University of Alberta

Totus Tuus Polonia: The Commemoration of Pope John Paul II in the Construction of Polish Identity and Collective Memory

by

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ABSTRACT

The goal of this thesis is to examine the impact of the late Pope John Paul II upon Polish society within the public sphere, focusing upon the period after his death in April 2005, arguing that he is being re-molded into a quintessential symbol of 'Polishness'.

I will examine his impact writ-large in Polish city squares, streets, museum collections, and in the period of mass mourning and pilgrimage to Rome leading up to his funeral. I argue both for the historical continuity of this commemoration, as well as for its uniqueness.

In this social dynamic, the contributions and roles of the state, the church, and the people complement and oppose one another to turn the issue of John Paul II commemoration in Poland into the larger issue surrounding the construction of a new form of collective memory and its impact and influence upon the formation of Polish identity.

To My Very Own 'Polonia' and Family – Above All To My Parents, For Helping Me Keep My Own Polish Identity Alive

Preface

The idea for this project stemmed from a combination of my strong interest in modern national and cultural history, in addition to a desire to explore my own background and homeland in an ambitious, fresh, and unique new way. The death of John Paul II in April 2005 and the sheer magnitude and unprecedented nature of the pilgrimage to Rome and the way in which my land of birth was so strongly affected by it helped inspire me to examine this pilgrimage as the basis for my Master of Art's thesis research. Although I had originally planned to examine the life and teachings of John Paul and the ways through which his own life history has been understood and reflected in public life and material culture, this study has since become an all-encompassing project that has led me to examine many aspects of modern Polish identity. The death led to an intensification in the public presentation of John Paul and affected virtually every sphere of public life, from the streets and buildings of cities, churches and apartment windows, to elements of public life traditionally significant to public memory and education, to the memories of millions of people and the political traditions and values emphasized by local and national elites. Grave mounds, plants, airports, traffic circles, banknotes, public galleries, trains, roadside shrines, small villages, large cities, diaspora communities, and medieval and architectural traditions have all been utilized and examined in some shape or form during this massive process of mourning and commemoration. From the forests of Wał-Ruda to the ancient roads of Rome and locally-run museums to social realist architecture, I feel that my analysis of 'Jan Paweł II mania' is a matter of excellent coincidence and timing, in that by examining the death of one of the most influential men in Polish and world history, I have been able to create a microcosm and snapshot of how

an entire nation regards its heroes, its identity, and its history. This work, then, is more about *Poland* than the *Pope,* but I feel that it can also be interpreted to mean that the Pope *is* Poland, at least on the symbolic and emotional level.

At the time of writing of this work, John Paul II had died just over two years ago. At the time of my fieldwork, just over a year had passed. His death, the mourning of an entire nation, and the funeral, although they worked to radically affect the Eternal City, set a new record for the largest pilgrimage in the Roman and Christian church, and move an entire nation, lasted just over a week. In the grand historical narrative of nations, one week and two years is a short time. When one considers the thousand years of recorded history of the country, centuries of empire-making in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the many years of partition and rebellion, and a bloody twentieth century, characterized by two cataclysmic wars, the death of millions of people, the decimation of cities, the near destruction of unique cultures, and fifty years of political repression, deportation and military rule, two years seems like a very short time. However, from what I have observed during the course of my research, these two years have played a huge role in helping to rewrite the historical identity of the Polish nation, much more so than has any other year or period before it. Walking through the streets of Polish cities, one can easily find monuments to the medieval battle of Grunwald, the national mourning of Katyń, and the celebration of Adam Mickiewicz, Frederic Chopin, and Józef Piłsudski. Looking at the names of streets and the squares of cities, a visitor will quickly find areas of urban space named after many different figures and events, and more abstract notions of collective patriotism, such as the 'Street of the Heroes of the

Warsaw Uprising', the 'Street of the Constitution of the Third of May', or 'The Lord's Body Street'. Found on a visit to any Polish city, diverse reminders of a thousand-colorful years are made noticeable at every step. However, far more than two years have passed since these events have occurred and these individuals have lived and died. Despite the short span of time, the number of material and ideological representations found of John Paul II easily outnumber those of any of these longer-lived heroes and events. There are now more monuments to the pontiff in the country than there are to any other historical figure. Nearly as many monuments of the pope have been built within a two-year time period as were raised of socialist heroes during fifty years of communist rule. One can walk or take a tram down 'Freedom Street' or visit regional 'Skansen' museums in the countryside or national institutions in major cities. In nearly all of these mediums, however, one will find the name and image of John Paul II to be much more common and prominent. If there are almost 1000 streets named after him and nearly 300 monuments of him have been built by this point, how many will there be in 10, 50, 100, or 500 years? This work, then, is largely about the historical construction of *legacies* within a society, looking at how a particular historical figure is understood and interpreted by the wider society around him or her to affect *society's* understandings and interpretations.

The notion of the legacy is an important one that I wish to elaborate on. We have seen, throughout history, and particularly in the volatile national narratives characterizing the history of East-Central Europe, the conflicting ways in which legacies are used. Perhaps the most prominent of these can be seen in the Soviet bloc, where the images and words of particular individuals and concepts were so heavily enforced that rather than

create a positive image of that person or event in public and collective memory, it elicited such strong hatred that statues of them were destroyed, moved to museums and otherwise expunged from the historical narrative's of many nations. In the tragic history of the Third Reich, historical legacies of genocide and ethnic hate are re-enacted in the bombing of synagogues or the beatings of ethnic minorities by neo-Nazis in Germany or Russia. As described in Chapter One, the fall of the Soviet bloc led to the renaming of a massive number of streets after medieval and modern kings, generals, and politicians throughout the area, thus re-implementing their legacy in a new version of an 'acceptable' past. We can see the legacies of divergent pasts in Poland by buying a guidebook to a city or region or by walking through an urban center, enshrining representations of different historical figures and events within individual memory and in the souvenirs and mementos produced during the visit. Although seventy years have passed since the death of Józef Piłsudski, a critical acceptance of his legacy in Polish society and public memory has not led to thousands of street names or monuments built in his honor. Names such as 'The Street of the Polish Army' or 'The Street of the Warsaw Uprising', although commemorating important events in the current Polish national narrative, arguably do not create a strong sense of personal connection and emotion to these events by the 'ordinary Pole', who has heard about these things hundreds of times over in school and from their parents and friends, just like a street named after the defenders of Stalingrad in socialist times was unlikely to produce a powerful sense of pride in the accomplishments of the Red Army, as it, too, had been engrained in one's mind many times over. I argue that in terms of John Paul commemoration, a different type of 'code' is produced. The fact that the majority of modern Polish society had some sort of memory, personal understanding

or emotional connection to him, in particular since it was reinforced by the events of April 2005 (such as the leaving of candles and wreaths beneath monuments of John Paul or the lighting of candles on streets named after him), the seeing of these statues and street signs today, two years after the fact, would elicit strong individual and collective memories of the pontiff and the event, and will likely continue to do so for some time. I feel that this is one of the more exciting aspects about this study. Although it was only made possible by the tragic event of the death of a beloved figure, I feel that this study can become a 'positive fruit' in that it has helped to produce a 'historical snapshot' of an entire nation, analyzed at a crucial turning point in its history. It marks the end of perhaps the most unique pontificate in history and the end of an era in Polish history. The pontificate began in 1978, when few could have imagined that just over ten years later, the largest political and social empire on the planet would completely collapse, partially in thanks to the contributions of this man. Also, it is unlikely that in 1978 anyone could have imagined that less than 30 years later, the entire political stratum of Europe would have shifted so dramatically and millions of Poles would be moving across its borders so freely, this time *encouraged* by the state, rather than forced into exile or flight. The year 2005, then, marked the end of one era and the beginning of another for Poland. The figure that had led them through a turbulent period was dead, and the Poland of the twenty-first century, while retaining its strong faith, was about to enter (or re-enter) the continent it had always been an integral part of without its national shepherd. We have the benefit of maintaining a good distance from the historical events and individuals of decades and centuries past, being able to critically debate and analyze the legacies of people like Mickiewicz, Hitler and Stalin, and of events such as the Warsaw Uprising and

the fall of the Soviet bloc. We also have the benefit of being positioned at a time when yet another of these legacies is newly beginning, of seeing the very roots of it on world media or in person, and of being able to analyze the commemoration of a newly enshrined hero from the beginning of this process, not 50 years after it. This is one of the reasons for my title, *Totus Tuus Polonia.* It is a play on John Paul's famous phrase, *Totus Tuus Maria,* or 'I am all yours, Mary', when he expressed his powerful personal devotion to the Virgin. 'I am all yours, Poland' – this work is not about the speeches, homilies, or prayers that an individual recited for a nation, it examines how a nation has created its own speeches, prayers, and homilies about an individual. Only time will tell how his legacy will be marked (or not marked) in the Poland of the future. This present work is an examination of this legacy, and it seeks to answer some of these questions, whilst provoking others.

Acknowledgements

During the course of the vast amount of research and writing that has gone into this project and degree, I have received help and guidance from many people. Foremost I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. John-Paul Himka. Dr. Himka's constant positive encouragement, feedback and advice throughout the course of my studies at the University of Alberta has been tremendously influential in helping me to design, research and write such an enjoyable and unique project, and in achieving so much success in other courses and projects. His regular feedback on every aspect of this work, whether it be theoretical literature, the translation of a word here or there, or the practicalities of locating and accessing relevant archives and places of interest in Italy and Poland, have helped shape it into the multi-faceted project that it is now. By encouraging me in such a way, this project has become an all-encompassing one that has fostered and benefited not only my research and writing, but also my photographic, linguistic, and presentational skills. I would like to thank Dr. Himka for helping make this experience so successful and enjoyable, and for utilizing portions of my thesis for his own research and workshops.

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professional and creative interests in the field since that time. I thank Prof. Heather Coleman for helping me to research and better understand the historiography on Polish nationalism, and for exposing me to several important works that have proven to be invaluable for my thesis. Dr. Vadim Kukushkin assisted me in better understanding diaspora communities and the roles of identity in East-Central European communities throughout the world. Dr. Dennis Sweeney has helped to further expose me to additional theoretical works on monuments and collective memory.

During the course of my preparation for and period of fieldwork in Rome and in Poland, I am indebted to a number of people and organizations. I would like to thank Father Jan Główczyk, Head of the Center for Documentation of the Pontificate of John Paul II, and Mrs. Helena Kupiszewska, head curator of artifacts, at the Polish Home in the Name of John Paul II in Rome, as well as the very helpful and friendly nuns working in the Home during my time there. They were most helpful in giving me access to the vast wealth of archival and artefactual sources at the Home, answering my detailed questions and providing me with further printed information that has been crucial in the writing of this work. I thank Mr. Jan Flasza, director of the Stanislaus Fischer Museum in Bochnia, Poland, who readily answered my questions, led me through the collections of the museum, and helped me to uncover further useful points of interest in the region. I would also like to thank my parents, Wanda and Leszek Młynarz, who helped me to translate several important documents; my father accompanied me to Rome and to several places in Poland, and without his expert driving skills through the regularly crowded highways and roads of Rome and the Polish countryside, I would have had

considerable difficulty in finding all of the excellent sources and points of interest that I did.

Finally, I would like to thank all of my other friends and colleagues in the Department of History and Classics and Modern Languages and Cultural Studies for providing such a wonderful intellectual and social environment over the past two years.

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Introduction

The evenings of April 2, 2005, and of October 16, 1978, although separated by a time span of nearly thirty years and a tumult of historic, cultural, and social change, came to symbolize two central moments in the history of the Roman Catholic Church and of the Polish nation. The calls of '*Habemus Papam*' and the announcement of the passing of the Polish pontiff almost three decades later brought out a similar outpouring of emotion and social movement on a scale rarely seen. As the narrow streets and alleyways of the Eternal City filled up with revelers and mourners, these two storied days marked the beginning and end of one of the most eventful and dramatic periods in the history of the Polish nation. In the eyes of many of his fellow countrymen, a man had become a freedom fighter, folk hero, legend, and saint. The aftermath of his death was no less dramatic than that of his election to the Throne of Saint Peter. The hours and days leading up to his funeral saw an influx of millions of people from around the globe into the Holy See, arguably constituting the single largest pilgrimage in the history of not only the Roman Catholic Church, but that of any religious movement in human history. The funeral itself was a momentous event, with four kings, five queens, and over seventy world presidents and premiers in attendance. The city saw a continual presence of 15,000 Italian soldiers and police officers and over three and a half thousand credited journalists.[1] Four days after his death, pilgrims were willing to wait for sixteen hours in a lineup two-kilometers long and 1.2 million strong in order to catch a brief glimpse of the late pontiff's body lying in state.[2]

Millions of Catholics (and non-Catholics) worldwide wept after his death. For the people of the once 'far-off land' of Poland, however, these days held a meaning that went far beyond that of the death of the head of the Church. One of their own native sons had achieved the title of *Pontifex Maximus* and for decades had been in a position to voice the concerns and cares of Poland to a global audience in a way never before imagined. Much like its neighbors, Poland has a storied history of remembrance of its heroes. In the time span of a thousand years, warrior bishops, saints, and generals saw their chances to shine as sons of the nation, with reminders of their glorious deeds visible in libraries, universities, churches, museums, streets, and squares throughout the country. The building of public monuments and the organization of massive celebrations of mourning and of commemoration have been a notable aspect of Polish social history since the early nineteenth century, when the first monument to Adam Mickiewicz was erected in the then Habsburg city of Krakow. The following centuries witnessed the unveiling of more monuments, the founding of museums, and the marking of various commemorative actions dedicated to famous battles and events.[3] John Paul II is the latest, and arguably greatest, figure in the Polish pantheon of heroes. Throughout the pontificate and particularly after his death, the level of emotion and support for him in Poland was unparalleled. Millions of people marched through city squares, parks, and streets, aggregating in places blessed by their native son's words and footsteps. For the first time in over seventy years, a period of national mourning was declared in Poland, as businesses and schools were closed, churches were filled to capacity, and flags were lowered to half-mast.[4] The great Zygmunt bell of Krakow Cathedral, rung only during pivotal moments in the history of the Church and of the Polish nation, was sounded once

more.[5] For the first time in over 700 years, a different tune could be heard from St. Mary's Church in Krakow, as the Hejnał trumpeters mournfully played the late pontiff's favourite song.[6] In the nation's capital, the imposing Palace of Culture and Learning in downtown Warsaw shone with the lights of a Latin cross and was draped with a giant banner of John Paul, visible for miles around,[7] and heated discussions raged throughout the country regarding the possibility of bringing his heart to rest in the national shrine of Wawel Cathedral.[8] There was no shortages of places at this time where one could find a reminder of John Paul. Monuments, streets, plaques, busts, city routes, and schools the country over bore his name and likeness.

