of critical thinking, to enhanced mutual understanding and to mutual respect. Thus, they contribute to reinforcing democratic citizenship and social cohesion, a 'harmonious living together and peace between peoples'*.

Cultural development is at the peak of the structural pyramid of cultural security system: it signifies that the system operates successfully and all components mentioned above have provided a base for the future of cultures under new conditions. Cultural development, to my mind, is a dynamic process of changing the state of cultural situation in direction of accumulation of new cultural information, including virtual information.

VII. FOCUS OF THE STUDY

In the discussion I try to put attention to the changes which occur or may occur in various turbulent situations caused by war activities, ethnic conflicts, migration crises and decentralization processes – phenomena

[25] J. Symonides (ed.), *Human Rights: Concept and Standards*, Burlington 2000, pp. 186–195.

which are actual for Ukrainian case.

Special accents will made upon the aspects of understanding of cultural security based on the notion of culture including spiritual, emotional features, lifestyle, ways of living, value systems, traditions and beliefs, especially ethnic marked. That's why the object of my investigation is what happens in turbulent situations with ethno-cultural heritage of various ethnic groups, how can be observed the cultural rights of ethnic minorities (possibilities to support and to develop unique patterns of ethnic cultures) and how immigrants, especially 'visible immigrants', can build up their cultural life under the conditions of the threats to cultural values caused by mass flows of immigrants – so called 'visible immigrants' (people from African, Arab and Asian countries). By the way, I remind that this term is being used for a long time in the theory as well as in practices of ethno-national development of Canada, in particular in the censuses. According to Employment Equity Act 1995 'visible minorities' are 'persons, other than Aboriginal people, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color'.[26] Such accents arose from the situations in Ukraine of the last three years when provoked threats to ethno-cultural developments and the loss of cultural items and to heritage of ethnic communities became a reality (war actions, forced resettlements from territories where ethnic cultures were entertained, division of ethnic communities, worries at the multiethnic frontier areas).

The above mentioned circumstances concussed to search for models of preservation, support and development of different cultures and appropriate structures of security to build up with the aim to secure cultural identity of different ethnophors and preconditions of conflictless living together in new regions, to guarantee contacts between divided parts of ethnic communities, to solve problems coming into being along the borders of our country.

VIII. STATE-OF-THE-ART

In spite of the fact that the problem of cultural security from the beginning of 1990th has turned into top theme of theoretical discourse and practical activities one has to state a lack of researches and publications in this direction. Investigating the subject with consciously programmed accent on Ukrainian realities I'll base upon following sources, scientific literature

[26] 'Employment Equity Act, 1995', in: *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopaedia*, at en.wikipedia.org/wik/employment_equity_(Canada) #Visible_Minority_Equity, 5 September 2017.

and publications:
a) ***Sources***: International Convenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, The Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies (1982), The Convention on the Protection of the Cultural Heritage (1985), The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992), the Framework Convention for Protection of National Minorities (1994). These documents form well-grounded base for understanding the essence of the phenomenon 'cultural security' and the extent of cultural rights of individual and groups and communities in general and minorities and migrants in particular.
b) Among scientific works those of such authors are to be mentioned: Janusz Symonides, Will Kymlicka, Annamani Laakonen which discuss the cultural rights in context of human rights and 'making culture accessible'; Rauf Ceylan analyzes the socio-cultural heterogeneity, ethno-cultural conflict constellation, cultural hierarchy, problems of ethno-cultural living together, cultural otherness as factor provoking the threats for a society; Agata Ziętek, defines parameters of analysis of cultural security, first of all in the sphere of international relations; Yu Xintian with colleagues try to analyze cultural impact on international relations; Volker Gransow moves cultural aspects of human security in the center of his attention; Jean Tardif writes about the role of intercultural dialogue in the cultural security; John Cotter develops the idea about importance of cultural security dilemma, especially in the competitive situations and in situations of interethnic conflicts (like in Georgia); Adam Childs pays attention to cultural theory in determining security strategies in broad humanitarian sense; in recent time many researchers (for instance, Vladimir Baboi, Susanne Keuchel) deal with the problem 'cultural security in migration contexts'; Jenny Hyatt and Helen Simons try to evaluate the specifics of cultural codes in Central and Eastern Europe with the aim to bring us closer to understanding of intercultural interdependences in this region where Ukraine belongs too; James Banks, Sonia Nieto, Allison Cumming-McCann, Werner Wiater develop active the models of multicultural education; Janina Dacyl involves into discourse management of cultural pluralism; Nicolai Petro discusses the cultural basis of European security with an accent on Ukrainian realities[27];

[27] N. Petro, 'The Cultural Basis of European Security. Analysis and Implication for Ukraine', *Sotsyal'naya ékonomyka*, no. 1 (2009), pp. 35-41.

a very interesting problem of deculturalization in context of sociocultural, political and historical developments is the subject of investigation by Joel Spring; many subjects related to the content and building up of cultural security system are discussed in works of Jan Assmann, Connerton Paul, Astrid Erll Pierre Nora (cultural memory), James Green Stephanie Quappe and Giovanna Cantore, Per Rudling Giamarco Savio and Gabriela Gonzalez-Vaillant (cultural awareness), Will Kymlicka (cultural autonomy and minority rights), Altay Manço (intercultural competences); the discourse of the role of intercultural dialogue in realizing of cultural rights in different dimensions starts (Leszek Korporowicz, Volodymyr Yevtukh).
c) ***As a very important source*** (especially in evaluating the practices of cultural security) I see the numerous informative communications from virtual space (Internet); proceedings of conferences, for instance: Immigrants and Cultural Security (2010), Pan-European Conference on International Relations (2013); information about activities of various NGOs dealing with cultural rights as a part of human rights.

IX. TURBULENT SITUATIONS IN UKRAINIAN DIMENSIONS

Because we are speaking about cultural security in ethnically diverse society I propose to remind *the ethnic composition of Ukrainian society,* as in the census of 2001: Ukrainians – 37,5 mill (77,8%), Russkiye – 8,3 mill (17,3%), Byelorussians – 275 000 (0,6%), Moldavians – 258 000 (0,5%), Crimean Tatars – 250 000 (0,5%), Bulgarians – 205 000 (0,4%), Hungarians – 156 000 (0,3%), Romanians – 151 000 (0,3%), Poles – 145 000 (0,3%), Jews – 100 000 (0,2%), Armenians – 100 000 (0,2%), Greeks – 90 000 (0,2%), Tatars – 73 000 (0,2%), Gipsies (Romani) – 48 000 (0,1%), Azerbaijani – 45 000 (0,1%), Georgians – 35 000 (0,1%), Germans – 33 000 (0,1%), Gagausians – 32 000 (0,1%), Other – 177 000 (0,4%).

Concerning *turbulent situations* to my mind these are caused when sudden (unexpected) changes occur or can occur which sharply influence or can influence (mostly negative) the cultural development of a group, community, country, interstate relations. The following causes can provoke such types of situations: ethnic conflicts, military activities, spontaneous migrations, changes of climate, dividing of states, ethno-cultural variety of border-line territories. Concerning ethnic composition of Ukraine's population and settlement of minorities decentralization can be seen as turbulent situation too because it can change their accustomed way of organizational life and realization of their cultural rights under new

conditions:
1) **War activites.** The complex turbulent situation caused by war actions started to influence the developments in Ukraine with annexation of the Crimea (the end of February – the beginning of March, 2014) by Russia and including it as a part of Russian Federation. This fact caused a lot of problems for cultural development of ethnically diverse peoples living there. To understand them one has to be aware of ethnic composition of the peninsula's population and of the process of the revival of cultural traditions of ethnic communities after 1991 when Ukraine got its independence.

The ethnic dynamics of Crimea according to censuses (beginning at 1926 when the nationality/ethnicity was fixed for the first time) was as a following: 713 800 – total, Russkiye (I propose to differentiate the notions Russians and Russkiye; the first are citizens of Russian Federation, the second are citizens of Ukraine of ethnic Russians descent[28]) – 42,2%, Crimean Tatars – 25,1%, Ukrainians – 10,9%, Germans – 6,1%, Jews – 5,5%, Greeks – 2,2%, Bulgarians – 1,6%, Armenians – 1,5%, Crimean Jews – 0,8%, Karaites – 0,6% (***1926***); 2 430 500 – total, Russkiye – 67,1%, Ukrainians – 25,8%, Crimean Tatars – 1,6%, Jews – 0,7%, Poles – 0,3%, Greeks – 0,1% (***1989***); 2 024 056 – total, Russkiye – 58,3%, Ukrainians – 24,3%, Crimean Tatars – 12,1%, Byelorussians – 1,4%, Tatars – 0,5%, Armenians – 0,4%, Jews, Poles, Moldavians, Azerbaijani – 0,2%, Uzbeks, Koreans, Greeks, Germans, Mordva, Bulgarians, Chuvashians, Gipsies, Gorgians, Mari – 0,1% and Karaites and Krymchaks – under 0,1% (***2001***); 1 891 465 – total, Rysskiye – 65,2%, Ukrainians – 16,0%, Crimean Tatars – 12,6% Tatars – 2,3%, Byelorussians – 1,0%, Armenians – 0,5% (***2014***). The problem concerning cultural security defined above is the following: a part of Ukrainians, Crimean Tatars and representatives of other minorities of the peninsula were forced to leave their homes and they settled in

[28] Y. Mikhailova, 'Electronic Media and Popular Discourse on Russian Nationalism'. *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 39 (2011); 'Opytuvannya dlya OON: ukrayintsi posytyvno stavlyat'sya do vymushenykh pereselentsiv (Infografika)', 10 June 2016, in: Texty.org.ua, at http://texty.org.ua/pg/news/textynewseditor/read/68267/Opytuvanna_dla_OON_ukrajinci_pozytyvno_stavlatsa_do, 5 September 2017; V. Yevtukh, *Russkiye in Ukraine: Myths versus Realities or Vice Verse*, in: idem (ed.), *Ethnicity: Ukrainian Perspective. General Introduction*, Warszawa 2013, pp. 89–90.

new regions of the continental territories. The activities of organizations of ethnic communities in Crimea were violated: the part remained in the Crimea, they lost a part of sources of the cultural developments and got under the pressure of ideology of Russian values and norms (Russkiy Mir). The other part has to build up their activities under new conditions of occupation.

The similar situation is concerning the people of Eastern regions of Ukraine (the parts of Lugansk oblast' and the part of Donetsk oblast'). These territories are in the zone of war actions now. The ethnic composition of Lugansk oblast' according to the 2001 census consists of the representatives of 120 ethnicities, among the most numerous are: Ukrainians – 58,0%, Russkiye – 39%, Byelorussians, Tatars, Armenians, Moldavians, Azerbaijani, Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Georgians, Bulgarians, Germans – 0,1% (from 20,6 to 1,6 thousand). The ethnic composition of Donetsk oblast' is as following (as the census of 2001): representatives of 133 ethnicities – 10,0% of total population, Ukrainians – 56,9%, Russkiye – 38,2%, Greeks – 1,6%, Byelorussians – 0,9%, Tatars – 0,4%, Armenians – 0,3%, Jews – 0,2%, Azerbaijani – 0,2%, Georgians – 0,15%, Moldavians – 0,15%, Bulgarians, Germans, Poles, Gypsies – 0,1% (from 77,5 to 4,1 thousand).

Now it is difficult to define the ethnic composition in details because of forced migrations, but we can estimate the total number of 3,3–3,4 million living on the occupied territory of 15,8 thousand square kilometres.[29]

Among refugees (in Ukrainian terminology – inland displaced persons, IDP) the majority are from Donbas – over 1,5 million (99,0%); 23 thousand (1,0%) migrated from the Crimea (March, 2016). They chose following new areas of settlements; Donetsk oblast' – 42%, Lugansk oblast' – 14,8%, Kharkiv oblast' – 11,6%, Zaporizhzhya oblast' – 7,0%, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast' – 0,2%, Zakarpatska oblast' – 0,2%, Chernivtsi oblast' – 0,2%, Rivne oblast' – 0,2%, Ternopil oblast' – 0,1%.[30]

2) **Immigrants – new ethnicities** cause turbulent situations too. I See:

[29] O. Kramar, '«Spetszona» Ukrayiny. Sho my vtrachayemo na Donbasi'. 12 veresnya 2014 r., in: T*yzhden.ua,* at tyzhden.ua/Politics/118905, 5 September 2017.

[30] 'Kudy i chomu yiduť pereselentsi v Ukrayini', in: *Segodnya.ua*, at http://ukr.segodnya.ua/ukraine/kuda-i-pochemu-edut-pereselency-v-ukraine-706440.html, 5 September 2017.

the immigrants from Asia and Africa as 'new ethnicities'. For the understanding of the term 'new ethnicities', it is important to take into account three aspects: 1) association with the purely quantitative temporary dimension – short-term stay of the bearers of those ethnicities on the territory of Ukraine; 2) the quality parameters of the phenomenon (immigrants as a social community) – cultural elements, traditions, customs, the ability of the perception of otherness and functioning under the conditions of other ethnic environment, particularity of behavioral patterns; 3) from the pool of 'new ethnicities' in our case, immigrants from the territories of the former Soviet Union are excluded. The motivation of this step is the fact that in Ukraine there were traditional communities originated from Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan (migration still continues today), and their ethnic status differs from the status of new immigrant communities, and, most importantly, they, as well as *vice verse* have a long experience of interaction with representatives of the titular ethnic community (Ukrainians) and representatives of other communities, which have become stable components of the ethnic structure of the Ukraine's population.

Thus, the history of stay of immigrants from Asian, Arab and African countries on the territory of Ukraine is not long enough and they comprise today a small proportion of its population. This applies to the immigrant status of immigrants from the mentioned regions. According to my estimates there are up to 300 thousand 'visible minorities' in our country (less than one percent of the population of Ukraine).

If you take into account only the quantitative parameters of the Asian, Arab and African immigration, you may get the impression that the latter is not a significant factor of Ukrainian social and cultural developments. In the future, it might have more than a tangible effect on the ratio between the different components of the population, on the nature of the immigrants resettlement on the territory of our country, on changes in the balance of ethnic composition of the population at the regional and especially at the local level, and on the problems of their social and ethno-cultural integration into Ukrainian society, especially under new circumstances – Russian aggression and resettlement movements.

One has to keep in mind that the majority of immigrants settled before the war activ on the territory of temporarily occupied Crimea, in regions where the condition for their interprise activities were favourable (Donetsk and Lugansk) and neighbouring regions (Dnipro, Kharkiv, Mykolayiv, Odessa, Zaporizhya)[31]:

Region	2007		2008		2009		January-August 2010	
	Arrived	Net increase	Arrived	Net increase	Arrived	Net increase	Arrived	Net increase
Odessa region	12 420	10 981	4852	3966	3793	2951	2338	1890
AR Crimea	4798	2421	4239	2535	3354	2132	2122	1473
Kyiv	3776	2170	3618	2055	3970	2716	2119	1395
Donetsk region	4698	902	3962	986	3118	709	1872	669
Kharkiv region	3563	1311	4018	1733	2490	523	988	427
Dnipropetrovsk region	1943	115	1789	476	1580	351	1295	623
Zapori-zhzhya region	1535	243	1557	591	1482	602	851	443
Vinnytsya region	1299	506	1196	644	1376	790	707	403
Sevastopol agglomeration	1028	541	1054	682	772	453	554	400
Mykolayivska region	877	245	868	443	927	498	485	239
Other regions	10 570	-2597	10 128	768	10 055	1722	6692	3197
Ukraine	**46 507**	**16 838**	**37 281**	**14 879**	**32 917**	**13 447**	**20 024**	**10 520**

Today the new immigrants go mostly to the Western regions of Ukraine,

[31] P. Kazmierkiewicz, 'Neofitsiynyi document «Integratsiya migrantiv v Ukrayini. Otsinka stanu ta potreb». Pidgotovleno dlya Byuro OCSE z demolratychnykh instytutiv ta prav ly-udyny (BDIPL) (Varshava) (Unofficial Document «Integration of Immigrants in Ukraine. Estimation of the State and Needs». Prepared for Bureau OCSE of Democratic Institution and Human Rights (BDIPL) (Warszawa)', 2011, p. 25.

to Odesa, Kyiv and Center of the country where the climate for their entrepreneurial, social and cultural activities is more or less safety.

3) **Turbulence in the multiethnic frontier areas** is rooted in the past developments of these territories. Ukraine now has such areas at the Western borders (Hungary, Moldova, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia), at the Eastern borders (Russia), at the Northern borders (Byelorussia). These areas were to different times as structural components of the countries and their population developed after the legal regulations of given countries. The history of relations between ethnically diverse population of the regions and the politics of governments of the countries towards Ukrainians were not always single-valued.[32] Now and then these relations and politics were marked by tensions. Today one can find the samples of tensions too: the history with the establishment of monuments and commemorative symbols in 1990th on the way of Hungarians from Hungary to the Urals through Ukrainian territory; discussions of contemporary time between Poles and Ukrainians about deportations of Ukrainian populations from territory incorporated into Polish state; new law 'On Education (2017) and questions concerning languages of national minorities (Bulgaria, Hungary, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Russia) etc. The intensive communications of Ukraine's ethnic communities with the ethnoses of the same name (first of all at the Western borders) impact specifically on their ties with Ukrainian culture – these ties are weakening.[33]

The preliminary examination of the impact of turbulent situations upon the cultural developments and possibilities of the building up of the system of cultural security in Ukraine that these questions are not in the center of attention here at different levels. And it means that the cultural aspects of vital activity of re-settlers and immigrants are loosing their integrative role in their internal ties inside of their groups as well as link chain with the parts of the same group living in Donbas and the Crimea.

[32] I. Monolatiy, *Osoblyvosti mizhetnichnykh vzayemyn u zakhidnoukrayins'komy regioni u Modernu dobu*, Ivano-Frankivs'k 2007, pp. 161–182; A.J. Banks, *Multiculturalism's Five Dimensions. Dr. James A. Banks on Multicultural Education*, in: *Learner.org*, at https//www.learner.org/workshops/socialstudies/pdf/session3/3.Multiculturalism.pdf, 2 September 2017, pp. 13–14; V. Yevtukh, B.G. Gvosdets'ka, *Strukturuvannya identychnostey u pogranychnomy prostori Karpats'kogo region,* Kyiv 2015; *Zakarpattya v etnopolitychnomy vymiri*, Kyiv 2008, pp. 150–172.

[33] Y. Yevtukh, B.G. Gvosdets'ka, *Strukturuvannya…*

To my mind, turbulent situations stimulate, as Joel Spring[34], deculturalization processes among re-settlers, 'visible minorities'.

X. 'CULTURAL SECURITY DILEMMA'

In the relations between the different ethnic groups, including immigrants, the 'security dilemma' arises as a key problem for cultural security because *efforts by one group to strengthen its cultural security are almost always offensive or threatening to other groups who respond with their own demands for cultural preservation and eventually for autonomy*.[35] This dilemma is especially obvious in turbulent situations. The 'cultural security dilemma' is determined by various factors, but, first of all, by factors, which determine the possibilities of perception and understanding of a culture (cultural elements) of others. Note that the axiom is that cultures are formed under the influence of several factors, an important role among which, in particular, play social events. The meaningfulness of these factors and their contents are different by different ethnophores (bearers of certain ethnic features), which predetermines the ethno-cultural diversification of the modern world. Especially noticeable it is in the conditions of the coexistence of ethno-cultural communities within one and the same ethno-political organism (state)[36] or ethno-social organism (ethnos).[37]

The level of cross-cultural distance of bearers of different traditions (cultural, customary, ritual), which for various reasons are in contextual interaction with each other, is important. *The ethno-cultural distance*: the difference in the level of development and differences between the cultures of human communities, which is based on such factors as ethnic origin, ethnic customs, traditions. Ethno-cultural distance is emphasized (consciously or subconsciously), first of all, in the process of interethnic dialogue and especially is visible under the circumstances of Ethnic Renaissance, when the representatives of one or another community

[34] J. Spring, *Deculturalization and the Struggle for Equality: A Brief History of the Education of Dominated Cultures in the United States (Sociocultural, Political, and Historical Studies in Education)*, London 2016.

[35] J. Cotter, 'Cultural Security Dilemmas and Ethnic Conflict in Georgia'. *The Journal of Conflict Studies*, Vol. 19, no. 1 (1999), at https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/jcs/article/view/4381/5061, 5 September 2017.

[36] *Etnichnyi dovidnyk. U tryokh chastynakh. Ch. 1. Terminy ta ponyattya*, Kyiv 1997, p. 60.

[37] V. Yevtukh, 'Etnichnist', in: *Entzyklopedychnyi dovidnyk*, Kyiv 2012, pp. 135–136.

attach much importance to its ethnic origin, actively allocate themselves in the system of inter-ethnic relations. Excessive accentuation of the differences in the culture of one ethnic group from another under unfavorable conditions may determine (especially when it is carried out purposefully and consciously programmed) the opposition of ethnic groups.[38]

These differences, the situations when representatives of one cultural tradition do not understand and do not perceive those of others cause tensions between them that doesn't stimulate their cultural and social security. Some times these tentions generate negative attitude of Ukrainian citizens, for example, towards the representatives of 'new ethnicities': the language of enmity (hate speech), the charges of immigrants in violation of moral norms of coexistence in the Ukrainian society, limitation of access to entertainment establishments; extreme form of negative attitude is the use of force, attacks, murders. The existence of such cases confirmed special poll: in Kyiv, for example, 17% (34 persons) of those surveyed (and members of their families) suffered from the attacks, in Kharkiv – 16% (22 persons), in Odessa – 21% (29 persons).[39] Paying attention to the presence of xenophobic moods among a certain part of the Ukrainian population there is no reason to assert that such phenomena are widely spread in Ukraine. As, by the way, the fact that immigrants seriously affect the situation in Ukraine too: for example, according to human rights organizations, various kinds of crimes during the January-September 2011 committed only 0,01% foreigners, who were at that time in Ukraine.[40]

It's pity that the problems concerning cultural security and culture at all are not the subject of the worry of outside immigrants, mainly refugees (from Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Chad, Russia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Uzbekistan, which were the object of a sociological survey in 2014). For them more actual are: 1) registration, at the place of their settlements; 2) job placement; 3) access to services in the sphere of healthcare; 4) access

[38] Ibid. pp. 84–85.

[39] *Unheeded Voices – Issues of Immigration, Human Rights and Freedoms in Ukraine*. Kyiv 2008, pp. 71–72.

[40] 'Prava lyudyny v Ukrayini 2011. XXIV. Prava immigrantiv v Ukrayini. Dopovidi pravozakhysnykh organizatsiy', pp. 2–3, in: *Helsinki.org.ua*, at http://helsinki.org.ua/index.php?id=1332336106, 5 September 2017.

to education; 5) next – questions of humanitarian development.[41] It can be explained by the fact that first and of foremost the immigrants bother the problems of social security and social welfare. The same situation is in the milieu of inland immigrants from the Crimea and Eastern regions of Ukraine – Donetsk and Lugansk: as the 253 interviews in Kharkiv, these immigrants saw as the key problems: social payments and social services, housing and job placement, paraphemalia, registration at places of settlements, access to education, medical aid.[42]

One of the main difficulties and at the same time obstacles for new settlers their perception by the local population is. Special survey done be Kyiv International Institute of Sociology for United Nation (June 2016) stated that the attitudes of the majority of Ukrainian population towards re-settlers from Donbass and the Crimea are positive or neutral: 43% – positive, 47% – neutral, 6% – negative.[43] The data of sociological monitoring (2015) done by the Institute for Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine from 1992 shows that the situation is vague: as to re-settlers from Donbas the difference between the highest acceptable index and lowest acceptable index is not impressive (according the Bogardus scale) – 22,1% (as close relatives by marriage (i.e., as the legal spouse of a close relative) and 19,6% (would exclude from entry into my country) accordingly, although these people of the same ethnic origin are (mainly Ukrainians or Russkiye). The data for the Crimea are the following: 23,8% and 17,3%.[44]

In recent time one can observe the increasing tensions in inter-ethnic relations and growing of local anti-immigrant protests called NIMBY (Not In My Backyard). In the period 2011–2014 there were in Ukraine

[41] O.A. Malynovs'ka, 'Integratsiya bizhentsiv v Ukrayini: problem ta shlyakhy yikh podolannya'. *Mizhnarodnyi naukovyi forum: sotsiologiya, psykhologiya, pedagogika, menedzhment*, Vol. 19–20 (2015), pp. 7–13.

[42] L.M. Khyzhnyak, A.I. Andryushenko, 'Informatsiyne zabezpechennya sotsial'nogo zakhystu vnutrishnyo peremishenykh osib: dosvid Ukrainy', *Mizhnarodnyi naukovyi forum: sotsiologiya, psykhologiya, pedagogika, menedzhment*, Vol. 19–20 (2015), pp. 24–25.

[43] 'Opytuvannya dlya OON'…

[44] Dodatok: Tablytsi monitoryngovogo opytuvannya «Ukrains'ke suspil'stvo – 2015», at www.i-soc.com.ua/institute/el_library.php, 5 September 2017.

24 protests against immigrants and refugees.[45]

Under such circumstances the problems related to culture and all the more to cultural security are not in the list of priorities by three parts of process – by enforced re-settlements, by authorities, by researchers.[46] To my mind it means the catastrophic situation for the perspectives of maintenance the ethnically marked heritage, customs, traditions and their practisizing in every day life and all the more their development.

XI. EFFICIENT CULTURAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT NEEDED

What is done and what may be done to secure cultural heritage, cultural thinking and to develop cultural activities in these turbulent situations? There are two levels of the problem: state level and civic (volunteer) level. I have to ascertain that on the both levels is done not so much until today. In the first case the special state organ – The Ministry of Problems of Temporary Occupied Territories and Inland Displaced Persons – is established (April, 2016). Among the tasks of the Ministry, int. al, one can find the realization of rights of IDP in all spheres of social life.

The initiatives of civic organizations are increasing: for instance, the program 'Donbas. Realities' twice a week is translated in TV under the slogan 'Can the art preserve a part of the life left on the occupied territory?'; the platform of modern culture 'Isolation' found in Donetsk 2010 organized informative exhibition in Palais de Tokyo (Paris, 2014) about the role of culture under the war activities.[47]

As E. Libanova, it is reasonable to elaborate two individual programs for the re-settlers – one for those who wants to return to the places of their previous domiciles and second for those who decides to stay permanently in new areas of Ukraine, paying adequate attention to questions of socio-

[45] A. Gladun, *Til'ky ne na moyemu podviryi: koly mistsevi gromady protestuyut' proty migrantiv*, at http://socportal.info/2016/04/15/til-ki-ne-na-moyemu-podvir-yi-koli-mistsevi-gromadi-protestuyut-proti-migrantiv.html, 5 September 2017.

[46] E.M. Libanova, *Vymusheni pereselentsi z Donbasu: Masshtaby ta vyklyky dlya Ukrainy*, at www.idss.org.ua/.../2014_07_10Libanova.pptx, 5 September 2017.

[47] 'Kul'tura i konflict: ISOLYATSIYA v izgnaniyi (Culture and Conflict: ISOLATION in Exile)', in: *Izolyatsia. Platform for Cultural Initiatives*, at http://izolyatsia.org/ru/project/palais-de-tokyo, 5 September 2017.

humanitarian and cultural-educational character.[48] I formed the opinion that this proposal under Ukrainian realities is quite actual. Taking into account such a proposal one must build two types of cultural security: I propose to call them 'cultural security system of first needs actions' and 'ultural security system of long-time operation'.

In the first case one has to dwell preferential attention to such issues of cultural security as cultural awareness (from the structure of cultural security) and cultural memory, cultural survival, elements of cultural heritage, cultural practice (subjects related to the functioning of cultural security system). In the second case all the components of the structure of cultural security system (cultural awareness, cultural safety, cultural security) are important as well as subjects related to the functioning of cultural security system (I propose such a succession of the concentration of efforts of those who is obliged to deal with the cultural security and who does it on the voluntary basis: to carry out cultural evaluation, to build up cultural environment, including reanimation and enforcement of cultural memory, conservation of cultural survivals and elements of cultural heritage, everyday cultural practices, maintenance of cultural activities; to build up efficient cultural management on the base of intercultural education, cultural competences and relations with the communities in Donbas and the Crimea of the same ethnic origin).

XII. IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION

Taking into account all mentioned circumstances and hard spadework can help to form conditions, which ensure the cultural development of enforced re-settlers, 'visible minorities', divided ethnic minorities and people living in multiethnic border areas and stimulate to realize their cultural rights. The last is the index of successfully functioning of the cultural security system in the concept presented in this investigation. So far as the system of cultural security in Ukraine is at the start of its building up and functioning one has to look attentively at the experiencei in this field. *Ex altera parte* building up the cultural security system in turbulent situations Ukraine can provide instruments for overcome severe obstacles in development of different groups of ethnically diverse population, can help save their ethnic heritage, strengthen their cultural memory, their ethno-cultural

[48] E.M. Libanova, *Vymusheni pereselentsi…*

identity, activate their cultural practices, stimulate their participation in cultural activities in old and new areas. In result, they can be strong partners of intercultural dialogue under new socio-political conditions in Ukraine.

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Between Scepticism and Opposition. Cultural – Political Conditions of Varied Perceptions of the Jagiellonian Idea in Ukraine and Russia

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The necessity to return to the debates around the potential revitalisation of the Jagiellonian Idea, as emphasised by Poland's current right-wing government and the circles of public opinion supporting it, has not found either wider or positive interest among Ukrainian opinion-formers. Its positive perception certainly hinders the historical legacy of the relationship of the Ukrainian elite towards this as expressed through the complicated and critically considered role of the First and Second Polish Republics. The difficult nature of the historical relations between Ukraine and Russia constitutes here an additional factor ossifying such scepticism among Ukrainians. It is more paradoxical that the nature of these relations is the primacy of the argument of force which is viewed, above all, as the policies of the Russian Tsars and, subsequently, the Soviet Union. In turn, the Jagiellonian Idea is considered to be, although often in an exaggerated manner, as a force of argument. Indeed, it is thus difficult to deny this, looking at the co-participation of Lithuania and the Czech and Hungarian kingdoms in the Jagiellonian Idea coming into being. However, it already seems to be completely different if one looks at the location within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the progenitors of present-day Ukrainians, or Zaporozhian Cossacks. This constitutes the historical basis of the scepticism of Ukrainians towards the various mutations of the Jagiellonian Idea.

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In turn, for Russia similar ideas are unacceptable due to the conviction of a threat from their side towards its geopolitical influence in the region, believed by the Russian political elite to be conditions of state security. The imperial tradition of the presence of Russia in Central and Eastern Europe, juxtaposed with rhetoric of *its encirclement by the West* precludes any support whatsoever of this country for the Jagiellonian Idea. This aspect will be developed further in the second part of this article.

From a historical perspective, ideas of the closer cooperation of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe have a foundation in two particular spheres, namely political and cultural. Although both fields are important, the significance of each of them as a separate condition for the revitalization of such a concept may be doubted. The crystallization of such cooperation within the field of history is, in fact, the Jagiellonian Idea, or also its variants which, through such an assumption, one may give the working title of Jagiellonian ideas. A return to the concept of *Intermarium* or the *Three Seas Initiative*, as endorsed by the current President of Poland and, at the same time, coming from the governing right-wing camp have become part of this canon of thought.[1] While a significant popularization of the Jagiellonian Idea occurred during the Inter-War period, this was not an original concept of Józef Piłsudski, although he did make attempts to give it a concrete shape at the turn of the second and third decades of the twentieth century.[2] The idea of creating an alliance of countries lying within the triangle created by the Baltic, Black and Adriatic Seas was a twentieth-century continuation of the past Jagiellonian concept at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. The prestige of the dynasty founded by King Władysław Jagiełło, whose members occupied the thrones of four Central and Eastern European countries, was supposed to aid in the creation of a strong geopolitical pillar in this part of the European

[1] From: M. Stolarczyk, *Rosja w polityce zagranicznej Polski w latach 1992–2015*, Katowice 2016, pp. 403–404; A. Leszczyński, 'Szczerski: «Trójmorze to napęd Europy». Wraca idea Trójmorza i Międzymorza, fantazjao polskim mocarstwie', *Oko.Press*, 20 June 2017, at https://oko.press/szczerski-trojmorze-naped-europy-wraca-idea-trojmorza-miedzymorza-fantazja-o-polskim-mocarstwie/, 10 July 2017.