Just over two years later, there are no visible signs that this commemorative craze has begun to slow down. Over 91 statues have been unveiled since April of 2005.[9] Museum, public photo and art exhibits, commemorative concerts, masses, and marches continue to be organized on a regular basis. Urban centers rush to rename their streets, squares, schools, railway stations, and hospitals after John Paul II. Before tentative plans were scrapped, a larger than life monument intended to tower higher than the statue of Christ in Rio de Janeiro was planned for Warsaw's Piłsudski Square, a location pivotal in the Polish historical narrative and where during a post-mortem mass 100,000 strong, priest Jan Sikorski declared 'let this be our sacred ground, where the Christian tradition meets with the spirit of our nation'.[10] The city of Krakow placed into motion plans, at an estimated cost of 20 million złoty, to construct the country's largest grave mound bearing the name of John Paul II.[11] * The seemingly ubiquitous inscription of the name of John Paul II on street signs, schools, and hospitals throughout Poland, coupled with the

* Please see page 27 for more information on this mound.

outward obsession of Poles with any material manifestation of the late pontiff, even a year after his death, led Italian journalists to consider Poland to be in the grips of 'Wojtyła-mania', labeling it a country where there was no room or conception for another, non-Polish pope, and where people had to be admonished not to wear black on the one-year anniversary of his death.[12] The death of the Polish pope evoked the beginning of a deep and poignant sense of loss within Polish society, in the process reminding people of their Polish culture and roots, particularly in Europe, where, as will be discussed later, such notions of identity had begun to be suppressed following the 'return to Europe'.[13]

The goal of the present work is to examine the impact of Pope John Paul II upon Polish society within the public sphere, with a particular focus upon the period after his death in April 2005. The intent of this work is to examine the impact of the late pope not through his writings, sermons, and homilies, but rather by examining his impact writ-large in Polish city squares, streets, and museum collections. I argue both for the continuity of this commemoration, in terms of historical patterns both in Poland and in East-Central Europe as a whole, as well as for its uniqueness, both in the sheer number of commemorative works and actions as well as within the framework of the current socio-political situation within Poland. In this context, the concept of 'collective memory' is a pivotal one. The study of public memory is a relatively new field of historical inquiry.[14] As Robert Nelson and Margaret Olin argue, the study of history and memory has become a highly politicized process, in that memory serves a central role in the shaping and understanding of forms of authority.[15] The dissemination of memory is an abstract

concept, albeit one that can take many forms. Via the creation of modes of representation, attempts can be made to solidify the meaning of memories, and, through common experience, learning, traditions and heritage, they can be shared and become better solidified in meaning.[16] Henry Rousso has recognized different 'carriers' or 'vectors' of collective memory. These 'carriers' seek the deliberate reconstruction of the social significance of an event, and include 'official carriers', such as ceremonies and monuments, 'organizational carriers', which include organizations and associations that thus seek to represent, 'cultural carriers', including the media, and 'scholarly carriers', in particular museum curators and historians, who try to re-interpret and to re-construct events of the past.[17] The famed anthropologist Victor Turner informed anthropologists that 'objects speak', and that one must listen to the meanings inherent within tangible objects, including in historical sites, statues, and buildings.[18]

Within the pages of this work, I will examine the myriad ways through which the Polish pontiff has been, continues to be, and likely will be commemorated in the future, basing this within a structure of collective memory. This will be approached through a tripartite framework. The first chapter will analyze the phenomenon of the public monument and of related semantical configurations of the naming and renaming of street names, squares, and public buildings. The concept of the museum and the representation of John Paul within urban space, Polish collections, and public exhibitions will be examined in the second chapter. These holdings, collected and displayed both prior to and after his death, can be shown to represent particular, officially chosen interpretations of Polish history. The final chapter will analyze what can be seen as the largest

pilgrimage in human history, the massive influx into Rome and the Vatican in the days following John Paul's death. Although this movement was largely 'non-official' and overwhelmingly social in nature, it served to commemorate memory of the pope in both complementary and differing fashions from officially chosen state interpretations and representations. Due to the multidisciplinary nature of this study and of the relatively recent occurrence of events at the time of writing, I will draw upon a wide range of primary literature, collected both from the pages of online Polish newspapers and periodicals, as well as from sources collected during a period of fieldwork in the streets and archives of Rome and in several Polish cities, including Bochnia, Niegowic, Zakopane, Wadowice, and Krakow, in May and June of 2006. During this period, I visited a number of museums holding John-Paul-related materials, conducted interviews with a priest, curator, and museum director, compiled various books and pamphlets, and took photographs of John-Paul-related paraphernalia and monuments throughout.

The ultimate goal of this study will be to answer the question, in what role and capacity is the image of John Paul II, the first and only Polish pope, being mobilized within a rapidly changing Polish society, and to what final aim is this commemoration intended? I argue that within these many commemorative forms and actions, objects really 'do speak', and they tell the story of how John Paul II, the Polish-born Karol Wojtyła and the late spiritual leader of the Roman Catholic Church, is being turned into a national hero and cultural saviour. Through the framework of collective memory and commemoration, I argue that, in particular after his death, John Paul II is being rapidly

mobilized and re-molded into a quintessential symbol of 'Polishness', turning the Bishop of Rome into a 'monumental' cultural and historical phenomenon.

Notes

[1] 'Jeden z największych pogrzebów w dziejach ludzkości', http://serwisy.gazeta.pl/jp2/1,72542,2644360.html.
[2] TV Polonia News Release, Telewizja Polska SA, Warsaw, April 3, 2005.
[3] Patrice M. Dabrowski, *Commemorations and the Shaping of Modern Poland* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004).
[4] TV Polonia News Release, Telewizja Polska SA, Warsaw, April 3, 2005.
[5] TV Polonia News Release, Telewizja Polska SA, Warsaw, April 2-3, 2005.
[6] TV Polonia News Release, Telewizja Polska SA, Warsaw, April 3, 2005.
'Gra sercem', *Gość Krakowski,* nr. 16/583 (April 17, 2005).
'Dwa hejnały w Krakowie po wsze czasy', http://serwisy.gazeta.pl/jp2/1,72542,2643225.html.
[7] TV Polonia News Release, Telewizja Polska SA, Warsaw, April 7.
'Warszawa żegna Jana Pawła II: Swiat kultury dla Jana Pawła II'.
'Lampy czuwających: Stolica Oświetlona', *Gość Warszawski,* nr. 16/329 (April 17, 2005).
[8] 'Serce Papieża trafi na Wawel?'
http://media.wp.pl/kat,38126,wid,6944503,wiadomosc.html?ticaid=12f56.
'Papież wróci do Krakowa', http://serwisy.gazeta.pl/jp2/1,72542,2634054.html.
'Serce Papieża wróci na Wawel?' http://serwisy.gazeta.pl/jp2/1,72542,2634644.html.
Tomasz Bielecki, 'Pogrzeb w Rzymie, nie na Wawelu'. http://serwisy.gazeta.pl/jp2/1,72542,2637793.html.
[9] Kazimierz Ożóg, *Pomniki wzniesione po śmierci Jana Pawła II,*
http://rilian.republika.pl/text/po_smierci.htm.
[10] 'Na placu Piłsudskiego stanie pomnik Papieża: Bo Duch odnowił ziemie', *Gość Warszawski,* nr. 16/329 (April 17, 2005).
[11] 'Kopiec Jana Pawła II w Krakowie', http://serwisy.gazeta.pl/jp2/1,72542,2642166.html.
[12] 'La Repubblica': "Wojtyło-mania paraliżuje Polskę" ',
http://serwisy.gazeta.pl/jp2/1,72542,3253794.html.
[13] Personal communication from Father Jan Główczyk, Rome, Italy, May 11, 2006.
[14] Jonathan Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration, 1945-1979* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003), 1.
[15] Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin, 'Introduction', in Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin (eds.), *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade* (Chicago; London, The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 1-2.
[16] Susan A. Crane, 'Introduction: Of Museums', in Susan A. Crane (ed.), *Museums and Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 1-2.
[17] Huener, *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration,* 27-28.
[18] Victor Turner, 'Liminality and the Performative Genres', in John J. MacAloon (ed.), *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle. Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), 19-41.

Chapter 1: 'Monument Fever': The Representation and Misrepresentation of Pope John Paul II in Public Monuments and Space

A monument to the Pope does not need to stand in every city – Marek Borowski, Chairman of the Polish Social Democracy Party.

The building of a monument, however, due to its ugliness of form, is a frequently alienating process, and although meant to commemorate, draws away energy and funds from 'living monuments' – Janusz Bielański, parish priest of Wawel Cathedral.

There are many ways through which to research, examine, study, and think about the past, and just as many ways to express those views. The ways through which historians are beginning to examine and represent the world around them is changing rapidly as well. In this sense, 'collective memory' can be seen as being one of the most important and influential waves of change in this new scholarly climate. Depending upon the context, collective memory can be viewed as either the entire heritage of humanity, as a national property, a local designation, or as a generational storehouse.[1] Alternately, it can be seen as a socially maintained and constructed sense or 'reality' of the past, given shape and meaning within different 'communities' of memory.[2] There are many methods that people use in mediating the past and in establishing emotional and moral connections with it. There are a multitude of different versions of 'official history' and meaning within political systems. The significance of museums, architectural landmarks, monuments and their roles within a 'public' version of history cannot be assumed – it must always be properly examined and established.[3] The study of memory as an epistemological and cognitive problem has, until recently, mainly been a sphere of Western European history, in particularly that of the modern period. As an academic category of investigation by historians of Eastern Europe, it has only become a major point of analysis quite recently, the majority of these studies originating as attempts to

come to terms with the most recent past.[4] Francis Pine *et al* argue that memory sites shift constantly. In the intertwined processes of the study of religion, politics, and memory in modern Europe, they argue that the state has played a vital role. They dispute that totalitarian states did not allow for any 'un-official', counter memories or histories to be expressed, using their manipulation and control of memory sites as a key component of their power, the struggle for which is an ongoing process that has not been resolved with the rise of nation-states in the region.[5] Collective memory can often be maintained, either consciously or unconsciously, by the state, family, or church in a selective fashion, as chosen aspects of history are utilized in the creation of a 'colonized past'.[6] Within the nations of Central and Eastern Europe, Iwona Irwin-Zarecka argues, the post-Communist phase was frequently characterized by a tendency to forget, but not to forgive.[7] Social forgetting was engineered at a rapid rate, and in Poland, the names and memories of much of the nation's leftist tradition were left behind. When one is asked not to remember, she argues, one is fundamentally being told not to honor or respect either. The central issue at stake here is whether or not a movement, a group, or a person deserves to be commemorated.[8] Projects of memory work to reclaim more than a version of the past, but the very power to define it.[9] Symbols most clearly visible to the public are often seen to hold more influence over their meanings than that of the historical, scholarly record.[10]

In describing the precariousness of what he feels characterizes much of Czech history, Derek Sayer imparts an important lesson to the study of collective memory and its public manifestations within the context of East-Central Europe as a whole. Within his framework, *power* itself as manifested in all sorts of artifacts such as postage stamps and

banknotes, street names and monuments, can be demonstrated to be a fragile and unstable artifact itself.[11] Historical and social traditions embody elements of life that can regularly be consciously reordered. Some may view these elements - national holidays and popular festivals, postage stamps, coins, public monuments and historic sites, as 'trivia', or the 'small change of social life'.[12] However, it is these very aspects of 'trivia' that on a regular basis work to bind social identity, giving form and meaning to one's surroundings and delineating the margins of belonging. In the process, they impart significance to tradition and to human existence itself.[13] Each new political regime makes a key point of creating a discourse of instruction for how the public should think and behave, doing this largely through the establishment of national celebrations, public symbols and monuments.[14] Countries around the world publicly identify and remember their heroes throughout public space, drawing upon their names and images in order to give instruction to the citizenry in useful values for the nation. Such forms of remembrance have especially mushroomed with the rise of new media in the modern era.[15]