[2] From: P. Cieplucha, 'Prometeizm i koncepcja międzymorza w praktyce polityczno-prawnej oraz dyplomacji II RP', *Studia Prawno-Ekonomiczne*, Vol. 93 (2014), pp. 39–40 and passim; M. Mróz, 'Między Polską piastowską a jagiellońską. Kontrowersje wokół kierunków realizacji polskiej polityki zagranicznej po akcesji do Unii Europejskiej', *Dyplomacja i Bezpieczeństwo*, no. 1 (2013), p. 17.

continent. During the period following the Second World War, the Jagiellonian Idea was supported and popularized by the circle around Jerzy Giedroyc and *Kultura*, the Parisian journal which he edited. This circle became a forum of positive thinking regarding the Jagiellonian Idea, one which was meant to be a panacea for the historically passed-down phobias and prejudice between Poles on the one hand, and Ukrainians and Lithuanians on the other.[3]

The current concept of *Intermarium*, while not determined solely by culture or economics, is decidedly (geo)political. Indeed, it has two aims. The first and officially described of these is the strategic strengthening of the ranks of the Central and Eastern European region in the categories of political cooperation, while this should also result from the closeness of cultural and economic ties, thus becoming an inter-region entity within the European Union.[4] Although one not openly emphasised, the second aim, however, remains the creation of a geopolitically conditioned counter-balance regarding the policies being implemented by the Russian Federation whose aim is meant to be the reconstruction of a territorial space and a strategic position close to that of once occupied by the Soviet Union. This second alleged aim automatically gives rise to opposition from Russia regarding any kind of ideas concerning regional integration, particularly if Poland is leading the move. However, as it has been noticed, it is difficult to observe enthusiasm regarding the concept of *Intermarium* from other countries in the region, including Ukraine, it being the primary subject of interest of the author in writing these words.

The main fields of Ukrainian scepticism towards the Jagiellonian Idea

Due to their popularity, Polish ideas regarding regional integration do not have for the Ukrainian political elite a comparable prestige with those actions which are meant to aid in the strengthening of Ukraine's fledgling statehood. It is difficult to deny that both of these strands of action seem, in fact, to be impossible to reconcile as concepts appearing

[3] From: J. Giedroyc, *Autobiografia na cztery ręce*, K. Pomian (ed.), Warszawa 1994; R. Habielski, *Dokąd nam iść wypada? Jerzy Giedroyc. Od 'Buntu Młodych' do 'Kultury'*, Warszawa 2006.

[4] On the subject of the concept of an inter-region see: M. Tripković, 'Multiculturality, regionalization and integration', in: Ž. Lazar (ed.), *Vojvodina amidst Multiculturality and Regionalization*, Novi Sad 2007, p. 19, passim.

in parallel. Increasing the significance of the Ukrainian state in the eyes of the Ukrainians themselves is meant to serve concrete steps of an internal and external character taken by governments in Kiev, especially during the last decade. These also concern the invocation of events and important figures – according to the Ukrainian elite (of which there will be more discussion later) – for the shaping modern Ukrainian history and the strengthening of Ukraine as an important subject of international relations. The prestige of such actions has been dramatically intensified by events in which the government in Kiev lost control of the Crimea in 2014 and the war in the Donbas region. From an ideological perspective, the above-mentioned internal steps shows the revitalization of the traditions which are integral to Ukrainian nationalism from within, and connected to the intellectual works of Dmytro Doncow.[5] It is important here to connect this to the profile and activities of the current represented by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and those within it, especially the faction identified with Stepan Bandera at its head and the circle of his supporters. The popularity of the idea of an independent, clean Ukrainian state, from an ethno-cultural point of view, has a multi-generational character and was visible throughout the entire twentieth century. It has remained in opposition to the principles of the Jagiellonian Idea in an obvious manner. However, as the events of this particular century have shown, the idea of such a Ukrainian state stubbornly propagated has turned out to be based on the flawed calculations of its apologists. This is clearly shown by the first three attempts to create an independent Ukrainian state. Indeed, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries a new literary-ethnological trend appeared known as 'Ukrainophilism', for short. Soon this began to transform itself into a political movement formulating a demand for an ethnic Ukrainian state. The first two attempts at creating such a state were made towards the end of the First World War and the beginning of the post-war time during the period 1917–1920. This were, respectively, the People's Republic of Ukraine and the People's

[5] From: W. Roszkowski (ed.), *Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia XX wieku. Słownik biograficzny. Tom sygnalny*, Warszawa 2001, pp. 38–40; W. Poliszczuk, 'Pojęcie integralnego nacjonalizmu ukraińskiego', in: B. Grott (ed.), *Polacy i Ukraińcy dawniej i dziś*, Kraków 2002, pp. 68–74.

Republic of Western Ukraine, the second of which only occupied a part of the region of Eastern Małopolska.[6] According to the Polish émigré historian, Stanisław Skrzypek, the fiasco of both these attempts was due to causes termed, as above, internal and external. The latter were, therefore: *the decidedly hostile position of Russia towards the concept of a Ukrainian state in general and the firm attitude of Poland towards the formation of so-called Western Ukraine, as well as the complete lack of support for the idea of the independence of Ukraine from the victorious Western Powers*. The main internal cause was seen, in turn, as *a lack of preparing the Ukrainians themselves to govern a state, as well as the low level of national consciousness among the masses*.[7] During this period, Ukraine underwent an extraordinarily cruel and gruelling civil war, one both ideologically and ethnically motivated. The presence of deep internal divisions at that time prevented the reaching of a long-lasting agreement between the two factions of this divided nation. The first was comprised of Ukrainians from western Ukraine (meaning eastern Galicia) known for adhering to an exclusivist ethnic nationalism. The second, however, was made up of those who came from Transnistrian Ukraine, stretching around Kiev and the eastern region in general, which was considered to be open to Russian influence. Therefore, the division of the people of Ukraine into these two factions had already become a fact at that time and were delineated by the merging of three factors, namely: language, territory and religion, factors which, up to the present day, have constituted a fundamental obstacle in the shaping of a common ethnic Ukrainian identity.

The next attempt at founding a Ukrainian state which occurred shortly after the invasion of the Soviet Union by the Third Reich in June 1941 confirmed already-existing intra-Ukrainian antagonisms. Founded in Lvov on 30 June, the Ukrainian government led by Yaroslav Stetsko surprised and gave rise to irritation among the Germans themselves. Moreover, this declaration did not gain the support of Ukrainians living in the territory of the then Soviet Ukraine. This government existed – nominally, at best – for a mere eleven days while its members were subsequently arrested

[6] W.A. Serczyk, *Historia Ukrainy*, Wrocław 1990, p. 351 onwards, passim.

[7] Both quotations from S. Skrzypek, *Sprawa ukraińska*, Londyn 1953, pp. 5–6.

by the Germans.[8] The previously mentioned Skrzypek commented on this as follows: *The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), as OUN publications brought out after the war attest, was unable to build itself up on the lands east of the Riga frontier* [following the Polish-Soviet Treaty of Riga of 1921, note by W. K].[9] The same author states in summary that *the Germans … not only did not help Ukrainians in fulfilling their independence goals but the efforts made in this regard by the Ukrainians themselves foiled them by force…*[10]

In visiting Ukraine during the last fifteen years, I often received the impression that its gaining of independence in 1991 had surprised its own inhabitants. On the basis observing the moment of its occurrence itself, a picture has emerged of a state founded by accident, so to speak. It is also typical that there often remains in many conversations which I conducted on numerous occasions with Ukrainian academics and ordinary citizens during this time, a longing for the social security and labour market stability of the Soviet Era. The juxtaposition of an independent Ukraine with the times when it had been part of the USSR show what great prestige it had enjoyed in this state, occupying second position after Russia regarding economic potential.[11] Soviet Ukraine was simply strategically created as the economic foundation of this state due to its industrial, energy and agricultural resources.

The statement regarding the accidental foundation of Ukraine is not meant to lessen the standing of this country, only to show the difficulties in reconstruct a uniform national identity. As an independent entity *de jure*, Ukraine, from the beginning, had a problem in fulfilling the requirement of being the nation state regarding the role of language. It is important to remember that a basic characteristic of such a state is a requirement that the vast majority of its citizens have an awareness

[8] From E. Prus, *Herosi spod znaku tryzuba. Konowalec, Bandera, Szuchewycz*, Warszawa 1985, p. 180 and onwards, and idem, *Kolaboracja ukraińskich nacjonalistów (legalne formacje zbrojne OUN)*, in: B. Grott (ed.), *Polacy i Ukraińcy…*, pp. 106–107; W.A. Serczyk, *Historia…*, p. 437.

[9] S. Skrzypek, *Sprawa ukraińska…*, p. 8.

[10] Ibid., pp. 9–10.

[11] 'Ukraina. Gospodarka', in: *Encyklopedia PWN*, at http://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Ukraina-Gospodarka;4575605.html#prettyPhoto, 10 July 2017.

of a common national identity and belong to the same culture.[12] According to Ernest Gellner, the characteristic core of culture, … *its touchstone (sufficient if not essential)*, is language.[13] This assumption has played a dysfunctional role in the period in which an independent Ukraine has existed. It is difficult to deny that the position of Ukrainian as the only official language has been subjected to contention from its citizens who speak Russian on a daily basis.[14] This has brought about two effects. Firstly, the process of forming a uniform Ukrainian identity has found itself in a state of stagnation, a phenomenon emphasised by the poet, writer and bard, Yurii Andrukhovych in an interview in *Rzeczpospolita* in October 2013.[15] Secondly, however, it stimulated the activation of nationalist circles interested in bestowing upon Ukraine a state of an exclusively ethnic character. This, in turn, gave rise to scepticism among certain opinion-forming circles in neighbouring countries, such as among Polish-Ukrainian borderland organisations in Poland regarding the possibility of cooperation with Ukraine over the divisions resulting from the terrible experiences of history.[16] All of this does not favour the creation of an effective discussion between the circles of opinion-formers in both countries which could encourage the revitalization of the Jagiellonian Idea.

For the Ukrainians themselves a priority remains the continual referring to figures always present in the history of Ukraine as a foundation on which their identity is built. Although this process is, in a way, understandable, the controversial acceptance of these heroes for close neighbours, hinders, in turn, reconciliation between Poles and Ukrainians, along with reducing interest in the ideas of regional cooperation among Ukrainians. I have my own experience in this regard. In March 2013

[12] N. Davies, *Europe. A History*, Oxford–New York 1996, pp. 812-813.

[13] E. Gellner, *Narody i nacjonalizm*, transl. T. Hołówka, A. Grzybek, introduction by J. Breuilly, Warszawa 1991, p. 58.

[14] For a wider discussion on the role of language in Ukraine see: R. Szul, *Język – naród – państwo. Język jako zjawisko polityczne*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 115–117.

[15] *Rzeczpospolita*, 12–13 October 2013.

[16] From: J. Engelgard, 'Stracone złudzenia', *Myśl Polska*, no. 4 (2008) 27 January, at Federacja Organizacji Kresowych, http://www.fok.waw.pl/ukraina/ukraiX38.html, 12 July 2017; W. Listowski, 'Powstał Patriotyczny Związek Organizacji Kresowych i Kombatanckich', *Polski portal o geopolityce*, 4 October 2014, at http://geopolityka.net/powstal-patriotyczny-zwiazek-organizacji-kresowych-i-kombatanckich/, 12 July 2017.

I took part in a conference organised by the I.F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies in Kiev, concerning the parliamentary elections held in Ukraine a year previously. During the event, I asked about the causes of the visible cult of Bohdan Chmielnicki there, who in finally breaking away from the Polish-Lithuanian nobility state initiated the process of the Russian Tsars gaining control over Ukraine. My remark, however, did not meet with any interest from the participants. In September 2014, during a lecture at the Vasyl Stefanyk Pricarpathian National University in Ivano-Frankivsk, (formerly Stanisławów), I cast into doubt the point of referring to Stepan Bandera as a national hero unifying the whole of Ukraine. As a counter-balance I suggested Mykhailo Hrushevsky,[17] Symon Petliura,[18] and even Ivan Franko.[19] This received a response of silence from the students while the academics then changed the subject of discussion. Against this backdrop, it portended badly for the future when, in April 2015, the Ukrainian Supreme Council proclaimed a ban on critically assessing integral Ukrainian nationalism, including Bandera himself and other representatives of this political current. Since then, the free conducting of debate regarding such issues by the opinion-forming circles there has become even more difficult.[20] Moreover, the interest of Ukrainians themselves in the debate about their participation of their country in the Jagiellonian Idea has been pushed even further into the background.

Here, one must still remember the figure of the former President of Ukraine, Victor Yuschenko. To the surprise of the Polish politicians who had supported him, he turned out to be unable to face the challenges that awaited him following his election in 2004. Particularly controversial was his decision in January 2010 regarding the proclamation of Stepan Bandera

[17] From: E. Prus, 'Mychajło Hruszewski', [Fragments from:] idem, *Hulajpole – burzliwe dzieje kresów ukrainnych*, Wrocław 2003, *Historia Przemyśl*, at http://www2.kki.pl/pioinf/przemysl/dzieje/rus/hruszewski.html, 14 July 2017; A. Adamska, 'Mychajło Hruszewski – rola w historii, znaczenie dla współczesności'. *Biuro Prasowe UMCS*, 21 April 2016, at http://www.umcs.pl/pl/informacje-prasowe,4623,mychajlo-hruszewski-rola-w-historii-znaczenie-dla-wspolczesnosci,34492.chtm, 14 July 2017.

[18] W. Roszkowski (ed.), *Europa…*, pp. 118–120.

[19] J. Hrycak, *Prorok we własnym kraju. Iwan Franko i jego Ukraina (1856–1886)*, Warszawa, 2010.

[20] 'Ukraińcy zabraniają krytykować m.in. UPA i OUN', *Wprost*, 9 April 2015, at https://www.wprost.pl/501834/Ukraincy-zabraniaja-krytykowac-min-UPA-i-OUN, 10 July 2017.

as a national hero of Ukraine.[21] This marked a retreat from the tendency encouraging public participation, based on ethnic inclusivity, meaning away from that which could unite Ukrainians beyond their divisions. At the same time, Yuschenko's political credibility declined, on the one hand, in verbally supporting the pro-European aspirations of Ukraine while, on the other, carrying out a defence of integral nationalism. This politician, in seeking a way to ensure his own re-election, supported in this way the divisions among Ukrainians from the east and west of the country. The idea of Bandera as a hero meant to rebuild Ukrainian identity turned out to be ill-considered and ineffective, not only in the internal Ukrainian context.[22] It became, however, a public relations failure for the country in the international arena. Moreover, this moment showed what a distant place the issue of regional integration, though one embodied by the Jagiellonian Idea, occupies in Ukraine's internal discourse.

It is worth noticing here that Ukraine's interest in the broad concept of the western hemisphere was negligible for years, a fact which was recently confirmed by Ryszard Schnepf, the former Polish ambassador to the United States, in an interview for Onet.pl.[23] Thus, Polish politicians were faced with a dilemma during the presidency of Victor Yuschenko. On the one hand, in helping Yuschenko and his supporters, they could not back away from making him aware of the potential negative consequences of such decisions. This turned out, however, to be beyond their reach. This president's decision itself was a characteristic piece of evidence of the dislike important Ukrainian politicians have towards the concept of regional cooperation. Stepan Bandera, beyond a shadow of a doubt, may not serve as a masthead for such cooperation.

On the other hand, it may be that Poland failed in its process of influencing the education of numerous groups of the Ukrainian youth intelligentsia, groups predisposed to openness and pro-European attitudes but also inclined, in one way, to seek out historic links with Europe and Poland and, in another, to engender criticism of its own past.

[21] 'Bandera bohaterem Ukrainy. «To policzek dla Polaków»', *TVN24.pl*, 22 January 2010, at http://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-ze-swiata,2/bandera-bohaterem-ukrainy-to-nbsp-policzek-dla-polakow,122774.html, 14 July 2017.

[22] See: E. Prus, *Herosi…*, pp. 114–232, passim; Y. Svatko, *Misiya Bandery*, Kiev 2008.

[23] R. Schnepf in: J. Kuźniar, 'Onet Rano', *Onet.pl*, 7 November 2016, at http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/kraj/onet-rano-program-jaroslawa-kuzniara/p8j4rm, 10 July 2017.

Financial limits are not a convincing explanation in this case – in the end, the friendship of the Ukrainian state became included in understanding Polish reasons of state. Almost fourteen years since the election of Yuschenko have been wasted from the perspective of the social perception in Poland. Although I often have spoken and written about this in various academic and media forums, it has not caused deeper or self-correcting reflection among Polish politicians.[24] A large section of them still consider themselves as friendly towards Ukraine and show it both to its government, as well as opposition groups, by providing well-remunerated advisory services.[25] What is worse, unfortunately, is their possession of a minimal level of knowledge regarding Ukraine, either at a provincial or local level, and primarily regarding the fact that every group governing Ukraine from the moment of its foundation has taken care of its own influence, privileges and material status, above all. Indeed, it is the stakeholders of every government in Kiev, along with its various parts, thus not only President Victor Yanukovych, who have shown such a lack of self-awareness with regard to the usage of state resources of state resources and the maximising of their own comfort. They have turned out to be true rentiers of politics, a manner in which I have often described them.[26] Naturally, although they were involved in this to different degrees, the limits of political decency were exceeded here by none other than Victor Yanukovych.

Following years of direct contact and conversations with hundreds of Ukrainians, I have no doubt that Ukraine was founded and functions as a oligarchical and plutocratic state. This is a systematic and mental issue for both the government and society of Ukraine, along with the

[24] W. Konarski, 'Aktualne wydarzenia w kraju i na świecie komentuje prof. Wawrzyniec Konarski', *PolskieRadio.pl. PolskieRadio24*, 14 January 2014, at http://www.polskieradio.pl/130/2412/Artykul/1024137, Aktualne-wydarzenia-w-kraju-i-na-swiecie-komentuje-prof-Wawrzyniec-Konarski, 14 July 2017; W. Konarski, R. Walenciak 'Wołyń – przemilczane ludobójstwo', *Przegląd*, 4–10 July 2016.

[25] 'Sławomir Nowak szefem Państwowej Agencji Dróg Ukrainy', *Onet.pl*, 19 October 2016, at http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/swiat/slawomir-nowak-szefem-panstwowej-agencji-drog-ukrainy/rmt8ly, 15 July 2017.

[26] From: W. Konarski, 'Political Class and Its Delegitimisation in the System of Power at the Example of Poland and Ukraine', in: *Parlaments'ki vybory 2012 roku v Ukaini. Naukovi doslidzhennya*, Kiev 2013, pp. 26–27; idem, 'Polityka i politycy w Polsce – analiza krytyczna', in: A. Rothert, A. Wierzchowska (ed.), *Rządzenie w przestrzeni ponadnarodowej*, Warszawa 2013, pp. 263–265; *Studia Politologiczne*, Vol. 27.

resulting waste of financial aid provided by the EU to this country.[27] From the perspective of the actions of the government in Kiev, this country does not seem interested in regional cooperation which would demand self-correction regarding modern history. However, it seems socially acceptable for Ukraine to strengthen its cooperation with Germany.[28]

Although Ukrainian public opinion is divided concerning historical issues, it is reluctant to challenge the growing cult of Bandera. One of the consequences of the so-called second Majdan protest (2013) became the appearance of organisations and leaders expressing integral nationalism, for example *Right Sector* and those of that ilk, Dmytro Yarosh and Andriy Tarasenko.[29] Although this is not a surprise in light of the tradition of force practised in Ukrainian politics, it may become a potential premise for its revitalisation. This is even more so considering that exclusivist ethnic Ukrainian nationalism has its own traditions, above all strongly based on the history and mentality of the region of western Ukraine. Ukrainians from the west of the country are susceptible to ideology which is difficult to recognise as not only close to liberal values, but actually with the nationalism of Catalan, Scottish or Welsh parties, thus of an inclusive ethnic character. The acceptance of nationalist rhetoric, which has been presented in recent years by Oleh Tyahnybok and his *Svoboda* party, has turned out to be a simplified explanation Ukrainian national insecurities, along with those concerning limited territorial influence.[30] For years, Ukrainian integral nationalism possessed a weak influence over Ukrainian territory on the left bank of the Dnieper, as well as in the Crimea, both during the Soviet Era and in the period of Ukrainian independence, not forgetting Bukovina which has cultivated its own multi-cultural tradition. What seems to be most important at present is that within the intra-Ukrainian political discourse it is difficult to

[27] M. Matzke, 'Fiasko unijnej pomocy dla Ukrainy?', *Onet.pl*, 10 December 2016, at http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/swiat/pomoc-ue-dla-ukrainy-unia-stawia-warunki/etwvzmx, 14 July 2017.

[28] M. Stolarczyk, *Rosja w polityce zagranicznej…*, p. 403.

[29] 'Ukraina. Prawy sektor', *TVN24*, 2015, at http://www.tvn24.pl/ukraina-prawy-sektor,3939,t, 14 July 2017.

[30] See: *Ukrainska Bohatopartiynist': politychni partii, vyborchi bloky, lidery (kinyets 1980–pochatok 2012)*, Kiev 2012, pp. 166–170 and pp. 227–239; D. Stern, 'Svoboda: The rise of Ukraine's ultra-nationalists', *BBC.com*, 26 December 2012, at http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-20824693, 14 July 2017.

observe serious voices concerning support for any kind of modern mutation of the Jagiellonian Idea. At the same time, it is an especially important challenge for Polish advocates of this idea to seek out allies actually in Ukraine.

Intra-Russian conditions for opposing the Jagiellonian Idea

Russia treats the promotion of ideas of regional integration by Poland, evoking the Jagiellonian Idea, as having specific and predictable consequences. I would term its attitude to these as *unambiguous opposition of a non-verbal character*, which is only a superficially illogical term. Although it practically ignores ideas of this kind at a rhetorical level and displays little emotion, it is this, in fact, which signifies its total opposition in this regard. As I have already mentioned, these are for Russia a territorially clarifying form of the policy of its encirclement by the USA and others, with the West, in the form of accepting former Eastern Bloc countries into NATO or offering them promises regarding their acceptance of this military alliance.[31] Opposition towards this policy has resulted in Russia reaching for the instruments of force, a phenomenon which Georgia experienced in 2008 and Ukraine since 2014, constituting the typical buffer state between the interests of the West and Russia. The propaganda arguments maintained by Russia with the aim of explaining its actions have comprised its criticism of those behind the removal of President Victor Yanukovych which not only Moscow termed as 'fascists.'[32] On the other hand, Russian president, Vladimir Putin, and his circle employed the use of the instruments of force in order to divert the attention of domestic public opinion from the internal weaknesses of Russia as a state, more of which will be said later. In this way, it became a clear manifestation of the determination of Russian leaders towards restoring is position as a global power. It is harder to find better evidence of Russian opposition towards Polish integrationist ideas and Ukraine's participation in them, in particular.

The origin of complicated Ukrainian-Russian relations stems from the historical subjugation of Kievan Rus, considered by both countries

[31] M. Stolarczyk, *Rosja w polityce zagranicznej…*, pp. 157, passim.

[32] P.C. Roberts, 'Washington's Arrogance, Hubris, and Evil Have Set the Stage for War', *Institute for Political Economy*, 3 March 2014, at: http://www.paulcraigroberts.org/2014/03/03/washingtons-arrogance-hubris-evil-set-stage-war/, 15 July 2017.

as a common legacy for Russians and Ukrainians.[33] To use a metaphorical concept, Ukraine is not only for those governing Russia, but also for many circles of public opinion there, a rebellious younger sister or daughter erroneously demonstrating her different nature. Moreover, an aspect which is particularly emphasized by Russia is that she is being encouraged to do this by those in her external environment. Such concepts may be termed personification – regarding the issue of a common Slavic origin – a political and cultural metaphor for Ukraine. Stimulating this contemporary catalytic converter is the vision of Ukraine promoted by Russia as a state incapable of governance due to an elite which is corrupt and susceptible to extreme views. This does not justify Russia actions regarding ethical matters, but for the supporters of such acts in this country it delivers the appropriate ideological fuel based on crude propaganda premises.

In Ukrainian-Russian relations there has been a long tradition of employing the argument of force. The greatest paradox is, however, that encouragement for such conduct has been given to Russia by the Ukrainians themselves. More precisely speaking, they have behaved as the Zaporozhian Cossacks under the command of Bohdan Chmielnicki. On the one hand, in breaking the ties linking them with the First Polish Republic, they gave up on continuing a difficult relationship with an unwanted country. However, on the other hand, their merging with Russia, the Treaty of Pereyaslav of 1654 was nominally approved by Russian autocrats thus Cossacks started to loose their political power successively[34]. Finally, the Treaty of Karlovitz in 1699 resulted in the division of Ukraine into a Russian part, located on the left bank of the Dnieper, with the right bank still kept within the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Under the terms of the First Polish Partition in 1772, the former Red Ruthenia was joined to Austria, while as a result of the two subsequent partitions in 1793 and 1795, the provinces of Kiev, Bratslav, Podolia and Volhynia were incorporated into Russia.[35] The co-existence of Ukrainians and Russians in one state created new links between them of a character disadvantageous for the former from three aspects,

[33] S. Bieleń, *Tożsamość międzynarodowa Federacji Rosyjskiej*, Warszawa 2006, p. 127.

[34] From: L. Podhorodecki, *Sicz zaporoska*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 219–222; W.A. Serczyk, *Historia…*, pp. 133–138.

[35] E.J. Osmańczyk, *Encyklopedia spraw międzynarodowych i ONZ*, Warszawa 1974, p. 939.

namely: political, cultural and economic. As a consequence, during the next three centuries or more, a superior attitude was cultivated among Russians towards Ukrainians. Notions of freedom of the latter were treated as a whim dangerous for the cohesion of the Russian Tsars, and subsequently the USSR. The legacy of this manner of thinking is also visible today and brings out the opposition of the Russian Federation towards any kind of conception of regional cooperation involving Ukraine and the leaving out of Russia.

One may differentiate the following five factors (although not exclusively, naturally) which condition contemporary opposition from the Russian Federation:

- A longing for Russia to restore its imperial position in international relations,
- Its negation of the fact of Ukraine's existence as a separate territorial entity with an identity, including the Ukrainian nation, firstly during the Tsarist period and, subsequently, following the foundation of the Russian Federation,
- Opposition towards the policies of the United States of America, treated by the Russian government, and numerous opinion-forming circles, as a hegemony,
- Distraction of the attention of domestic public opinion from the systemic challenges and internal weaknesses faced by Russia,
- Reaction to the failed, oligarchical and anarchic model of governance as practiced by the Ukrainian political elite as a negative factor with broad repercussions for the security of Russia.

The above-mentioned systemic challenges and internal weaknesses of Russia comprise, on the one hand, a canvas for international criticism of the conduct this country being based on the model of strong and individual leadership. On the other, however, for those governing Russia, they constitute an incentive to practice a policy of force in order to hide, or least reduce the significance of such weaknesses. An internally divided Ukraine has become here the most important of the directions in which Russia conducts such a policy.

Among Russia's above-mentioned challenges and weaknesses, I perceive three main ones. The first which needs pointing out is the weakness of mentality, this being a consequence of Russia's not having had a long-standing tradition of being a democratic state. From an external

perspective, this state is considered to be an expression of the oligarchical model of government in the sphere of politics *per se*, as well as economics. Both these spheres remain in permanent interaction and co-dependency, due to which the conducting of a strategic and financially profitable business without the permission of the government has become practically impossible. A natural co-dependency has appeared: oligarchical leaders involved in politics also manage to gain control of the oligarchically-based economy. As the examples of Mikhail Khordorkovsky, Boris Berezovsky and Vladimir Gusinsky perfectly illustrate, using one's own position in business as an entry point into conducting politics independently does not have a happy ending.[36] The functioning system of links between these previously mentioned spheres does not favour the modernisation of institutions or mentalities on a broad scale. It creates a funnel effect, the result of which is the deepening of differences regarding living standards and access to power. Such a model of governance has all the characteristics of state-oligarchical capitalism which stimulates the alienation of large sections of society. However, due to fears regarding their fate, they do not display their dissatisfaction in an open manner or on a mass scale. Paradoxically, on the other hand, this emerging alienation has not reduced the sense of pride shared by most Russians in their own leaders, which is simply directed at bestowing a cult-like status upon them.[37] This is a trait which is practically alien to Poles who are rather inclined to knock their former political idols from their pedestals, as illustrated by the example of Lech Wałęsa every now and then facing accusations of having been a Communist agent. It is difficult to deny that Ukrainians express themselves in an even more negative manner regarding their political class.[38]

The second challenge facing Russia is of a demographic-territorial nature. With the exception of a small number of academic-industrial centres, Asiatic Russia has still not become a significant beneficiary

[36] M. Stolarczyk, *Rosja w polityce zagranicznej…*, p. 64.

[37] Ibid., p. 65, passim.

[38] In March 2013, a taxi driver taking me to Boryspol airport in Kiev responded to my question about the quality of the Ukrainian political class with intense emotion and hatred saying (I quote from memory): 'They should all be torn to pieces' (*ich wsiech razarwat' nado*), while especially denouncing here… Victor Yuschenko as a politician who had betrayed the hope he had placed in him. During many journeys to Ukraine, I have heard hundreds of opinions, either of a similar tone or marked with a lack of faith in the arrival of better times.

of emerging changes regarding modernisation. Depopulation remains one of the permanent consequences present in Russian territory beyond the Urals. In a purely instrumental and logical sense, this may literally hinder Russia maintaining millions of square kilometres reaching the Pacific Ocean as an integral part of the country. For those governing the Russian Federation, therefore, many decisions of a strategic character are waiting to be taken which would encourage its citizens to take up financially beneficial (and thus not forced) migration to the east.

The third challenge is created by *ethnically based internal conflicts*, or those more broadly *ethno-cultural*. Their growing significance reveals itself from time to time, not only recalling the successive stages of the conflict in Chechnya, but the riots which took place in Moscow in December 2010 and October 2013.[39] The statements and actions of the highest ranks of the government of the Russian Federation show that there is no discussion regarding not taking such events seriously. However, on the other hand, the current level of animosity of an ethnic basis also encourages statements of a provocative character, such as those by the film director, Nikita Mikhalkov, and the philosopher, Aleksandr Dugin. At the turn of the first decade of the 21st century, the former declared that in ten years Russia and Ukraine would be one country,[40] while Dugin, in turn, has predicted the collapse of Ukraine as it is, in fact, inhabited by two nations.[41] In formulating and repeating such a hypothesis, Mikhalkov was undoubtedly aware that the intensification of ethnic conflicts in Russia may have underlined the value of his opinion. However, he certainly did this on purpose, invoking intellectual methods of provocation especially towards the Ukrainian intellectual elite. Naturally, both views constitute clear support for those governing Russia.

[39] From: K. Chawryło Jarzyńska, 'Zamieszki na tle etnicznym w Moskwie', *Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich im. Marka Karpia*, 16 October 2013, at https://www.osw.waw.pl/pl/publikacje/analizy/2013-10-16/zamieszki-na-tle-etnicznym-w-moskwie, 23 July 2017; 'Rosji grozi fala etnicznych zamieszek?', *PolskieRadio.pl. Wiadomości*, 14 December 2010, at http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/3/Artykul/282114,Rosji-grozi-fala-etnicznych-zamieszek, 23 July 2017.

[40] 'Nikita Michałkow znowu chce połączenia Ukrainy z Rosją'. *PolskieRadio.pl. Wiadomości*, 25 January 2011, at http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/115/Artykul/302801, Nikita-Michalkow-znowu-chce-polaczenia-Ukrainy-z-Rosja, 23 July 2017.

[41] A. Dugin, 'Rozpad Ukrainy jest nieunikniony', [From *Russia.ru*, 2009], *YouTube.com*, 11 May 2011, at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1PPuRlC9fok, 23 July 2017.

Regarding the mental insecurities found within Ukrainian-Russian ties, a syndrome of deep ambivalence, not to mention a characteristic schizophrenia, is clearly visible. Any kind of correction or denunciation of this relationship system by anyone from outside results in retaliation towards *Daughter Ukraine* from *Mother Russia*, following her prior warnings. What is important is that this factor inclining one towards internal rebellion leads to the conviction that, in practice, it is impossible to stand in defence of a *child* stirred up by itself. Ukraine has become the country most damaged by the rivalry between the European Union and NATO (in fact, the USA), on the one hand, and Russia on the other. Paradoxically, the employment of military force by Russia has inclined some American academics to formulate judgements more critical of the EU and NATO when compared with Russia. John Mearsheimer, a professor at the University of Chicago and the originator of the theory of 'Offensive Realism', currently one of the most opinion-forming political scientists in the world, unambiguously places the blame on the Western hemisphere for the crisis in Ukraine.[42] If Mearscheimer's views are accepted as sound by the administration of President Donald Trump, then one would have to exclude American support for the concept of *Intermarium*. One must also note that examples of such support from the EU have been missing for some time.

Russia has proved both to the world and its own citizens that it does not hesitate to employ actions of a characteristically preventive nature as, by directing it with the aid of military resources, it shows its determination to carry out its own strategic interests, even at the cost of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of a neighbouring country. It has been inclined to do so due to by the events surrounding the second Majdan protest, events which it judged on many occasions to be the progression of anarchy in Ukrainian political life. On the one hand, these events led to the unconstitutional removal of the corrupt governments of the *Party of Regions* and, in particular, its primary exponent, President Victor Yanukovych. On the other hand, however, they became the beginning of the end of Russia's tolerance for political instability in the state of Ukraine

[42] From: J. Mearsheimer, 'Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault. Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93 (2014), no. 5; idem, 'Why the West – Not Putin – Is Responsible for the Ukraine Crisis. Lecture at the Jagiellonian University'. *YouTube.com*, 12 January 2016, at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1ZrNhmdHzY4, 24 July 2017.

but at the cost of the return to power of supporters of NATO and the EU. This precisely constitutes the exemplification of the theory of Offensive Realism, in fact, literally understood and employed by Russia as force. Moreover, this also constitutes clear evidence of the opposition of this country towards all variants of the Jagiellonian Idea promoted by Poland, which is treated as a state hostile to Russia. This comprises, therefore, an enormous challenge for Poland as the initiator of such ideas.

Summary

It should be observed that President Petro Poroshenko – in a similar way to his predecessors – does not apply his efforts in weakening the structural causes of intra-Ukrainian antagonisms. His position towards regional cooperation, including *Intermarium*, has also not been clearly outlined. In turn, President Vladimir Putin is carrying out his policy of Offensive Realism, not holding back from even attacks of a military nature. Thus, he is directing a policy based on independently outlined and ruthlessly applied interests in Russia's superficially stable (Belarus) and literally unstable (Ukraine) surroundings. Both of these countries constitute the space in which attempts to carry out the Jagiellonian Idea could be made. As a result, Russia could prove to be exclusively antagonistic towards all ideas of a Jagiellonian origin. What is important is that these are not a subject of interest for the EU, which results in Poland being a country stepping out of the ranks with its ideas.

On the basis of the remarks above, one may state that a threat to the current ideas for revitalising the Jagiellonian Idea is the megalomania of a Polish political elite convinced of the regional attractiveness of the ideas it is putting forward.[43] In turn, a threat for the image of Ukraine is the ethno-cultural dogmatism of its elite based on and belief in a strong ethnic state and invoking controversial patrons of this state. The images of both these neighbouring countries hinder constructive discussion between their respective elites regarding potential forms of regional integration. Against the canvas of the facts presented earlier, the Jagiellonian Idea is received by many Ukrainians as an attempt at revitalising a tradition with a cultural and political profile which brings out negative associations.

[43] M. Stolarczyk, *Rosja w polityce zagranicznej…*, p. 403.

In turn, the awareness of the threats mentioned earlier which face Russia, and those which its elite have managed to generate, are clearly opposed to any kind of mutation of the past Jagiellonian Idea. Russia carries out its policies with a profile of force based on interests meant to serve its interpretation of security. Against this background, the effectiveness of carrying out one's own interests by the state and transnational structures belonging to the Euro-Atlantic sphere, including Poland, seems in doubt. Ukrainian scepticism and Russian opposition should make Polish supporters of *Intermarium,* the Three Seas Initiative etc., take this on board and only then, on this basis, create a projection of their further actions.

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Importance of Heritage Languages to Australia's Social and Economic Future

Sev Ozdowski*

Introduction

We need to celebrate the multilingual diversity of Australia, from the vast range of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages to the incredible number of additional languages migration has brought with it, which together total the more than 300 languages spoken in Australian homes identified in the 2016 Census. More than one-fifth (21%) of Australians speak a language other than English at home. Like most other migrants, and indeed, most other Australians, I believe that learning to speak English is a great help when settling and integrating in Australia. Speaking, reading and writing the language of the country you call home is important to every individual's sense of connection to their community, and hence, their wellbeing.

The national conversation at present would benefit from being more focussed on the significance of the *other* languages spoken by migrants and refugees. A key to harnessing the benefits of our diversity is utilising the enormous language diversity that we have in our nation. There are

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benefits of language education to personal growth, community and family cohesion. Language diversity is also increasing interconnectedness and the economic capital of migration.

The Education sector has made some headway in integrating community (or 'heritage') languages into the national curriculum through the *English as an Additional Language or Dialect* program. However, much more could be done to truly harness the benefits of our national diversity. To capitalise on this potential our existing linguistic capability needs to be put to the forefront of our skill sets in business, in government, and in education. Languages other than English should be taught to all Australian children because it develops not only their linguistic but also communicative, cultural and intercultural competence, helps in understanding cultural heritage of the other ethinic groups and stimulates bridging cultural boundaries what could be important in building social cohesion in multicultural society. Such kind of cohesion, social integration and skills of cooperative activities could be a part of multicultural policy based not on administrative instructions, artificial instruments of the mutual acceptance, but on interactive abilities rooted in communicative educational practices, and strategies of the cultural differences management. Axiological and praxeological background of such thinking is not quite new and has its inspirations both in contemporary social and humanistic studies, and even in the old European humanism that was open for intercultural dialogue of the different nations and communities with different patterns of their 'core values'. Education and creating attitudes to participation in Polish and Lithuanian Common Wealth in 15th and 16th century is a good example of such historical attempts that could be determined as sustainable model of the Jagiellonian values that combines just common, intercultural, and particular skills of communicative competence.[1] But both Polish and contemporary European societies can learn a lot observing challenges Australian sociocultural transformations.

A focus of the Australian Multicultural Council is on harnessing the economic and social benefits of Australia's culturally diverse population. This aligns closely with my discussion today on the importance of 'heritage' languages to Australia's social and economic future.

[1] L. Korporowicz, P. Plichta (ed.), *Mosty nadziei. Jagiellońskie inspiracje dialogu międzykulturowego*, Kraków 2016.

We need to celebrate the multilingual diversity of Australia, from the vast range of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages to the additional languages migration has brought with it.

Like most other migrants, and indeed, most other Australians, I believe that learning to speak English is a great help when settling and integrating in Australia.

My wife Hanna, son Adam and I arrived in Sydney in 1975. We escaped from Poland in 1973 and spent two years as refugees in Hamburg, West Germany awaiting migration. We chose Australia because we perceived it as a democratic country, with solid economic and social opportunities and English language, and because it was far away from Europe. We arrived here on one-way German travel documents, with the proverbial one suitcase and almost no English. Since our arrival, we have never looked back as Australia has extended to us her enormous opportunities.

We started learning some English language in Hamburg in anticipation that Australia will accept us. Then after arriving in Sydney we were taken to the Villawood Migrant Reception Centre (do not confuse this with the current Villawood Detention Centre) and the learning of English become our utmost undertaking; I remember language classes shared with Vietnamese refugees, major difficulties with the pronunciation of English words (as you see there is still room for improvement) and walls of our hostel flat full of stickers with English words we were supposed to memorise.

I took the first job available at a Ralph Symonds Plywood Factory in Homebush to learn more English; it did not work very well because almost all workers were migrants and their language skills were like mine. My reading and writing skills developed when I started to work on my Ph.D. Since then, in my professional life, I have had the privilege to shape Australian multicultural and human rights policies and practices over the years.

Language is pivotal to the discussion. Speaking, reading and writing the language of the country you call home is important to everyone's sense of connection to their community, and hence, their wellbeing. And here I wish to acknowledge that many, many people have migrated to Australia over the past 70 years with limited English language skills, and they have contributed enormously to the building of our nation. But equally

important is the ability to maintain your mother language and to share it with your children. The 2016 Census identified more than 300 languages spoken in Australian homes. More than one-fifth (21%) of Australians spoke a language other than English at home. After English, the next most common languages spoken at home were Mandarin (596 713 speakers), Arabic (321 723 speakers), Cantonese (280 947 speakers), and Vietnamese (277 405 speakers).[2]

Here in the Northern Territory, we find the lowest rate of people speaking only English at home at 58% (compared to 72.7% nationally; Tasmania had the highest rate of people speaking only English at home with 88%). The most common languages spoken in Northern Territory homes other than English were Indigenous languages Kriol and Djambarrpuyngu. The launch of the Multicultural statement *Multicultural Australia – United, Strong, Successful*[3] in March this year was an important milestone in our nation's multicultural journey. The Multicultural statement acknowledges that English is and will remain our national language and is a critical tool for migrant integration.

Importantly, it also pays attention to languages migrants brought with them to Australia. It recognises that our multilingual workforce is broadening business horizons and boosting Australia's competitive edge in an increasingly globalised economy. Australian governments, businesses and services are mindful of removing barriers to ensure that services meet the needs of all Australians, whatever their cultural and linguistic background.[4]

Importance of Community Languages

While English is Australia's national language, and is also growing as an international means of communication, in our increasingly multilingual world more people speak two languages than one – and contact

[2] Australian Bureau of Statistics. *2016 Census reveals the changing face of the Northern Territory.* 2017, at: http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs%40.nsf/mediareleasesbyCatalogue/C73D7CC81CA1FD2FCA258148000A4067?OpenDocument, 10 October 2017.

[3] Australian Government Department of Social Security 2017, *Multicultural Australia – United, Strong, Successful*, at: https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/03_2017/multicultural_policy_2017.pdf, 10 October 2017.

[4] S. Ozdowski, 'Australia: Immigration and Multiculturalism', in: *Krakowskie Studia Międzynarodowe*, Vol. 4 (2016), pp. 175–248.

with speakers of other languages is rapidly growing.

In this context it is critical that policies and programs exist to ensure Australians from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds can maintain and share their mother language. Furthermore, I think that the national conversation at present would benefit from being more focussed on the significance and benefits of the *other* languages spoken by migrants and refugees.

When approached by Federation of Ethnic Communities` Councils Australia conference organisers I was asked to speak about the importance of 'heritage' languages. This term was first coined in Canada and some define it as: *A heritage language is the language someone learns at home as a child which is a minority language in a society, but because of growing up with a dominant language, the speaker seems more competent in the latter and feels more comfortable communicating in that language*.[5] There is a range of other definitions expressing a similar core meaning, for example see '*Heritage Briefs*'.[6]

Or in other words the heritage language is a non-English language of more established, older CALD communities in Australia, like Greek, Italian or Polish. However, this definition has some limitations and inconsistencies. For example, if one child was born in China and one born later in Australia, according to this definition Mandarin will be only a 'heritage' language for the first child. The term also excludes students of languages with no cultural background. Furthermore, this word also sounds a bit archaic.

To me, heritage languages are part of a broader spectrum of what we call in Australia 'community languages', so I decided to use both the broader term community languages and the narrower term of heritage language, as appropriate. Let us now focus on the advantages of knowing more languages than only English.

[5] Audiopedia, *What is Heritage Language?* (4'18), at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aDLi8rAhWks, 10 October 2017.

[6] A. Kelleher, 'What is a Heritage Language?'. *Heritage Briefs* 2010, Centre for Applied Linguistics. Washington DC, USA, at: http://www.cal.org/heritage/pdfs/briefs/What-is-a-Heritage-Language.pdf, 10 October 2017.

Community Languages and Social Cohesion

First, it is often acknowledged that policies, laws and services that promote fairness, inclusion and value cultural and linguistic diversity are key to building an inclusive, welcoming and safe community for all Australians.[7] Unfortunately, at a more practical, implementation level, often government policies tend to equate only English-language proficiency with social inclusion.

In reality, the relationship between knowledge of community languages and social cohesion is much more complex, and research tends to suggest that language maintenance amongst the first generation of settlers plays a positive role and contributes to social cohesion.

The ability to use more languages than English is seen as an advantage and sign of increasing interconnectedness and the social and economic capital of migration. Community languages build transnational networks and ties to one's local immigrant community also play a highly important role in a person's sense of belonging, as well as accessing education and employment opportunities and general psychological and social well-being. Community language as a part of its cultural heritage could not be perceived as a sign of social isolation, what could be a real obstacle in social cohesion at the beginning of the social adaptation process, it helps to integrate cultural personality in multicultural environment with different mental, professional and social challenges, in time of contemporary culture that demands many personal transformations.[8]

The linkage between maintenance of heritage languages and social cohesion outcomes is more difficult to establish and clearly more research is needed in this area. One, however, can easily imagine that maintenance of languages other than English two or three generations after settlement would magnify the benefits shown by the first generation of settlers.

Community Languages and Individual Well-being

Research suggests that for many people, knowledge of their 'heritage' language and other languages allows them an expanded, more nuanced sense

[7] H. Tafjel, J. Turner, *An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict*, in: William G. Austin, Stephen Worche (ed.), The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations, Monterey, Calif 1979.

[8] J. Smolicz, *Współkultury Australii*, Warszawa 1999.

of self, of family and of global citizenship. This has multiple benefits, one of which is enhanced mental health and wellbeing.[9] There is an increasing awareness of the benefits of multilingualism and multiculturalism for the individual in terms of cross-generational communication, increased linguistic and cultural capital, and intellectual benefits. Losing the ability to communicate with one's parents in their native tongue has been shown to be a predictor of poor social outcomes among American young adults from migrant backgrounds.[10]

On the other hand, it is generally accepted that through learning languages, students and the broader Australian community gain important benefits. A student who emerges from school fluent and literate in his/her home language in addition to English is more educated than a student who loses his/her home language competence in the process of acquiring English. In fact, contrary to what some believe, there is no research evidence that shows that students who enrol in a bilingual program involving English and a community language fail to become truly literate in English.
Multilingualism has significant benefits outside the area of language.
People who speak more than one language:

- learn more rapidly in their primary language;
- are consistently shown to be better able to deal with distractions, which may help offset age-related declines in mental dexterity;
- have a better ear for listening and sharper memories;
- parcel up and categorise meanings in different ways;
- display greater cognitive flexibility, better problem solving and higher-order thinking skills;
- can be better problem-solvers gaining multiple perspectives on the issue;
- have improved critical thinking abilities;
- have improved decision making as thinking in a second language reduces deep-seated, misleading biases that unduly influence how risks and benefits are perceived;
- better understand and appreciate people of other countries, there-

[9] F.D. Cox, C. Osborn, T.D. Sisk, 'Peacebuilding for Social Cohesion: Finding and Implications', in: F.D. Cox, T.D. Sisk (ed.), *Peacebuilding in Deeply Divided Societies. Toward Social Cohesion?*, Melbourne 2017.

[10] A. Portes, R.G. Rumbaut. *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS), 1991–2006. ICPSR20520-v2*, Ann Arbor, MI 2011.

by lessening racism, xenophobia, and intolerance, as the learning of a new language usually brings with it a revelation of a new culture.

The last items is especially close to the broad system of Jagiellonian values that stress importance and benefits of mutuality in intercultural relations by cultural heritage understanding as a factor of socio-cultural cohesion in multicultural societies. Bridgening cultural boundaries and building common wealth of the diversified communities is impossible without perception and sensitivity in a field of core values of the other people and their groups, especially these engaged in close and intensive interactions.[11]

All mentioned items describe the features of communicative competence broadly analysed in modern anthropology of communication and cultural sociology of the contemporary world. To the same degree all these skills create intercultural competence important both in intercultural education, business, public administration and each field of the value-related behaviours.

Community Languages and the Economy

Just as there are benefits for individuals who build their language capabilities, businesses that develop cultural and language skills are better able to collaborate and partner in the region and around the world and will also reap the rewards. The term '*Productive Diversity*' coined by Bill Cope and Mary Kalantzis[12] well reflects the linkage between community languages and economic advantage.

In the workplace, speaking more than one language has specific benefits according to Priti Ramjee, including:

- attracting new business with clients in a globalised world;
- addressing the unique challenges of businesses operating in a global marketplace. Knowing the language well enough to adjust your communication from professional to sensitive can help develop relationships to increase foreign sales;

[11] L. Korporowicz (ed.), *Politeja* vol. 44 (2016), *Jagiellonian Cultural Studies*, no. 5: *Human Values in Intercultural Space*.

[12] B. Cope, M. Kalantzis. *Productive Diversity: a New, Australian Model for Work and Management*, Sydney 1997.

- inclusion: When you allow your employees to speak in a language other than English to staff and to customers, they feel valued and respected and it gives them a chance to practice their language skills.

As successive governments have acknowledged, there are benefits for society in terms of international trade, diplomacy and defence, marketing of goods, and cultural experiences. And here retention of heritage languages is of importance. It is clear, that the capacity for Australians to build deeper ties around the world will be hampered if there is not an increase in proficiency of languages other than English.

What is the level of heritage language maintenance in Australia?

So, what is the level of heritage language maintenance in our communities? On one hand, the 2016 Census showed that the largest pre- and post-war migrant communities, such as Italian, German, Greek, Dutch and Polish communities, continue to exist and that they are well organised and active despite that immigration stopped and most of their members were born in Australia.

On the other hand, however, the 2016 Census indicated that the retention of heritage languages is not that great. One of the largest and oldest were Australians of German ancestry, numbering almost a million. More than 800,690 were born in Australia, and 1.7% spoke German at home.

The Dutch were mainly post-war migrants and of the almost 230 000 people who were born in Australia, 2.1% spoke Dutch at home.

Similarly, many of the Polish were also post-war migrants, though there were earlier waves and a later one in the 1980s. More than 112 000 were born in Australia and 9.5% spoke Polish at home.

For a long time, the largest non-Anglo-Celtic ancestry group in Australia were people of Italian ancestry, now numbering more than a million. More than 760 000 were born in Australia and 14% of them spoke Italian at home. However, the relatively high rate of language retention amongst the Greek community sounds like an exception that confirms the rule. Like most of the others, many of the Greek were also post-war migrants. Almost 280 000 were born in Australia and 42% of them spoke Greek at home. This could be perhaps explained by the links between culture and language and reflects the role of the Greek Orthodox Church

in everyday life of the community.

Where do we go from here?

I believe proficiency in more than one language is a basic skill of the 21st century. I acknowledge the current government's efforts in support of an increase in teaching and learning other languages including priority languages that reflect those nations where many opportunities will be, such as Chinese (Mandarin), Hindi, Indonesian and Japanese.

However, relying on the language capabilities of Asian-Australians and other migrants in the medium to long term for all of Australia's relationships and engagement will not be adequate. More needs to be done to utilise the enormous language diversity of Australia to harness the benefits of our diversity that we have in our nation. Attention needs to be given to ensure the survival of heritage languages. And the responsibility for harnessing language diversity stays with all of us. It starts at home with parents passing the knowledge of their mother language to their children, at the NGO level with awareness raising and advocacy and at all levels of government – federal, state and local.

Over many decades and various Commonwealth, state and territory government ministers of education have made commitments to the vision of quality languages education for all students across the country. I also appreciate that the education sector has made some headway in integrating 'heritage' languages into the national curriculum.

At National Level

Additional languages brought into Australia by migrants form a valuable base from which to forge the linguistic capabilities necessary for Australia to succeed in the 21st century. The Australian federal government is well placed to provide clear national direction and leadership to build further on diverse linguistic and cultural environment.

Currently in the Australian Curriculum, the English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EAL/D) program recognises the maintenance of the home language of EAL/D students is important for their English language learning as well as for the preservation and development of their cultural identities and family relationships. Even better, EAL/D students are an important resource in developing the language awareness of all students in the classroom. In addition, the Languages Program in

the Australian Curriculum is designed to enable all students in Australia to learn a language in addition to English.

Importantly, the Languages program recognises the unique status of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages as the languages of the first peoples of Australia. It also discusses the benefits of the study of classical languages and Auslan. However, I am very concerned that Australia has significantly fallen behind other countries when it comes to language education. In the 1960s, about 40% of school leavers graduated year 12 with a second language and now it is down to about 10%. In fact, Australian students and undergraduates have lower participation rates in second language learning than any other OECD country[13], perhaps resting on assurances of English as a global commodity.

Furthermore, research indicates that language education in the 21st century is central to the assistance of students in their efforts to become successful learners, confident and creative individuals as well as active and informed citizens in a knowledge society.[14] Furthermore, recent analysis of job market in Australia has found an increase in employers looking for staff with bilingual skills. In 2016, the Foundation for Young Australians analysed more than 4 million job advertisements in Australia over three years and found a 180% increase in demand for employees with bilingual skills.[15] So, fewer Australians are graduating with a second language but the demand for language skills in the workplace is increasing.

To arrest the decline in language education, according to Lo Bianco[16], a holistic and more comprehensive approach to language learning demands a new strategy with new arguments that extend beyond elitist notions or the economic rationale of language study, to meet broader and realistic cultural, intellectual and humanistic communications.

Quality language teaching has the potential to deepen intercultural understanding and awareness, stimulate reflexivity and communicative skills, and 'foster more reflective and imaginative dispositions in citizens,

[13] P.G. Djite, 'Language Policy in Australia: What Goes up Must Come Down?', In: C. Norrby, J. Hajek (ed.), *Uniformity and Diversity in Language Policy: Global Perspectives*, Bristol 2011, pp. 53-67.

[14] M. Kalantzis, B. Cope, *Literacies*, Port Melbourne VIC 2012.

[15] Foundation for Young Australians. *The New Basics: Big Data Reveals the Skills Young People Need for the New Work Order*. 2016, at: https://www.fya.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/The-New-Basics_Update_Web.pdf, 10 October 2017.

[16] J. Lo Bianco, *Second Languages and Australian Schooling*, Melbourne Vic 2009.

as well as the principles of democratic discourse, participation and opportunity.[17]

The recent Select Committee on Strengthening Multiculturalism Report headed by Richard Di Natale suggested the curriculum could include compulsory language education for students at both the primary and secondary school level, delivered through the Australian Curriculum. Recognising the breadth of languages now spoken across Australia, several witnesses to the recent Senate inquiry suggested the development of a national policy on languages. In their report, the committee recognised the social and economic value of a multilingual Australia, noting that embracing the diversity of languages already present in Australian society provides a tangible opportunity to not simply tolerate other cultures, but to recognise the inherent skills they contribute to Australia.

The committee encouraged the Australian Government to consider developing a national policy on language education. I strongly agree with FECCA's view to the Senate inquiry committee that a national language policy encompassing language rights, language maintenance and language study has the potential to enrich Australia's economic, social and intellectual dividends.

At State and Territory Level

It is accepted that language education requires pro-active support within schools to enable students to maintain and take pride in their languages, and firmly believe it needs to take place as much more than a transitional strategy.

In Australia, State and Territory governments have the prime responsibility for the delivery of language education at primary and secondary level and for decision making about the way languages are taught in schools. I am aware of several schools around the country that facilitate a bilingual education program in languages such as French, Italian and Chinese. In schools that actively support language teaching, students' experience is an outcome of well-designed and supported language programs and they are taught by well trained and supported language teachers.

However, the overall share of Australian students studying

[17] Ibid., p. 64.

languages in well-resourced facilities is small and has fallen in recent times. Regretfully, the number of Australian language students does not approach the numbers of second language students being achieved in most highly developed education systems around the world. As a result, non-Australian students are proficient in more than one language by the time they finish school, and many are proficient in three.

Some current state government education policies aim to address this language learning failure, although there may be a lag between planning and implementation. For example, the Victorian Government's Vision for Languages Education 2013–2025 states that it is time to give all Victorian young people a real chance to learn an additional language and become genuine citizens of the world.

The Victorian Vision for Languages Education sets ambitious goals, such as:

- by the time they turn 15 in 2025, young people will have received 11 years of high quality, continuous languages education; and
- that one in four will continue studying languages at senior secondary level.

I am delighted to see such goals emerging in education policies and will watch the progress to achieve them with interest.

Local Government and Community Level

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the growing role of local government in facilitating language education. Here I need to mention that I have been recently invited to assist with the development of the 'Welcoming Cities' program that aims to open regional Australia to new settlers.

Many regional leaders have already shown strong leadership as one way to build community support and welcome newcomers. Many of you will be familiar with the success story of the Karen-Burmese resettlement in Nhill, Victoria, due in large part to employment opportunities for Karen-Burmese refugees at LuvaDuck, a factory that supplies duck meat to the Australian market. The mayor spent time learning the Karen language, and he has spoken at events where he spoke first in Karen and then in English. He dressed up in traditional Karen clothing, as well. That leadership was vital to getting the community behind the idea that they have new migrants

coming in and that this is something to be celebrated.

It is a continually evolving story, and the Shire has now issued a Karen Community plan in two languages and employed a Karen man as liaison officer. These days, the shire office staff wear name tags in both English and Karen. These actions must be so empowering for the Karen speaking community members and useful for the whole community. But leadership and goodwill alone may not be enough to secure long-term success. Some additional government resources may be needed.

Conclusion

Australia's diversity is continually evolving with new waves of migration and settlement. FECCA's recent consultation on new and emerging languages found that, with the diversity of Australia's population only increasing, a solution to address language services needs for emerging languages must be sustainable, flexible and forward looking.

We should embrace the non-English languages migrants brought to Australia and we should teach the languages to all Australian children. Only in this way, can we truly harness the benefits of our national diversity. A National Policy on Languages would assist with the implementation of the Government's productivity agenda, by not only encouraging second and third generation migrants to maintain their language skill base but also introducing native English speakers to the transformative power associated with learning another language. This would be particularly welcomed by community language schools, especially those run by the more established migrant communities.

There are benefits of language education to personal growth, community and family cohesion and to our economy. It is time for Australia to embrace our existing and future language diversity to reach our full potential.

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The Jagiellonian Idea – Some Political Challenges

Łukasz Krzak*

The article undertakes the concept of the Jagiellonian idea, its background, development over the centuries, contemporary understanding of the phenomenon and its possible political and cultural applications. The text is composed of three parts, in which the first delivers a general outline of the idea itself and the reasons for its genesis. After the historical part, I move on to describe the legacy of the Jagiellonian dynasty, how it is being perceived and commented nowadays. Finally, as a young representative of the graduates of the Jagiellonian University, I present my opinion on the idea's assumptions and the possibilities of implementation in political and cultural dimensions.

While beginning to consider the Jagiellonian idea, one definition should be quoted, in this case provided by Witold Kamieniecki, from the year 1928: *The Jagiellonian idea is a political system, based on drawing to the Polish State by way of voluntary accessions, unions, neighbouring area, filling the geographic area between the Carpathian Mountains and the Baltic Sea. The Jagiellonian Republic of Poland, established by way of creating the union, was based in its structure on the following principles: the union system (Crown – Lithuania), autonomies of individual components within its framework, administration composed of local citizens, equality of languages, religious tolerance, development of democratic civil liberties, agreeing nation-*

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al patriotism of the Republic of Poland with local and local-national patriotisms, apostolate of the western civilisation.[1]

The Jagiellonian idea dates back to the 15th century. At that time the Jagiellonian dynasty established an empire, whose territory was based on the access to three seas – the Adriatic Sea, the Baltic Sea, and the Black Sea. While looking from the contemporary perspective, the monarchy included the areas of Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, and the Russian Federation (Smolensk county), the total of almost million square kilometres, inhabited by eight million people, which constituted almost 1/10 people of Europe.[2] The characteristic feature of the empire was the fact that it was not created by conquests to a great extent, but under international agreements and mutual understanding. The Jagiellonian idea cemented the multinational and multicultural superpower where all parts joined it voluntarily, not under pressure. The united lands were diverse as regards peoples' ethnic and religious background. Apart from the Poles, a great majority constituted pagan Lithuanians and Orthodox Ruthenians.

The wedding of Władysław Jagiełło, the Grand Duke of Lithuania and the queen Jadwiga took place in 1385 and sealed the military alliance between the Crown and Lithuania. The alliance was addressed against the Teutonic Order that had been present on the territory of the Republic of Poland since 1226, brought by Konrad Mazowiecki in order to protect the Polish lands against the pagan Prussia. The Union was formally valid since 1386, under the agreement concluded in 1385 in Krewo.[3] Lithuania was incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland under several provisions. One of them constituted the obligation of Jagiełło to baptise and Christianise Lithuania, as well as the promise to incorporate the lands to the Crown. The Union had at the beginning a military character, however with passing time, the bonds between the countries got closer and closer. Many

[1] W. Kamieniecki, 'Idea jagiellońska', quotation after: W. Konopczyński, *O wartości naszej spuścizny dziejowej*, P. Biliński (ed.), Kraków 2009, pp. 317–318.

[2] A. Nowak, *Idee jagiellońskie w polskiej pamięci i wyobraźni politycznej*, Solidarni2010.pl, solidarni2010.pl/luba/inc/pobierz_plik.php?nazwa_pliku=idea_jagiellonska.doc, 9 September 2017, p. 1. W. Kowalski, 'Boisz się imigrantów? Rzeczpospolita Wielu Narodów – setki lat temu przeszliśmy udany eksperyment z wielokulturowością', *Historia*, 17 September 2015.

[3] A. Nowak, *Idee jagiellońskie…*, p. 1; W. Kowalski, 'Boisz się…'; N. Davies, *Hearth of Europe: A Short Story of Poland*, Oxford 1986, pp. 322–323.

nations being together side by side co-creating the union shed blood for the Republic of Poland over the years, as for example against the Teutonic Knights in Grunwald in 1410, the biggest battle of Europe in the 15th century.

Cooperation was extended to political, cultural, religious, and economic dimensions. The union brought the colonisation of the Lithuanian areas, trade routes extension, free flow of thoughts and ideas, etc.[4] After the Union of Lublin of 1569, both countries were bound by the same law and administration. The Union of the Crown with Lithuania gave the Republic of Poland a strong military partner, whereas Lithuania was brought into the circle of Latin Christianity which prompted a dynamic development in terms of politics, culture and economy. The assumption of the Jagiellonian idea was to direct the united countries towards the Western civilisation and culture. The monarch was the holding figure, who had a title of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and the king of Poland.

Reigning of the descendants of Władysław caused that the dynasty of Jagiellonians also ruled in Hungary and in the Czech Republic, which can be considered that, de facto, the Central-Eastern Europe was in the hands of one dynasty. The times of the king Sigismund I the Old and his son, Sigismund II Augustus, brought a dynamic development of culture, thus, it were called 'the golden age of culture'. Kraków was flourishing at that time, being a prosperous academic centre with the Jagiellonian University, where Nicolaus Copernicus among others got his education. During the Renaissance period the influence of the Western patterns was visible, mainly thanks to the queen Bona Sforza.[5] The Polish language and literature developed intensively, as it got a new meaning thanks to creative output of Jan Kochanowski.[6]

In the 16th century, when Europe faced numerous crises and wars, the state of the Jagiellonians seemed to be the oasis of peace. In the West it was the time of fighting between the supporters of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. However, there was order in Poland, which was ensured by religious tolerance in multicultural and multi-ethnic state

[4] M. Mackiewicz, 'Uwagi nad ideą jagiellońską w historiografii polskiej przełomu XIX i XX w.', *Folia Iuridica Wratislaviensis*, Vol. 3 (2014), pp. 9–24.