It is these very 'artifacts of power' that will be the focus of this thesis. I will seek to examine the question of how these artifacts and understandings of them, in particular those connected to the person of John Paul II, work to maintain, bind, and create forms of identity and belonging within modern Polish society. Within this context, the public monument stands as a key focus of power. In the ideological battles waged over monuments, the presence of historians is frequently difficult to see. The meanings of monuments can shift rapidly with political change, with elites and the public at large

often being more influential in their shaping and transmission than are the works of any academic scholar.[16]

Public monuments are a ubiquitous element of urban centers throughout the world. Not only do they hold permanence, distance, and grandeur, they are also able to represent immediate, accessible, and living links with the past,[17] their utilization playing a pivotal role in the creation and maintenance of collective memory. Through the intense care taken to construct and support them, permanent links are established with the past. They help to frame symbolic qualities of remembrance, obligation, and emotion, and often serve as sacral areas for the performance of collective and private rituals.[18] There is a very close, personal relationship between politics and the public monument. Monuments rely upon politics to reinterpret and to give them meaning, and they reciprocally give shape and understanding to politics, as well.[19] Collective memory can be defined and given true meaning by being inscribed within physically distinctive spaces. Such spaces provide a physical outline through which to frame symbolic forms of remembrance, in the process both symbolizing a sense of obligation and of one's understanding of the past. They are often given special, almost sacred status, separated from the daily spaces of life and set aside in a location where communities and nations can actively preserve and observe private and collective rituals. Memory markers stand as the most active engagers of remembrance, demanding action, attention and feeling from the observer.[20] Katherine Verdery argues that through the renaming of streets, squares, and buildings, and through the raising of statues in particularly chosen areas, physical space itself is socialized and is given specific political meaning. Particularly since 1989,

such markings in the region have been characterized by a return to a 'normal' interpretation of history.[21] Within urban space, and in the capital city in particular, 'official' and public versions of history are given their most serious and influential treatment by the reigning political order. These cities are charged with the onus of representing the values, history, and character of a specific ethnic or national group. They physically embody these values within the names of their streets, heroic cemeteries, monuments, and major edifices, and play them out within state ritual events. Through such representations of national symbolism, official versions of history, urban topography, and fundamental values upon which the nation is grounded on are brought into line with a national-cultural and national-political mode of representation.[22] Both during and after the Soviet periods, nations in the bloc consciously worked and reworked the historical topographies of their cities.[23] As Svetlana Boym argues, the past is an uncanny and obscure place, where works of history and memory are frequently open to re-definition. Cities often act as microcosms for imagined communities, serving as areas for collective identification.[24] If a culture could be planned and given meaning through the design and display of statues, posters and buildings, the displacement and redesign of such physical artifacts of power could be seen to be even more noteworthy than that of the original act.[25] Such acts were rampant after the fall of the Soviet bloc. Post-Communist Warsaw became imbued with a sense of a 'changing set of historic transparencies' to its dwellers, a city where the new authorities consistently changed street names without any regard as to their connection to collective memory and with Polish national history.[26] Budapest underwent a major process of Socialist stripping, as well, as over 300 parks, squares, and streets in the city were renamed in the aftermath of

political change.[27] One of the main squares in the heart of Prague regularly changed its name along with the political tides. Originally Smetana Square, it became known in its various incarnations as Mozartplatz, 17 November Street, the Square of the Red Army Soldiers, and finally, as the Square of Jan Palach, the student who had burned himself to death in protest during the 1969 Soviet invasion of the city.[28] This is a process common throughout the region and one that has occurred frequently over the past two centuries. As will be demonstrated, in twenty-first century Poland, this process continues, although it is becoming increasingly concentrated under that of 'Wojtyła', or rather 'Jan Paweł II mania'.

The twentieth century was characterized by radical political change and had a traumatic impact upon the 'small' nations of East-Central Europe; it was a period when they had to regularly cope with the stigma of having once been 'great' and then being forced into a struggle for their very existence.[29] As newly sanctified periods of political change brought with them new versions of official history, collective memory was regularly modified and manipulated. Former heroes judged unworthy to a succeeding regime had their names expunged from street signs and plazas, as the 'proper' version of history was then espoused in a political version of tug-of-war.[30] Throughout the region, history was 'forgotten', not only in stories and in images, but also through particular material forms that specifically made comment on or marked decisive moments or events. Through the rebuilding or reopening of buildings and through the re-designation of public spaces, the newly authorized interpretation was sanctified.[31] Processes of reconstructing and reclaiming local, ethnic and national histories within the major cities

of the former Soviet bloc have been ongoing since 1991. John Czaplicka argues that the Soviet regime denied to these nations, and to Russia itself, many aspects of their national, religious, ethnic and local heritage, and that along with their reconstruction of history came parallel processes of a reconstructed heritage.[32] These processes of reworking and reinscribing the past are themselves highly contentious and politicized, bringing up questions and issues of who is doing the rewriting and what version of history they are seeking to present; as new historical narratives were being written, older ones were being subdued.[33] Such a state of 'historical amnesia' was commonplace in the Poland of the twentieth century, with both the invading Nazi and Soviet regimes taking deliberate steps to destroy and to reappropriate symbols of Polish nationhood and history. Monuments to national poets, heroes, legions, famous victories and other key events were all deliberately marked for destruction.[34] Adam Michnik paints a tragic picture of the processes of 'sovietization' in Poland. Writing in 1979, he likened the average historical consciousness amongst Polish youth at the time to a 'formless lump of clay', characterized by alarming gaps in their understanding and a break in the maintenance of tradition and responsibility for the fate of the nation. He strongly criticizes the usurpation by the Soviet regime of elements of the Polish past, wherein events and figures from any time period were converted into harbingers of the Communist order.[35] When Poles found themselves in charge, political changes in 1918 and 1989 were marked by the removal of material reminders of the Tsarist, Prussian, and Socialist regimes, attaining different goals through similar means.[36] April in Poland is a 'month of memory'. Artur Kasprzykowski, a local teacher from the district of Bielsko, reminds the reader how for decades, one could drive from Katowice to Żywiec on streets of Lenin and the Red

Army, the landscape changing but the names remaining the same. A monument to the Heroes of the Red Army was deliberately built directly across from a church. In this historical narrative, there was no room for the commemoration of Polish freedom fighters, Katyń, or Piłsudki. The tides began to turn by 1989, when crosses were put up, plaques were erected to martyred Poles, and streets were christened with new names. In one instance in the Bielsko region, a monument to the heroes of the Bar Confederacy was built on the same pedestal where a Red Army monument had once stood.[37] As Mikhail Yampolsky notes, such processes are far from being coincidental. He views destruction and construction as two parallel processes of immortalization, with both the destruction and the new erection affirming the power of the victorious and their version of historical truth.[38] These processes of immortalization are commonplace in today's Poland, as cities across the country seek to erect concrete reminders of John Paul II throughout public space, with reminders of the Socialist past difficult to find. However, in a final stroke of irony, a 'Street of the Defenders of Stalingrad' still retains its name in Wadowice, the birthplace of John Paul II and a city that now acts as a pilgrimage center and as a hub for pope commemoration.* †

Since April 2005, Poland has been in the throes of 'Wojtyła', or what I term 'Jan Paweł II' mania. Collective memory in Poland is largely being dominated and re-defined

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* Personal observations, Wadowice, Poland, May 22, 2006. The fact that such a street retains its name in the birthplace of the pope begs the question of whether this old and rusted sign was simply left up out of either a form of nostalgia or of apathy. It could also be a Polish variation on the mass destruction of mosques in Bosnia. In one village in what is now the Serb Republic, one of the local mosques was saved from destruction by local inhabitants who claimed that it was a part of the 'local color'. (Andras J. Riedlmayer, 'From the Ashes: The Past and Future of Bosnia's Cultural Heritage', in Maya Shatzmiller (ed.), *Islam and Bosnia: Conflict Resolution and Foreign Policy in Multi-Ethnic States* (Montreal: University of McGill Press, 2002b), 115. Or, it could be an affirmation of Yampolsky's theory of the power of the victor, in that they now have the power to control whether or not the sign stays or goes.

† Please see Figure 1 for a photograph of this sign.

by this giant of the twentieth century. Although symbols of other historical heroes are present, they are slowly being overshadowed. The plethora of John Paul II streets, squares, and monuments, however, represents a social phenomenon that is not unique. For years, Poland did not exist as a political entity. Yet, despite being invisible on contemporary maps and divided amongst three major powers, there was a deep understanding of 'Polishness' in the minds of patriots throughout partitioned space and time.[39] David Crowley characterizes the 'Poland' of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a place where questions over the 'national condition' constituted a dominant theme of political discourse.[40] Although armed uprisings against the partitioning powers ultimately failed, Polish patriots turned to public commemoration as a new method of imbuing national pride and identity and in the creation of 'imagined communities'. The task of the patriots was to construct a shared sense of Polish nationhood across social boundaries.[41] It was through the building of public monuments, the celebration of famed heroes, and the organization of other massive public celebrations working to instill a sense of collective memory and belonging that the modern Polish nation was founded.[42] One of the earliest and most significant of these commemorations was the 1869 discovery and re-internment of the remains of Casimir the Great in Wawel Cathedral. This event helped to re-awaken feelings of national pride that had been stifled in the 1863-64 January insurrection, and helped to recast Wawel Cathedral as a shrine of religious and national importance.[43] This period was key, not only in terms of commemoration in Poland but also in the definition of the very nature of historical discourse itself. Polish historiography was still in its infancy, with the first historical journals only being founded in 1887. Patrice Dabrowski argues that it is within the multi-disciplinary and sensory

spectacle of public commemoration and collective memory formation that the largest possible audience could be reached. Commemorative events included the unveiling of grandiose monuments and historical canvasses and the reading in public of historical anthems, plays, and novels, events that served as rich auditory and visual displays and that helped to impart a specific vision of history to the largely illiterate and uneducated masses.[44] Dabrowski visualizes the construction of the Polish nation not as a top-down process, but as that of a two-way street, wherein monuments and symbols, national myths and mythologies, festivals and celebrations were largely organized and formed in the context of the emergence of mass politics and inured through the actions, reactions, and opinions of the public, all of which played a key role in making popular a conception of the nation.[45] Public commemoration and reburial helped to turn occupied Krakow and the divided Poland into a place slowly becoming more nationally conscious. The reburial of the remains of Adam Mickiewiecz in 1890 intensified the awakening of feelings of national pride and importance, turning his burial place of Wawel Cathedral into what Crowley describes as the 'sacrararium of Polish history'.[46]

Although similar reburials and patriotic events were regularly held in Krakow, it was the reburial of Adam Mickiewicz that brought out the greatest degree of national fervour, one that was only matched and exceeded 115 years later. As the body of the national poet was brought into the streets, massive celebrations were held in the city, with celebratory speeches, songs, and poems all being performed. Poles from all three Partitions were present, with different social classes, including Jews and the peasantry, all being represented. Over 100 villages and towns in Galicia held their own celebrations at

this time. Packages and wreaths from all over the area were sent to Krakow to be laid at the monument and tomb.[47] A form of 'Mickiewicz-mania' overtook what constituted Polish society, as commemorative associations were formed and monuments, plaques, mounds, trees, fruits and plants were named after him. His name and reminders of him were so commonplace throughout divided Polish society that Dabrowski argues he had been turned into a quintessential symbol of Polish identity.[48]

This process, although taking place in a partitioned Poland, is very similar to the craze that overtook the Poland of the European Union in 2005. In both cases, a multitude of monuments were raised and regular processes of naming and renaming occurred, with the bodies and remains of the leaders constituting one of the most significant starting points for nationalist pilgrimages.[49] The official repatriations, reburials, and reconfigurations of the bodies of cherished national heroes throughout the nations of East-Central Europe, from Moscow to Warsaw, Budapest to Prague, and Belgrade to Sofia, have been a regular and vital component of national ceremony for centuries, serving to mark changes in social values, using these remains in order to reassess the national past.[50] The bodies and remains of national heroes, along with locations specific to their accomplishments and sacrifices, preserve strong emotional connections that can be utilized in order to mobilize mass action.[51] As millions of Poles bought up train and plane tickets to Rome, packed into buses and cramped automobiles, and set off for the Eternal City to say their farewells, local celebrations were being organized throughout Poland, and Monument Planning Committees were being formed. One of the first, and most important questions that had to be answered, however, before the flurry of

renamings and bronze Wojtyłas were raised, was a matter of national significance, as deep in the hearts and minds of Polish patriots in 2005 as it had been over a century before: how to bring back a true Polish patriot to his native soil? The first and most obvious question on the lips of many, was when and how, not *if,* the late pontiff's body would be interred within the hallowed crypts of the 'Polish Mecca', Wawel Cathedral.

Along with the bodies of many medieval kings and queens, many of the most influential figures in modern Polish history have been interred in Wawel Cathedral, their remains acting as physical reminders of their value and importance to the history and identity of the nation. Although he was the Bishop of Rome and the spiritual leader of over a billion Catholics worldwide, very soon after his death, arguments and questions surrounding the possibilities of having this latest national hero 'returned' to his land of birth were raised. On April 10, eight days after his death, the Italian newspaper *La Republicca* published rumours that John Paul's body would be buried at Częstochowa, a shrine of vital national importance within the Polish historical narrative.[52] The idea to inter his heart, if not his whole body, had already originated a few years prior under the impetus of Franciszek Macharski, Archbishop of Krakow.[53] Only one day after his death these debates had become significant and heated. This idea had the backing of two influential public figures, Archbishop Macharski and the President of Krakow, Jacek Majchrowski.[54] In interviews conducted with Polish media, Majchrowski articulated the view that many people in Krakow would like to see this happen, in the process expressing the hope that the heart would be placed within the tomb of St. Stanislaus, the patron saint of Poland.[55] Tadeusz Gocłowski, archbishop of Gdansk, made a direct analogy between

John Paul and the Polish national saints of Wojciech and Stanislaus, likening the atmosphere following his death to 'another pilgrimage of John Paul II to his homeland'. If the intensive series of actions, thoughts and prayers throughout the country dedicated to Church and Homeland brought about by his death were not a momentary reaction, and if the nation could accept and realize this heritage, then in the future, John Paul would be able to serve as a patron for the nation much like Wojciech and Stanislaus.[56] A sample of the intense debate that characterized Polish public opinion at this time can be found on the Polish Internet. On *Wirtualna Polska*, over 379 opinions on the matter were registered, voicing opinions ranging from a desire to see the entire body buried in Wawel, to only the heart, to a vehement disapproval of the entire matter, either from the seeming insanity of cutting him up only a few days after his death, to the fact that he was the spiritual head of the entire Church, and not just that of one nation.[57]

Bishop of Rome, Vicar of Christ, head of the Catholic church, or national saint? These questions make the case of papal commemoration in Poland different from those of the specifically national heroes preceding him, such as Sobieski, Mickiewicz, and Piłsudki. The speed with which Polish society looked to claim John Paul as purely its own and as a religious and national figure comparable to the patron saint of the nation is a demonstration as to how strongly he is perceived to be *the* quintessential Polish religious and national hero. In the end, John Paul, like most popes before him, was buried within the grottoes of the Vatican, his heart fully intact.[58] Polish pilgrims still flood into the Holy See regularly in order to pay respects to their hero,[59] and a symbolic copy of his

Vatican tomb has been created in the town of Zakopane.[‡] [§] However, the fact that within days after his death, bishops, city authorities, and people from across the country were demanding such a symbolic reburial and had begun to draw direct analogies with some of the most influential figures in Polish history, shows how from an early date, in an age of political union, globalization, and increasing secularization, John Paul II was quickly being established as the new national hero of a new Poland. It is within this framework that I seek to analyze commemoration of this man and the beginnings of 'Jan Paweł II mania'.

Throughout the main squares, city streets, and parks of towns and cities across Poland, physical reminders of John Paul II, either visual or textual, can be readily found. Kazimierz S. Ożóg, a PhD student in art history at the University of Lublin, has conducted extensive research on the topic of John Paul II monuments in Poland and around the world. One of the fruits of his labors is a thoroughly catalogued website that documents the phenomenon of pope monuments. At the time of the death of the Polish pontiff, there were 227 monuments to him in Poland, excluding busts, figures located inside buildings, and other physical objects such as obelisks and plaques.[60] There are about 79 pope monuments outside of the country, twenty of these located in the United States.[61] If one includes monuments and physical representations found outside of the open-air context, Ożóg estimates the number could be up to 1000 within Poland.[62] The

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[‡] Personal observations, Zakopane, Poland, May 27, 2006. Although I am unaware of the circumstances or history behind the creation of this 'tomb', it is possible that it could constitute a 'symbolic heart', perhaps being used as a center of pilgrimage for people unable to travel to Rome. Nevertheless, the copy of this tomb, coupled with a figurine of John Paul, located in a place historically important to his pilgrimages, supports the theories of Verdery and others of the emotional power and substance of the monument and of symbolic reburial, and of their very real representations and understandings of an individual.

[§] See Figure 2 for a photograph of this 'tomb'.

first of these open-air statues was unveiled in the spring of 1980 on Franciscan Street 3 in Krakow, outside the city's Archdiocese and where Karol Wojtyła spent a significant amount of time in the city.[63] One of the most noteworthy of these monuments was unveiled on May 30, 1983, outside the Catholic University of Lublin. It was built to commemorate the days following his inaguaration into the Papacy.[64] From an early date, this monument had already come to signify the importance of the newly elected Polish pope as a national symbol. On May 5 of that year, the Primate of the Polish Church, Józef Glemp, stated that this monument was one unique in the world, completely different and much more 'human' than the statues of kings, saints kneeled in prayer, and equestrian national heroes erected before it. To Glemp, this monument represented a form of teaching that is unique to the Church and that serves as an exemplar of Christian culture and 'as a source pulsating to the nation'.[65] **

Since the death of John Paul in April 2005, at least 91 monuments of him have been raised. Fifty-seven were unveiled in 2005 and 33 in 2006, three of these outside of the country. At the time of writing, there are 44 that are still in the planning stages or that are being prepared to be raised in the near future. On April 4, only two days after his death, a monument was raised in Sosnowiec, and three days after that, a bust was unveiled in Jelenia Góra, although it was shortly removed due to a lack of permission.[66] There are 28 monuments in the Krakow Diocese, five in the city itself. Several other

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** David Ost and Adam Michnik argue that Glemp moved the Polish Church towards a strongly fundamental and nationalist direction, with the new Primate opposing any notion of a plural, secular state, opposing more liberal values, and supporting strongly nationalistic, anti-Semitic political parties (David Ost, 'Introduction', in Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 19-20. His support for John Paul statues at this time, then, can help indicate the strongly political role that such markers of memory can play, with numerous interpretations vying for public support.

dioceses have monuments in the double digits, including Tarnów, Wrocław, Sandomierz, and Przemyśl.[67]

There are a myriad of other forms of physical mementos dedicated to John Paul II. These can be found in many locations and in many mediums throughout the country. As of May 2006, there were 5061 schools in Poland bearing the name of 'Jan Paweł II'.[68] Since April of 2005, 15 hospitals have taken on his name,[69] and there are about 912 streets bearing his name in the cities and towns of Poland.[70] Street names serve as popular and effective political symbols, concurrently reflecting and manifesting a specific political identity, serving as indicators of political identity whilst concomitantly constituting a part of it.[71] During the communist period, street names predominantly favored specific individuals over abstract concepts, and eventually acquired a specific value with the individuals that they represented. The removal of these names worked to undermine that individual.[72] In the days following his death, the 'longest John Paul II monument in the world', John Paul II Street in Warsaw, which stretches for four kilometers through the streets of the capital, was lit up by candlelight.[73] On April 4, 2005, the city of Wrocław renamed its Square of May 1 to John Paul II Square, simultaneously passing regulations against the naming of streets and squares after living people.[74] The main square of Wadowice, John Paul's town of birth, also carries his name.[††] [‡‡] The Wojtyła family is similarly commemorated in the public sphere: one of the town's streets carries the name of Dr. Edmund Wojtyła, Karol's father.[75] [§§] The naming of streets and

[††] Personal Observations, Wadowice, Poland, May 22, 2006. As will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter, Wadowice is a 'living museum' of sorts to pope-related collective memory.
[‡‡] See Figure 3 for a photograph of the square sign bearing his name.
[§§] See Figure 4 for a photograph of this street sign.

squares after John Paul is not limited to his native land. A street near the Castelgandolfo region of Rome now bears his name.[76] On April 2, the authorities of the city of Pietrelcina in southern Italy decided to name one of the town's main squares after John Paul, to thank him for his efforts in beatifying a local saint.[77] The city of Dubrovnik, Croatia, has an *Obala Pape Ivana Pavla II.*[78] The fact that nearly 1000 streets in cities and towns across the country bear the name *Ulica Jana Pawła II,* and that collective and individual ceremonies are acted out on them, is a testament to the fact that a definite 'code' has been established with this individual. The city of Paris entertained at this time notions of naming one of its main squares after John Paul, an idea that was supported by the then mayor of the city, Bertrand Delanoe.[79] In Brussels, the possibilities of renaming a new building of the Europarliament were raised with the advocation of Bogusław Sonik, a Polish MP.[80]

Streets and buildings are not the only physical artifacts bearing his name. There are some five John Paul II bells in Poland,[81] and there is a 'Traffic Circle of John Paul II' in Zielona Góra.[82] On April 9, the mayor of Rome, Walter Veltroni, announced that the main rail terminal station of the city would bear the name *Stazione Giovanni Paulo.*[83] There are various other public buildings throughout Poland with pope-connotations. The city of Łódź entertained proposals in April 2005 to rename the main airport terminal of the city.[84] On April 4, 2005, the Senate of the Catholic University of Lublin decided to rename the school.[85] A section of one of the oldest Universities in Europe, Krakow's Jagiellonian, was also to be renamed.[86]

Commemoration of John Paul is not limited to the renaming of buildings, airports, and universities. It has been extended to various other mediums, including flora. Standing outside of the Polish Home in Rome is the 'Palm of the Pontificate of John Paul II'. It was planted in Germany from Vatican seeds in 1978 to commemorate the election of the Polish pope, and was moved to its present location in May 1990, to celebrate his seventieth birthday.[87] The second palm is called the 'Palm of Loreto' – a 'monument' of an atypical survival'. It, too, was planted in Germany in 1981, following the assassination attempt on his life, using seeds taken from Loreto.[88] *** Although these palms were planted prior to his death, they signify the extent to which pope commemoration has come to extend to a multitude of mediums within Polish society. This pattern continues, as plants bearing the name of John Paul continue to be sown all over Poland. The 'Oak of John Paul II' can be found in the town of Niegowic, where Karol Wojtyła served as curate between 1948-49.††† In late April, a commemorative obelisk was dedicated in the town of Mysłowice Morgi. At the ceremony, the children of the town planted a pine tree of John Paul II.[89] On May 18, the Mayor of Wadowice, Ewa Filipiak, encouraged the children of a school bearing the name of John Paul II to plant commemorative oak trees.[90]

The extent of John Paul II commemoration in Polish society is reaching far beyond the scope of public buildings and plants. Banknotes are a strong indicator of social values and exemplars, displaying clear, visual reminders of individuals officially deemed to be heroes of the nation. John Paul II banknotes are now available in Poland.

*** See Figure 5 for a photograph of these palms.

††† Personal observations, Niegowic, Poland, May 21, 2006. This oak was located in a small wooden enclosure outside of the church, wrapped in yellow ribbons. It was difficult to read the label on the tree, as I was not able to touch it, but it looks to be very young, having been planted around the 28th of April, 2005. Like the palms, this oak stands as an 'atypical monument'.

They were issued on October 16, 2006, as fifty złoty commemorative bills. They have a strong connection with church and state, having being approved by various church leaders, including Archbishop Stanislaus Dziwisz, former personal aide to John Paul. This bill marks a historic first in that it is the first commemorative bill in Polish history. In addition to listing all of the countries he had traveled to during his pontificate, the bill features an outline of the Jasna Góra monastery, a location intimately connected both to his life and to Polish national history as well.[91] ‡‡‡

On April 3, in the Bielsko diocese, a hill was named after John Paul, becoming the first hill in the world bearing his name.[92] This hill may be the first John Paul II hill, but it is not the last nor the most grand. Soon after his death, the authorities of Krakow decided to build a large, artificial mound in the city bearing his name, a decision that was quickly met with criticism by Father Janusz Bielański, who felt it would be a waste to spend millions on a hill when it could be put to a more practical use.[93] Krakow seems to be a city very fond of commemorative mounds. A mound in the name of Tadeusz Kośćiuszko stands in the city, founded in 1818.[94] A guidebook has been written on the topic, giving practical and historical information to visitors.[95] Krakow also has a mound dedicated to General Józef Piłsudski.[96] The John Paul II mound was conceived to be some 40 feet tall, built with land taken from all the different places that the pontiff had visited during his pilgrimages, at an estimated cost of 20 million Polish złoty. In its original plans, it was to feature distinguishing features, including giant faces of the pope and train lines.[97] An *Association for the Building of a Mound of Memory in the name of John Paul II* was formed in 2003, and continues to run a website dedicated to the

‡‡‡ See Figure 6 for a photograph of this bank note.