[5] M. Markiewicz, *Historia Polski 1492–1795*, Kraków 2007, p. 342.

[6] K. Stopka, A.K. Banach, J. Dybiec, *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Kraków 2000, p. 71.

of the Jagiellonians.[7] A peculiar melting pot of nations guaranteed peace for dissidents from different parts of Europe, whereas tolerance in multi-denominational country encouraged people from different religions and beliefs. The inhabitants of the Republic of Poland valued more the rights granted to them and solidarity rather than religion. They also enjoyed religious tolerance – for instance, disputes were carried out between followers of different religions, whereas there was the inquisition in Spain.

The act of Warsaw Confederation issued in 1573 was a visible act of tolerance, creating from the Republic of Poland the country of not two, but many nations.[8] The Dutch, Jews, the Tatars, the Armenians[9], the Scots, Lithuanians, the Roma, Italians used to live within its borders – the followers of different religions – Catholicism, Calvinism, Judaism or Islam. The Uniates, the Mennonites or the Polish Brethren called the Arians were among them. When taking into account such a large diversity, what mattered most were benefits and talents, which the visitors could provide.

Noticeable drop of tolerance took place in the 17th and 18th century. The main religion was Catholicism, therefore, its followers wanted to strengthen its highest position. Apart from a person of a king, who had to be a Catholic, this religion was permanently inscribed to the Constitution. The Jesuit Order had great influence on its domination, which indirectly led to any tumults on religious grounds[10], as well as expelled the Arians, whose policy of abolishing feudalism and granting freedom to peasants contradicted the trend, which was present in Europe at that time.

In the 17th century the Sarmatian myth was developing intensively, according to which the Poles came from the legendary race of Sarmatians. Their routs were also searched for in Lithuania. Simultaneously, polonization of Lithuanians ran smoothly, despite their sense of own historical identity.[11]

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[7] A. Suska, 'Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów państwem tolerancji wyznaniowej, rzeczywistość i mity', *Nowa Strategia*, 18 December 2016, http://www.nowastrategia.org.pl/rzeczpospolita-obojga-narodow-panstwem-tolerancji-wyznaniowej-rzeczywistosc-i-mity/, 9 September 2017.

[8] Ibid. M. Markiewicz, *Historia Polski…*, p. 132.

[9] The Armenians together with the Jews used to have earlier privileges guaranteed to them by the king Casimir the Great (pol. Kazimierz Wielki).

[10] A. Suska, 'Rzeczpospolita…'.

[11] M. Markiewcz, *Historia Polski…*, pp. 120–122. R.R. Trimonienė, 'Polonizacja', transl. B. Kalęba, in: V. Ališauskas et al. (ed.), *Kultura Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego – analizy i obrazy*, transl. P. Bukowiec, B. Kalęba, B. Piasecka, Kraków 2011, pp. 544–560.

It was even planned to create a new province, the so-called New Poland, from the Lithuanian part.[12]

More tense relations were between Poles and Ruthenians at that time. The Ukrainians demanded better treatment, the peasants complained about poverty and domination of the Polish families in Ukraine. The orthodox religion, although tolerated, started to be treated as inferior. Poland, as a catholic country, had to take into account popes' orders. Bad situation led to many Cossack uprisings[13] and finally the Great War with Ukrainians in the mid-17th century. A partial agreement was reached in Hadziacz, where the Polish – Lithuanian – Ruthenian (Three-Nation) Commonwealth was proclaimed.[14] A great conflict was ended by the Truce of Andrusovo, which divided Ukraine between Russia and Poland.

Later, when long decades passed, the partitions of the Republic of Poland (which started in the second half of the 18th century) reminded the Jagiellonian idea to the Poles. The elites surrounded at the duke Adam Józef Czartoryski planned to abolishing the diktat of the partitioners, most of all, Russia. The creative output of artists and writers at the end of the 19th century was filled with references to the heritage of the Jagiellonians. Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz published *Songs* (pol. *Śpiewy*), in which he expressed his high approval for the Jagiellonian times, however Jan Matejko created the paintings 'The Prussian Homage' and 'Lublin Union', which were to remind Poles about the golden age times.[15]

After November (1830–1831) and January Uprisings (1863–1864) repressions intensified towards Poles and nationalist tendencies were activated in Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine at the same time.[16] Whereas strict Germanization policy directed against the Polish nation caused to take the fight for national identity by making the peasants aware about Polish heritage and history. [17] The Jagiellonian idea was once again recalled and also the Piast idea, which was competitive to the previous one. It was supported by historians, inter alia, Michał Bobrzyński and Józef Szujski.

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[12] M. Markiewicz, *Historia Polski…*, p. 375.

[13] Ibid., p. 496.

[14] Ibid., p. 539.

[15] A. Chwalba, *Historia Polski 1795–1918*, Kraków 2000, p. 162; A. Nowak, *Idee jagiellońskie…*, p. 5.

[16] Cz. Brzoza, A.L. Sowa, *Historia Polski*, Kraków 2009, p. 118.

[17] A. Chwalba, *Historia Polski…*, p. 155.

The camp of Józef Piłsudski also referred to the Jagiellonian idea. He wanted to create anti-Russian coalition together with Lithuanians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians. His vision of the country 'from the sea to the sea' was to be based on the federation modelled on the Jagiellonian one.[18] According to Piłsudski's adherents this federation would correspond to the old idea modified by the current geopolitical situation, creating a new neo-Jagiellonian idea. They thought that Lithuania was not able to exist independently, whereas Belarus was a country susceptible to every kind of assimilation. The federation was to be a union of countries, not nationalities.[19] The idea of *intermarium* met with resistance of the countries, which were to compose the federation.

Actually at the beginning of the 20th century, in which not only the Polish elites aimed to create national states, the Jagiellonian idea seemed anachronistic. Apart of it Poland was too weak as a country to give the concept more attractive look. Piłsudski's proposition was not accepted in Ukraine, also due to an anti-Polish approach present in Lithuania.

The year 1939 stopped attempts of restoration of the Jagiellonian heritage. The outbreak of World War II and the new geopolitical system, which was created after its end caused that Poland became a dependent country, closed behind the iron curtain. Russian domination and imperialism won.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 (USSR) there were some possibilities to return to the Jagiellonian policy, however the eastern neighbours of Poland showed no interest, after obtaining greater or smaller political subjectivity.

Contemporary perception of the Jagiellonian idea is still popular in some circles, as it corresponds to the glory days of the Republic of Poland.[20] However, it is not an exceptional phenomenon or especially typical for Poland. Similar opinions are expressed by national environments from the other countries, e.g. from Hungary and Serbia, where the slogans of restoring Greater Hungary or Greater Serbia are still re-

[18] Ibid., p. 29.

[19] J.B. Spero, *Bridging the European Divide. Middle Power Politics and Regional Security Dillemas*, Lanham 2004.

[20] J. Sowa, 'Cała prawda o «idei jagiellońskiej»', *Focus Historia*, Vol. 12 (2013), at: http://www.focus.pl/artykul/cala-prawda-o-quotidei-jagiellonskiejquot, 9 September 2017.

called.[21]

The supporters of the Jagiellonian idea in Poland expect that politicians will refer to traditions of the Jagiellonians. The Jagiellonians, in opposition to the Piasts, built a strong country in the Central – Eastern Europe, without taking into consideration strong bonds with the West. We can also see analogies to the concept of creating federation of countries initiated by Józef Piłsudski and being opposite to the concept of an ethnically coherent country. Experts and promoters of the Jagiellonian idea see similarity in the politics of Kaczyński brothers, who were trying to support the Eastern countries in democratisation and political changes.

Groups of national environments consider behaviours of politicians from less conservative parties, including Donald Tusk, who devoted himself to building new relationships with the West, in particular, with Germany, as a manifestation of the Piast model. Therefore, we can talk about bipolarity of the Polish political thought, based on relation with the West and the European Union on the one side and the East of Europe on the other side. Each of the chosen policies has advantages and drawbacks.

The Jagiellonian model is a good initiative, in the same way as it was a good idea to organise the energy summit in Kraków in 2007, where, apart from the president of Poland, the presidents of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Lithuania, and Ukraine took part in this event. This meeting resembled the idea of close cooperation of Poland with the Eastern countries, in the same way as it was when the Jagiellonians used to reign the country.

Referring to the possibility of applying the Jagiellonian idea nowadays, we should go back to the 18th century, when the Jagiellonian idea collapsed and the country went under pressure from Moscow. One of many reasons might be that the idea was not enough updated and adjusted to the political circumstances of that time. The restoration of the Jagiellonian idea at the beginning of the 21st century would be possible and could constitute not only an alternative but rather a supplement to other political and cultural entities. It is possible but under some conditions. The countries included in this organism would access their membership on voluntary basis and agreements. However, such situation is currently (2017) disputable.

[21] Ibid.

The events and political and cultural results of the World War II, as well nowadays fully formed national states, in my opinion, make the concept of the union with a definite leader less possible. Many ethnic and national minorities having lived on the Jagiellonian territories in the period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were united under the crown by historical bonds and also trade networks. However, this situation has dramatically changed nowadays.

The Jagiellonian idea has its important advantages and ambitious assumptions. It taught cohabitation and respect for diversity, integration base on cooperation of any parties. If during migrations, which took place in Europe of that time, different groups of interests could reach agreement, why shouldn't it be possible today? Clearly, some people say that despite coexistence of many nations or ethnic groups on one territory, there were many feuds, however, people have managed to coexist for many years and many disputes were exacerbated by external factors or ideologies present in Europe. The current wave of emigration, which reached the Western Europe, is similar in its extent. Here representatives of different religions and also these, who want to earn money are seeking asylum in the old continent. The Jagiellonian idea with the objectives of coexistence and cooperation could help to make people and politicians aware about the possibility of dialogue and cooperation between people. However, huge impact of negative emotions is brought by terrorist attacks, hindering cooperation and closing societies to this, which is unknown.

When looking from contemporary perspective, we can evaluate the Jagiellonian idea as an ambitious plan, being implemented over several hundred years, which, however, was not continuously adapted to the changing dynamics of the region (wars, border conflicts, economic interdependencies). The idea of joining the Crown with Lithuania was the concept of the men from Kraków in the 14th century and the dynasty, which reigned at that time and wanted to extend the borders of the country by treaties, marriages, etc. However, there was something more in the country created by them, namely the idea of maintaining an union based on mutual respect, tolerance and freedom. The freedom gradually extended, strengthened by rights and privileges led to increasing lawlessness of the gentry and resulted finally in the collapse of the Republic of Poland.

In contemporary times, the inspiration from the Jagiellonian idea

such as tolerance, mutual respect and collaboration could serve to maintain good relationships with Ukraine, Lithuania and Belarus as partners, but also partners from the West. The Jagiellonian idea, although it is highly commendable, contains also some anachronic elements. Thus, to make the concept a useful model we should adjust it to the current geopolitical and cultural situation. For instance, as regards the issues of cultural tolerance, the Jagiellonian idea provides clear solutions and can set an example in Europe and in the world. It is particularly significant now at the time of mass migrations, especially the immigrant from the Middle East, who come to Europe. Multiethnic and multinational country of the Jagiellonians proved that it was possible to create a coherent organism, in which the interests and the rights of each person were respected.

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Jagiellonian Ideas Towards
Challenges of Modern Times

FUTURE AND RESPONSIBILITY

Patterns of Political Thinking and Arguments in Poland–Lithuania: Virtues, *Res Publica* and Education

Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves*

The term we are using in this publication, 'the Jagiellonian ideas', is a very rich and broad category that includes intellectual and cultural developments of two centuries. I am going to focus on certain aspects of the political discourse and political culture that matured in the late fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century along with the mixed form of government of Rzeczpospolita. What were the key concepts that shaped public philosophy of the Jagiellonian Commonwealth whose heritage would last so long and would animate political discourse of the next two centuries? It can be argued that the project of the Jagiellonian epoch resembles the Greek *paideia* which meant an overall process of education that aimed at perfection of human character, at the attainment of *areté*. The period of the Renaissance in Poland can be seen as the most vital and the most significant for the development of Polish-Lithuanian culture including political and legal culture as well as education with the central role played by the University of Kraków.

Renaissance political culture in Poland had two main sources of influence: the Renaissance philosophy and rhetoric including civic humanism that first emerged in Italy, and the participation in the public life, the practice of the institutional order of the mixed government which

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allowed for active political engagement of the citizens. In both contexts, the intellectual and the institutional, the ideal of *res publica* was the dominant point of reference and it was first described by Aristotle and Cicero. In the Polish context, it applied to *communitas regni*, the political community or a commonwealth which was supposed to be free, well-ordered, and whose public philosophy was concerned with the well-being of the community and the virtuous public service. In what follows, I will present these different aspects of political culture and political discourse as they developed in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

As a mixed commonwealth, a monarchical republic of Rzeczpospolita, to use the term coined by Patrick Collinson[1], was to be based on the supremacy of the law treated as the guiding principle of the polity. Acknowledging the natural genesis of the state, Cracovian commentators of Aristotle's *Politics* noted that politics was 'the domain of the people who are free, equal by nature, enjoying the same rights and the same equality' (*Politica est principatus liberorum naturaliter equalium, eodem iure et eadem equalitate)*[2]. Wawrzyniec of Racibórz stressed the usefulness of political knowledge claiming that *if we knew the good and the bad method of ruling of a polity we would govern it, as well-organised as it can be, in the best possible way*[3]. He was a supporter of the principle *princeps legibus alligatus* arguing that the law was the best check on power and had to be placed higher than the guarantee originating from the moral virtue of the ruler. The role of the law was essential because the goal of the political organisation of a community was the good of this community and the function of law – the God-given natural law as well as the established one – was to secure the attainment of the public good[4]. Stanisław ze Skarbimierza presented a similar conception of a *res publica* echoing St. Augustine of Hippo: *Justice being taken away, then, what are kingdoms*

[1] P. Collinson, 'The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, Vol. 69, no. 2 (1987).

[2] As cited in P. Czartoryski, *Wczesna recepcja 'Polityki' Arystotelesa na Uniwersytecie Krakowskim*, Wrocław 1963, p. 188.

[3] Ibid., p. 161.

[4] See: K. Grzybowski, 'Rozwój myśli państwowej na Uniwersytecie Krakowskim w pierwszej połowie XV wieku', in: K. Lepszy (ed.), *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, Kraków 1964, p. 149.

but great robberies?[5] He argued that political authority could not function without justice, the most perfect foundation of the political order, and there was nothing more harmful for a political community than injustice.[6] Interestingly, Stnisław found the second most important foundation of a good political order in harmony and unanimity of the polity which could be best attained by good manners, as indicated by Sallust, and not by military advantage.[7] Polish fifteenth century humanism was thus providing a good foundation for ethical and political considerations concerning the rule of law and civic virtue that matured in the republican treatises of the sixteenth century.

More importantly, fifteenth century brings to the fore the conviction that the authority of the monarch does not come from God, but from the people which can be found in Paweł Włodkowic (Paulus Vladimir) and later on in Stanislaw Zaborowski. Preabsolutist positions like those presented by Łukasz of Wielki Koźmin and Stanisław of Kluczbork were rare; the main current of political thinking was to follow Włodkowic and more broadly the conciliarist movement that laid a theoretical foundation for the idea of political representation. The expectation that the king must obey the law and is only an administrator of Rzeczpospolita, powerfully expressed by Stanislaw Zaborowski at the turn of the 16th century went hand in hand with the growing role of the Sejm (Polish parliament) secured by the constitution *Nihil Novi* of 1505. The citizens of Rzeczpospolita secured their privileged position first described by Artistotle as those who rule and are ruled in turn, participate in legislation and administration and perform these public function with regard to the well-being of their political community. Being ruled in the context of the Jagiellonian Commonwealth meant, above all, being subject to the law and not to someone else's will. Thus the law was supposed to be formulated by consent. The three estates in the Sejm were engaged in consensual political discourse that preceded decision–making. Active political participation of the nobility in the workings of the Sejm (Senate and Izba Poselska) and in the local assemblies (sejmiki) had a formative role for the Jagiellonian political culture which

[5] Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, *Mowy wybrane o mądrości,* M. Korolko (ed.), transl. B. Chmielowska, Kraków 1997, p. 126 (See: St. Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God,* various editions, book IV).

[6] Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, *Mowy wybrane...*, p. 165.

[7] Ibid., p. 169. See: Sallust, *De coniuratione Catilinae,* various editions, 52, 19–22.

fully matured in the 16th century.

A monarchical republic was a unique constitutional arrangement with its character of a mixed polity in which law, liberty and virtue were supposed to predominate. It required a careful balance between the three estates and a careful choice of institutions that would strengthen this balance. The struggle between the (elected) king and the nobility which we know as Zebrzydowski rebellion of 1606 (rokosz Zebrzydowskiego) revealed certain weakness of this structure. For one thing the Jagiellonian period was safe, it was still based on a hereditary succession which did required the nobility's consent as regards the next incumbent, it however, allowed for a peaceful and undisturbed transition of monarchical power. The Jagiellonian ideas were formulated in this favourable context during which there was no room for the dominance of private interests be it of the monarch or the citizens. The union with Lithuania was a proof of the attractiveness of the order of Rzeczpospolita for other nations who wanted to benefit from full participation in a wider Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth and shared parliamentary institutions and liberties.

Political thought of the Polish Renaissance was largely influenced by classical works of Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, but also by Italian scholars, such as Bruni, Contarini, Machiavelli and Guicciardini.[8] They shared not only the idea of the best political order as embodied in a well-ordered *res publica*, but also the idea of *vita activa civilis*, active citizenship that required virtuous preoccupation with the common good. Polish fifteenth and especially sixteenth century political writers and philosophers saw in these ideas combined with the republican understanding of liberty the foundation of the Polish and later on Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They were also guiding principles for education and customs. During that period that the three terms 'law', 'liberty' and '*respublica*' became intertwined in a broader conception of a well-ordered political community, *civitas libera,* which was seen as the only guarantee of liberty and the public good. For the authors who belong to this political tradition, one of the central questions concerned the nature of the conditions that needed to be fulfilled in order to meet the requirements of civil liberty and political obligation. Unlike modern political philosophers who introduced the language

[8] D. Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Ład Rzeczypospolitej. Polska myśl polityczna XVI wieku a klasyczna tradycja republikańska*, Kraków 2012, pp. 167–190.

of rights, they understood civil freedom as being one of the benefits derived from living under a well-ordered, virtuous government – *res publica*. It can be argued that it was an exceptional political development, similar to that of the Roman republic and that of the Venetian republic – these two polities were the common point of reference for the noble intellectuals.

It is especially interesting to compare the perception of the very foundations of both commonwealths as presented, almost at the same time, in 1540s by two leading political thinkers in Poland and Venice, Stanislaw Orzechowski and Gasparo Contarini. In *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* (1543) Contarini observed: *Our ancestors, from whom we have received so flourishing a commonwealth, all in one did unite themselves in a consenting desire to establish, honour, and amplify their country, without having in a any manner the least regard of their own private glory or commodity. […] I imagine this to be a most certain argument, that our ancestors delighted not in vainglory or ambition, but had only their intentional care to the good of their country and common profit. With this then exceeding virtue of mind did our ancestors plant and settle this such a commonwealth, that since the memory of men, whosoever shall go about to make compare between the same and the noblest of the ancients, shall scarcely find any such […].*[9] Not only Venice was unique, as we learn from Orzechowski, Rzeczpospolita was also unique: *Our ancestors have acquired for us many honours, among which the greatest are our laws based on the sense of justice and fairness.*[10] These laws were to him so bright that their brightness shined upon the whole nation making it unique among other nations. The essence of this uniqueness of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was liberty much greater than liberty of other lands and nations.

Venice and Poland-Lithuania were at the time two great examples of *civitates liberae,* flourishing commonwealths. One of them was a monarchical republic, the other was an aristocratic republic. The resemblance between the wordings of two authors is striking. They praise their ancestors for having designed a successful, well-ordered commonwealth. For the Venetian author it is the Venetian constitution

[9] Gasparo Contarino, *La Republicca e i magistrati di Vinegia*, Vinegia 1543, pp. v–vi.

[10] S. Orzechowski, 'Mowa do szlachty polskiej przeciw prawom i ustawom Królestwa Polskiego uporządkowanym przez Jakuba Przyłuskiego', in: idem, *Wybór pism*, J. Starnawski (ed.), Wrocław et al. 1972, pp. 98–114.

that he pays attention to, for the Polish author it is the result of the Polish constitution which is liberty. It is liberty that has two strong fundaments: the law, which Orzechowski mentions in his speech, and virtue which is prominent in the works and speeches of many other authors writing at the time.

In his 1548 funeral speech for the king Sigismund[11] Orzechowski praises the king on many pages, but the most important seems to be the passage where he says that all laws given by the king were meant to contribute to the common advantage of his kingdom and not his own, *all these laws that rule in Poland are for your (the nobles) liberty, tribute and honour. They all rule upon both you (the citizens) and king Sigismund for the king in our Commonwealth is not released from the law.*[12] Orzechowski continues to say that the king was the voice of the laws, their guardian and not their author or master. He would declare them in accordance with the will of the Senate and the will of the citizens expressed in the lower chamber, Izba Poselska. Orzechowski argues that in this sense, Sigismund exceeded ancient legislators such as Likurgus or Solon, for they never consulted the nation whereas the king in Rzeczpospolita never legislated without consent of the Senate and without communicating legislative acts to the political community at large (the citizens). Sigismund's laws were therefore to serve the common good and liberty and not particular interests. The rhetoric of the speech has educational function and uses only positive examples to depict a wise, generous, pious and a very successful king whose position in the Commonwealth never exceeded his duty to serve the public good. We are given an example of civic virtue and exceptional practical wisdom.

In both the Polish and the Italian contexts, *re spublica* was understood as a free, independent and self-governing political community, a *civitas libera* that combined internal and external liberty. It meant a free political community that enjoyed both external and internal independence. Citizens of *res publica* enjoyed both personal freedom and political rights and the only binding power came from the law. In other words, they had no master except the law, but they were also supposed to share commitment

[11] Idem, 'Mowa żałobna, jaką Stanisław Orzechowski z Rusi wygłosił do szlachty polskiej na pogrzebie Zygmunta Jagiellończyka, Króla Polskiego', in: idem, *Wybór pism…*, pp. 3–88.
[12] Ibid., pp. 58–59.

to the preservation of the commonwealth and the obligation to act for the common good. Consequently, instead of a theory of liberty a conception of political obligation predominated similar to that of Francisco Suarez who stressed that political obligation had twofold character, it binds the ruler and the ruled, the king and the citizens for it bestows obligations on both sides.[13] The ruler needed to fulfill obligations towards the subjects without oppression whereas from the subjects loyalty and obedience were expected.

Orzechowski and Contarini provide two very influential accounts of a well-ordered commonwealth each stressing the importance of a different aspect. Whereas the former pays much attention to virtues and wisdom of those who are responsible for the common good the latter does not expect that virtues will prevail, but instead trusts the institutional order of the Venetian republic. A comparison of these two visions should shed much light on the later development of republicanism in Europe which to a large extent followed Contarin and his idea of 'a mechanization of virtue'.[14] Contarini's work addressed the most important problem in the classical republican theory: how it may be possible to construct and maintain constitutional arrangements of a well-functioning republican order and promote a credible commitment to them, when the body politic itself is constituted by imperfect and self-interested human beings?[15] Contarini learnt from the Venetian constitution and Venetian history that the real source of *res publica* was found in the law, in those sacred laws established by Venice's fathers seen as the only source (except for God) – higher than man himself – of a lasting political order. Man's fallibility could not be overcome, but it could be neutralized or constrained by a higher order of rules translated into an institutional framework that shapes political action. Contarini's *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum libri duo* presents a complex institutional structure of the Venetian republic and situates Venetian experience in a historical and philosophical context,

[13] Francisco de Suárez, *Tractatus de legibus ac deo legislatore: in decem libros distributus*, Neapoli 1872, 3.2.4, p. 165.

[14] This term was coined by J. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*, Princeton 1975.

[15] See: e.g. D. Wootton (ed.), *Republicanism, Liberty and Commercial Society, 1649–1776*, Stanford 1994; J. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*…; Q. Skinner, 'A Genealogy of the Modern State', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. 162 (2009), pp. 325–370.

but above all it reveals how institutional and legal arrangements can sustain a thriving republic allowing for true citizenship in the Aristotelian sense of ruling and being ruled in turn. This, however, is secured not by virtue alone, but rather by a 'mechanization of virtue' to use J.G.A. Pocock's phrase who suggested that Venetians managed to construct laws that made citizens act in a virtuous manner and thus contributed to the endurance of the republican institutions and republican spirit: *The 'mito de Venezia' consists in the assertion that Venice possesses a set of regulations for decision-making which ensure the complete rationality of every decision and the complete virtue of every decision-maker. Venetians are not inherently more virtuous than other men, but they possess institutions which make them so.*[16] The mechanization of virtue was a process of subjecting human passions to some firm principles and rules that supported and at the same time demanded moral and ethical behaviour. Not so much the moral character of the citizens and the rulers as both Orzechowski and Laurentius Goslicius[17] (educated at Venice) assumed, but a legal mechanisms, the establishment of fundamental enduring laws became of key importance for the Venetian commonwealth in which sovereignty, the *summa imperii*, belonged not to men, but rather to the law.[18] Both Contarini and Goslicius praised the law as a unifying principle of *res publica*, but they also understood that unity required some supreme authority, a monarch or a Doge. Contarini emphasized that the duty of the Doge was to give special care to the common good, to conserve the common good and the perfection of civil agreement, to 'direct everything with moderation'.[19] In Goslicius and Orzechowski it was political virtue that served the public good and the maintenance

[16] J. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment…*, p. 324.

[17] See: Laurentius Grimaldus Goslicius, *De optimo senator libri duo*, Venice 1568 (2nd ed. Basilea 1593).

[18] Giovanni Silvano, *La Republica de'Viniziani*, L.S. Olschki, Florence 1993, p. 88.

[19] The same topic was addressed in 1459 by Poggio Bracciolini's *Laudem Rei Publicae Venetorum* in which he observed that the key to Venice's achievement was the fact that the city was ruled by many ancient and noble families so that public offices were entrusted only to persons of outstanding capacities within the ranks of the nobility. In such system no role was prescribed to the body of the people, be it the entire nobility like in the Polish case where the principle of equality, birth alone was decisive when it came to political rights including the right to participate in legislation. With such measures Venice could avoid internal discord and dissension.

of public liberty. The king as well as the senator and every citizen had to practice political virtue. The Jagiellonian monarchy was built upon these principles which came by consent that took place in the fourteenth century making it possible for Jagiello, the grand duke of Lithuania become Polish king in 1386 as Wladyslaw II and opening the door to the future union between the two polities.

The republican discourse of the Renaissance was inspiring for those who were engaged in many different spheres of social and political life: education, culture, constitution and legislation. Many Polish republican writers of the time, especially Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, Andrzej Wolan, Łukasz Górnicki and Goslicius stressed that mores, virtues, education and the law constituted good character of the citizens and the rulers. Among them education was of special importance as the first step to the shaping of a virtuous character. Later in life this role was to be played by mores. Frycz Modrzewski provided a very complex analysis in his major work *De Republica emnadanda* of the relationship between mores and the law arguing that good mores need good laws, but also good laws to be preserved need good mores.[20] Rzeczpospolita and its well-being needed constant attention. He blamed bad mores and bad laws for the deteriorating quality of public life and public duty as well as corruption.[21]

One of the key categories of the political culture of Rzeczpospolita and its political discourse were the category of *civitas libera* understood as a free mixed polity and the category of virtue or a virtuous character of the citizen. A mixed government as presented first by Aristotle combined two types of mixture. One was a mixture of two or three types of political constitutions (eg. monarchy and aristocracy in Plato or democracy and oligarchy in Aristotle and subsequently monarchy, aristocracy and democracy in Polybius and Cicero) and the other was a proper mixture of human character which produced a virtuous character of citizens and especially those who were in the middle class. Some of the Renaissance authors, for example Contarini and Francesco Guiciardini were skeptical about human nature and did not expect that virtuous character would predominate in any political community. They advocated instead either

[20] A. Fricii Modrevij, *Commentariorum de Republica emandanda Libri quinque*, Basileae 1554, book I.

[21] Ibid.

a balanced, mixed constitution like the one of Venice (Contarini) or a stronger role of the monarch combined with the normative basis of the republican political order (Guiciardini).[22]

The mixed government was traditionally considered to be better balanced and more stable than pure governments as it relied on the rule of law and citizens' participation (political liberty). Polish-Lithuanian nobility supported the mixed government of Rzeczpospolita in which the role of the Sejm was at least as important as that of the monarch. The Commonwealth was supposed to be *the kind of government which has regard not only for the power of a king, but also for the liberty of citizens.*[23] On the empirical level, the mixed constitution of Rzeczpospolita was the best possible way to secure the balance between the ruling estates and preventing *absolutum dominium*.

The political order of Rzeczpospolita whose constitution was still in the making at the end of the sixteenth century and its painful gaps were to be revealed during the first interregnum, was much concerned with the rights and liberties of the nobility which treated any attempt at institutional reform with great caution and suspicion. Having the right to legislate and accept or block any law the nobility had no incentive to strengthen the institutional order of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, to make it more effective and stable. Goslicius understood that danger and saw the solution in securing a strong position to the senate in the mixed government. His main concern was, however, still the same, to make sure that it is the law that is the real soul of a *res publica*. If the best government was the one in which the people were most happy and since virtue was the cause and foundation of all happiness, it followed that the best government was the one in which the highest place was reserved for the most virtuous.[24]

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[22] F. Guicciardini, 'Discorso di Logrogno', in: A. Moulakis, *Republican Realism in Renaissanc Florence: Francesco Guicciardini's Discorso di Logrogno*, Lanham 1998, p. 148. In Poland this was the position of Krzysztof Warszewicki and Piotr Skarga.

[23] K. Warszewicki, 'O najlepszym stanie wolności [De optimo statu libertatis libri Duo, 1598]', in: K. Koehler (ed.), K*rzysztofa Warszewickiego i Anonima uwagi o wolności szlacheckiej*, Kraków 2010, p. 378.

[24] Goslicius, *De optimo senatore*, p. 39.

It could not be democracy because it excluded all excellence. But having said that, Goslicius praises senate, the middle order – the aristocratic element within mixed monarchy – as the most moderate, placed between the king and the people, and providing united counsel guided by common reason to the king. This required a quest for perfection in all spheres of life in time of peace and in time of war.[25] Such reasoning has important practical consequences. Goslicius followed the Polish model arguing that senators should not be elected like in Venice by a combination of lot and proper election, but they should be chosen by the king to make sure that they are the best men. The first man in the state – the king – superior in virtue, wisdom and prudence was to be the single elector.[26]

For Polish republican authors of the sixteenth century who praised more character of the citizens than institutional mechanisms, education at every level as well as the law that strengthens good mores played pivotal role when it comes to securing the foundations of a good political order. It was a very powerful message and a fertile ground especially for the education of the youth, and more broadly for the education of citizens. Active citizenship provided not only for the right to participate in public affairs and public discourse, but also meant an obligation to care about and work for the common good. An ideal political discourse was to be based on wisdom and consent and as such required virtuous character of its participants.[27] In a well-ordered commonwealth such as that of Rzeczpospolita it was no longer the will of the ruler but prudence, moderation and wisdom or a virtuous character of the king, the senators and the citizens that played a key role in securing its welfare. There was, however, an inevitable tension which became evident to many republican theorists of the 16th century: it was a tension between liberty and the right reason or between liberty and licence or liberty and corruption.

[25] Ibid., p. 113.

[26] Ibid., p. 141.

[27] See: K. Koehler, *Stanisław Orzechowski i dylematy humanizmu renesansowego*, Kraków 2004, p. 193.