promotion of this project. The Committee has ideas to establish a Centre for the Helping of Families, a museum, a theatre and cinema hall, a library, and a park. The mound will stand taller than the Kościuszko mound, which is 34.5 meters.[98] Even in the case of an idea so grand, Poland faces commemorative competition. In the Gran Sasso mountains of Abruzzi, Italy, one of the peaks was given the name of *Giovanni Paulo.* A huge metal cross was established there and, in the interpretive center, a picture of the deceased pontiff can be seen.[99] A naming ceremony for the peak was held on May 18, 2005, under the Vatican's *Congregation for the Causes of Saints.*[100] On the *Gazeta Wyborcza* article detailing this topic, a user poll was available, asking readers for their opinions on having such a mountain. Nearly 70% of 790 people who took the poll felt that it was a good idea, 104 of them expressing the view that the Italians are trying to compete.[101]

Streets, squares, schools, hospitals, airports, palm trees, banknotes, and mountains – these are all 'artifacts of power', located in every imaginable sector of public life. Whether one is sending children to school, taking a tram to work in the morning, booking a flight, or buying groceries in the local store, one is reminded of the name and image of John Paul II. It is precisely within these various 'binders' of social identity that the strongest collective impact can be made on the citizens of a society. The great extent to which John Paul II is being valued and looked upon as an exemplar for the nation is notable. Although there are mounds and streets in Poland named after various historical figures and events, and banknotes featuring the faces of medieval kings, in none of these mediums are these different heroes or events as prominent or commonplace as those of John Paul II. The fact that only a year after his death such a huge array of renamings has

taken place and ideas are entertained to spend millions on artificial hills proves that perhaps the Italian media was correct when they said that 'Wojtyła mania was paralyzing Poland'. John Paul II was more than just a Polish national hero, as can be demonstrated in the hills, streets and monuments of him in other countries – as well as in the occasional jealous reactions of Poles when they feel that other nations are making a claim to him as well. Despite the enormous range of John-Paul-related places and things, this is not an event unique in the historical annals of Poland. In a similar fashion to the massive processes of commemoration of Adam Mickiewicz a hundred years before him, the figure of John Paul II is in the process of being 'nationalized', albeit in a much more systematic and thorough way.[102]

Bóg, Honor, Ojczyzna – God, Honor, and Country. These three words, accompanied by quotes from Roman Dmowski and Stanisław Tworkowski, publicly display the nature of the supposed symbiotic union between Catholicism and the Polish nation, and can be found on a plaque outside the wooden Church of the Fatima in Zakopane.[103] [§§§] Their proximity to a church intimately connected with the life of John Paul II opens for debate the popular understanding of him as leader of the church and as the spiritual head of a nation, and of the pivotal role that Roman Catholicism has played in defining and preserving a modern Polish identity. With the momentous social, political, and religious changes of the twentieth century, the Poland of the new millenium is an ambiguous place. It is a member of the European Union and is currently in the process of returning to the West, which its greatest leaders (including John Paul himself) have always claimed it was a part of, yet at the same time, its Catholic identity is seeing a

[§§§] Please see Figure 7 for a photograph of this sign.

strong resurgence. The proliferation, and obsession, with associating seemingly everything under the sun with the name and persona of John Paul II testifies to the vital importance that this man has played for the history of the nation and for the formation of its identity. No longer can one find statues of Lenin and heroes of the Red Army in Polish streets, as they have been replaced by nationalist generals, monuments to Katyń and the martyrdom of the Polish nation, and now, increasingly, with the figure of John Paul II. Within the debates surrounding the 'monument-fever' currently raging in Poland, I argue that statues of John Paul II, in particular ones built after his death, are being utilized as strong symbols of Polish identity and belonging.

Norman Davies argues that Polish nationalism has developed an exclusive and assertive nature,[104] with the church acting as the only bastion of freedom during the period of the Polish People's Republic.[105] With each new act of the establishment or reconstruction of a new building or monument within a city, an aspect of national heritage is being reconfigured and a new line is being drawn in the officially sanctioned historical narrative, defining and determining an identity based upon place. These lines, in turn, will work on the experiences of the populace and of visitors on a daily basis.[106] The proliferation of John Paul II statues in the public spaces of the European, post-communist Poland, is marking more than the death of a great man. It is ultimately serving to make his position in public memory the most visible and important to the authorities and to the citizens of the country. Verdery considers statues to be 'dead people cast in bronze or carved in stone'.[107] Statues serve to symbolize a particular famous person, but simultaneously act as a permanent substitute for that person's body, arresting processes

of decay and positioning it within a status of timelessness, much like that of an icon.[108] Within countries that are stable and forgetful of their past, Boym considers monuments to be invisible, being discussed only when they are utilized by people as meeting places or for when they block one's view.[109] Perhaps the strongest indicator of the political value inherent in the way a statue is configured was the giant, panoptical statue of Stalin that dominated the skyline of Prague during a ten-year span between 1952-62 before it was finally blown up. Physically located in a position where it would tower over the city and be seen from a great distance, it symbolized the domination and authority of the Soviet Union and Stalin over the city and country.[110] Reminders of the pope, be they in statues, the names of mountains or projected onto social realist skyscrapers, are certainly not invisible, and as will be demonstrated, the debate surrounding them is very much a part of public life. The Polish word for monument, *pomnik*, is etymologically connected to the terms for memory and remembrance, and to the processes of recalling and forgetting.[111] Within the raising of a monument, Yampolsky sees an embodied desire to, in some fashion, magically influence the course of time.[112] Monuments of the pope constitute a sociological and artistic phenomenon,[113] their prime motive being to mark the memory of the pope and of his connection to a specific city, in particular with his visitations there. Unveilings are also connected to significant events in his life.[114]

Following the death of John Paul, Polish society entered a massive phase of national mourning and remembrance. Many of these rituals centered around the monuments of the pope that had been established since 1980, as candles and wreaths were laid beneath them and prayers were said in their presence.[115] These acts of national

recollection work to both symbolize the past and one's sense of obligation to it, framing symbolic textures of remembrance.[116] Yampolsky sees memorials that are specifically planned and designed as such to hold an 'intentional commemorative value', imbued with the intention of negating time and the permanence of action, in the process transcending history and permanently cementing memories of a specific individual or event.[117] Following this period of mourning, a race to establish new monuments began, with over 80 municipalities expressing a desire to construct their own.[118] *Gazeta Wyborcza* declared that every town and city in Poland wanted something named after John Paul II. Krakow led the way with its proposal for the giant mound, but other cities were not to be outdone. Wrocław intends to build a Papal Gate, and Warsaw planned to construct a symbolic tomb in the Wilanow region.[119] In Ożóg's online catalogue can be found the latest news and documentation of pope monuments erected during and after April 2005. Common themes found in many are what seem to be races to establish a monument. For example, a town or city intending to build a monument would on occasion hold a competition for its design, choose a location to place it in the city, and lobby either the citizenry, the local government, or both, for the necessary funds. For example, in the town of Swiebodzice, a list of donors to the monument fund can be found, as can a number through which one can contribute further funds.[120] In mid-2006, a Social Committee for the Building of Monuments was formed in Brzeg. In accordance with the Wrocław archbishop, various other national committees, and local groups and societies, the Committee makes similar appeals to society for funds.[121] In the town of Bytow, *The Social Committee for the Building of a Monument of John Paul II* has established their own website. Here can be found information on different groups who donated money for the monument, minutes of

meetings, and regulations on how to donate money for materials. Plans are in motion to unveil the monument on the 660th-anniversary of the city. If a person or an organization donates 1000 złoty or more, they would have their name inscribed onto a special brick to be laid in the parish church.[122] In the town of Ostrowiec Swiętokrzyski, all residents of the town were encouraged to make a donation to the monument fund. Any donation, no matter the size, would reward the person by having their name inscribed into a book, with the mayor of the town stating how important such an act would be in the construction of local history.[123] The erection of monuments to John Paul II, then, has become something of a business and a competition. In the past, monuments had seen years of preparation, but are now being churned out in a matter of months or even weeks. Previously utilized designs and forms are frequently copied, with many amateur artists trying to make a name for themselves.[124] Such a mania for commemoration is not unique in the history of East-Central Europe. With the 1898 Jubilee of Emperor Franz Josef, a similar flurry overtook the Habsburg Empire. From Tyrol to Bukovina, parks, buildings, town squares, hospitals, schools, churches, busts, plaques, and statues all bore the name of the emperor. Statues, busts, and plaques were also mass-produced at this time, and many voluntary charities for their formation were organized and formed.[125] In this sense, the race for establishing anything remotely connected to the image of the Polish pope is notable in that it is the first time in over a century that so much energy and attention has been devoted to one individual. It is also unique in that unlike Franz Josef, the commemoration of John Paul is an almost exclusively Polish affair, and is not dedicated to that of a head of state but to a religious figure.

On May 11, 2005, a pastoral letter was issued from the bishops of Poland, intended to be read in all parishes throughout the country. The letter emphasized that monuments alone were not enough to properly commemorate the memory of this great man. Having a public sphere of remembrance is seen as being a nice touch, but it ought to have limits as well. Monuments should be marked by a high artistic value, and in remembering his life, an emphasis on a strong, Christian culture should be promoted, one that helps out the poor and the sick and that emphasizes the importance of the election of Benedict XVI to the Papal throne.[126] Similar directives were issued throughout the country at this time. In the archdiocese of Lublin, archbishop Józef Życiński emphasized the need for 'live' memory work and an emphasis on John Paul's 'new vision of mercy', which could be accomplished through actions such as the organization of kitchens for the poor, hospitals for the sick, and cultural youth centers, rather than through the simple act of renaming a street. Życiński emphasizes how places that do desire a monument should build it with a strong moral and artistic vision in mind, first securing permission from religious authorities.[127] John Paul's twin-role as a religious figure and as a national hero complicates the matter of how he is to be represented, and of how Polish society believes this should be accomplished. As will be demonstrated, there is an official vision, largely articulated by state, civic, and some church authorities, that seeks to represent the pope in the public sphere and thus solidify him as a specifically Polish national and political hero, and an alternate vision amongst members of academic, religious and regular Polish society to reject this vision and to represent his works in a moral and religious light. As evidenced by the 'Jan Paweł II fever' described thus far, it seems as though the official

vision is holding sway, with support for the interpretation of John Paul as the historic successor of Stanislaus gaining ground.

In order to get an idea of Polish public opinion on monuments of John Paul II, I will draw upon the opinions of three specific individuals, collected from oral history interviews in Rome and in Poland in May of 2006, in addition to user posts on the Polish internet. According to Father Jan Główczyk, Director of the *Centre for Documentation of the Pontificate* in Rome, initiatives to build monuments often arise in a spontaneous fashion, from 'a spirit of the heart'. In terms of naming schools after John Paul, he claims that there is a social necessity from the ground up for this, in that society wants to have such a sponsor. He argues that some may say that there is too much of this, but that in a larger sense, it is difficult to evaluate whether or not all of this is necessary. He argues that sometimes there may be too many of these initiatives and that it may be better to focus upon his teachings more, but that this is always a matter open for debate.[128] In the opinion of Mrs. Helena Kupiszewska, the curator of artifacts at the Polish Home in Rome, the flurry of John Paul II streets and statues is a good sign. In her opinion, representing the pope in this way obligates the founders to live a pure, faithful life. The leaving of lights on John Paul II streets following his death had a deep, heart-felt meaning, coming from a strong sense of obligation and sorrow.[129]

Not all are in agreement, however. The seeming banalities and excesses of over-memorialization were noted by Jan Flasza, director of the Museum of Stanislaus Fischer in Bochnia. Flasza is a strong supporter of the 'new vision of mercy'. He believes that

commemoration does not need to be connected to the spectacular gestures that have come to characterize it. In his opinion, a monument can be built anywhere – there isn't a simpler action than that of the building of a monument. For him, a monument does not equal memory, the building of it being a banal action that does not properly work to remember the pope's teachings. He expressed disagreement with the establishment of monuments only days after the death, and emphasized how the town of Bochnia does not have a John Paul II street, more than likely because it does not have a street long enough that can serve this purpose. The building of monuments is both an unnecessary use of funds and a blight on the urban landscape. He claims that Poles are a nation that very much enjoy partaking in such spectacular works and actions. In the long term, stipends, funds and other social works ought to be established which will properly celebrate the moral and religious teachings of the Polish pontiff.[130]

Following the establishment of a monument in the town of Inowrocław on October 16, 2005, user comments stressed that such markers only served to highlight a personality cult, a phase that they claim had occurred previously in Polish history and that had taught people little.[131] A heated debate on both the legality and purpose behind pope monuments can be read on *Tarnobrzeg info* following the unveiling and blessing of a monument on the intersections of Kazimierz the Great and Warsaw Streets on October 16, 2006. The debate here was quite heated, with one poster claiming that 'this is a sick, sick country. Instead of spending money on monuments, old devotees of Radio Maria could better utilize this money, for example, by giving it to some poor family. Here, everything is done for show, and soon every settlement will have a monument of John

Paul II. Soon, there will be competitions as to which monuments will be bigger and more expensive, because for them it is a measure of the value of humanity.' This user further claims that although the city is dirty and racked by social problems, monuments are still seen as being the most important thing. Another comment on the same site emphasizes how we can all remember the memory of John Paul in our hearts, and that it is better to donate the money to different funds and organizations. Although the city itself has many social problems that need to be dealt with, monuments are prioritized. One user states that in the past, these types of actions were associated with communist slogans and monuments, and that this is a new variation on an old pattern.[132] After Świnoujście built its 'own' bust of John Paul, a great deal of anger was expressed online. One opinion stated how John Paul himself would never have wanted this, and that it is more for the people of the town and their own egotistic understandings of gratitude than anything else. Others express indignation that statues and busts are being blessed and that the creation of such a cult of personality is an insult to God. One elderly lady states that she refuses to go and pray under a piece of cold metal, preferring to do so at home.[133] In Katowice, a monument was funded by the city government at a cost of 900,000 złoty. This action brought up an interesting debate in the city, with the authorities defending this action, arguing that there are already 'institutional monuments' of John Paul, such as schools and hospitals, in Katowice, and that the monument is something that is necessary for the inhabitants of the city, also arguing that the city gives a lot of funding for social aid. Arkadius Wuwer, a theologian from the University of Silesia, argued that these funds would be better utilized to help homeless children, poor youth and for the overall betterment of humanity. However, he also expressed the hope that this monument would

somehow direct the hearts and minds of the cities inhabitants towards John Paul's teachings.[134] In the city of Racibórz, a five-meter tall monument was constructed outside a church in the vicinity of John Paul II Street at the cost of 90,000 złoty, 30,000 of which the civic and church authorities hoped that the inhabitants of the town would cover. The monument was to be blessed during its unveiling ceremony, an occasion which was to be marked by the production of a commemorative medal portraying the monument along with the Mother of God of Racibórz, at an estimated cost of 100,000 złoty.[135] The papal monument of Zielona Góra was specifically planned to be located in the proximity of the 'Traffic Circle of John Paul II'.[136] The city of Przemyśl has no lack of physical mementos of John Paul, including a series of 'blessed' monuments and busts, one of which is featured on a postcard.[137] In Złotoryja, people argue that it is better to build a home for the poor and the homeless than a huge monument that does little to remind one of the pope, and upon which the local birds will make a mess, particularly in a city that never had a historical connection with him in the first place. Others stress how there are many homeless people in the city and that they should be helped first. They feel that the monument will eventually just become another tourist attraction and serve no real purpose.[138]

Found throughout this debate is the frequent blessing of monuments by local priests and bishops, sharply criticized activities which seem to do little to promote the humanistic message of peace preached by him during his lifetime. Rather, they seem to promote a personality cult, truly demonstrating that these statues are 'dead people cast in bronze or carved in stone',[139] and is reminiscent of the tossing of coins and pine branches

onto the deposed Lenin statue in Yerevan, Armenia.[140] Clifford Geertz notes the importance of kings and their journeys around their kingdom, through such processes marking their territory, making it a physical part of them.[141] If John Paul can be seen as a Polish 'king' on his various pilgrimages to the country, then his 'royal appearances' throughout Poland are certainly well documented. However, as shown in the example of Złotoryja, a statue of the pope was raised in a location he had never visited during his lifetime, while other monuments are deliberately situated near streets and traffic circles also bearing his name. This seems, also, to have little to do with his teachings and life and everything to do with solidifying his presence in Polish collective memory. To what degree are the teachings of John Paul being preserved in the marble and granite faces of those representations and in the signs above major streets and intersections? Are the Polish people truly a nation that enjoys the staging of such elaborate works and gestures? Through the building of a monument, are moral teachings being emphasized, or is a personality cult being promoted, one that is slowly working to articulate a strongly Catholic, Western, and exclusively 'ethnic' vision for the Polish people and nation? Although only two years have passed since his death, there are already more statues of John Paul II in Poland than there are of Kościuszko and Piłsudski, with the number slowly approaching former counts of representations of the Red Army.[142] Being situated in every imaginable place, from Church iconography to Marian columns, Ożóg sees them eventually becoming as banal as garden gnomes.[143] Namings go unchecked in every which way. In the town of Bochnia, one school, divided into two portions, is respectively named *Jan Paweł II* and *Karol Wojtyła* school.[144] In Jelenia Góra, the major French supermarket, *Carrefour Hipermarket,* is situated on John Paul II Street 51.**** ††††

**** Personal observations, Jelenia Góra, Poland, June 6, 2006. This provides for a variety of interpretations

Markers of the legacy of John Paul II certainly seem poised for the formation of a personality cult and representation of a true 'Jan Paweł II' mania. The presence and workings of hospices and homes for the sick and elderly bearing his name are overshadowed by the controversy over this 'monumental' commemoration, the largest in the history of Poland and arguably of the entire region. The most comparable event to this 'monument-fever' erupted in the contested lands of Bohemia between 1890 and 1914, as conflicting Czechs and Germans attempted to more strongly articulate their identities through metal and stone.[145] Germans in the region, fearful of the suppression of their identity and political power as a result of increasing Czech power and strengthening of national feeling, used the construction and unveiling of statues of Franz Josef II to articulate an exclusively German character and identity for both the emperor and themselves.[146] In both cases, the commemoration marked politically specific events and actions, doing little to represent the actual actions and teachings of the emperor and pope.

To what degree are statues, street names, and public buildings bearing the name of John Paul II a representation of 'works of mercy', and to what degree are they representations of 'Polishness', of Catholicism, and of a material manifestation for a new direction for Poland? This debate is well encapsulated within two examples, that of a local dispute in the town of Mrągowa and of a national one in the capital of Warsaw. In the town of Mrągowa, the decision was made to erect a monument to John Paul II in a controversial location, where an evangelical church was being built. Despite opposition

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– either as constituting a physical memento of an interesting semiotic situation, a Western European owned business entering a 'new' European market, with the 'approval' of one of the Union's biggest supporters, or more likely, perhaps just a commentary on how superficial and rushed certain aspects of Pope commemoration have become.

†††† Please see Figure 8 for a photograph of this sign.

from evangelical groups, the decision to erect the monument went through.[147] Here, parallels may be drawn between the identification of 'Germanhood' in statues of Franz Josef and the subsequent attacks on them by Czechs,[148] and that of a Catholic and Polish identity in the monuments of John Paul. In this version of collective memory, it becomes apparent that not all Poles are represented by statues of John Paul II and that they can cause friction within communities based upon one's religious background. In Prague, a similar debate erupted over the proposal to re-build the Marian Column, a symbol variously associated with a Catholic, Austrian victory over Czech nationhood, or with a Czech narrative of opposition to Soviet and religious persecution. The debate surrounding the reconstruction of the column was complicated by the fact that a statue of Jan Hus, an anti-Catholic yet arguably Czech national Reformer, stood in the same location, creating a conflict between the representation of parallel versions of national history and identity.[149]

This debate is well encapsulated on a national level in the controversy over the proposed construction of a major monument to John Paul in Warsaw's Piłsudski Square. This square is a location central to the nation, named after the general who led it during the interwar period and who successfully drove back a Bolshevik advance in 1919-1920. It is also the square where, during his first visit to Poland in 1979, John Paul II called upon the Holy Spirit to come down and 'renew the earth. *This* earth'.[150] One day after his death, the authorities of Warsaw decided to build a monument in this square, with both President Kaczyński and Mayor Kackowski agreeing that this should be done as soon as possible.[151] To date, this monument has not been built, and plans for it were scrapped

soon afterwards. The major reason is a conflicting narrative of public memory. The authorities decided that they could not build a pope monument in a location that celebrated the strongly authoritarian general, and that it would have to be done on the peripheries of the city. Discussions in the Sejm at the time brought up possibilities for building the statue larger than that of Christ in Rio de Janeiro, a comment that was blasted by user posts, arguing against what they saw as a form of extreme political megalomania.[152] Although separated by a great deal of time and space, this situation bears similarities to Soviet plans in Moscow to build a grand *Palace of the Soviets,* which due to structural problems resulted in a giant swimming pool instead of the world's largest monument to Socialism.[153] Both reflect not a 'yearning from the heart' and the desire to live a faithful life, but rather a carefully orchestrated plan from the top for the authorities to endorse their articulated visions for the nation. In this case, it became too difficult to encourage two alternate visions of the state, the secular, strictly nationalist vision of Piłsudski, and the religious, strictly Roman Catholic, yet European-leaning vision of John Paul II in the same spot. Writ large in the square of the capital is encapsulated the controversy and conflict that can erupt from a seemingly simple act as the erecting of a monument.

On April 10, 2005, Henry Juszczyk, vice-president of Bielsko-Biała, stated that with current phases of commemoration, 'true' history was being marked, and that therefore it was unlikely that anyone would want to knock down 'their' monuments.[154] Is the representation of Pope John Paul II in every conceivable medium in Poland 'true' history, or rather a 'current' phase of preferred history? The fact that John Paul II truly

loved his country and worked towards good and the social betterment of society in many fields cannot be disputed. However, to what extent is this commemoration acting to overemphasize his role within the grander Polish historical narrative and to overshadow the contributions of others? Although it can be argued that he played a decisive role in the downfall of the socialist system in Poland and in the Soviet bloc, thus helping to drive the region towards a new historical era, is this a justification for overshadowing the contributions of both the great and small men and women that also helped to lead the nation to where it stands today? The beginning of the twenty-first century has been one of tremendous change in Poland. It has successfully moved towards Westernization and a 'reunion' with Europe, increasing its role in international politics by contributing to the war in Iraq, and driving towards a stronger economy, with borders opening up and scores of its citizens able to travel and work more freely on the continent than ever before. At the same time, the death of the man who many argue had taken them there has led to a new phase in an old historical pattern. Like the craze surrounding Franz Josef and Adam Mickiewiecz, a new craze has overtaken the new Poland to name everything from streets, traffic circles, schools and plants to universities, airports, and mountains after their newest son of the nation, and he has joined the elite few, in spirit at least, of the Polish pantheon of heroes deemed sacred enough for internment in Wawel. A clearly defined opposition has arisen in Polish society surrounding this phenomenon, with one side arguing that it marks his contributions and life in a solemn and proper way, another adamantly opposing it in favour of more practical and on the ground works. In this social climate, both the contributions and roles of the state, the church, and the people complement and oppose one another to turn the issue of John Paul II commemoration in

Poland into the grander argument of the formation of a new form of collective memory and its impact upon the formation and re-formation of Polish identity.

Notes

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[7] Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance,* 126-127.
[8] Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance,* 127.
[9] Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance,* 133.
[10] Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance,* 128.
[11] Derek Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 15.
[12] Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia,* 282.
[13] Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia,* 282.
[14] Beverly James, 'Fencing in the Past: Budapest's Statue Park Museum', in *Media, Culture, & Society* (Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire, May, Vol. 21, 1999), 3.
[15] Lyman L. Johnson, 'Why Dead Bodies Talk: An Introduction', in Lyman L. Johnson (ed.), *Body Politics: Death, Dismemberment, and Memory in Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 1-2.
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[20] Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance,* 150-151.
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[22] John Czaplicka, 'The Palace Ruins and Putting the Lithuanian Nation into Place: Historical Stagings in Vilnius', in Daniel J. Walkowitz and Lisa Maya Knauer (ed.), *Memory and the Impact of Political Transformation in Public Space* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 181-183.
[23] Czaplicka, 'The Palace Ruins', 167-169.
[24] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basics Books, 2001), 75-76.
[25] James, 'Fencing in the Past', 2.
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[46] Crowley, 'Castles, Cabarets and Cartoons', 102-107.
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Chapter 2: 'Radiance of Sainthood': The National, Patriotic, and European Iconography of Pope John Paul II in Public Exhibitions, Tourist Routes and Museums

As has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, an integral link exists between the different mediums and methods by which national identity and history can be influenced, constructed, and re-constructed by members of the public, scholarly, and political spheres, whether it be via media reports, political speeches, celebrations and demonstrations, nationally flavored historical studies, and museum exhibits.[1] It is this final 'vector' of memory, that of the museum and related exhibitions in public, urban space, that will be the focus of this chapter. Much as with public monuments, squares, and street names, museums and exhibitions have regularly been utilized by curators, scholars, and politicians alike to mold and shape a particular version of some group's history and identity. Maria Bucur sees 'public memory' as being a 'cultural representation of the past through artifacts created for a wide section of the population', a form of scholarly discourse that specifically targets the public.[2] Derek Sayer views the exhibition of history in such a fashion as a form of showmanship where it 'is presented as a stage'.[3] This chapter will examine the ways through which such a 'stage' has been and continues to be in a perpetual shape of construction in Poland, focusing upon the ways through which John Paul II is presented as *the* Polish national hero in museum, art and photographic galleries, tourist routes, and related structures in Polish urban space. I will seek to demonstrate how the inscription of John-Paul-related imagery and artifacts into these mediums, both before and particularly after his death, have served to constitute yet another state and socially influenced form of demarcating a particular interpretation of his legacy within Polish society. By examining the ways through which visual reminders of

John Paul's legacy and death are disseminated in highly visible and popular elements of public life such as city parks, museum shelves, and the walls of public buildings and churches, I will seek to demonstrate how 'Jan Paweł II mania' is not restricted to the controversies relating to his 'body in stone', but can be extended in many other physical mediums to scores of schoolchildren, locals, and curious tourists, thus further solidifying an articulated vision in many public mediums and forums used for the dissemination of historical, cultural, and educational knowledge throughout Polish society.