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Jagiellonian Ideas in Shaping Cultural Identity, Social Pluralism and Intercultural Relations – Historical Reconnaissance, Ideological Bonds and Educational Postulates of Stefan Swieżawski

Marek Rembierz*

[…] the cultural heritage of many nations contains […] [examples] of dialogue, which a modern person can learn […] and be inspired by it, seeking solutions and values in […] intercultural relations. These examples can also be found in the centuries-old history of Poland, which in the Jagiellonian dynasty demonstrated […] the richness of coexisting cultures, mature conceptualisation of international relations, […] pioneering theories in the field of sciences which are nowadays defined as humanities and social sciences. Multiculturalism and openness in the sphere of intellectual and artistic culture, but also the political and economic life that created the Jagiellonian epoch, may be an inspiration in the understanding of […] the problems of modern Europe.[1]

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[1] L. Korporowicz, 'Jagiellońskie inspiracje dialogu międzykulturowego', in: L. Korporowicz, P. Plichta (ed.), *Mosty nadziei. Jagiellońskie inspiracje dialogu międzykulturowego*, Kraków 2016, p. 24.

> *Every national culture should be open to contact with other culture, because only intercultural interactions allow for a full understanding of one's own culture, duty towards it and one's place, thus enabling it to develop and improve.*[2]

The issue of Jagiellonian ideas and their contemporary interpretation is taken up in the works of Stefan Swieżawski (1907–2004)[3] in different theoretical and practical contexts. He tackles the issue by making a historical reconnaissance of the intellectual and spiritual legacy from past eras; by pointing to the continuity and changeability of ideological bonds; when educational postulates are to be formulated and justified – postulates intended to be an accurate response to contemporary social challenges. The issue of Jagiellonian ideas is the subject of analysis and reconstruction in historical and philosophical research conducted by Swieżawski and – with reference to these studies – it is considered in his statements in which he expresses and promotes social and religious beliefs close to himself, while indicating the elements of cultural heritage and intellectual tradition, which – as he declares himself – shape his cultural identity and axiological preferences.

In the interpretation of Jagiellonian ideas developed by Swieżawski,

[2] J. Nikitorowicz, 'Edukacja międzykulturowa w kontekście dylematów integracji imigrantów w warunkach wielokulturowości', in: A. Paszko (ed.), *Edukacja międzykulturowa w Polsce wobec nowych wyzwań*, Kraków 2011, p. 13.

[3] The achievements of Swieżawski, an outstanding historian of philosophy, especially focused on medieval studies. He was a long-time professor of the Catholic University of Lublin and co-founder of the 'Lublin school of philosophy' who contributed to its development especially in the field of methods of practicing history of philosophy, an acclaimed intellectual, is presented in the following publications: J. Czerkawski, P. Gut (ed.), *Stefan Swieżawski. Osoba i dzieło*, Lublin 2006; T. Klimski (ed.), *Stefan Swieżawski. Filozofia i historia filozofii*, Warszawa 2008; K. Kamiński, 'Uprawa intelektu odkrywaniem prawdy – stanowisko Stefana Swieżawskiego', *Łódzkie Studia Teologiczne*, Vol. 13 (2004), pp. 85–94. M. Rembierz, 'Kształtowanie tożsamości a otwartość na inność. Edukacyjna wartość kulturowego pogranicza w rozprawach i wspomnieniach Stefana Swieżawskiego', in: T. Lewowicki, E. Ogrodzka-Mazur, A. Szczurek-Boruta (ed.), *Edukacja międzykulturowa w Polsce i na świecie*, Katowice 2000, pp. 319–339; idem, 'Realizm metafizyczny jako inspiracja myśli pedagogicznej. O refleksji antropologiczno-pedagogicznej Stefana Swieżawskiego i jej znaczeniu dla teorii wychowania oraz analiz metapedagogicznych', *Polska Myśl Pedagogiczna*, no. 2 (2016), pp. 135–174.

these ideas are combined with those of universal human rights (rights of the human person, including the rights in the sphere of culture and education), ideas of religious openness (especially seeing catholicity as universality) and ideas that lie at the heart of ecumenical aspirations, respecting cultural pluralism and acquiring the virtue of tolerance, ideas regarding shaping appropriate attitudes of participants of intercultural relations (especially shaping interreligious and intercultural dialogue skills), ideas of education serving the development of humanity (*humanitas*) and ideas of the University (*universitas*) as an intellectual meeting space and a place for a fair debate (discussion), in which the force of one's arguments (critically analysed) counts, and the participants do not use violence as a decisive argument, which in the tradition of the Jagiellonian University emphatically expresses the formula *plus ratio quam vis* (more reason than strength). Jagiellonian ideas in the interpretation of Swieżawski occur as feedback, as they mutually define his other ideas, creating with them a system of complementing ideas and values. Thus captured Jagiellonian ideas, for which contemporary interpretation is inspired by cultural heritage, are not only recognized retrospectively, but also reveal ideological and axiological ties with attitudes respecting and realizing specific values (sets of values) and encourage the formulation of prospective educational and social postulates in the face of current civilization challenges.

Jagiellonian ideas are also presented by Swieżawski in a polemical entanglement and tension, especially when the issue concerns the axiological foundations of patriotism (education for shaping patriotic beliefs and attitudes[4]) and leading ideas that illuminate the basic meaning

[4] See: E. Ogrodzka-Mazur, '[Nie]obecność patriotyzmu w świadomości aksjologicznej młodego pokolenia Polaków. «Przesuwanie się horyzontu aksjologicznego» czy kryzys w wartościowaniu', in: J. Nikitorowicz (ed.), *Patriotyzm i nacjonalizm. Ku jakiej tożsamości kulturowej?*, Kraków 2013, pp. 106-127; J. Nikitorowicz, 'Tożsamość – twórczy wysiłek ku patriotyzmowi', in: J. Nikitorowicz (ed.), *Patriotyzm i nacjonalizm…*, pp. 29-49; J. Gajda, 'Racjonalny patriotyzm jako antidotum skrajnego nacjonalizmu', in: J. Nikitorowicz (ed.), *Patriotyzm i nacjonalizm…*, pp. 50-64; L. Dyczewski, 'Tożsamość i patriotyzm', in: J. Nikitorowicz (ed.), *Patriotyzm i nacjonalizm…*, pp. 173-189; K. Denek, 'Patriotyzm', in: idem, *Edukacja jutra. Drogowskazy, aksjologia, osobowość*, Sosnowiec 2015, pp. 60-67; J. Kostkiewicz, 'Patriotyzm. O różnorodności jego ujęć teoretycznych i praktycznej obecności w pracy wychowawczej zmartwychwstańców przed rokiem 1939', *Paedagogia Christiana*, no. 2 (2017), pp. 109-131; B. Śliwerski, 'Przyczynek do refleksji na temat wy-

(understanding) of Polishness. Jagiellonian ideas are then consistently presented and defined in the dispute with concepts promoting visions different from them: visions of monoculture and a vision of the constant defence of a 'besieged fortress' are specified in disputes with national or religious separation programs ('spiritual separatism') and nationalist chauvinism. These are not, however, polemical entanglements caused by the involvement in the current political events and attempts to temporarily play important interests in national or international politics. As for political concepts and activities, Swieżawski's considerations are located in the sphere of metapolitical reflection, reflection distanced from the immediate tactics of political struggle and ideologies justifying it. His reflection is aimed at developing a concept that reveals and illuminates above all the values on which one can fund goals of political activities that respect the legacy of history and strive to build a better world in some measure (in relation to what it was so far).

Jagiellonian ideas present themselves in a specific way in Swieżawski's works if they are juxtaposed with the way in which they are presented by other authors, respected in their environments. Although Swieżawski approaches Jagiellonian ideas as a historian of philosophical thought, focusing his attention mainly on the history of ideas in the fifteenth century[5] (especially social, ethical and religious ideas), nevertheless he considers Jagiellonian ideas as an important part of cultural heritage (his own intellectual and spiritual heritage), as an element co-shaping his personal ideological identity (social and religious identity)[6], as ideas connected with important anthropological and axiological beliefs. He recalls the sentence of Albert of Saxony (1316–1390), professor at the University of Paris and

chowania patriotycznego', in: idem, *Blog Pedagog*, at http://sliwerski-pedagog.blogspot.com/2016/11/przyczynek-do-refleksji-na-temat.html, 3 September 2017.

[5] J. Domański, 'Myśl filozoficzna XV wieku. S. Swieżawski jako jej historyk', in: J. Czerkawski, P. Gut (ed.), *Stefan Swieżawski. Osoba i dzieło…*, pp. 211–220.

[6] When talking about himself, Swieżawski states: *I am a Christian, a Catholic practicing scientific work. […] I have tried very hard to make the philosophical reflection, which I am and I have always been devoted to, have a very universal character, and thus open the windows for approaching the truth, for the fuller truth, which is the supernatural truth, expressed by the evangelical message* (T. Królak, *Kontemplacja i zdradzony świat. Rozmowy z prof. Stefanem Swieżawskim*, Poznań 1999, pp. 211–212).

the first rector of the University of Vienna (1365)[7] which, in a short form, is close to intuitions and views on basic principles – and at the same time challenges, dilemmas and difficulties – shaping cultural identity, social pluralism and intercultural relations: *Omnibus conformari et se ipsum non deformare* – 'To adapt to everyone and not to distort oneself'.[8] Jagiellonian ideas are primarily interpreted by Swieżawski in such a way that in the dimension of individual life (shaping personal interpersonal relations) and in the dimension of social life (shaping social processes) they are to contribute to the implementation of this high-level recommendation to 'to adapt to everyone, and not to distort oneself' as being open to others, but not losing one's own values.

Connecting with in the European and Polish search for the right patterns of integration, openness, pluralism and tolerance from the end of the 20th century, Swieżawski proposes to focus on – as he judges – the 'age of greatness' of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: *We do not need to look for the patterns of a real and democratic Europe somewhere far away*. He expresses the conviction that right now it is worth reaching for the inspiration of Jagiellonian ideas: *No European nation has such a wonderful tradition of tolerance, pluralism and humanism of collective life as we, Poles, Lithuanians, Belarusians and Ukrainians. It is enough to turn*

[7] See: M. Nawracała-Urban, 'Albert z Saksonii', in: M.A. Krąpiec et al. (ed.), *Powszechna encyklopedia filozofii*, Vol. 1, Lublin 2000, pp. 156–157; E. Gilson, *Historia filozofii chrześcijańskiej w wiekach średnich*, tranasl. S. Zalewski, Warszawa 1987, p. 459.

[8] *[…] today's Christian confesses, after Saint Paul: «omnibus omnis factus sum» ('I became everything to everyone'), and thus preaches ecumenism. Father Jacek [Woroniecki OP] taught us this already, repeating the sentence of Albert of Saxony «Omnibus conformari et se ipsum non deformare» as the principle of ecumenism and attitude to all philosophical trends. In this saying, there is a call for unheard-of effort* ('Odrodzenie religijne – między teokracją a New Age. Z profesorem Stefanem Swieżawskim rozmawiają Karol Tarnowski i Stefan Wilkanowicz', *Znak*, Vol. 10 (1992), p. 69. *[…] a beautiful guideline […]: «omnibus conformari et se ipsum non deformare» (to adapt to everyone and not to distort oneself). Then we do not build 'spiritual walls' separating us from others, but – on the contrary – we pass bridges towards 'others' to get to know them, understand them and find an ground for understanding* (S. Swieżawski, 'O właściwe rozumienie tolerancji', *Znak*, Vol. 6 (1993), p. 6). See: also: S. Swieżawski, 'O Janie Husie, konsekwencjach Edyktu Mediolańskiego opowiada w wywiadzie jeden z najwybitniejszych polskich historyków filozofii i znawców dziejów Kościoła rozmawia Paweł Goźliński', *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 12 June 1998, at http://wyborcza.pl/1,75248,139636.html#ixzz3hrDGaHm4, 3 September 2017.

our eyes to our roots – and from there draw the guidelines to shape our attitude in the present times. Good knowledge and understanding of history will allow us to be optimistic.[9] During the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Poland was an area – as it was said then, of *natio* on which all *gentes*[10] felt good. The concept of the Kraków law school and the ideas of Paweł Włodkowic (Latin: Paulus Vladimiri, born 1370 or 1373 in Brudzeń Duży, died in 1435 in Kraków, graduate of the University of Padua, 1414–1415 rector of the Kraków Academy) are a model of similar openness.[11] Włodkowic *emphasized that all the people are our brothers: «Proximi enim nostri sunt tam fideles quam infideles inidisticte» (both the faithful and unfaithful are our brothers, there is no difference!).*[12] Swieżawski adds that this is not a return to the medieval concept of *christianitas*, as it had lost its validity because it was recognized on the basis of Christian social thought and adopted in the official interpretation of Catholic theology that the temporal order has an autonomous dimension and it 'is inherently pluralistic'.[13] It should be noted that the category interpretation of pluralism and postulates of upbringing to pluralism occupy quite a significant and prominent place

[9] S. Swieżawski, 'Ku pokrzepieniu serc' (first edition: *Tygodnik Powszechny* 40 (1992), in: idem, *Dobro i tajemnica*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 199.

[10] 'Stare wady polskiej inteligencji katolickiej. Z profesorem Stefanem Swieżawskim rozmawia Zbigniew Nosowski', *Więź,* no. 2 (1998) p. 65. Swieżawski also states in a way provoking reflection and discussion of Jagiellonian ideas: *I find the vision of Jagiellonian Poland, which is much more European than all the European patterns we are offering today, still current. […] Thanks to the Jagiellonian tradition, we have a much better European tradition than almost all other European nations […]. Unfortunately, today we lack patriotism with a* vision. Ibid.

[11] See: B. Szlachta, 'Uwagi o dwóch problemach znajdowanych w nauczaniu Pawła Włodkowica, rektora Akademii Krakowskiej', in: L. Korporowicz, P. Plichta (ed.), *Mosty nadziei…*, pp. 59–68; M. Płotka, 'Uprawnieniowe prawo naturalne i jego zakres w filozofii Pawła Włodkowica', *Studia Philosophiae Christianae*, Vol. 51, no. 1 (2015), pp. 123–140; E.A. Wesołowska, *Paweł Włodkowic – współczesne znaczenie poglądów i dokonań*, Toruń 1997; L. Ehrlich, 'Przedmowa', in: idem (ed.), *Pisma wybrane Pawła Włodkowica*, Vol. I, Warszawa 1968, pp. X–LXIX.

[12] S. Swieżawski, 'Etos polityczny Polski Jagiellonów', in: idem, *Dobro i tajemnica*, Warszawa 1995, p. 174.

[13] 'Z profesorem Stefanem Swieżawskim… o znakach czasu', in: K. Janowska, P. Mucharski, *Rozmowy na koniec wieku*, Kraków 1997, p. 87.

in Swieżawski's considerations; the issue of pluralism and education to pluralism is also an element of his reflections on Jagiellonian ideas.

In general, the concept of Jagiellonian ideas proposed by Swieżawski will be close to the position presented by Leszek Korporowicz, presenting Jagiellonian ideas as current inspiration for intercultural dialogue of today: *The Jagiellonian dynasty's heritage appears to be extremely rich in inspiring contemporary thoughts and practices that from this perspective cease to be unique. The richness of cultural diversity does not necessarily mean dysfunction; old academic disputes do not lose their depth, if we can save them from the reductionism of functional paradigms of the sciences, from marginalization through ignorance. Jagiellonian values found in the distant history of Europe may prove to be a living example of social sensitivity and the ability to enter into cultural interactions; the extended cooperation space that is created today not only by Central Europe but by the globalizing world […]. These inspirations are worth reading not without some critical self-examination and reflective distance, but with the attitude of commitment, respect for one's own history and teachings present in it.*[14]

The approach to interpretation and development of Jagiellonian ideas proposed by Swieżawski, situated in the context of currently promoted models of shaping cultural identity that takes into account (in a favourable way) pluralism and shaping desired attitudes of participants in intercultural relations, also requires taking into account the on-going discussions in which the topic of Jagiellonian ideas is undertaken in many different ways. These ideas are still 'hot', arousing discussions and polemics. Their supporters and advocates are in dispute with their more or less radical critics[15]. The 'hot' character of these ideas makes the presented arguments

[14] L. Korporowicz, 'Jagiellońskie inspiracje…', p. 34. See: L. Korporowicz, 'Komunikacja międzykulturowa w perspektywie praw kulturowych', *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Sociologica*, Vol. 2 (2015), pp. 18–35.

[15] One of the contemporary critics of the Jagiellonian ideas, Jan Sowa, states: *Fantasies, such as the dream of Jagiellonian Poland, of our mission, our historical role* (D. Kot, A. Puchejda, J. Sowa, S. Twardoch, 'Nie wracajcie do sarmatyzmu! Debata o Polsce ejdetycznej', *Pressje*, Vol. 28 (2012), p. 258). In another text he shares a presumption and a warning: *[…] it is not inconceivable that if the Jagiellonians were clever in pursuing Piasts' pro-Western policy, the fate of the First Polish Republic would have been different. Anyway, it could not have gone worse, because this creation, incorporating Jagiellonian*

filled with emotions. What's more, these ideas involve evaluations and axiological beliefs of the participants in the on-going debate. These ideas are multithreaded and occur in different variants, which means that many threads (sometimes divergent) are also present in the discussion, and when discussers (imperceptibly) begin to talk at cross purposes, the conversation may to some extent turn out to be only a verbal dispute. Thus, it is even more worthwhile approaching and considering in the systematic form Swieżawski's quite coherent views of Jagiellonian ideas in order to understand better other positions regarding them[16].

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ideas, was permanently erased from the map. Every Jagiellonian patriot should thoroughly rethink this fact (J. Sowa, 'Cała prawda o «idei jagiellońskiej»', *Focus Historia*, Vol. 12 (2013), at http://www.focus.pl/artykul/cala-prawda-o-quotidei-jagiellonskiejquot, 3 September 2017.

[16] It is all the more worth to note and to better understand other positions regarding Jagiellonian ideas, as it happens that these ideas function as if hidden – as one of the sources of inspiration – in the background of someone's research regarding humanistic and social issues. As Janina Kostkiewicz points out in her elaboration of Andrzej Niesiołowski's (1899–1945) social, axiological and pedagogical views, his views and ideas could also be in some way derived from Jagiellonian ideas, in particular from the ideas of Paweł Włodkowic. Professor Kazimierz Tymieniecki (1887–1968), Polish medievalist historian, *set the subject of Niesiołowski's master's thesis on the doctrine of Paweł Włodkowic (the archive has a small note with the subject and annotation 'subject for Niesiołowski')*. J. Kostkiewicz, 'Wprowadzenie. Zarys pedagogiki ogólnej Andrzeja Niesiołowskiego - o koncepcji i jej rękopisie powstałym w niemieckich oflagach', in: A. Niesiołowski, *Zarys pedagogiki ogólnej. Rękopisy z oflagu*, J. Kostkiewicz (ed.), Kraków 2017, p. 22; see: D. Jagielska, J. Kostkiewicz, *Pedagogika humanizmu społecznego Andrzeja Niesiołowskiego*, Kraków 2015); *Master's thesis 'The Doctrines of Paweł Włodkowic set against the background of Polish-Teutonic disputes', Andrzej Niesiołowski defended in 1923 [at the Poznań University]* (Ibid., p. 16). See. K. Tymieniecki, 'Moralność w stosunkach między państwami w poglądach P. Włodkowica', *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. 22 (1919–1920), pp. 1-27; A. Niesiołowski, 'Testament Pawła Włodkowica (W pięćsetlecie śmierci pierwszego ideologa i myśliciela katolickiego Polski)', *Verbum*, no. 4 (1935), pp 771-807; idem, 'P. Włodkowic i jego doktryny na tle epoki', *Przegląd Powszechny*, vol. 52 (1935), no. 4, pp 153-170. Niesiołowski pointed out the insufficient remembrance of Włodkowic's work: *Almost unnoticed in Poland passed the five hundredth anniversary of the death of our first political thinker and the most ambitious member of the Jagiellonian University in the first period of its existence, Paweł Włodkowic of Brudzeń. Slowly, however, this personage begins to regain its position in our eyes, a position among the contemporaries it once occupied.* (Idem, *Paweł Włodkowic na tle dyskusji politycznych w XV wieku*, Warszawa 1938, p. 7). At the same time, he strongly stressed the importance of Włodkowic's achievements in the sphere of ideas and law: *The Germanic principle of strength and war subordination is opposed by Włodkowic's ideology – pro-*

Interpretation and promotion of Jagiellonian ideas in Swieżawski's work

In synthetic attempts to capture what is particularly important and valuable in the overall output of Swieżawski, experts in his works note a significant role of the interpretation and promotion of Jagiellonian ideas.

Jerzy Turowicz (1912–1999), a long-time friend of Swieżawski from the time of joint activity in the Odrodzenie Academic Catholic Youth Association[17] (i.e. from the end of the 1920s), notes that the statements by Swieżawski, in which he addresses various aspects of the identity and mission of the Church, constitute *the best expression of what is today known as the «Conciliar Catholicism» […] which moves from the defensive and confrontational position to the position of dialogue and tolerance.*[18] The characteristics of the Church primarily emphasized by Swieżawski, are community, easement and openness. Turowicz emphasizes that in considering the *matter […] of the Church, Christian thought and culture, Stefan Swieżawski does not confine himself […] in the confessional circle, but he sees these problems against the background of socio-political, historical*

claiming love as the highest value, and tolerance as the principle of co-existence based not on coercion, but on freedom. […] Above of all, however, Włodkowic rejects the principle that the end justifies the means – whereas, what's characteristic – this time against the customs of the time – he does not invoke any authority, but puts his thesis clearly as his own opinion. If Włodkowic, in his universalism and in his initial attitude towards heretics, is still a fully medieval man, but his ideology of tolerance and the dawning notion of international law make him a thoroughly modern man who by centuries overtook the West's intellectual and moral development. Research on Włodkowice is not completed yet. As they progress, the first political thinker of Poland appears here […], as one of those who with their thinking were able to draw great development lines of their nation (A. Niesiołowski, 'P. Włodkowic i jego doktryny…', pp. 170–171). In the context of these facts from Niesiołowski's scientific biography and his intellectual quests, Kostkiewicz shares his the observation: *Niesiołowski's works in a specific sense show attempts to refer and follow in the footsteps of this great humanist of the fifteenth century, after which many of the most important values could be not so much as discovered for Europe, but […] reminded* (J. Kostkiewicz, 'Wprowadzenie...', p. 22). This commentary also prompts to formulate the question of a more general nature, how many Polish scientists (and to what extent) were in various ways influenced by Jagiellonian ideas, among them in particular Włodkowic's ideas, which, on some occasion, became the object of at least minor interests?

[17] See: also (among others) K. Turowski, *'Odrodzenie'. Historia Stowarzyszenia Katolickiej Młodzieży Akademickiej*, Warszawa 1987.

[18] J. Turowicz, 'Intelektualista katolicki', *Kwartalnik Filozoficzny,* Vol. 1 (1997), p. 102 (also in: idem, 'Intelektualista katolicki [Stefan Swieżawski]', in: idem, *Pisma wybrane*, Vol. 2, A. Mateja (ed.), Kraków 2013).

or contemporary context. This is testified by studies on the political ethos of the Poland of Jagiellonians.[19] J. Turowicz adds: *I feel the need to say it with complete certainty: Stefan Swieżawski is the most outstanding Catholic intellectual in Poland today.*[20]

In the posthumous memoir 'Stefan Swieżawski (10 February 1907–19 May 2005) – ad memoriam', Jacek Jadacki also points to the vision of Jagiellonian Poland as one of the distinctive elements in his intellectual heritage: *He exerted a huge influence on the views of Catholic circles associated with such magazines as «Tygodnik Powszechny» and «Znak» in Kraków, as well as «Więź» in Warsaw. In these milieus he popularised […] 'open' Catholicism – a manifestation of Swieżawski's 'open' attitude were his efforts with the highest church authorities for the official rehabilitation of Jan Hus) – and the vision of the Jagiellonian Poland, understood as the area of harmonious coexistence of people of different cultures.*[21]

Swieżawski directs attention to the vision of the Jagiellonian Poland in connection with hiss research on various ideas and concepts of the fifteenth century, while making the transition between a retrospective and a prospective approach, i.e. learning about history and learning how to act today: *In my studies I was most interested in […] the conflict within the Church as an institution being a dominant, culture-creating factor in European history. In the fifteenth century, there was a clear conflict in the Church between absolutist and theocratic and democratic tendencies, as well as conciliarism. Conciliarism occurred then in an extreme form and was unacceptable for the Church, thus the absolutist and theocratic tendencies prevailed. This caused splits – the departure of the Czech, the English and German Protestant countries. The bastion of democratic tendencies, the bastion of conciliarism was the University of Kraków; this free spirit of conciliarism, the spirit of democracy, federation, pluralism, and tolerance was implanted in the intellectual elites of the Jagiellonian Poland and implemented in the Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian state. […] This is the model of Europe, the right formula that lies in the European spirit: not a group*

[19] Idem, *Intelektualista katolicki…*, pp. 102–103.

[20] Ibid., p. 103.

[21] J. Jadacki, 'Stefan Swieżawski (10 II 1907–19 V 2005) – ad memoriam', *Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego*, Vol. 67 (2004), p. 9.

of countries separated from each other and ossified in themselves, but a great program of the federation. Europe of the future could be such a big federation. This line should be maintained and developed. A return to old times means not so much a return to the medieval 'christianitas', to 'Respublica christiana' that was typically confessional, but to a federation, tolerant, in the spirit of 'humanisme intégral' of Maritain.[22] This statement by Swieżawski shows how strong his understanding of Jagiellonian ideas is connected with other ideas.

Jagiellonian values and ideas in shaping cultural and religious identity – ideological affinity of the views of John Paul II and Stefan Swieżawski

Considering Swieżawski's position on Jagiellonian ideas one can better understand the well-known and quite often cited – also as an opinion of a moral authority of the Polish society[23] – statement of John Paul II (1920–2005) on Jagiellonian ideas and the plurality of Polish culture contained in the book *Memory and Identity. Conversations are at the turn of millennia* (a book in which the Pope makes a summary of many years of his philosophical and theological research on religion, culture, Polishness and – above all – on moral values and dignity of the human person). *Historically, Polishness has a very interesting evolution behind it*, says John Paul II – and adds: *No other nationality in Europe has probably undergone such an evolution*.[24] Paying attention to the role and cultural heritage of the Jagiellonian era, John Paul II expresses his convictions about the value of the Polish experience of pluralism and the formation of intercultural relations in the conditions of multiculturalism: *Polishness is essentially pluralism and multiplicity, not narrowness and closure. It seems, however, that this «Jagiellonian» dimension of Polishness which has been*

[22] S. Swieżawski, 'Europejczyk XXI wieku', *Znak*, Vol. 3 (1995), p. 52. *It was Jacques Maritain who in a sense was the first to make the thesis that the Latin era of 'christianitas' has ended. He understood this as the end of the era in which Christian fundamentalism dominates*. 'Początek drogi. Z prof. Stefanem Swieżawskim rozmawiają Janusz Poniewierski i Karol Tarnowski', *Znak*, Vol. 5 (1999), p. 5.

[23] See: J. Mariański, 'Johannes Paul II. als moralische Autorität in der polnischen Gesellschaft [Pope John Paul II as Moral Authority in Polish Society]', *The Person and the Challenges*, Vol. 2, no. 1 (2012), pp. 21–50.

[24] Jan Paweł II, *Pamięć i tożsamość. Rozmowy na przełomie tysiącleci*, Kraków 2005, p. 297.

mentioned, has ceased to be something obvious in our times.[25] Plurality and pluralism, not narrowness and closure, according to John Paul II should be the binding vision of Polishness. Values coupled with multiplicity and openness, however, must be assimilated in our own existential and moral experience, so that the Jagiellonian dimension of Polishness, indicated as a model, should not be lost. The recognition that the Polishness is properly understood is 'plurality and pluralism, not narrowness and closure' determines the axiological principles of shaping beliefs and attitudes in interpersonal relations in the complex situation of multiculturalism. Considering the interpretation of Polishness promoted by John Paul II in the context of Jagiellonian ideas, Alfred Marek Wierzbicki draws attention to the shift of accents in the religious categories co-defining the sense of Polishness towards openness to ecumenism and interreligious dialogue: *By living the ethos of the Jagiellonian Polishness, the Polish Pope overcomes narrow understanding of Polishness and Polish patriotism, which found its expression in the stereotype of a Catholic Pole, spread by the […] currents of nationalist thought. It should be emphasized, however, that this significant revaluation of the sense of Polishness and patriotism of John Paul II is not conducted in terms of political thinking, but this kind of thinking is overcome by seeing the nation in religious terms. The integration of a positive assessment of patriotism with ecumenist approach and the spirit of interreligious dialogue allows man to learn fuller truth about others.*[26] Such an interpretation

[25] Ibid. See: A.M. Wierzbicki, *Polska Jana Pawła II*, Lublin 2011. In another part of his argument, John Paul II states: *The 17th century, especially its second part, reveals some signs of crisis both in politics – internal and international – as well as in religious life. […] If Poles were at fault in something against Europe and the European spirit, they were at fault because they allowed the destruction of the magnificent heritage of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.* See: also M. Rembierz, 'Polskie doświadczenie wielokulturowości w interpretacji Jana Pawła II jako inspiracja dla edukacji międzykulturowej', *Edukacja Międzykulturowa*, no. 2 (2013), pp. 57-94.

[26] Idem, 'Papież, który żył Polską. Jana Pawła II interpretacja polskości', in: idem, *Polska Jana Pawła II*…, p. 38; the author adds: *The merit of John Paul II is cleansing of patriotism from the entanglement into nationalist ideologies grown on the grounds of non-religious and even anti-Christian thinking, an entanglement that […] led to political instrumentalisation of religious beliefs*. Ibid. See: E. Ogrodzka-Mazur, 'Społeczne nauczanie Jana Pawła II a miłość, prawda i tolerancja w wychowaniu młodzieży z pogranicza', in: T. Lewowicki, A. Różańska, U. Klajmon (ed.), *Kwestie wyznaniowe w społecznościach wielokulturowych*, Cieszyn 2002, pp. 225–263.

of Polishness and Jagiellonian ideas also has an anthropological dimension, because it draws attention to what can connect with people each other, although at the same time they also retain their own cultural and religious identities.

By adopting a point of view of history of ideas, exploring the history of intellectual culture and processes of exchange of ideas, one can hypothesize that one of the significant and direct inspirations for the expressive formulation of the papal thought that *Polishness is in fact pluralism and not narrowness and closure. It seems, however, that this 'Jagiellonian' dimension of Polishness, […] has ceased to be, of course, something obvious in our times*, may have been – a somewhat bitter – comment on Jagiellonian ideas being in danger, contained in the letter of Swieżawski to John Paul II (dated: Warsaw, 3 October 1990): *More and more often we hear from people who are deeply religious and deeply devoted to the Church that this climate of 'triumphalist and rich clericalism' has become so repulsive that it is sometimes difficult to refrain from deep dislike and criticism. In Poland, there is also in addition an ever-increasing nationalist element. It is profoundly sad, how often the great tradition of our* «Jagiellonian» patriotism – open, pluralistic and tolerant – is disappearing in favour of narrow, selfish, chauvinist attitudes. *Contrary to what one says and writes, one must state that many «Catholic Poles» have strong anti-Semitic views, as well as hidden distrust towards Germans, Russians, Ukrainians, Czechs, etc. A large part of the clergy and the Episcopate is not free of such attitudes.*[27] These strongly articulated remarks, postulates, reservations and warnings of Swieżawski, which are formulated against the Polish Church, are one of the clear traces of him interpreting Jagiellonian ideas in the friendly and long-term exchange of ideas with John Paul II.

In response to the above-mentioned letter, Pope John Paul II engaged in a critical reflection: *Venerable and Dear Stefan, Professor, Jubilarate and Friend! God bless you for the letter […]. Apart from the wishes for myself, it contains the 'examination of conscience' of the post-conciliar Church (and society) of AD 1990. I will try to make this 'examination of conscience' reach the addressees (I believe that it refers above all to the addressees!).*[28] As part

[27] A. Fedorowicz, T. Fedorowicz, S. Swieżawski, K. Wojtyła, *Pełny wymiar. Listy przyjaciół*, A. Dobrowolski (ed.), Tarnów 2002, p. 23.

[28] Ibid.

of this examination of conscience, there is also an approach to the cultural heritage of the Jagiellonian ideas and 'Jagiellonian' patriotism – open, pluralistic and tolerant, which *is disappearing in favour of narrow, selfish, chauvinist attitudes*.[29]

In the next letter, dated 'Warsaw, 1 November 1991' Swieżawski, turning to John Paul II, continues his reflection on Polish Catholicism: *We have a lot of authentic values, but I am afraid that those who inform you about our situation, see our society in a manner which is too one-sided, and are drunk with the illusory conviction that the Church in Poland can and should be a model for other local Churches*.[30] He shares his anxiety that *instead of a poor and ministerial Church, trends tend to emerge from the hierarchy and church institutions, stressing the importance of 'richness of resources' […] and an authoritarian attitude of the clergy. Many hierarchs and parish priests show preference for nationalist orientation (being 'Polish-*

[29] Some readers of Swieżawski's texts claim that his criticism is too strong and one-sided. It is worth quoting the reflections that Fr. Wiesław Mering made, writing about the book by Tomasz Królak *Kontemplacja i zdradzony świat. Rozmowy z prof. Stefan Swieżawskim* (Poznań 1999): *I admit that what moved me most in the book were issues connected with the Church. Professor talks about them very often. With the deepest conviction, he lists three features of the Church: community – i.e. «neither favouring the laity and rejecting clergy, or vice versa»; easement – that is, finally, rejection of the Constantinian era in the Church; openness – and therefore the search for agreement instead of differences and ecumenical orientation, which is strongly emphasized and realized by John Paul II. The values discussed here connect with the thesis that the Polish Church is still far from completing the teaching of the Second Vatican Council. Presumably there will be critics of such a case, but it should give them some food for thought that John Paul II directed the same suggestions to Polish bishops during last year's visit 'Ad Limina'. Some bishops also speak in a similar vein. The strength of the Church, Swieżawski believes, there is not the number of worshipers gathering in our temples, but fidelity to the Gospel, being its witness. If we remember that every baptized person is a living part of the Church, we know what needs to be changed and improved in the Church: we must be faithful to the Gospel, poverty, community, easement and openness. I am sure that the Church needs a critical (meaning, ultimately, a real!) self-perception; such a vision of the Church is allowed by identifying with it, or perhaps, as Paul VI said, loving it. Professor Swieżawski's comments leave no doubt as to how much he cares about the Church and its sanctity!* – W. Mering, *'Każdy czyn ma wpływ na cały wszechświat…'*, Rec. Tomasz Królak, *Kontemplacja i zdradzony świat. Rozmowy z prof. Stefanem Swieżawskim*, *Mateusz.pl*, at http://www.mateusz.pl/czytelnia/wm-tk-kzd.htm, 3 September 2017.

[30] A. Fedorowicz et al., *Pełny wymiar…*, p. 326.

Catholic'). […] signs of barbaric anti-Semitism etc. appear again and again.[31] Noting that this undesirable situation makes him sad, Swieżawski justifies his critical remarks by the fact that what makes him sad is *contrary not only to the vision of the Church drawn by «Lumen gentium», but also with the entire great tradition of Jagiellonian Poland*. There is the characteristic for Swieżawski juxtaposing and linking of the main ideas of the ecclesiological revival of the Second Vatican Council (which is expressed, inter alia, in the conciliar Constitution *Lumen gentium*) with the Jagiellonian ideas. Swieżawski develops and strengthens the idea of the connection between the idea of conciliar renewal and the Jagiellonian ideas, which he specifically updates and describes as 'Jagiellonian-Solidarity ideas': *Youth is […] ready to follow this conciliar and «Jagiellonian-Solidarity» way, but the formation of the clergy (often nationalist and clerical) prevents this*.[32] The confrontation of two differently oriented formations: the consistently promoted by Swieżawski 'Jagiellonian-Solidarity' conciliar formation with – often contradictory – 'national-clerical' formation, points to some of the pressing challenges for pedagogical theory and practice in the field of religious education and the related area of civic education.

In the letter dated 'The Vatican, November 17, 1991', John Paul II referred to the issues discussed in Swieżawski's letter: *Venerable and Dear Stefan! How happy I was about the letter – not only because of your wishes, but also because of […] the 'problem' that you tackle. […] we live in a period that is a time of new concern for Poland and for the Church. […] we have a new challenge ahead of us. I think many people realize that.*[33] The Pope also invokes the situational context, thus referring to the Jagiellonian heritage: *I am writing these words an hour after the canonization of Father Rafał Kalinowski in the basilica of Saint Peter's. Both presidents of Poland and Lithuania took part – as well as many pilgrims from the East. God be praised.*[34] When reading these words now, it should be taken into account

[31] Ibid.

[32] He also draws attention to the effects of improper formation in some church educational institutions: *There are, for example, more and more cases of seminarians leaving seminars discouraged because they are not able to find what they are looking for: evangelical wisdom, simplicity, poverty and service* (ibid., p. 327).

[33] Ibid., p. 329.

[34] Ibid.

that they were recorded in the 'time of hope', because that was the time of the changes that followed immediately after 1989.

In the subsequent exchange of thoughts by mail, in a letter dated '14 X [19]93', Swieżawski connects the issues and ideas close to him with issues related to the ideas undertaken by the Pope John Paul II: *One of the topics that is very dear to me is the matter of the reception of Vaticanum II and the new evangelization. We are so happy about these bridges of understanding and the deep ecumenism that you build so vigorously on all continents*.[35] Referring to the building of 'bridges of understanding and deep ecumenism', Swieżawski again recommends his scientific achievements to his friend, because he recognizes that he can be helpful in effectively implementing the papal mission: *I was thinking that two last volumes of study on the philosophy of the fifteenth century: «At the source of modern ethics» and «Long-term ecclesiology» could serve you, Holy Father, as (philosophical-historical) tools. It is about the origin of the […] imbalance between the freedom of the individual human conscience and the imperturbability of objective natural and revealed truth – as well as the tendencies growing over the centuries that nullify ecumenism and cause splits and stiffening*.[36] These studies on the ethical, social and ecclesiological thought of the fifteenth century are also included in the analysis of the Jagiellonian ideas.

Continuing the epistolary dialogue, Pope John Paul II (in a letter dated 'The Vatican, October 31, 1993') continues the exchange of thoughts about contemporary hopes, challenges and threats, and about the possibility and need to learn how to deal with them on the basis of the lessons given by the insightful and continually renowned history: *Dear Stefan! Professor and Friend! I am truly moved by your last letter. The writing itself shows the writer's enormous effort ('It is harder to write because of my weakening eyesight'). It is easy to […] recognize that – although the eyes are weak, your love of the Church is not weakening. Love is always a concern for what one loves. I recognize this concern in what you write, Dear Professor – about*

[35] Ibid., p. 335.

[36] Later in the letter on behalf of his wife and himself, Swieżawski again draws attention to the burning issues of proper religious formation: *We have frequent contact with young people. It worries them – and me too – that in many church institutions the model of a rich and powerful church is rooted* (ibid.).

the internal threats in the Church: about the temptation of 'resources of richness' […], about the departure from the conciliar heritage… A reference to the philosophy of the fifteenth century is most timely. […] I will return to the last two volumes (ethics and ecclesiology).[37] In the context of reflection on events and the history of ideas in the fifteenth century, there is also the case of Jan Hus, which, partly inspired by John Paul II, Swieżawski undertook in the dimension of widening the public debate, and not only an academic debate conducted in a narrow circles, exposing the relevance of some of the threads of the Church's vision present in Hus's treatises, and pointing out serious errors of some of church hierarchy and church theologians in the fifteenth century.

In subsequent letters Swieżawski warns against the destruction of the Polish experience of intercultural relations and their proper formation, of which Jagiellonian ideas are considered to be a particularly valuable manifestation, not shying away from the criticism of current political trends: *I see the immense danger of the church authorities' alliance with the right, because this is similar to […] the covenant of the Church with the throne! We know well how deplorable […] the effects of such covenants are. I am also concerned about the political and cultural model of Poland forged by right-wing circles. It is a cross between Sienkiewicz's and Counter-Reformist ideals. And yet, it is not the 17th century and Sarmatism, but the Jagiellonian model of Poland that should inspire us. This is the testament of the Kraków law school from the 15th century and the sanctity of Queen Jadwiga's life. I fight for this Jagiellonian ideal of Poland as much as I can, but this is what the ex-communists and the extreme right are fighting against in a common formation (Warsaw, June 6, 1995).*[38] This letter clearly outlines the ideological and political – as well as religious – clash of aspirations developing and concretizing Jagiellonian ideas with the aspirations of those who follow *the Sarmatian ideals of Sienkiewicz*. A definite claim *I am fighting for the Jagiellonian ideals of Poland* emphasizes Swieżawski's conviction and determination to support the realization of these values, which are fused with Jagiellonian ideas.

The passages quoted and considered above from the previously

[37] Ibid., pp. 336–337.

[38] Ibid., pp. 345–346.

unknown private correspondence show how intense the exchange of ideas and how strong the ideological bond between John Paul II and Swieżawski was. Getting to know the documentation of the epistolary dialogue allows to ascertain how strongly both its participants shared the beliefs and feelings about the Jagiellonian ideas, which Swieżawski first expressed in the letter: *How often the countries, how often the great tradition of our* [Jagiellonian] *patriotism – open, pluralistic and tolerant – disappears for the sake of narrow, selfish, chauvinist attitudes*, and then in a book translated into many languages, John Paul II wrote that *Polishness essentially means pluralism and multiplicity, not narrowness and closure. It seems, however, that this «Jagiellonian» dimension of Polishness has ceased to be something obvious in our times*.[39] You can even say that the contribution of Swieżawski to preserving and strengthening the Jagiellonian ideas as part of John Paul II's personal convictions and as an inspiration to reflect on present times, is also an important contribution to the Polish heritage of ideas and current interpretations of this heritage. At least for this reason, Swieżawski's approach to Jagiellonian ideas deserves interest from social researchers and historians of ideas.

Interpretation of Jagiellonian ideas in the context of historiosophical vision and axiology of history

Swieżawski interprets Jagiellonian ideas by developing a historiosophical vision and axiology of history. *I agree*, he declares, *with Maritain's historiosophy […] that in history tares and wheat grow evenly – besides, tares and wheat are mixed up in each of us. […] we pay more attention to tares, because what is the most valuable is deeply hidden, or it does not immediately strike our eyes.*[40] Interpreting the Jagiellonian ideas, Swieżawski associates them with what is valuable and most valuable, and which often remains hidden and disappears from view. Therefore, the important culture-generating task rests on history and historians who, studying the past times are supposed to support orientation in rather opaque present times and support the opening of the future prospects. *It is very important* – Swieżawski states – *to be able to find yourself in a specific temporal-spatial*

[39] Jan Paweł II, *Pamięć i tożsamość*…, p. 297.

[40] 'Z profesorem Stefanem Swieżawskim… o znakach czasu…', p. 91.

situation, understand the requirements of the moment, try to read the signs of the times, penetrate into the meaning of evolution and changes that are taking place, and not only be subjected to catastrophism and spiritual negation, not to be afraid of crises, but creatively and positively adjust to the present and future. Achieving such an attitude is impossible for today's man without an in-depth knowledge of history.[41] This also applies to research and interpretation of Jagiellonian ideas.

Finding the sources of Jagiellonian ideas and outlining, in the context of the historiosophical vision, the historical background of the formation and concrete formulation of these ideas, Swieżawski on the one hand indicates the intensifying processes of social transformations at the end of the Middle Ages, and on the other, the importance of personal fate and decisions of Queen Jadwiga who perceived, as a sort of her act of martyrdom, an act that funds what is considered particularly valuable in the Jagiellonian era: *In the late Middle Ages, the world opens up, Europeans begin to see non-Christians, and understand that there are many of them, and that Christianity itself is already divided. […] It is clear then that the vision of the European community must include the possibility of integrating others: Jews, Muslims, […] Christians of other religions. There arises the need to build a new ideal of unity – and at its roots […] there is martyrdom, not the martyrdom sensu stricto, but still the sacrifice of the young Jadwiga of Anjou. Jadwiga laid everything, all her life, love, feelings of a young woman, on the altar of a great idea, from which grew the concept of Polish tolerance and a wonderful – again badly implemented, but wonderful – ideal of federal state of the Commonwealth of Many Nations.*[42] In the axiology of history it is assumed that some resignation from other goods is necessary in order to choose greater good, and sacrifice is necessary in order to realize what is precious.

Developing the historiosophical vision and axiology of history Swieżawski combines and confronts two models: the model referred to as 'Sarmatian' and the Jagiellonian model. These two models apply to the whole of social life, and in particular to the Catholic Church, because

[41] S. Swieżawski, 'Rola historii filozofii w formacji umysłowej', in: idem, *Człowiek i tajemnica*, Kraków 1978, p. 69.

[42] Idem, 'Święci czasów przełomu', *Apokryf*, no. 11, in: *Tygodnik Powszechny*, no. 25 (1997), at http://www.tygodnik.com.pl/apokryf/11/swiezawski.html, 3 September 2017.

[in] Poland there was a specific historical situation in which the Church functioned for centuries. It is strongly rooted in the political life of the nation.[43] In the practice of social and ecclesial life, the model described as 'Sarmatian' seems to dominate: *Our patterns, both political and ecclesiastical, are marked by the mentality of the Counter-Reformation – defence and struggle. This is a Sarmatian Church – that's what I call it for my own use.*[44] However, Swieżawski, due to axiological reasons, has different preferences: *I prefer the Jagiellonian model, or the Catholicism of Włodkowic and his school, or Queen Jadwiga – stretching bridges towards Orthodoxy, towards the East. The great struggle between Włodkowic and the Teutonic Knights at the Council of Constance, in which the method of converting pagans was concerned, was ultimately a struggle for the recognition of natural law, the recognition that these people have the right to live regardless of their religion. It was a huge novelty then. This model of Catholicism has enabled the coexistence of many religions, many nations, many cultures.*[45] The Jagiellonian model opens towards meeting different cultures and shaping intercultural relations.

The sources and development of Jagiellonian ideas in the approach proposed by Swieżawski are connected with the functioning of an open academic debate at the Kraków Academy. This relationship with the Academy concerns – first of all – the idea of conciliarism opposed to the claims of absolutism: *The historical significance of the Jagiellonian University and its Faculty of Theology, which now celebrates its 600th anniversary, comes from the fact that it was like a breeding ground for a political ideal that would later be recognized by Erasmus of Rotterdam as his own. Polish tolerance and the federal concept of the Commonwealth of Many Nations was rooted in the University. This was because the Kraków university was – along with the Sorbonne – the strongest bastion of what is called conciliarism in the history of the Church. Conciliarism sometimes took extreme forms, but basically it was a healthy tendency. It aimed at the papal authority to be exercised together with the Council and not as an individual, absolute authority.*[46] *At the same time, despite*

[43] 'Z profesorem Stefanem Swieżawskim… o znakach czasu…', p. 89.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] S. Swieżawski, '*Święci czasów przełomu…*'.

the appearances of the conciliarists' defeat, their effort […] has not been wasted. Thanks to it, people began to See: that the mission of the Church does not have to depend on shaping the political order of this world. That there are different views in the world, and they are not hostile or wrong, but they bring many values that can enrich our lives. That it is worth having a dialogue.[47] Here the university practice of an open debate is present – where there are different views and various arguments are put forward.

The connection between Jagiellonian ideas and the Academy is related – secondly – to the concepts and practices of respecting the rights of those who have different beliefs about religious faith and, more generally, the sphere of (often endangered) human rights: *It is very likely that the ideas preached by the Kraków school of law taught at the Council in Konstanz and whose spokesperson was […] Paweł Włodkowic, spread throughout Europe and reached the University of Salamanca, from where a whole hundred years later came a whole team of like-minded people operating in the newly discovered America. The fight against the Spanish conquistadors, who were the equivalent of the Teutonic Knights, the fight against converting by force, was an idea that came out of Poland, from Kraków. If you speak about […] about the beatification of Bartolome Las Casas, the main protagonist of the Indian defense in South America, then it is a continuation of the trend begun in the early fifteenth century at the Jagiellonian University.*[48] Developing his historiosophical vision and axiology of history Swieżawski will formulate arguments for the relationship between legal ideas represented by Paweł Włodkowic and the ideas of Bartolome Las Casas.

However, in history there are moments of elation, when free thought rises high and there are also moments of its deep collapse. *At the end of the Middle Ages 'Christianitas' […] chose Thomism for its ideology. […] it became a set of directives that allegedly ensured that one is in possession of the truth.*[49] This act of spiritual and political power has nullified freedom of thought. *It was forgotten that spiritual life can flourish only in freedom. Any transformation of philosophy or theology into ideology is a fundamental distortion, because it is subjecting the truth to practical requirements, namely*

[47] Idem, 'O Janie Husie…'.

[48] Idem, 'Święci czasów przełomu…'.

[49] Idem, *Święty Tomasz na nowo. Wykłady w Laskach*, Kraków 1983, pp. 23–34.

political ones.[50] Subordination of knowledge and its acquisition to practical and ideological goals enslaves scientific cognition and in the dimension of social life hinders and even annihilates the pursuit of those values that University should serve.

By opting for the freedom of science that seeks to find the truth, Swieżawski definitely states: *There is one objective truth, but there are many paths leading to it, because the aspect of philosophical cognition follows from the human nature. Hence the pluralism of philosophy which a historian of philosophy must recognize as the expression of a normally functioning human cognition in the field of philosophical issues.*[51] Honestly practiced philosophy teaches pluralism. In the sphere of intellectual (cognitive) activity and in the sphere of spiritual (religious) life, seeking to discover the basic unity, one should recognize the irreducible value of pluralism: *True unity […] is achieved only… by the flare of multiplicity and diversity, spreading its wealth only in a climate of freedom, honesty and mutual trust. Uniformity kills true and deep unity.*[52] The tension between unity and diversity enlivens and dynamises cognition, more broadly – revives and dynamises intellectual and spiritual life. Jagiellonian ideas were also to express this desirable tension between unity and diversity.

Referring to his own experience of education and socialization, which took place in a culturally and religiously diverse environment, Swieżawski is inclined to believe that *diversity should be as wide as possible. We must learn to live in pluralism – every day, and not only on special occasions. I remember with emotion my school years, where my colleagues were Jews, Greek Catholics, etc., there was nothing that was identical – and no one was surprised.*[53] Jagiellonian ideas remind us that one should learn to live in pluralism, because the human world is and should be in many respects a diverse world.

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[50] Idem, 'Panorama wieku XV (a lecture in French at the University of Geneva on 1 VI 1986)', transl. M. Stokowska, in: idem, *Istnienie i tajemnica*, Lublin 1993, pp. 140–141.

[51] Idem, 'Etos historyka filozofii', in: idem, *Istnienie i tajemnica*…, p. 254.

[52] Idem, 'Jedność uniformizmu czy zjednoczenie w różnorodności', in: idem, *Człowiek i tajemnica*, p. 94.

[53] 'Dlaczego kocham Kościół? Z prof. Stefanem Swieżawskim rozmawiają Janusz Poniewierski i Karol Tarnowski', *Znak*, Vol. 5 (2001), p. 100.

Jagiellonian ideas and the search for the principles of tolerance

The value that legal solutions postulated by Paweł Włodkowic have for the shaping of attitude and ethos of tolerance is stressed by Swieżawski: *Apparently, the Polish tolerant attitude in the religious sphere was well marked. Just like no one (even an emperor!) has the right to convert anyone by force under his power, the very idea of imposing faith onto someone with violence is in the opinion of Włodkowic the work of Satan, not Christ […] According to Włodkowic, the same principles apply to Jews. He wrote: «Et Judeai maxime tolerandi sunt, quia per eorum codices veritatem et fidem nostram probamus… (We are to bear the Jews too with the greatest patience, because through their 'holy' books we confirm the truth and our faith…)».*[54] The words *maxime tolerandi sunt* and referring to the common roots are – as Swieżawski notes – something different on the ideological map of Europe, because then an extremely intolerant and murderous view was promoted that 'Jews must be converted by force, even under the threat of torture and death'. Swieżawski points to the ideological link between the postulates of Włodkowic and that of the law school in Salamanca. He considers the ideas of the Kraków school as precursors to the postulates of Francis Vitoria and Bartolome Las Casas, who defended human rights (humanity) of Indians against Spaniards, who treated them like animals. In the vision of the history of Europe, which Swieżawski, Kraków and Salamanca offer, today's ideals of Europeanness, openness and tolerance form one trend: *Seemingly marginal matters: a campaign of the Polish delegation at the Council of Constance in defense of pagans and schismatics and Spanish theoreticians' struggle for the rights of Indians devastated by conquistadors were fundamental to the spiritual destiny of Europe.*[55] The openness to others pattern lies also in the location of Zamość – at its bases having an ideally original vision of tolerance – along with the innovative undertakings in the sphere of education accompanying this act. The ideas and attitudes that make up the model of Europeanness, developed in the conditions of multicultural Poland, are to be clearly expressed by the words of Erasmus of Rotterdam: *Polonia mea est*. On the other hand, the unreflective assimilation of Sienkiewicz's vision of Poland is – according

[54] S. Swieżawski, 'Etos polityczny…', p. 181.

[55] Idem.

to Swieżawski – 'horrible': *They are full of contempt and hatred for other nations, others close to us, the neighbouring cultures and religions. Living these ideals, we will never become an open, tolerant, ecumenical people.*[56]

The extremes of political and religious attitudes are charcterised with with one-sidedness, schematic simplifications and prejudices, and absolutization of arbitrarily chosen values; they falsify the image of the axiologically rich reality, which is full of differences. In Swieżawski's opinion, extreme ideologies are blind because they do not allow perceiving cultural wealth and developing a natural – as Swieżawski believes – attitude of openness.

The manifestations of intolerance towards other faiths and nations in his own broadly understood denominational and national environment are strongly condemned by Swieżawski. He quotes attempts to oppose the nationalistic mood in the first half of the twentieth century in Lviv, which were important for the formation of his views. These attempts were made in the community of people associated with the *'Odrodzenie'* Catholic religious and social movement. Swieżawski highlights the foundations of the ideological conflict with the Wszechpolacy (All-Poles) organization: *'Odrodzenie' had a clearly national character, but of a completely different colour than the Wszechpolacy.*[57] The opposition to the ideology and actions of the Wszechpolacy resulted primarily from their erroneous valuation of reality: *they overturn the hierarchy of values, and they subordinate religion and good of the Church to the good of the nation, proclaiming the Roman principle: 'Salus reipublicae suprem lex esto'*.[58] In Swieżawski's eyes, in their ideology and practice the organisation relativize, instrumentalize and radically subordinate the divine element to the imperial one. Ideologies and institutions that sacralize, absolutize and totalize the scope of 'what is imperial' remain in the open disagreement, among others, with Christian personalism, giving primacy to the human person.

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[56] 'Określanie tożsamości Kościoła. Ze Stefanem Swieżawskim rozmawiają Anna Karoń -Ostrowska i Józef Majewski', in: Z. Nosowski (ed.), *Dzieci soboru zdają pytania. Rozmowy o Soborze Watykańskim II*, introd. T. Pieronek, Warszawa 1996, p. 29 (the book is a collection of 20 interviews inspired by the Second Vatican Council documents, including: Bishop Jan Chrapek, Stanisława Grabska, Wacław Hryniewicz OMI, Jan Andrzej Kłoczowski OP, Jacek Salij OP, Father Józef Tischner, Bishop Józef Życiński).

[57] S. Swieżawski, *Wielki przełom 1907–1945*, Lublin 1989, p. 151.

[58] Ibid.

In Swieżawski's opinion, such an approach 'inevitably leads to national totalitarianism' and also 'contradicts' the most wonderful of our traditions – tolerance and the federal Commonwealth of the three nations: Poland, Lithuania and Ruthenia'[59]. The tolerant, centuries-long tradition of the Commonwealth of many nations is contrasted with the aspirations of nationalist totalitarianism, using the role of religion for their own purposes. The clearly shown hierarchy of values requires respect for the autonomy of the Church and preservation of sovereignty of religion in the face of extreme national aspirations.

The practice of tolerance, as Swieżawski taught it, does not boil down to carrying out an ideological project, but attempts to respond to specific challenges. Tolerance is not meant to strive to blur the real differences and limits, to strive to refrain from distinguishing between differences in values. The vision of tolerance, advocated by Swieżawski, evokes metaphysical foundations: the diversity of reality requires that man should observe the principles of properly understood tolerance. However, it is not to be treated as an absolute idea guiding his behaviour. Tolerance is one of many elements of the whole diverse body of virtues (spiritual skills), which should be shaped by man in himself. One cannot stop at showing tolerance only. Having such a virtue is meant to support the attitude of intelligent openness to others, affirmation of their 'otherness' and creative assimilation of otherness.

The attitude of tolerance is – according to Swieżawski – conditioned by the ethical abilities of being with people and their different traditions. In order to practice tolerance, the ability to meet otherness as well as axiological and intellectual openness to otherness is especially required from a human being. In the essay 'For a proper understanding of tolerance' Swieżawski succinctly captures the way he understood tolerance:

First of all, *tolerance is not only about views but about people who take these views.*[60] The basic starting point for practicing tolerance is respect for the other person. The personalist foundations of tolerance are visible here: a firm focus on the well-being of the person and recognition of their dignity.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Idem, 'O właściwe rozumienie tolerancji', *Znak*, Vol. 6, (1993), p. 4.

Secondly: Tolerance if it is wrongly absolutized as a superior virtue, it turns out to be a destructive force in individual and social life. For tolerance to be a virtue that builds the desired interpersonal relationships, it *must be fed by other spiritual abilities, or virtues that help us to fully affirm the otherness of our fellow men*.[61] Practicing tolerance requires working out a whole 'body of virtues': bravery and courage, moderation and justice.

Thirdly: The theory and practice of tolerance should be based on the acceptance of certain ontological beliefs as to the pluralistic character of reality, which is the environment of human life in which the human being actively participates. The idea and attitude of tolerance are founded on the metaphysical and axiological belief that *all reality is characterized by astonishing diversity, and the human world is differentiated by the various categories of otherness.*[62] If a man loses the ability to be metaphysically astonished with the diversity of reality, if he does not shape the axiological sensitivity and openness to otherness, then it is difficult to expect that he will show the correct attitude of tolerance. And this is just a starting point: *Everyone should not only notice these different kinds of 'otherness', but he is also morally obliged to practically accept the rights of these 'others'*.[63]

Fourth – a warning to distinguish tolerance from its appearances: *if our acceptance of 'others' does not differ from the egoistically planned coexistence of tightly separated and self-centered 'small worlds' – then such tolerance as the fruit of defeat and pride of the intellect and trampling on the demands of justice and love is pseudo-tolerance and a caricature of authentic tolerance.*[64]

After presenting the general understanding of tolerance recognized as proper, also as a task in upbringing and self-education, Swieżawski again returns to the interpretation of Jagiellonian ideas worked out by him, to strengthen arguments for tolerance with reference to the history of ideas and historical experience: Włodkowic, the main representative of the opinions prevailing at the beginning of the fifteenth century

[61] Ibid., p. 5.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid., p. 6.

at the University of Kraków, wrote many statements that clearly demonstrate his tolerant and pluralist views. *According to Włodkowic: those other than Catholics – non-Christians […] and 'other' Christians (Orthodox ones) must be treated as people having the right to their own possessions, to their own customs and religions. […] in a country whose inhabitants are so diverse, Catholics must arrange living together in a dignified way. Włodkowic clearly uses the following terms here: 'liberaliter' (honestly) and 'amicabiliter' (friendly). People […] who propagate conversion by force, […] and who call themselves Christians, are hypocrites, and hypocrites, writes Włodkowic to Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, are much worse than heretics and schismatics! People of other religions are under the direct protection of God himself, and Jews are not allowed to be persecuted […], because they are also depositaries of books of the Old Testament, which are holy both for them and for Christians*.[65] Promoting Jagiellonian ideas, Swieżawski also recalls the conviction that *Erasmus saw the powerful Jagiellonian state as an island […] of an open and tolerant spirit, surrounded and threatened by the rising waves of dynastic ambitions and fratricidal religious wars*.[66] This way of showing the moral values of tolerance and models of its implementation in the context of Jagiellonian ideas is a historical frame that closes the argument about the contemporary 'burning' need to properly shape the virtue of tolerance.

Final remarks

The interpretation of the Jagiellonian ideas proposed by Swieżawski opens the space for an open discussion on how to actualize the values indicated by Jagiellonian ideas in the present times and how to avoid the undesirable consequences of the attempts to implement socially destructive multiple utopias, which they do not respect the basic rights of the person and community.[67]

[65] Ibid., p. 7.

[66] Ibid., p. 8. *[…] in this amazing pluralistic melting pot, which the great Jagiellonian power was, not only Polish culture developed wonderfully, but also other people than indigenous Poles could participate in it. […] the tolerant principles prevailing in this state allowed Jewish culture to create its powerful centres in the territory of the Commonwealth of many nations* (Ibid.).

[67] See: K. Olbrycht, 'Pedagogiczne konsekwencje personalistycznego ujmowania kultury

Jagiellonian ideas – especially in this form given by Swieżawski – are

na progu XXI wieku', in: D. Kubinowski (ed.), *Kultura współczesna a wychowanie człowieka*, Lublin 2006, pp. 79–88; P. Dancák, 'Communio personarum a európska integrácia', in: idem (ed.), *Sapienciálny charakter antropológie Jána Pavla II. v kontexte európskej integrácie. Zborník z vedeckého seminára s medzinárodnou účasťou*, Prešov 2006, pp. 112–127; idem, *Personalistický rozmer vo filozofii 20. storočia, Prešovská univerzita v Prešove*, Prešov 2009. In an e-mail discussion on this text, Zbigniew Osiński (a historian conducting research in the field of recent Polish history and historical education) formulated a series of questions worthy of citation, which may stimulate further discussion on the current significance of Jagiellonian ideas (among others in the interpretation proposed by Swieżawski): *1. Are Jagiellonian ideas, openness to other cultures and religions, intercultural interactions, tolerance, universalism of human rights, a legacy of the Jagiellonian Commonwealth, or rather of few educated magnate and bourgeois elites? Were these ideas included in the system of views and attitudes of all or most of the various national, religious and social groups in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth? Was the Commonwealth a community of nations or elites? Did the Jagiellonian ideas have a real influence on political, intellectual and economic life as well as on the culture of the Jagiellonian Commonwealth? Have they proven themselves in the practice of the state and society that were diversified legally, economically, religiously and culturally? Is it therefore justified to believe that «No European nation has such a wonderful tradition of tolerance, pluralism and humanism of a collective life like we, Poles, Lithuanians, Belarusians, and Ukrainians. It is enough to turn our eyes to our roots - and from there draw the guidelines to shape our attitude in the present. Good knowledge and understanding of history will allow us to be optimistic»? 2. Can Jagiellonian ideas create the foundations of patriotism, other than that identified with strong group identification, interest of one's own community, monoculturalism and nationalism, both in a multicultural and culturally and nationally homogeneous state? Is Jagiellonian patriotism something more than the patriotism of the elites and can it be something more in the world of sharp political and economic rivalry? 3. Is the coexistence, in one state, of communities recognizing Jagiellonian ideas, openness to other cultures and religions, intercultural interactions, tolerance, universalism of human rights as something positive possible, as the basis for the organization of social life with closed societies, hostile to other nations and religions? 4. Is it possible to 'adjust to everyone else and not to distort oneself', when we live in a single country with a closed community that does not want to fit in with others and even despises others? Can you be open towards those who are closed? Is it possible to give up to distinct between 'our own' and 'strangers', relying on 'our own' and supporting 'our own' when dealing with social groups that divide people into 'our own' and 'strangers' with all the consequences of this division? 5. Should we respect the rights of those who do not respect our rights? Should we accept or tolerate ideas, that assume lack of acceptance or tolerance for our culture? Is freedom also due to the enemies of freedom? And the last question, but probably the most important - Do old ideas fit into a completely different world (technically, technologically, politically, economically, legally, etc.) than the one in which they were formed? Can*

inspiring, among others, for intercultural education to deal with cultural heritage responsibly and creatively, which is subjected to common, critical reflection, in order along with valuable tradition, not to accept uncritically nor repeat mistakes that may be perceived in the distant and closer past, errors that negatively affect the present and are an active threat to the future.