Following the downfall of the Soviet bloc, many mediums of public discourse in the politically volatile landscape of East-Central Europe were utilized in the race to create a tangible representation of 'true history'. Bucur demonstrates how in Romania, commemorative practices, in particular museum exhibits, were used as a path to re-shape public discourse and to rally popular support for political change. Commemorative exhibits throughout the country sought to re-christen and re-mold the historic narrative of the twentieth century in a specifically nationalist light, doing so particularly through the organization of museum exhibits in cities throughout the country.[4] Susan A. Crane notes how memory is not a static process, but can be made to seem so through the formation of modes of representation that attempt to solidify its diverse meanings. These museums can then be represented on several levels, including the physical, in both the buildings and spaces that they occupy, as well as their interior locales, which may include cafes, shops, exhibits, and catalogues. They also exert a more lasting impact upon the memories and experiences of many professional workers, readers, and visitors from around the world. She argues that memory and museums need to be examined together, doing so by

exploring the ways through which they impart knowledge and ideas and objectify individual, public, and national forms of representation. Through the process of being collected, they can then in turn be remembered and valued in an institutional fashion.[5] Herbert Hirsch examines the importance of what he terms 'mediating artifacts'. In his analysis, internal actions of remembrance are a regular component of human activity, with both the displayed image and the written word constituting cultural artifacts.[6] Pierre Nora and Didier Maleuvre argue that the very act of removing artifacts from their original surroundings and placing them into museums serves to orientate them into a historical and cultural politic, whereby they can then be used in the interpretation and writing of new histories.[7] Alan Radley argues that many seemingly mundane objects in one's daily world are connected to memory. When they are placed into collections or otherwise set aside, they can serve to evoke a sense of place and time. These diverse objects work to produce a 'sense of the past', one that differs for each individual. Certain objects are specifically set aside in order to help maintain and shape peoples understandings of the past, in the process forging an intimate connection to it. Daily life can involve an invention of the past through the construction of a material world. Remembrance takes place in a world of artifacts that play a key role in the maintenance and construction of the memories of both individuals and cultures.[8] Museums can be seen both as storehouses of the past and as repositories of national narratives, where politics of memory work to impact both their exhibits and their larger roles as educational and cultural institutions.[9] In order to successfully create a powerful national memory, a nation requires success in the construction of symbols, myths, celebrations, and rituals, all of which then serve as forums for national narration and the establishment of a sense of continuity between past

and present. In instances where political landscapes are altered and major changes occur in the socio-political life of a nation, corresponding changes will occur in these public forums of memory, anchored in key symbolic sites.[10]

The collective memory of Poland is being moulded and fixed to the image and persona of John Paul II via many forms and through many methods, ranging from the regular nationalistic fare of statues, street names and bank notes, to the more creative, including oak and palm trees, artificial mounds, bells and traffic circles. This chapter will continue to analyze different mediums of this phenomenon. In particular, it will examine public photographic exhibits of the late pontiff, tourist tracks (or routes), and museums dedicated to a material representation of his life and death, examining how such mediums work to promote the significant and emphasized vision of the late Polish pontiff as a national hero and saint. Although the significance and proliferation of street names and statues of John Paul certainly exert an effect on foreign visitors, the extension of 'Jan Paweł II mania' to public galleries, tourist routes and museum shelves can arguably exert an even more influential hold. I will examine the utilization of exhibitions within urban space as sites of memory, following this with an assessment of several specific examples of exhibits and galleries that I visited during the course of my research.

In countries around the world, the morphology and architecture of cities, in particular those of capitals or areas and spaces that otherwise hold a key position in the national imagination, can often serve as physical sites of memory for the formation of national identity.[11] In the public exhibitions and restorations of historic sites in Vilnius,

the significant Polish and Jewish influence upon the history of the city was largely brushed aside as a nationalistic, Lithuanian slant was inscribed upon the museums and castles of the city.[12] In cities throughout the former Eastern bloc, John Czaplicka argues, multiethnic, religious, and linguistic histories are being, in a similar fashion, de-emphasized.[13] As will be demonstrated in the case of John-Paul-related exhibits, the narrative of him as Polish national hero is emphasized, as an economic and political connection is made between artist, church, and state. I argue that these routes and galleries promote his life and death in a visual narrative that emphasizes the primacy of Poland as a Catholic, European state, doing so by marking photographs and buildings connected to his life not only in Polish, but also in German, English, Italian, and other Western languages, thereby strengthening the connection of John Paul and the Polish nation with a broader pan-European and Western appeal.

In post-1989 Budapest, the many socialist statues that had adorned city parks, squares and streets were relocated into a museum on its outskirts. The term 'post-communism' is employed by George Schöpflin to describe political patterns of change in the nations of Central and Eastern Europe as processes that are democratic in form, but inherently nationalistic in their practice. There are many distinguishing features of this discursive process, including the yearning to adopt Western institutions, a powerful respect for the past, and a deep sense of national identity. The establishment of the Budapest Statue Park represents a radical break from the past, one in which the Hungarian nation officially 'forgets' its association with forty years of Communism and orients itself towards a Soviet-and Russian-free, Western and European future, both

through the very relegation of the statues themselves as well as their semiotic position amongst elements such as Western billboards.[14] Public exhibits, while presenting a particular version of the past, work to regularly draw out strong, emotional reactions from their audiences. The exhibits that I will describe in the next section present imagery of John Paul following his death and global reactions towards it. They emphasize his integral position as a national hero and saint, supported by both church and state authorities. In a similar fashion, museums in the name of representing the life story of the pope work to develop either a strong narrative for the formation of a personality cult, on a material manifestation of a strongly nationalistic and deeply Polish-Catholic identity, or both. I will seek to demonstrate how these exhibits conform to the theory of the 'post-communist' phase, working to replace public reverence for the socialist regime with loyalty and awe for the figure of John Paul. The majority of John Paul museums in Poland exhibit artifacts connected to his life, with the buildings themselves often being used as important areas for the enactment of rituals of collective mourning. Some of these exhibitions, although presenting artifacts related not to the personal life of the pontiff but to a nationally-tinged historical narrative of the Polish nation, utilize his support and a symbolic connection with his name to connect, in an emotional, 'post-communist' and popular way, a particular narrative of the Polish nation in the conception of him as a national hero and saint and as the very embodiment of Polish national history and identity itself.

Immediately after his death, the Polish state and workers representing it in the cultural field, particularly museum curators, began to organize exhibits of his life work

and death, seemingly in tandem with the spurt of growth in monument planning committees. The capital of Warsaw took the lead in officially organized and 'spontaneous' commemorative initiatives, as the *Historic Museum of the City of Warsaw* opened a temporary photographic exhibit entitled 'Warsaw says farewell to the Pope', featuring images of mourning from the city. Another photographic exhibition that featured images from all 26 years of the pontificate was put on display in the Old Gallery of the Union of Photographic Artists near Castle Square, while a gallery of John Paul stamps was put on display in the city's Kordegard gallery. The Polish Post released a set of 63 commemorative stamps whose design had been blessed by John-Paul, while in the district of Niepokalanów, an exhibit was opened that featured mementos from John Paul's various pilgrimages to Poland, with even a popemobile being counted amongst the items on display.[15] Two days after his death, workers at the Historical Museum of the Capital of Warsaw organized a 'spontaneous' exhibit of artifacts connecting him to the history and life of the city, one that was to correspond with the atmosphere of mourning then manifested on the streets of the city. The exhibit featured two chasubles from masses that he had led in the city, medals, stamps, cards, newspaper clippings, and photographs from both his pilgrimages to the city, as well as of the mourning processes during his failed health and in the aftermath of his death. Agnes Dąbrowska, director of the museum, encouraged the people of the city to donate any related artifacts they may have had to the exhibit,[16] in the process encouraging them to participate in the formation of a local version of collective memory. In parishes throughout the country, countless pope mementos were put on display at this time, ranging from the cross used on Piłsudski (formerly Victory) Square during his 1979 mass there, blessed pieces of coal, and a black

oak chair.[17] Soon after the funeral, the city of Rome opened an exhibit dedicated to John Paul's pontificate and its connection to the city. The first section, entitled 'Karol Wojtyła's Rome', documented his years of study at the Algelicum University. The second section related to the Second Vatican Council and the then Metropolitan of Krakow's participation in it. The third and final section featured mementos from over 300 Roman parishes that John Paul had visited during this period, in addition to mementos from his meetings with pilgrims at the Spanish Square, the Road of the Cross in the Colosseum, and Corpus Christi processions. Stanislaus Dziwisz, the former aide to John Paul and sponsor of many of the recent commemorative exhibits in Poland, was present at its opening.[18]

It is within the city of Wadowice, John Paul's birthplace, and Krakow, where he spent many years of his religious career before taking up the robes of Saint Peter, that the most significant John Paul exhibits can be found. As will be demonstrated, these two cities maintain a sense of 'papal nationalism' within the walls, squares, public and private buildings and transport systems of the city, turning vast sections of urban space into a remembrance zone. Specific events, buildings and other urban elements can often shape the presentation and understanding of a city in particularly social and political ways. For example, Berlin can be viewed as a 'fault-line city', where for decades, the economic, political, and social division of the city and of the entire world into two power blocs was made physically manifest.[19] Cities throughout the world can become symbols and focal points of different ideologies, their spaces inscribed with images and reminders of political or social ideology or of specific events and individuals. As will be demonstrated,

Wadowice and Krakow, through the proliferation of art, photo, museum exhibits and other related John Paul imagery, have become what I term 'papal-nationalist cities', wherein the inhabitant or tourist is frequently reminded at major urban crossings and intersections of the vital importance of the city in the promotion of John Paul in a national, commemorative framework.

Both in the immediate aftermath of his death and ever since that time, cities that felt a strong connection to the late pontiff and in promoting his image within local and national memory were quick to establish various commemorative exhibits. This included the previously described exhibits in Rome and Warsaw, as well as smaller ones organized throughout the country. For example, the town of Lubartów organized an exhibit of papal letters and photographs collected throughout the pontificate.[20] The city of Wadowice opened the exhibit 'I looked for you: Now you have come to me', which featured 110 photographs of the global reaction to his death and funeral.[21] This is one of the exhibits that I visited during the course of my research and which I will examine in more detail. Both the exhibit and its related publications are available in a Polish and English bilingual version, and was jointly sponsored through the Honorary Patronage of Stanislaus Dziwisz, Paweł Kowal, the head of the Sejm's Cultural Commission, important Polish media groups such as TV Polonia and *Newsweek Polska,* various local corporations and the government of the Little Poland region,[22] demonstrating within the promotion of the exhibit a strong connection between church, state, and business. The exhibit featured images of mourning from the Vatican, Rome, Warsaw, Krakow, and other Polish cities, but also from many other corners of the globe, including India,

Bangladesh, and Iraq, in addition to commemoration of the death through specific cultural practices such as the procession of a Christ-statue in Sicily. The streets and alleys surrounding the museum were also filled with life-sized photographs from the exhibit.[23] In addition to purportedly showing a united, global Christian culture, the exhibit also stressed uniquely Polish attributes, emphasizing how it serves to commemorate a period of deep mourning, loss and contemplation for the nation. The introduction to the exhibit emphasized how for Poles, the death of John Paul had been a time of 'quiet vigil, recollection, inconsolable grief, and spirituality which spread all over the country. Few remained indifferent. This collective experience made us a united community'.[24] The exhibit also displayed a marked religious character. The introductory remarks discuss how the photographs were specifically arranged in order to emphasize the successive themes of the 'time of agony, death and period of mourning' of John Paul II.[25] In addition, the moment at which John Paul 'entered the House of the Lord' is physically symbolized in a central white hall, wherein a tall white pedestal 'rises' from a bird's-eye view of St. Peter's Square. On top of the pedestal was a large book of consolation, an allusion to the Bible that had been laid on John Paul's coffin during the funeral.[26] * In this fashion, several important interpretations of this key historic event are revealed: John Paul II as an international figure with a truly global appeal, whose death brought on tears of mourning from Christians and non-Christians around the world, viewed as a uniquely Polish figure, whose death united the nation, and as a religious figure, with analogies being made in strongly Catholic language comparing his passing to that of a saint or of Christ, and, through semiotic representation, recreating an image of the Vatican and of the funeral within the tiny, cramped halls of the town museum, constituting a form of a

* Please see Figure 1 for a photograph of this pedestal and of the exhibit.