Considering the progressive identity exclusion in a multicultural situation intensified by relativism and recommendations of political correctness, Jerzy Nikitorowicz criticises ideological multiculturalism which has been promoted form many years: *Instead of connecting people, it separates and segregates them, causing antagonisms and conflicts, destroying the foundations of a multicultural society […]. The ideology of multiculturalism, eager for opening to other cultures, proclaiming tolerance and constantly speaking about dialogue, actually does not implement opening, tolerance or dialogue. Common good and human values are increasingly replacing group interests when one starts dogmatically guarding one's own rights, liberties and lifestyles.*[68] The interpretation of the Jagiellonian ideas proposed by Swieżawski allows to recognize the ideological traps of multiculturalism, but encourages developing intercultural education, which is not without its doubts and dilemmas, and *has difficult tasks related to shaping the need to 'go out into the borderland', extracting the tradition of cultural pluralism of the Polish culture, cultivating common cultural heritage, perceiving and interpreting otherness as interesting and motivating to develop and cooperate.*[69] This task – as Stefan Swieżawski also testifies – is still worth taking and remains constantly valid.

the Jagiellonian tradition be a recipe for the effects of the latest migration, globalization and neo-liberalism - that is, for growing nationalism and closure?

[68] J. Nikitorowicz, *Wykluczanie tożsamościowe w kreującym się społeczeństwie wielokulturowym wyzwaniem dla edukacji międzykulturowej – konteksty relatywizmu i poprawności politycznej*, in: T. Lewowicki, A. Szczurek-Boruta, J. Suchodolska (ed.), *Pedagogika międzykulturowa wobec wykluczenia społecznego i edukacyjnego*, Toruń 2011, p. 22.

[69] Idem, *Pogranicze, tożsamość, edukacja międzykulturowa*, Białystok 2001, p. 169. See: M. Rembierz, 'Uczenie się pluralizmu i kształtowanie tożsamości religijnej w kontekście kulturowych i światopoglądowych odmienności – między tradycyjnym zróżnicowaniem a współczesnym pluralizmem', *Politeja*, vol. 46 (2017), pp. 191-237.

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The Jagiellonian Ideas in the Promotion of Intangible Cultural Heritage – the Example of Polish Jagiellonian Fairs

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A fair is not only where market stalls stand
but there where politicians band
[Alberto Moravia]

The 'new' philosophy of Jagiellonian heritage

If, according to the so-called new philosophy, heritage is understood as the presence of the past in the present, the eponymous Jagiellonian Fairs may be seen as a peculiar kind of manifestation of the annual medieval fairs brought into existence mainly by the King of Poland and Lithuania, Władysław II. These had the aim of facilitating free trade and the opening up of functioning trade routes in the areas of the exceptionally vast kingdom which resulted, along with complex anchoring points, enabling not only the flow of goods but also of news and ideas from around the world, thereby creating, as we would say today, an intercultural creative space for communication, exchange and coexistence. At the outset, it is worth clearly emphasizing that cultivating the past forms of fairs in

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the perspective displayed here, namely new thinking on the subject of heritage generally along with the creative inspiration of Jagiellonian heritage itself, is not about the passive reconstruction of the past in every respect, lovingly maintained and guarded values and ideas of long ago, but sometimes empty, insignificant artefacts and passing them on, analogous with museum exhibits/objects, in a pristine condition to the next generation. In the case of 'new', that is critical (reflexive) attitudes to heritage, one thing is for certain regarding their contemporary use and regarding their actual, that is, their active use by a given generation in times considered current to it. This is connected almost automatically with their creative interpretation, application and widely accepted development in the concept that every generation carries something characteristic of its own legacy which it subsequently passes on.[1] However, we are dealing here with the concept and socio-cultural construct[2] deriving from, or rather (co-)created, from a reservoir of resources which possessing a visible potential, have a processual[3] and pro-developmental character[4]. It has therefore a place during the various interactions and discursive socio-cultural practices[5].

[1] Derived from the Latin, *tradere* – 'to pass on', 'transmit'. Here, this concerns the active process of transmission (*tradere*) whose content is important for a given community (*traditum*), see: O. Nahodil, 'Tradycja jako definiens kultury', *Lud*, vol. 7 (1991), p. 8.

[2] See: J.E. Tunbridge, G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage. The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, Chichester 1996; G.J. Ashworth, 'Sfragmentaryzowane dziedzictwo: sfragmentaryzowany instrument sfragmentaryzowanej polityki', in: M. Murzyn, J. Purchla (ed.), *Dziedzictwo kulturowe w XXI wieku. Szanse i wyzwania*, Kraków 2007, pp. 32–34.

[3] See: O. Nahodil, 'Tradycja…'.

[4] See: J. Purchla, 'Dziedzictwo kulturowe w Polsce: system prawny, finansowanie i zarządzanie', in: J. Hausner, A. Karwińska, J. Purchla (ed.), *Kultura a rozwój*, Warszawa 2013, pp. 195–214; K. Broński, 'Marketing dziedzictwa kulturowego', in: J. Hausner, A. Karwińska, J. Purchla (ed.), *Kultura…*, pp. 215–236; M. Murzyn-Kupisz, 'Dziedzictwo kulturowe w kontekście rozwoju lokalnego', in: J. Hausner, A. Karwińska, J. Purchla (ed.), *Kultura…*, pp. 237–263; K. Jagodzińska, 'Rewitalizacyjna funkcja kultury i dziedzictwa kulturowego', in: J. Hausner, A. Karwińska, J. Purchla (ed.), *Kultura…*, pp. 265–285.

[5] Heritage understood as a dynamic, interactive, discursive space. See: E. Nieroba, A. Czerner, M. S. Szczepański, 'Między nostalgią a nadzieją. Dziedzictwo kulturowe jako dyskursywny obszar rzeczywistości społecznej', in: E. Nieroba, A. Czerner, M. S. Szczepański (ed.), *Między nostalgią a nadzieją. Dziedzictwo kulturowe w ujęciu interdyscyplinarnym*, Opole 2009, pp. 17–36.

Such understandings draw us closer, in turn, to the concept of intangible cultural heritage as promoted by UNESCO in whose view it is understood as various cultural practices performed in a specific cultural space and in a specific cultural context employing specific artefacts connected with it and with which its creators identify themselves (that is, they feel to be their heirs). Above all, in this article, its following domains will be discussed: the abilities and practices connected with traditional crafts; festive customs, rituals and rites; as well as the performing arts. At the same time one must remember that according to the definition popularized by UNESCO,[6] all of these are strongly inter-connected and may be treated as living practices of given cultural groups as the authentic continuing tradition it has been ascribed, almost cannot exist separately, that is, only in specially arranged and directed greenhouse conditions.[7]

The problem outlined above allows one to understand the eponymous event as a conscious, intentional, causative action activating the international fair Jagiellonian legacy in contemporary cultural contexts as, in some regards for the people/groups doing them, it is still important, real and significant (acknowledged as valuable/containing value and possessing significance). Of course, the above-mentioned intentions and motivations of such actions may be very varied, namely: emotional; sentimental; representational; identifying; integrated; ceremonial; ludic; aesthetic; artistic, animated; educational (formal and informal regional education and intercultural education); political; touristic; promotional; as well as purely economic or simply commercial, just to mention some of them. However, the more important question appears as to whether these fairs, more exactly the initial concept during Jagiellonian times, are indeed treated by their broadly conceived nearer and further stakeholders as prospective, processual pro-development resources with which they can identify themselves in a contemporary manner and which may develop creatively and not only passively recreate. Among these subjects one may mention:

[6] See: Article 2, Clauses 1 and 2, UNESCO convention regarding the protection of intangible cultural heritage, http://www.unesco.pl/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/Konwencja_o_ochronie_dz._niemater_2003.pdf, 28 August 2017.

[7] Taken from the UNESCO concept promoting the protection of intangible cultural heritage without its petrifaction, *Safeguarding without Freezing*, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/safeguarding-00012, 28 August 2017.

- The local and wider community of a given region and country;
- Foreign and domestic tourists;
- Foreign and domestic creative artists, handicraftsmen, artisans and artists (by no means only 'folk artists');
- Manufacturers and processors of traditional farm and culinary products;
- Professional or amateur historians or enthusiasts of reconstructing traditions;
- Representatives of various academic disciplines fulfilling the functions of experts and judges at this type of event and those similar to it (festivals, reviews, fairs);
- Local, regional and national government;
- Local, regional, national and international sponsors;
- Themed institutions and cultural organizations from various sectors with a regional, nationwide or international reach;
- Local, regional, national, and sometimes foreign media;
- Organizers.

The last of these are key as it is they who first create and later put into practice the idea, or more exactly the mission, vision and goals of this kind of event. Therefore, it is they who in 'thinking up' a given event decide whether it will be a creative interpretation and fruitful employment of a legacy, thanks to which its realization is generally possible as the continuation of certain traditions for a given place, while not being only a simulacral creation based on contemporary theme parks. Such places are thought up all of a sudden, from the beginning not important where they are actually built, meaning in which region. However, this does not mean any less that these events may not take on a form which under the cover of paying homage to tradition are in places close to, or remind one of 'Disney'/'disneyfied' creations. In such a configuration, the seemingly most important factor is not whether the project is the characteristic extension of a tradition or whether it is part of contemporary trends, but possibly, whether it is worthwhile in various regards.

In order to attempt to get through to the motivations driving both the organizers and the broadly conceived participants in this kind of event with a clearly inter-cultural, inter-community and inter-generational character, as well as the potential of the Jagiellonian heritage deep within them, one should first immerse oneself in the past, even for a moment,

meaning briefly draw oneself closer to the history of fairs of the Jagiellonian period, as well as that of markets in general.

Jahrmarkt, or festive annual market – urban intangible heritage

According to the dictionary definition, the Polish term for fair 'jarmark' (from the German *Jahrmarkt*) was a type of medieval 'market'[8] meaning a supra-local free trade institution, known in Europe since the early Middle Ages, established under the protection of regional authorities with the aim of carrying out transactions related above all with long-distance trade, thus a centre of the exchange of goods in long-distance trade.[9] In contrast to normal fairs which concentrated mainly on local goods, they were organized once or several times a year on set dates, most frequently on the occasion of church feast days, and lasted for several days. They were also accompanied by various social events, to us a contemporary term. In the period of its foundation, this was above all the basic form of free trade, mainly wholesale. However, from its beginning it also fulfilled integrative, activation, ludic and political functions to no less a degree. Moreover, regarding its reach, it also possessed the equally important function which to we would call a base for international and inter-cultural relations. Both the market and its more developed form, namely the fair were frequently from the beginning also clearly connected with an urban space.

The first record containing the contemporary Polish word 'market' referring to markets in Poland is found in a document from 1065. In 1278 another medieval document records '*forense, quod* targove *dicitur*', meaning that the presence of markets had become established. However, in 1496 an important (from the perspective of the deliberations in this article)

[8] The Polish terms for market, *targ* and *bazar*, are defined as a sales and purchasing centre, a form of buying and selling of goods which takes place at a certain time (usually, once, sometimes twice a week) on a specially set-aside space (usually open) called a 'marketplace', 'market square' or more directly 'a market.' The etymology of the term *targ* is unclear. Usually, its time of origin is given as the 14th century (from the Czech *trh*, the Russian *torg*, *torgi*). Although similar forms appear in the Lithuanian *tur~gus* and the Latvian *tirgus*, it is not known whether they are borrowings from the Old Russian *търгъ*. It is often linked with a given tradition or formal trading rules, See: the entry for 'targ' in: A. Brückner, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Kraków 1927, pp. 565–566 and *Słownik języka polskiego PWN*, at https://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/targ;2528817.html, 28 August 2017.

[9] See: entry for 'jarmark' in: *Encyklopedia PWN*, at https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/encyklopedia/jarmark.html, 28 August 2017 and *Słownik etymologiczny…*, p. 199.

law was laid down saying that markets in towns 'were free to all'[10], as well as saying that 'no one took market tolls from the clergy or the nobles, or from their serfs [*sic* – J.D.], as grain and their own household things, comprising food will be given it to them or bought in relation to their needs.'[11] No less important was how, in 1504, this noble and egalitarian law became subjected to changes. Thus, it was declared that 'a Marshal of the Crown set and collect the market toll in royal towns',[12] while the field toll, meaning tax on trade in camps, was set and collected by the Great Hetman together with the Marshal's Council.[13] In 1507, it was declared in turn that 'markets in are not to take place in the countryside under pain of confiscation of the goods sold.'[14] In 1523 another law was passed declaring that 'the goods and crafts of the nobles, that is from the goods of the nobles as well as vessels brought to the towns were not free of paying the market toll.'[15] It is important, however, that the laws continuously evolved, one example being how in 1538 it was once again declared that 'the market toll should not be taken from those peasants whose own items or for their own needs they are buying or selling'.[16] It is can be seen, however, that from the beginning the law regulating markets belonged to the most important privileges of a town. A market place was to be found in every town. In contrast to much more specialized fairs, currently, markets may have both an organized and spontaneous character.

Fairs lasted from 1–2 days up to as long as two weeks. Often this time was divided into periods for displaying goods, the drawing up of contracts and settling one's financial obligations. The huge flow to the fairs of merchants and customers from different places caused the rapid development of so-called market towns in which already from the 12th century goods from the Near East, as well as Western and Northern

[10] Z. Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana*, vol. IV: *Targi i targowe*, Warszawa 1903, vol. leg. I, fol. 253.

[11] Ibid., fol. 269.

[12] Ibid., fol. 295.

[13] Ibid., fol. 296.

[14] Ibid., fol. 364.

[15] Ibid., fol. 400.

[16] Ibid., fol. 520.

Europe had been sold. The most popular were the fairs of Champagne.[17] Apart from direct trade, often from the beginning fairs fulfilled the role of a display and a goods exchange, during which transactions were based mainly on credit and which, in turn, led to the development of various forms of financial obligations and trading companies. Along with the development of trade, more and more craft workshops and mercantile warehouses were established, as well as stalls, slaughterhouses, mills and smithies. An important aspect of fairs, from the perspective of this article, was market law or 'market peace', 'the King's peace', or 'Pax Dei', meaning the secular and clerical privileges granted to merchants which guaranteed them personal safety and security of their goods for the duration of the fair, as well as the town authorities having the responsibility then of supervising the propriety of the transactions made (weights, measures, prices) and limiting the sales monopolies of guilds[18].

On Polish territory, fairs had become commonplace by the 13th century. However, their greatest development occurred between the 14th and 16th centuries. The first mercantile cities were Gdansk and Wroclaw. These were followed by fairs in Lviv, Lutsk, Grodno and Vilnius (known mainly for products from forestry); in Jaroslaw and Klecko (known for textiles); in Przemysl and Przeworsk (known for selling oxen); in Kraków, Sandomierz, Kazimierz Dolny, Płock and Toruń (known for grain); as well as Lublin where the main goods were Hungarian wine, along with grain and oxen. It was not only merchants from all over Poland who came there but those from the furthest reaches of Europe and the world at large. Goods were bought which were then transported in bulk (by land and sea routes) to western Europe. Among the most popular goods were grain, furs, oxen, products from forestry, as well as linen. In turn, from

[17] Already developed in the late 12th century. Considered to be a medieval centre of European trade connecting northern and southern trading centres. The name comes from the fact that they were organized in Champagne, Their significance is a result of the geographical location – they were established at the crossroads of trade routes from Flanders to Italy, not far from Paris and with easy access to the Moselle valley and the Mosel region. Their significance was also a result of the protection given to them by the Counts of Champagne. K. Baczkowski, *Wielka historia świata*, vol. 5, Kraków 2005, p. 744.

[18] See: H. Samsonowicz, 'Jarmarki w Polsce na tle sytuacji gospodarczej w Europie w XV–XVI wieku', in: J. Bardach et al. (ed.), *Europa – Słowiańszczyzna – Polska. Studia ku uczczeniu profesora Kazimierza Tymienieckiego*, Poznań 1970.

western Europe came textiles, metal goods, spices, wine and various so-called luxury goods.[19] Deserving attention are the famous St. Dominic's Markets which have taken place in different places in Poland since the Middle Ages, in towns where the preaching order of the Dominicans were based with the authority of Papal and Episcopal privileges. They were most often held during the celebrations for the feast days of St. Dominic (early August) and St. Hyacinth (17 August). Their rejuvenation occurred during the 1990s and, currently, they are organized by almost every Dominican chapter[20].

The above-mentioned markets were famous in the First Polish Republic, and in Europe, as one of the most well-known international events concerning trade but also culture. Thanks to them, town-dwellers, merchants, craftsmen, the great estates of the magnates and the manors of the gentry were all enriched. The money earned was used on various building initiatives which one may still admire today in the form of splendorous historic tenements of old town centres. Moreover, local places of worship were financed and funded, including those of the Roman Catholic, Jewish, Orthodox and Lutheran faiths. Private libraries were fitted out, while the development of schools and orphanages was financed. Due to the trading of goods in Polish market cities, over many centuries members of many different nationalities settled there, such as Ruthenians, Germans, Scots, Jews, Tartars, Armenians and Greeks. One may therefore posit the thesis with confidence that markets were one on the most visible forms of realizing the Jagiellonian Idea of 'an open multi-cultural state.' Through this, political news and information concerning intellectual, cultural and religious matters reached its inhabitants. There was a continuous flow of information. During fairs, contracts were drawn up regarding the purchase of books, maps, pictures and the distribution of printed pamphlets; modern trends (including fashion) were also created while new modes of behaviour were introduced. Doctors, barbers and breeders of exotic plants and animals attended fairs. To a certain degree they caused the dissemination of medical and general knowledge. Another

[19] H. Samsonowicz, *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski do 1945 roku*, vol. I, Warszawa 1981, pp. 279–281.

[20] See: 'Tu brzmi historia o jarmarku', *Jarmark Dominika*, at: http://jarmarkdominika.pl/tu-brzmi-historia-o-jarmarku/, 29 August 2017.

active groups at fairs were artists.[21]

It is worth adding that in colloquial Polish, the terms 'market' (*targ*) and 'fair' (*jarmark*) are used interchangeably which is seriously in error, as well as a simplification of a quite complex form of trade. Along with the development of communication and the appearance of new forms of trade (such as maritime trade), in the 16th century the role of fairs began to diminish significantly.

Fairs on the Jagiellonian Route

The historical Jagiellonian Route or *Via Jagiellonica* of Kraków-Lublin-Vilnius, alternatively '*Via Jagiellonica –Cracovia-Lublinium-Vilna*', one of the branches of the 'Via Regia'[22] is, as Zygmunt Kruczek points out, a perfect example of the linear system of places connected with the Jagiellonian cultural heritage, and which from the beginning was conceived in order that it could be used during the time of its rule towards the integration of the capital cities of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[23] Apart from being a route for royal processions and representatives, it quickly became frequently used by as a mercantile trail, as well as travel route for numerous officials, diplomats, knights, clerics, scholars, artists and others, and from the moment of the establishment of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the Polish parliament in Lublin in 1569, the most important road in the unified state. Moreover, quite quickly the road began to fulfil the function of a European cultural route facilitating exchange between the Latin civilisation and

[21] See: S. Dmitruk, 'Historia jarmarków lubelskich', in: *Jarmarkjagiellonski.pl*, at http://jarmarkjagiellonski.pl/events/czas-jarmarkow/, 31 August 2017.

[22] See: 'Szlak Jagielloński', *Europejskie Centrum Spotkań 'Zachód – Wschód' w Lublinie. Unia Szlaków 'Zachód – Wschód'*, at: http://www.zachod-wschod.pl/szlakjagiellonski/, 31 August 2017.

[23] The extraordinary course of the route began in 1386 with the famous expedition of the then Grand Duke of Lithuania from Vilnius to Poland with the aim taking over its government. Knights gathered for the journey in Lublin chose him as a candidate for the crown. Subsequently, together with a long retinue, he reached the capital Kraków where following his baptism, during which he received the name Władysław, and his marriage to Jadwiga, his coronation took place. Z. Kruczek, 'Jagiellońskie dziedzictwo kulturowe w turystyce na przykładzie kreacji szlaku historycznego *Via Jagiellonica*', in: L. Korporowicz, P. Plichta (ed.), *Mosty nadziei. Jagiellońskie inspiracje dialogu międzykulturowego*, Kraków 2016, p. 146.

the Byzantine civilisation of the east.[24] Currently, the trail has been reactivated by the 'Jagiellonian Route' Tourism Organization from Lublin as an international cultural tourist trail. The agency providing logistical and financial support is the 'Via Jagiellonica' foundation. Part of the route is overlapped by the reactivated St. James' trails (including the St. James' Roads of Malopolska and Lublin). As part of the management of the route and its promotion, these organizations provide themed interactive museum exhibitions, carry out research on the region, publish guides, maps, folders, organize themed excursions and guide workshops, as well as open themed events (including 'Travelling to the Past by the Jagiellonian Route').[25] No less important is undoubtedly the most recognisable cycle of events on the 'Via Jagiellonica', one which surprisingly the operators of the route do not display on their website, namely the famous Jagiellonian Fairs. Due to limits on the length of this article, I will concentrate solely on fairs held in what is Polish territory today.

The tradition of fairs during Jagiellonian times in Kraków

It is not possible to commence a Jagiellonian market journey anywhere else but the Royal Capital of Poland, Kraków, a symbolic city. Despite the fact, however, that it seems the Jagiellonian traditions are strongest and most visible here, as well as seeming to be extraordinarily conscious and creative, Kraków does not currently possess one complex event which is directly connected to the legacy of the markets of the Jagiellonian period and one which is easily recognisable to various participants. The lack of such an event is noticeable despite the fact that the city, as the initial and one of the most important anchoring points of the Jagiellonian Route, quite clearly displays its rich trading tradition whose development, in fact, occurred during Jagiellonian times. This is visible in, among other things, museum enterprises (i.e. the hugely popular Underground Marketplace of the Historical Museum of the City

[24] J. Kopaczek, 'Zarys dziejów królewskiego traktu Kraków–Lublin–Wilno i jego przywrócenie jako *Via Jagiellonica*', in: T. Rodziewicz (ed.), *Związki Lublina i Wilna. Studia i materiały*, vol. 1, Lublin 2011, pp. 85–100.

[25] See: *'Szlak Jagielloński' Kraków – Lublin – Wilno*, at: www.szlakjagiellonski.pl; *Szlak 'Via Jagiellonica'*, at: www.viajagiellonica.eu; *Europejskie Centrum Spotkań 'Zachód – Wschód' w Lublinie. Unia Szlaków 'Zachód – Wschód'*. at: www.zachod-wschod.pl, 31 August 2017.

of Kraków).[26] In various parts of the city, beyond the numerous markets which in themselves have become a Kraków tradition[27] while not being solely comprised of typically modern commercial goods, there are of course cyclical events organized on a form similar to fairs,[28] although it is more and more difficult to find clear references to the original Jagiellonian Idea, with this even lacking in the name. The events which currently seem to be closest to the initiative regarding the Jagiellonian heritage described here are St. John's Fair, St. Michael's Fair, the Craft Fair, as well as the so-called 'Sleeve Fair', known more generally as the unique 'Sleeve Holiday'.

St. John's Fair is a fairly recent initiative with the first such event taking place in 2009. The organizer is the Kraków Festival Office while the fair last for three days, taking place on the Czerwieński Embankment, next to Wawel Castle. Its premise is to bring participants back to the everyday Poland of the past. Members of historical re-enactment groups, craftspeople and artists introduce the fair's attendees to old Polish customs. Although during the period 2010–2012 it concentrated on the traditions of the Middle Ages, in 2013 it was divided into the first day being devoted to the Early Middle Ages, the second day to the Late Middle Ages and the third day to the Polish 'Golden Age'. In 2014, the third day was devoted to the 16th and 17th centuries in turn. In the preview of the eighth event (2017), we read that *the Czerwieński Embankment, next to Wawel Castle will be full of stallholders, cooks, wandering minstrels, ladies and knights from far afield. On the first day we are invited to a Royal Ball hosted by Henry of Valois and his fiancée Anna Jagiellon. Perhaps the king will betray*

[26] The Underground Marketplace of the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków is a unit of the MHK located under the eastern part of the Main Market. It covers an area of over 6,000 m², of which 4,000 m² is an archaeological reserve. See: 'O szlaku turystyczym', *Podziemia Rynku*, at: http://www.podziemiarynku.com/index.php?dzial=oszlaku, 31 August 2017.

[27] The market at Plac na Stawach, Plac Imbramowski, Plac Nowy, Stary Kleparz, Nowy Kleparz, under the Market Hall, modern Christmas and Easter markets and fairs, and the famous Kraków Cloth Hall.

[28] Among the most popular one may mention the following: the International Fair of Folk Art of the 'Cepelia' Polish Art and Handicrafts on the Main Square; the Malopolska Festival of Taste which takes place, among other places, at Plac Wolnica; or Emaus, a church fete taking place on Easter Monday at the Norbertine abbey in *Zwierzyniec by the Rudawa river and always held together with a folk fair.*

us, which is why did not get married in the end (maybe he did not accept the age, which was the 16th century we should remind ourselves). The party will be enlivened with the performances of halberdiers, dancers, strolling players and displays of courtly fashions. Saturday will also be a time of fun as near Wawel as both Sigismund the Old and Sigismund Augustus will be celebrating their name-day. It is to them we may be grateful for the famous 'Sigismund Times', a period of economic, scientific, cultural and artistic development in Poland. On Sunday, King Stefan Batory will arrive at the fair by horse with an entourage of oldiers and will be amazed by the performances of the artists gathered there, along with a game of living chess. Whether this was a good match for Anna Jagiellon with whom he is said to have spent three nights following the wedding, is not for us to judge…[29]

Apart from the historical re-enactments mentioned above, the programme outlines various types of event referring to old Polish traditions, including display of past crafts and the arts of war, dance workshops, early music concerts, equestrian displays, falconry displays, educational games for children and field games. Stalls are to be set up offering food, hand-made jewellery, historical costumes, weapons and tools for daily use, as well as completely modern toys and paper products. During the fair, there is a temporary tavern open on the Vistula Embankment. There are also crime mysteries organized concerning medieval Kraków. The main attraction of each fair is a competition for the most beautiful garland for which the main prize is a trip to… Disneyland. In 2010, St. John's Fair received a nomination in the events category of the 'Great Discoveries of Malopolska' plebiscite. Despite certain similarities regarding its mission and programme, in the final analysis it is rather difficult to award it the status of a creative continuator and contemporary enactor of the idea of the Jagiellonian fair.

St. Michael's Fair, the Craft Fair, the Culinary Fair, as well as the 'Sleeve Fair', are events organized, alongside the Science Festival, the Dumpling Festival, the **Christmas and Easter Fairs** by one organizer.[30] We are dealing here with, to use popular terms, 'incorporation' or 'absorption', meaning

[29] 'Jarmark Świętojański 2017. Widowiska plenerowe i happeningi', *Karnet.Krakow.pl*, at: http://karnet.krakow.pl/21555-krakow-jarmark-swietojanski-2017, 31 August 2017.

[30] See: 'Imprezy', *Artim. Sp. z o.o.*, at: http://www.kiermasze.com.pl/imprezy, 31 August 2017.

in a similar fashion to corporations which under one 'umbrella brand' attempt to gather sub-brands, products and offers, consequently aspiring to gain a (sub)market monopoly. The *Artim* company offers as part of its services the possibility of renting various types of fair equipment (sales booths, small food stands, barbecue food stands, shelters, tables, fences, tiered display stands, upright display stands, sleds, marquees, tents, stages, full electrical rigging, the distribution of electrical power of various levels, power cables, extension cables etc.)[31] However, it is also important that the organizers of the above-mentioned events work very closely with the Malopolska Craft and Business Association, as well as with the Kraków Mercantile Congregation which is over 600 years old, having been founded in 1410 during the reign of Władysław Jagiełło. However, when looking at the descriptions of the above-mentioned fairs more closely, it can be seen that their organizers do refer to the trading traditions of Kraków. As they themselves stress, these events have a special significance, ones which they organize on the Main Market square as that which comprises a return of the tradition through the restoration of its primary function, namely the function of trade. This is most visible in the description of St. Michael's Fair in which we read: *The oldest account of fairs in Kraków comes from 1310, one learns from this that three fairs took place in the city annually. Their traditions were established around the feast days of St. Stanislaw (3–4 May), St. Vitus (11–17 June) and St. Michael (29 September-3 October). The last of these was the largest fair of the Middle Ages. It ensured then, among other things, safe passage which required a merchant to embark on a journey with goods for sale to a town lying on the route. We would like for our event today to be free of forcibly attracting domestic and foreign tourists to our city. The fair is accompanied by ceremonies bidding farewell to the summer while welcoming the autumn through the authentic performance of folklore groups.*[32]

The famous Kraków 'Sleeve Fair' deserves separate discussion. For purpose of clarity, one is obliged to say stress that this is a much older holiday, one strongly interwoven with the history of the city itself as it is

[31] The Artim Kraków Manufacturing-Services Company, Ltd., based in Kraków, the current remit of its activities comprises: organizing markets, fairs, open-air events, the rental of market equipment, as well as services, the rental of tents, outdoor advertising, http://www.kiermasze.com.pl/o-firmie, 31 August 2017

[32] See: 'Jarmark kulinarny', *Artim. Sp. z o.o.*, at: http://www.kiermasze.com.pl/imprezy#jarmark-%C5%9Bw-micha%C5%82a, 31 August 2017.

with entire generations of its inhabitants.[33] Despite visible changes, it has still far to go to be a modern marketing, commercialized form of intangible heritage created primarily for tourists.

The Jagiellonian Fair and Knightly Tournament in Sandomierz

Another important town on the Jagiellonian Route is Sandomierz, one cultivating the traditions of fairs of the past up to today, along with a clear emphasis on the heritage of the Jagiellonian period. With its characteristic medieval urban architecture, it is considered to belong to one of the most valuable groups of Polish historical buildings. Up to today, the Sandomierz event draws on the heart of the historical space of the town, the fair taking place in the Old Town Square and currently taking two days. Apart from display and exhibitions of crafts of the past (in the form of archaeological camps presenting the lifestyle of people, even thousands of years ago), the sale of the work and products of local and foreign exhibitors, craftspeople, handicraftspeople, as well as traditional culinary products from wooden stalls and stands around Sandomierz Town Hall, along with music concerts with composers' arrangements of traditional Polish music, this fair is, above all, a place for developing historical performances. In the programme we find, among other things, a commemoration of the march of troops by the Opatowska Gate to the Old Town Square, King Władysław Jagiełło's entry to the town, as well as a parade of men in armour and courtly ladies; a ceremony of the changing of the guard comprised of infantry formations from the 15th century in placing the Knightly Banner of the Sandomierz Region, the coronation and inauguration ceremony of Elizabeth Granowska, née Pilecki, as Queen of Poland whose titles included Governess of Sandomierz, daughter of a regional official of Russia and Sandomierz, and general and regional official of Wielkopolska province; the dubbing of knights by King Władysław Jagiełło; courtly dances in honour of Queen Elizabeth; equestrian tournaments with the participation of the most renowned Polish knights, namely Zawisza

[33] The Sleeve Festival is a Polish Easter custom celebrated on Easter Tuesday in Kraków on and around the Sleeve Mound, as it is known, referring to the Slavic spring 'Dziady' tradition and other pre-Christian Slavic celebrations. Currently, it is a fete which takes place beside St. Benedict's Chapel together with a traditional fair and reconstructions of early medieval villages. See: *Historia Tradycyjnego Święta Rękawki*, at: http://web.archive.org/web/20071025223205/http://dkpodgorze.Kraków.pl/content/view/77/133/, 31 August 2017.

Czarny of Garbów, Dobiesław of Oleśnica, Mszczuj of Skrzynno and Powała of Taczew; displays by the infantry and royal artillery; a torch-lit night march by the Knightly Banner of the Sandomierz Region; along with a fireworks display.[34]

In accounts of the event, we may read on a local portal: *During the opening the organizers emphasized the essence of the Jagiellonian Fair and the Knightly Festival which took place in the unique atmosphere of Sandomierz. For centuries, the town has been a place of colourful fairs during which merchants came together from all corners of the world and exchanged goods while the local inhabitants had the opportunity to experience interesting new tastes, authentic aromas and unusual objects for everyday use. At the same time, the Knightly Festival alludes to the presence of military formations of the past in Sandomierz regarding its royal character, a fact which was emphasised by Gallus Anonymus in the Polish Chronicle. On the pages of this extraordinarily valuable historical document, he included the town in the sedes regni prinicpales or main seats of the King.*[35]

However, the traditional scenario of the events is disturbed by the placing next to the fair on the Marshal Pilsudski Embankment of the 'Green Velo' mobile village, an official event accompanying the fair, aimed at promoting the cycling trail of the same name.[36] The attractions of the village are as follows: acrobatic cycling shows and performances; an obstacle course; a tent with alco-goggles; a 5D cinema in a Green Velo capsule, as well as competitions regarding knowledge of the trail. Here, the question on everyone's lips is why 'Green Velo' and not 'Via Jagiellonica'?

[34] See: 'Jarmark Jagielloński w Sandomierzu. Turniej Rycerski i wiele innych atrakcji', *Tarnobrzeskie.eu*, at: http://tarnobrzeskie.eu/2017/06/28/jarmark-jagiellonski-w-sandomierzu-turniej-rycerski-i-wiele-innych-atrakcji-w-okolicy/, 29 August 2017.

[35] 'Jarmark Jagielloński i Turniej Rycerski 2017', *Sandomierz.pl*, at: http://www.sandomierz.pl/aktualnosci/relacje-zaproszenia/2017/lipiec/jarmark-jagiellonski-i-turniej-rycerski-2017, 29 August 2017.

[36] The eastern 'Green Velo' Trail is the longest continuous cycle trail running through five provinces in eastern Poland (the provinces of Lublin, Podlaska, Sub-Carpathia, Świętokrzyska, and Warmia-Mazury). The route of the trail runs through five national parks, four in Podlaska province, (Wigierski National Park, Biebrzański National Park, Narwiański National Park and Białowieża National Park) and one in Lublin province (Roztoczański National Park), see: 'O szlaku', *GreenVelo.pl*, at: https://greenvelo.pl/o-szlaku, 29 August 2017.

The Jagiellonian Fair in Lublin – a flagship initiative

The tradition of fairs in Lublin is extraordinarily rich. The most famous were mainly those in the 16th and early 17th centuries. Along with Kraków and Vilnius, Lublin is one of the most important anchoring points on the Jagiellonian Route. The city lies literally half way along the route while the cultures of east and west met there. The right to organize fairs at the end of the 14th century was awarded by Władysław Jagiełło himself.[37] In addition, he imposed the condition that every merchant passing through the town had to stay there for at least eight days. The first fairs lasted sixteen days and began eight days before Pentecost. In the mid-15th century, Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk (30 June 1448) increased the number of fairs to four per year. Apart from those indicated, they took place as follows: 2 February on the Feast of Candlemas (16 days); 15 August on the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady (8 days); and 28 October on the Feast of Sts. Jude and Simon (8 days).[38] Apart from the royal privileges of the 15th century, the establishment of the Crown Tribunal, or supreme court, in Lublin in 1578 influenced both trade and its own local craft industry. This in turn caused the development of trading centres for craftsmen, rich peasants and the gentry selling agricultural produce from their manors. The golden age of the Lublin fairs was the 16th century, an age which was, in the opinion of historians, the most popular and recognizable trade event in the entire Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Indeed, in a certain way, this has remained true up to today. Thus, currently, the most well-known initiative popularizing the Jagiellonian Fair heritage all over Poland (and abroad) is undoubtedly the Jagiellonian Fair organized by Lublin Cultural Workshops and the City of Lublin.[39]

[37] On 15 April 1383 he allowed Lublin merchants to independently trade with Lithuania while on 2 January 1392 he permitted the organizing of one annual fair, S. Dmitruk, *Historia jarmarków…*

[38] On the basis of a royal decree lay the reorganization of the trade routes between Wrocław, Radom, Lublin, Lviv in competition with the Kraków–Sandomierz–Lublin route. The route undermined Kraków's trade monopoly while the benefits of the turnover in goods flowed to the economies of Radom and Lublin. S. Dmitruk, *Historia jarmarków…*

[39] It is considered to be one of the largest international tourist attractions in Poland. In 2009 the organizers of the fair won the main award in the 'Polska Pięknieje'. Seven Wonders of European Funds' competition in the 'Trans-border and International Tourism' category. The fair also secured 8th place in the ranking of the 10 best mass cultural events in Poland, (along with St. Dominic's Fair in Gdansk, the Woodstock festival, and the New

The year 2017 saw the eleventh such event take place, and which was carried out as part of the 'the Birthday of the City', commemorating the Great 700th Anniversary of the city's establishment under Magdeburg Law. In their invitation to this auspicious occasion, the organizers wrote *For the legacy, the community, the future (…) experiencing this extraordinary year together, we wish to be inspired by our legacy, strengthen feeling of of pride in Lublin, as well as develop the town for future generations.*[40] One should stress that the modern Jagiellonian Fair, despite its significant evolution and many transformations (among which one may allude to it as 'a holiday of traditional culture', 'a festival' or an annual 'tourism event'), it comprises a traditional continuation of the Lublin Fairs. The organizers themselves emphasize this which is indicated by their reflective and creative attitude towards their own history: *Over time the tradition of the fairs was forgotten. The Jagiellonian Fair became an annual holiday, in fact due to the need to remind the inhabitants of the mercantile history of the city (…) The Jagiellonian Fair alludes to the tradition of fairs which used to take place four times a year in Lublin. During Jagiellonian times, the city was located at the crossroads of trade routes.*[41] In other descriptions of the event we read: *The artistic programme of the fair is the varieties of cultures which, during Jagiellonian times, had already enriched the city and constituted its strength in the international arena. A special event will be the 're:tradition' concert, this year is dedicated to the 700th anniversary in which exceptional artists of the Polish musical scene will meet masters of traditional music.*[42] At the same time, also through the fair, for a couple of years the City of Lublin has been determinedly carrying out its official strategy regarding the image of the city as one which is open and multi-cultural. In its description of the concept of the fair, one may see on its official website, among other things: *People's curiosity and desire to get to know and discover new cultures, the openness and sincerity which is displayed by participants and recipients of the Jagiellonian Fair, motivates us to build a programme*

Year's Eve festivals in Wrocław and Kraków) which was published in 'Atrakcje' magazine.

[40] *Lublin700. 700 lat miasta*, at: http://www.700.lublin.eu/, 31 August 2017.

[41] *Jarmark Jagielloński: wielkie święto kultury tradycyjnej*, interview with the organizers, http://www.polskieradio.pl/7/6066/Artykul/1816020,Jarmark-Jagiellonski-wielkie-swieto-kultury-tradycyjnej, 31 August 2017.

[42] *Jarmark Jagielloński, Warsztaty Kultury Lublin*, http://wydarzenia.o.pl/2017/08/11-jarmark-jagiellonski-warsztaty-kultury-lublin/#/, 31 August 2017.

based, above all, on direct relationships between artists and spectators. Of crucial importance is the master-apprentice relationship alluded to during numerous craft, singing, dance or instrumental workshops. During the putting together of the festival, the form and means of transmission and an awareness of selected elements of cultural traditions employed by the artists are important (…) The transmission of knowledge through direct contact, conversation or observation allows one to forge links with others while simultaneously popularizing authentic and often-forgotten templates and elements of traditional culture (…) Returning to archaic, but at the same time the simplest forms spending time together, brings us back to that which has been forgotten, namely a real-life encounter with another person.[43]

In the media we find the following description of the event: *For three days Lublin will remind one of the city of a hundreds of years past when we were one of the most important trading centres in Europe. Thus, regarding the famous Lublin markets of the 15th and 16th centuries, in 1584 Sebastian Fabian Klonowic wrote:*

'To the city of Lublin it is faithfully borne,
The bounty of the world from both near and far,
Here there's no lack of old Falernian wine in a horn,
It's the juice of the vineyards of the Greek and Magyar'.

In turn, in 1575 the Venetian envoy, Hieronymus Lippomano wrote of them: 'In Lublin as a place lying in the centre of all the provinces annual fairs are held, to which people from many surrounding countries come, namely Muscovites, Tartars, Turks, Italians, Jews, Germans, Hungarians, apart from Armenians, Lithuanians and other foreign inhabitants.' While fairs in Lublin took place four times a year (two for sixteen days; two for eight days), the modern fair, alluding to those times, lasts for three days. Neither a Turk, Jew, Italian, Muscovite, German or Armenian will we see there. However, this does not mean that it is not international and colourful: This year, exhibitors from Hungary, Ukraine, Slovakia and Belarus will visit us who will sell their local produce and handicrafts (…) As the fair is not all about trade but art, foreigners are also to be found among the artists invited to the event (…) The strongest tradition is, of course, that of Poland.[44]

[43] 'Idea Jarmarku Jagiellońskiego w Lublinie', *JarmarkJagiellonski.pl*, at http://jarmarkjagiellonski.pl/idea/, 31 August 2017.

[44] 'Jarmark Jagielloński 2016 w Lublinie. Międzynarodowa impreza w «lublińskim

Currently, the Jagiellonian Fair is the largest fair in Poland concentrating creative people representing their own creative fields based on regional designs and production techniques. The fair lasts four days while, within its regulations, we read that its aim is *the presentation of work concerning various field of craftwork and folk art which, in a direct manner, display local traditions, its authentic forms and a specific regional legacy. Artists who allude to the theme of tradition in a conscious manner are also invited to participate.*[45] During the fair, the 'Most Creative Person of the Fair' competition is held. In choosing the winners, the following are taken into consideration: the aesthetics of the stand: the level of artistic work carried out; as well as allusions to the past traditions of the given craft. What makes the Lublin Fair undoubtedly exceptional is that one may not buy trading space. The organizers themselves invite selected artists from both Poland and abroad in order to present their own crafts and traditions. Every year during the Jagiellonian Fair, each one of the invited artists or craftspeople undergo an assessment on their merits by a competition committee, thanks to which, as the organizers emphasize, the quality of the products presented at the festival are subject to strict inspections which increase year on year.[46]

However, the foreground is still occupied by trading events and presentations of handicrafts, as well as events in the cultural sphere. In descriptions of this idea we read, moreover, that artists come from all over, through which an important point is that along with Polish artists,

mieście»', *Kurier Lubelski*, at http://www.kurierlubelski.pl/wiadomosci/lublin/a/jarmark-jagiellonski-2016-w-lublinie-miedzynarodowa-impreza-w-lublinskim-miescie,10495822/, 31 August 2017.

[45] 'Regulamin Jarmarku Jagiellońskiego dla twórców i wystawców', JarmarkJagiellonski.pl, at http://jarmarkjagiellonski.pl/informacje-dla-tworcow/, 31 August 2017.

[46] The running of a selection process regarding the applications to participate in the fair allows the acceptance of only authentic artists/craftspeople. Those taking part in the fair are often holders of scholarships from the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, meaning members of the Folk Artists/Craftspeople Association, regional associations, and disappearing trades associations. Their work is to be found in national, international, museum and gallery collections. Cooperation with centres abroad focusing on artists/craftspeople from Central and Eastern Europe allows for the invitation of interesting and reputable artists. See: *Regulamin Jarmarku…*, and 'Jarmark Jagielloński w Lublinie. Ruszyły zapisy na warsztaty'. *Kultura Ludowa. O tradycji we współczesności*, 1 August 2017, at http://kulturaludowa.pl/patronaty/jarmark-jagiellonski-w-lublinie-ruszyly-zapisy-na-warsztaty/, 31 August 2017.

there are always artists from neighbouring Lithuania, Ukraine, Belarus, Slovakia and Hungary which cultivate the traditions of fairs of the past, those with are involved in crafts and folk art (made in accordance with regional traditions), as well as street artists, as they are called. *Over time we want the Fair to become a demonstration of the diversity coming from a common history and the presentation of artists and folk culture referring to various fields or art, as well as all forms of artistic and creative expression*.[47] Indeed, this format of the fair is continuously developing. Today, alongside a continuing base of trading and handicraft activities in which about 300 traditional artists/craftspeople take part every year, there is also space for:[48]

- Various workshops; craft displays (folk, local, as well as reconstructed past technology of the Middle Ages); open-air communal artistic events; as well as the organization of a Traditional Crafts Summer School, run by master craftspeople from Poland and abroad, whose aim is not only display but education and the active participation of the audience in the creative process.
- A Fair Playground – a children's area for young people interested in tradition, featuring a park with old Polish games and pastimes; storytelling, as well as traditional workshops for children and the whole family.
- A celebration of traditional music, as the organizers write, from which folk and ethno music emerges, the first of which constitutes a source of inspiration. During the fair, folk bands play both on stage and on the streets of the Old Town, as well as during traditional open dances. An important element here is the Jagiellonian Fair Band comprised of various musical groups and individual musicians based on traditional music in an unstylized form.
- A Knightly Tournament for the Leaf of the Silver Tree in Lublin – the historical background of the tournament is the awarding of the status of province to the Lublin region and the appointment, in 1474, of the first provincial governor, Dobiesław Kmita of Wiślicz,

[47] *Idea Jarmarku Jagiellońskiego w Lublinie*, at http://jarmarkjagiellonski.pl/idea/, 31 August 2017.

[48] *Jarmark Jagielloński*, at http://jarmarkjagiellonski.pl/events/, 31 August 2017.

a supporter of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk. The tournament is a reconstruction modelled on the Burgundian tournament of Pas d'Armes of the Golden Tree, a centre of contemporary chivalric culture, alluding also to court of the Jagiellons. Spectators have the opportunity to familiarize themselves with form and appearance of a knightly tournament of the late 15th century, thereby getting to know the customs and culture of the period of the decline of the Middle Ages. Every year knights from Poland, Ukraine and Austria compete in ten group and individual disciplines.

- A Fun and Story Fair – a musical-theatrical parade and performance – with the symbol of the fair, a two-metre high copper hen which joins a procession of knights, jugglers and musicians along the streets of the Old Town. There are also film showings and tales of the fair (the already traditional history of the streets, taverns, fair, as well as of journeys near and far in the 700-year-old history of Lublin in which history is entwined with legend and the imagination is spun with words, music and the gestures of jugglers, basket-makers, minters and potters). The concept is for history to be interwoven with modernity, tradition with the avant-garde, dialect with modern speech in the co-creation of the traditions of the August fair's encounters with culture.
- Themed organized excursions around Lublin in Polish and English, including 'Journeys through time – Jagiellonian Lublin'; 'The Fair in the Old Town'; 'Lublin – trade and craftsmanship of the past'; 'Jewish trade and craftsmanship in Lublin'.
- 'The Time of the Fairs' – a themed open-air exhibition depicting the history of the city from the perspective of Jagiellonian Markets of the past.

Of crucial importance is that access to all the events is free of charge.

Further towards Vilnius ….

Travelling further down the Jagiellonian Route in the towns and villages along it, we find in their calendars of cultural events various celebrations which are, to a greater or lesser degree, close to the fairs described here. Usually, today they take the form of folklore festivals, folk holidays or local fetes and family picnics. This is not the place to name them all. Among them, two stand out – above all for their names – namely, **the Jagiellonian**

Fair in Parczewo and **the Jagiellonian Fair in** Łomazy.

The Jagiellonian Fair in Parczew[49] is a moveable feast (between July and August) and takes place in the Municipal Park by Freedom Square. The organizer is Director of Parczew Cultural Centre. In the city's calendar of cultural events for 2017, it is classified as a folklore-performance event. In the description of the above-mentioned calendar, we read that it is a *celebration alluding to traditional fairs, promoting local cultural heritage.*[50] In the similar calendars for 2014 and 2015, the fair was classified as 'cultural celebration' and described as *an event promoting the local cultural and historic legacy. A festival of folk, craft and artistic creativity.*[51] In the event regulations on the website of Parczew Cultural Centre, the first paragraph contains an entry which, to a significant degree, corresponds with the above-mentioned descriptions, although it broadens it further:' *The Jagiellonian Cultural Fair in Parczew, known hereafter as 'the fair', is a trade-exhibition event for producers of implements and artistic products, natural food products, paintings and objets d'art, and implements of the past.*[52] The regulations also state that a person or, which is interesting,

[49] Parczew (formerly Parczów) is a town located on the Parczew plain in Parczew county in Lublin province, with its seat in the urban-rural district of Parczew. It belongs to the oldest towns of Lublin province (a village of that name existed already in the 12th century). It received municipal rights from Władysław Jagiełło in 1401. Its development is a result of its location on the border between Poland and Lithuania, as well as on the Jagiellonian Route. As a meeting place of the Polish-Lithuanian parliaments from 1413 to 1564, it was an important centre of political life in both countries and one in which all the kings from the Jagiellonian dynasty were hosted. Fairs have been held here since the late 16th century. In 2001, when the town celebrated its 600th anniversary, a series of events were organized celebrating this important occasion. The organization of the anniversary events was organized by the Organizing Committee of the 600th anniversary of Parczew, appointed by the Town Council and District Council. See: 'Historia'. *Gmina Parczew. Oficjalny serwis*, at http://www.parczew.com/index.php/miasto/historia, as well as the entry: 'Parczew', in: *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. VII: *Netrebka–Perepiat*, Warszawa 1886, at http://mbc.malopolska.pl/publication/113, 31 August 2017.

[50] See: 'Kalendarz imprez kulturalnych 2017', *Gmina Parczew. Oficjalny serwis*, at http://www.parczew.com/images/2016/Listopad/Kalendarz_imprez_kulturalnych_ 2017.pdf, 31 August 2017.

[51] See: 'Kalendarz imprez kulturalnych 2015', *Gmina Parczew. Oficjalny serwis*, at http://www.parczew.com/images/2014/grudzien/Kalendarz_imprez_kulturalnych_ 2015_r.pdf, 31 August 2017.

[52] See: 'Regulamin Jarmarku 2017', *Parczewski Dom Kultury*, at http://www.pdkparczew.pl/

a company wishing to display its products is obliged to sent in a completed Exhibitors Application Form (in which the type of product is to be given, among other things). Moreover, following their arrival at the event and before setting up their stall, they have to register at an information point. Furthermore, it is necessary to have a information plate containing the product name, the seller's name, the type of company and place where the products originate. While attention is clearly paid to the key factor at fairs, namely exhibitors and broadly conceived artists/craftspeople displaying goods, it is above all about selling their products. An interesting rule of this fair is also that exhibitors are prohibited from selling as follows: medicine and para-pharmaceutical products; flammable or explosive materials; articles or parts for cars; modern audio-phonographic devices; tobacco products; as well as other addictive substances, including all alcohol. All issues concerning the sale of products, meaning permits, taxes, concessions, etc., are the responsibility of the exhibitor.[53] In the media, the event is also promoted by referring to various forms of folk products and traditional production, such as a promoting sculpture and painting, ceramics, pottery, embroidery, lacework, weaving, products made of wicker, wood, straw and flowers, along with cheeses and products from beekeeping. In the media narrative, however, we find a strong emphasis that the fair will feature performances by singers and folk groups.[54] It is interesting that in 2016 the group 'Stonehenge'[55] were special guests of the fair, something which did not suit the above-mentioned concept of the fair very well. While it is true that it is a Polish band (founded in 1996 in Jastrzębie-Zdrój which describes itself as a folk band, as the name itself indicates, it specializes in Celtic music. In the both the descriptions of the organizers and the media, one may look in vain for direct references to the Jagiellonian legacy lying dormant on this mercantile route.

images/news/wyd-2017-07-2801/Regulamin%20Jarmark% 202017.pdf, 31 August 2017.

[53] Ibid.

[54] See: 'Jarmark Jagielloński w Parczewie', *Podlasie24.pl*, 21 July 2017, at http://podlasie24.pl/parczew/kultura/-jarmark-jagiellonski-w-parczewie-21d62.html, 31 August 2017.

[55] See: 'Jarmark Jagielloński w Parczewie', *Podlasie24.pl*, 19 July 2016, at http://podlasie24.pl/parczew/kultura/jarmark-jagiellonski-w-parczewie-1d293.html, 31 August 2017.

The Jagiellonian Fair in Łomazy[56] is organized by the District Council Cultural Centre in Łomazy in July. In 2017 the twelfth such fair took place at the Jagiellonian Square in Łomazy. Today, however, it decidedly more resembles a local fete or an event based on the model of a harvest festival. In terms of the programme, it not only does not allude to Jagiellonian traditions but not even to the traditions of fairs at all. Thus, currently, the main focus of the event are performances by local bands among which, apart from a brass band from Brest, we find Disco Polo bands, as well as karaoke and games run by a DJ. Even on the poster for the event from 2017, one may see that key aspects of a fair, namely exhibitors and artists/craftspeople, appear only at the bottom of the programme as a side show, along with attractions for children: *A Festival of Regional Culture (craftwork and artistic presentations of folk artists/craftspeople from Poland and abroad, traditional archery)*.[57] Certainly, the name of the event raises its prestige, recalling the former urban splendour of Łomazy, which today is a rural district. However, as with the example of Parczew, there is a lack of promotional activities concerning the event directly and consciously alluding to the heritage of the *Via Jagiellonica*.

Does the currently fairly widespread practice of limiting the range of artists/craftspeople at modern Jagiellonian Fairs to those promoting folk culture (which in the example of the Lublin fair are additionally subject to strict selection) – a phenomenon still understood by most organizers as rural culture, as well as what one could say 'low', unprofessional, and the complete reconstruction of chivalric culture result in this world being not so much created as simulated? This view is more comprehensible when

[56] Łomazy owes its splendour to the Polish-Lithuanian Union in Krewo in 1385 and its location on the Vilnius-Brest-Błotków (now Terespol) route to Gniezno, Poznań and Kraków. In 1447, King Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk separated Łomazy from the county of Parczew (Lublin Province) and joined it to the Brest region, that is, to Lithuania. This is how, when the neighbouring village belonged to the Polish Crown (Podlaska province), Łomazy was already in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1568, it received rights under the Magdeburg Law from King Sigismund August, along with a crest and numerous privileges, having become a royal town and key commercial centre. Currently, Łomazy is a large village, the administrative seat of a district council of the same name belonging to the county of Bialska, in the province of Lublin. See: 'Historia'. *Lomazy.pl*, at http://www.lomazy.pl/index.php/historia, 31 August 2017.

[57] See: 'XII Jarmark Jagielloński – Łomazy 2017', *Lomazy.pl*, at http://www.lomazy.pl/index.php/614-xii-jarmark-jagiellonski-lomazy-2017, 31 August 2017.

we recall the premise of fairs of the past which firstly took place not in the countryside but in towns, Secondly and most importantly, they were a veritable window on the world, a platform for various fields of creativity and, above all, for meetings, an Internet of the age, thanks to which, not even leaving town, one could find out various news, as today we discuss trends. Moreover, if one could not buy, one could at least see goods from nearer and further corners of the world, coming from both urban and rural cultures. This may have been done at the same time, meaning among representatives of various social strata. Indeed, this constituted inter-cultural and inter-social strength of the fairs, momentarily levelling out the usual/everyday social hierarchy and political relations towards a not-so-fleeting and completely united *communitas,*[58] whose communal form is *koinopolis*,[59] understood as a specially created and negotiated space of inter-personal exchange.

The question remains whether today's Jagiellonian Markets are more and more often taking on the form of a modern festival, even fetes or perhaps the opposite – are what may seem for us to be heavily commercialized folklore festivals, competitions and reviews of broadly conceived culture and folk art based in effect on the format of fairs of the past? The answer, as always, lies somewhere in between. In the concept of performative studies, each one of these events, regardless of the form it once had or has today, is located on an axis of namely: holiday/feast (Latin: *festivus* = festive, joyful, happy but also not a daily occurrence, meaning a cyclical event separated from the everyday; meeting and exchange (an annual fair as a market and trading centre); a show (a dimension which is not only aesthetically and artistically representative); as well as theatre and games (the mimetic and ludic re-enactment of the traditions of one's ancestors).[60] The Jagiellonian Fairs of the past, as Stefan Dmitruk points out,

[58] From Latin for community, common participation, society but also ties, connection, not distant and not hierarchical fundamental and organic inter-personal ties, without which there would be no society. When this becomes formalized organization, it changes into *societas*. See, for example, V. Turner, *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-structure*, Ithaca NY 1966.

[59] From the Greek, *koinós* – in common, and *polis* – town/community.

[60] See: among others: R. Schechner, *Performance Studies. An Introduction*, London 2002; J.J. MacAloon (ed.), *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle. Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*, Philadelphia 1984; V. Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre. The Human Seriousness of Play*, New York 1982.

are part of a system of markets and fairs which were held in the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. For example, the February fair in Lublin was an extension of the January markets in Leipzig, Kraków, Vilnius and Lviv. At the fairs held in Jarosław and Gdansk, transactions from the Lublin fair continued. From Jarosław, in March merchants travelled to Gniezno or Kraków. In May, fairs were held in Vilnius, Łuck and again in Lublin; in June in Kazimierz Krakowski; in July in Łęczyca, Lviv; and in August in Jarosław, Lublin, Warsaw, Gniezno, Wrocław, Brzeg Śląski, Sandomierz and Gdansk. Late autumn saw merchants heading, in turn, to Wrocław, Jarosław or Grodno while in December they travelled to Leipzig.[61] Within the idea of this network of fairs on the *Via Jagiellonica* and other co-existing trade routes, the already-existing fairs and other events, or those also being established on the route concerned, which aim to base themselves on the tradition of fairs, above all that of Jagiellonian times, should consider if not the current model, as in the sphere of management and marketing along with the spheres of cultural policies and the activation of culture, then networking which is at least a more reliable form of lasting cooperation. Within this network, a significant role, not necessarily as a tool of its operator, should also be found for the above-mentioned 'Jagiellonian Route' Tourism Organization. Therefore, it is only then when the pro-development and prospective potential of the Jagiellonian inter-cultural and inter-social heritage may be activated, in the form of joint cooperative actions interwoven with the space of contemporary social and cultural life and not only as a standardized, closed forms reconstructed for the commercial needs of tourism, entertainment, art, media or even politics. This also concerns needs which are noble, though not always in agreement with present-day reality, so-called classic historical, ethnographic-museum or purely folkloristic aims.

[61] S. Dmitruk, 'Historia jarmarków…', and J. Krukowski, 'Sieć jarmarczna województwa lubelskiego w XVI w.', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, vol. 34 (1986), no. 2, pp. 227-247.

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Jagiellonian Ideas Towards
Challenges of Modern Times

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Jagiellonian Ideas Towards
Challenges of Modern Times

IDEE JAGIELLONSKIE WOBEC WYZWAN WSPÓLCZESNOSCI

- POLSKIE STRESZCZENIE

Idee jagiellońskie wobec wyzwań współczesności

Wiele problemów współczesnego świata zawiera wyzwania znane już cywilizacjom, społeczeństwom i narodom odległych nawet epok. Niektóre ich rozwiązania, zarówno w sferze intelektualnej, jak i praktycznej są często zapominane lub też w ogóle nieznane, inne zyskały stereotypowe interpretacje, które nie zawsze odpowiadają prawdzie. Tymczasem umiejętne odczytanie dziedzictwa kulturowego wielu współczesnych narodów może mieć charakter twórczej inspiracji zarówno w wysiłku rozumienia, diagnozowania, jak i kształtowania dróg rozwiązywania sprzeczności, konfliktów oraz stawiania pytań rozwojowych wobec wyzwań współczesnego świata.

Znakomitym obszarem takich inspiracji jest epoka jagiellońska. Na przestrzeni trzech wieków, a mianowicie XIV, XV i XVI wypracowano koncepcje i zbudowano sieć działań, instytucji oraz regulacji prawnych, jakie korespondują z całkiem analogicznymi problemami współczesnej Europy w sferze mobilności społecznej, wielokulturowości, relacji międzynarodowych i międzykulturowych, tolerancji religijnej, współpracy wspólnot o charakterze regionalnym, narodowym i ponadnarodowym. Współpraca ta dostrzegalna jest w sferze nauki, twórczości artystycznej i kultury politycznej. Co ważne, powstało wówczas wiele idei, które daleko wykraczają poza obszar stosunków geopolitycznych, a więc także poza to, co w drugiej połowie XIX wieku polscy historycy nazwali „ideą jagiellońską". W znaczeniu politycznym zawsze miała ona odmienną percepcję

w poszczególnych krajach tworzących swoistą przestrzeń jagiellońską rozciągającą się od Bałtyku po Morze Czarne. Warto jednak pamiętać, iż nie była to przestrzeń zdobywana mieczem, a jedynie dyskursem interesów, mniej lub bardziej odczuwanej wspólnoty.

Zadaniem niniejszej książki nie jest jednak ani ocena, ani kontynuacja wizji zjednoczeniowych, ale wyeksponowanie wielu, bardzo twórczych idei, jakie powstały w sferze nauki, kultury, stosunków międzyreligijnych, spraw publicznych, koncepcji dobra wspólnego, edukacji i praw oraz wzorców myślenia politycznego w jego wykładni aksjologicznej. Jest to bardzo różnorodny świat idei odwołujących się – tak jak w przypadku wybitnej i ciągle niedocenianej myśli Pawła Włodkowica – do wartości uniwersalizujących, przekraczających dalece konteksty narodowe. Tworzą one bogactwo inspiracji, gdy spojrzy się na owo dziedzictwo, nie tylko w kategoriach politologicznych, ale poprzez pryzmat nauk o kulturze, antropologii, socjologii kulturowej, pedagogiki, historii idei, studiów międzykulturowych czy komunikacji społecznej.

Zebrane w książce teksty są w przeważającej mierze efektem pracy w ramach trzech seminariów i jednego warsztatu realizowanych w 2017 roku, zaprojektowanych w perspektywie porównawczej, kolejno w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim w Krakowie, Uniwersytecie w Oxfordzie, Państwowym Uniwersytecie Pedagogicznym im. M. Dragomanowa w Kijowie i Uniwersytecie Zachodniego Sydney (Western Sydney University). Każde z tych wydarzeń stanowiło odrębne, a jednocześnie korespondujące ze sobą doświadczenie, w każdym przypadku bardzo interesujące dla uczestników. Doświadczenie to ukazuje idee jagiellońskie z innej, ale dopełniającej się strony. We wszystkich tych miejscach spotkaliśmy się z wielkim wsparciem przedstawicieli miejscowych środowisk naukowych za co pragniemy wyrazić wielką wdzięczność i nadzieję na dalszą współpracę. Każde z seminariów oraz warsztat, posiadało strukturę analogiczną do tej, jaką zastosowano w niniejszym tomie, a więc poprzez diagnozę warstwy konceptualnej oraz podstawowych inspiracji, jakie odnaleźć można w znaczeniu idei jagiellońskich, poprzez rekonstrukcję i analizę istotnych źródeł historycznych, stanowiących podstawę kulturowego dziedzictwa epoki Jagiellonów, następnie typologizując ważne wyzwania kultury współczesnej, widziane w odniesieniu do przywoływanych wartości.

Publikację kończy rozdział, który analizując kulturotwórczy potencjał idei jagiellońskich nakreśla możliwe wizje przyszłości, rewitalizując pojęcie odpowiedzialności, wrażliwości i dbałości o sens twórczego odczytywania dziedzictwa w jego współczesnym potencjale rozwoju.

Jesteśmy przekonani, że podobnie wykorzystać można dziedzictwo kulturowe wielu innych wspólnot narodowych i kulturowych, których korzenie stanowią siłę i motywację do podejmowania wyzwań kultury współczesnej.

A public task co-financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland within the framework of the competition 'Public Diplomacy 2017' – the component 'Cooperation in the field of public diplomacy 2017'.

The publication only expresses the views of the authors and cannot be equated with the official position of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland.

Rzeczpospolita Polska
Ministerstwo
Spraw Zagranicznych

Instytut
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i dialogu międzykulturowego