'virtual pilgrimage' in the museum halls, much as was done with the symbolic tombs of Zakopane described in the preceding chapter. The sponsorship of the event was a collaboration between church, state, media, and various private and public organizations. In this fashion, one year after his death, different 'vectors' of public memory are coming together to promote the image of John Paul as an important cultural, historical, and religious figure to the Polish people and nation, utilizing different mediums in order to articulate a vision similar to what had been entailed in the race for and promotion of the raising of monuments and of the renaming of streets. In this narrative, however, a clear appeal is made to an international audience, as can be seen in the bi-lingual, English and Polish representation of the entire exhibit and of its related publications. William Johnstone argues that the use of English in post-Communist Europe is a very pervasive process, and that it is particularly in Poland where a voluntary proliferation and obsession with English has taken hold, largely focused upon the cultural and political industries and in the movement to 'return to Europe'.[27] Within the bilingual nationalistic and Catholic halls of the 'I have looked for you, now you have come to me' exhibit, the proliferation of 'Jan Paweł II mania' even a year after his death can be seen to exert a strong influence upon scores of visitors in artistic form. As will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter, images, reminders, and varied forms of remembrance of all sorts can be found in Wadowice following the death and lying in state of the pilgrimage to Rome.[28]

In a similar fashion, the city of Krakow is also becoming a 'papal-nationalist city'. During my observations there, I examined several photographic exhibitions, in addition to advertisements for other past and upcoming ones. For example, city billboards

featured an advertisement for the exhibit 'We were together then', which had been on display in the main square from April 2-30, 2006. It had been organized by photographers from Gazeta Wyborcza and was sponsored by the President of the City, Jacek Majrchowski.[29] † My visit to the city nearly coincided with that of Pope Benedict XVI. At this time, the city was full of images welcoming the new pope, but it simultaneously emphasized the image of the Polish pontiff throughout public space.‡

The city of Krakow, as a regional, historical and cultural capital of Poland's medieval past and a city vital in the promotion of Poland's national and tourist image, played a key role in the life of Karol Wojtyła, both before and after he became head of the church. At the time of my visit, Krakow, like Wadowice, had a number of John-Paul-related public exhibits on display. This included the 'Radiance of Sainthood' exhibit in a city park, located close to the Archdiocesan Museum. The exhibit featured 49 photographs taken by Adam Bujak and Arturo Mari, beginning with 'The First Beatification' in 1979, which portrayed John Paul standing at the window of his Vatican apartment, blessing the assembled crowd below, and ending with images of the funeral and of the mourning processes in Rome and Poland. This exhibit paralleled the Wadowice one in several key respects. The Wadowice exhibit was presented in both Polish and English, while 'Radiance' was presented in Polish, English, and German. The Wadowice exhibit was jointly sponsored by various representatives of the church and of local and national governments, whilst 'Radiance' received its main support from Stanislaus Dziwisz and Jacek Majchrowski, president of the city, who, as mentioned in

† Please see Figure 2 for a photograph of this billboard.
‡ Please see Figure 3 for a photograph of one such billboard.

Chapter One, had lobbied for the placement of John Paul's heart with that of St. Stanislaus in Wawel Cathedral. It was also sponsored by the Catholic Centre of Culture, the city of Krakow, and the 'International Airport in the name of John Paul II in Krakow', as well as various Polish media corporations, including the Catholic journal *Gość Niedzielny* (The Sunday Guest).[§] Through the selection of patrons and the presentation of imagery, a similar portrayal of John Paul is reflected as in the Wadowice exhibit – John Paul II as a Polish national saint. The title of the exhibit itself, 'Radiance of Sainthood', is a fairly obvious indication of this view. The cooperation between religious, secular, and political figures, in addition to the reliance upon English and German, simultaneously expresses this view to Europe and to the world, perhaps utilizing the exhibit as a way to showcase and promote Poland's European vision and its greatest benefactor, while concurrently using his image to articulate a strongly Polish national identity. I examined a second exhibit in Krakow during this time, located in the vicinity of this park and in the courtyard of the Archdiocesan Museum. This exhibition was entitled 'Karol Wojtyła – Jan Paweł II, 1978-2005', and featured fifty photographs from this time period, including many from the funeral and period of mourning. Several photos show the body lying in state, while others portray the million strong 'White March' that was organized in Krakow at this time. The exhibit was presented in Polish and English and was sponsored by organizations such as the Catholic Cultural Home, various local and national corporations and newsagents, and the government of the city and region.[30] [**] Although these major exhibitions are most often found in major cities and where influential sponsors can be found, images of the funeral of John Paul can be found all over the

[§] Personal observations, Krakow, Poland, May 23, 2006. Please see Figure 4 for images from this exhibition.

[**] Please see Figure 5 for photographs of this exhibit.

country, including in the Church of the Fatima in Zakopane, where photographs of the funeral and of the body lying in state can be found on the walls inside the church.[31] ††

This physical and visual inscription of John Paul collective memory in Polish cities is not restricted to temporary exhibitions. They can be found all over the city in the form of 'tourist tracks'. In Krakow, there are tourist information boards all over the city entitled 'In the footsteps of John Paul II', where visitors are directed in Polish and English on a specific route to 26 associated buildings and locations.[32] In a similar fashion, visitors to Wadowice are directed along 'Karol Wojtyła's Route', starting at the Minor Basilica of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary, where he was baptized and received the first Sacraments, and leading throughout the city to buildings such as the Town Museum, which had formerly contained a cafeteria where he had eaten his meals following the death of his mother, to the Wojtyła Family Home, also a museum, the Community Centre of the Sokol Gymnastics Association, where he attended sport and theatrical classes, his former junior-senior high school, and the St. Joseph's Sanctuary Monastery of Discalced Carmelite Friars, where he had accepted a scapular.‡‡ In an interesting fashion, these 'tourist tracks' are written in Polish, English, and Italian, while the exhibition discussed earlier had no Italian text. This presents an interesting contrast of language use and promotion, with Italian tourists being targeted at religious and secular buildings connected to John Paul's life and career in the church, while media-related exhibits focusing upon his death and expected sainthood focused on English and German. It becomes apparent that through all of these routes, not only are articulated visions of John

†† Please see Figure 6 for photographs of this exhibit.
‡‡ Personal observations, Wadowice, Poland, May 22, 2006. Please see Figure 7 for photographs of these signs and buildings.

Paul as saint and national hero being presented, but an interesting debate is also taking place regarding how his person is to be presented to the rest of Europe. John Paul was a major proponent of a Polish reunion with Europe throughout his life, and as will be demonstrated in the next chapter, his death and the subsequent pilgrimage to Rome gave millions of Poles the opportunity to express and celebrate this dual identity. These displays of John Paul, then, not only promote 'Jan Paweł II mania', they also are using his image in order to endorse a clear political agenda.

With the rise of strong nationalist movements in East-Central Europe during the early twentieth century and the subsequent shift of power to provincial capitals, major cities, in particular Budapest, Prague and Vienna, became tourist centers and began to serve functions of religious and national pilgrimage. With the further development of rail systems, a tourist culture, one that featured hotels, souvenirs, guidebooks and specifically designed points of interest, including Ferris wheels, began to develop. Tourism mediated the ways through which urban monuments were viewed, often through levels of language, class, ethnicity, and class affiliation, with cities being physically inscribed by national symbols. Budapest, for example, became imprinted with many monuments and symbols of Magyar culture and identity.[33] At the turn of the century, Polish nationalists in Krakow developed a form of cultural tourism, designed to inculcate into visitors from all parts of Poland specific forms of regional, national, and cultural identity.[34] By this time, the city was falling into ruin and disrepair. However, with the symbolic importance of Krakow to Polish citizens in the three partitions, various groups were formed with the intention of emphasizing the city's crucial role within the Polish historical narrative,

working to protect and conserve its cultural and historical monuments. For example, the year 1896 saw the founding of the Society of Friends of Krakow's History and Monuments, who emphasized the vitality of Krakow as the embodiment of Polish national history. By 1891, 'national pilgrimages' were organized by the Society of People's Schools, as guided tours of the city were arranged which were intended to increase patriotic sentiment, targeting in particular Poles from Eastern Galicia, who were understood to constitute the group of Poles most threatened by outside, in particular Ukrainian, influence. These routes frequently followed the ancient royal route, which had been the traditional course of entrance into the city by Polish kings, also following the only electrified tramline in the city at the time. Additional stops were arranged at religious, romantic, and aristocratic points of interest, visiting the medieval Rynek (Main Square), and important monuments and historic buildings, including the 1898 statue of Adam Mickiewicz and Jan Matejko's nineteenth-century 'Relief of Vienna', a painting imbued with romantic and messianic tones.[35] In terms of John Paul commemoration, similar processes can be observed over a century later. The desire to inculcate visitors with the importance of John Paul to the Polish people and nation, both in a religious and national sense, is strong, and can be shown through the promotion of it by influential politicians, religious figures and media corporations throughout the country. Perhaps the most manifest sign of such promotion is the establishment of the 'Papal Train' in Krakow on March 3, 2006. Established by Polish rail workers as a symbol of thanks for the pontificate, it has since become one of the strongest material manifestations of John Paul collective memory in the world, embodying within the physical framework of these state-of-the-art, high speed trains national, historic, economic and religious lessons and

sensibilities. The train runs regular routes from its main terminal in Krakow, featuring six points of interest related to the life of John Paul, including the Sanctuary of Divine Mercy in the Łagiewnik district of Krakow and the famed seventeenth-century Calvary of Zebrzydowska, before coming to a final stop in Wadowice. Since its inception to spring 2007, over 85,000 people from Poland, the United States, Denmark, Ukraine, Spain, and Italy have journeyed on it. The train mixes commemoration, history and pilgrimage with modern amenities and technology, and was declared the winner of the 2006 business of the year from the Polish Business Club. Each car features 152 seats, seven specially designed for the use of handicapped people. Each passenger has the option to view John-Paul-related films during the course of their journey, either in Polish, English, German, or Italian, and receives a 'commemorative ticket' at journey's end.[36] §§ *** Much like the discussed exhibits, these trains seem to serve a dual role in the maintenance of 'Jan Paweł II mania'. Although the idea for the train originated with a humble pilgrimage in September 2005 [37], it is questionable to what extent it serves to promote its stated goals of increasing awareness and knowledge of the pontificate and its teachings, and how much it promotes a nationalist vision of John Paul and a personality cult. It certainly allows for a more accessible and convenient way for both Poles and foreign visitors interested in these sites to be able to visit them, allowing both the curious and devout a convenient way to visit sites of historic, religious, and national importance. At the same time, much can be questioned about the methods, goals and actual achievements of the train. The same medium that is being used to transport people through papal points of interest seems to serve as the form of a high technology, twenty-first century version of

§§ Please see Figure 8 for photographs of the trains.
*** Please see Figure 9 for a photograph of the 'commemorative tickets'.

the 'national pilgrimages' that had gone past the routes of medieval kings and national monuments one hundred years earlier. This train seems to be a 'mobile monument', one that can carry its message over space and time. Once again, an association is made between state, church, and the private sphere. During his visit to Poland in May 2006, Pope Benedict XVI took the time to bless the train.[38] If people criticized the blessing of a monument with the visage of John Paul, then the blessing of a train, complete with a papal seal at the front and 'Totus Tuus' on the side, would for them be the ultimate banality. Much as with the exhibitions, the choice of languages for the train, English, German, and Italian, once again makes an appeal to a European and Catholic target group. The fact that the first high technology rail cars in the country that are specifically accommodated for a European audience are devoted to John Paul, in the light of all the material presented thus far, is perhaps not surprising. These trains can thus be seen to embody the pro-European vision of John Paul, as well as the strongly Catholic and 'ethnic' vision being articulated in the collective memory of the Poland of the twenty-first century. While the materials and technology have undergone vast change, the message and philosophy remains very similar to the one articulated during years of partition by Polish patriots, who through the processes of public ceremony, commemoration, and tourism worked to articulate a specific patriotic and national vision of the nation.

At the turn of the century, museums throughout East-Central Europe and Poland had begun to take on a strongly didactic role, eventually serving to disseminate a stronger understanding of national history and of a certain sense of 'Polishness'.[39] In the context

of the mass commemorations that took place in Polish society during the period of the partitions, both public events, such as the unveiling of monuments and religious and national celebrations and the foundation of educational institutions, such as the National Museum of Krakow, came to exert a powerful hold on the imagination of regular citizens, working to instill in many sectors of society notions of Polish identity in the course of visits to such institutions.[40] Large collections of artifacts were first organized in the royal collections of kings, and began to be accumulated at a faster rate by the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.[41] Museums great and small throughout partitioned Poland were used as centers and repositories for increasing interest in the maintenance of a cultural identity, acting as 'treasuries of heritage' that individuals and groups could visit in order to help maintain and construct a sense of Polish identity during this stateless period.[42]

There are numerous museums related to John Paul II, both in Poland itself and in countries around the world. These institutions inculcate their collections with a sense of reverence and celebration of the late pontiff and his life, in addition to a strong awareness of and connection to Polish identity and national history. Following his death, they have become rallying points for a renewed and redefined understanding of his significance. This section will examine several of these institutions, placing their activities within the framework of John Paul commemoration and of Polish collective memory in general. One of the oldest and most significant John Paul museums is the 'Dom Polski', or the 'Polish Home in the name of Pope John Paul II', in Rome, Italy, located about 20 minutes from the Vatican by local train. The Home serves as a museum, documentation center,

and place of pilgrimage for Poles visiting the city. The institution was founded in 1981 in order to promote the connection between John Paul and Polish history and identity.[43] ††† It is adorned with a John Paul monument in front of its entrance, in addition to a bust inside the main entrance. The many hallways, levels and areas of the Home are divided into cafeterias, rooms for lodging, offices, exhibition rooms, and storage space.[44] The museum holds about 13,000 artifacts, which include folk art, paintings, medallions, and crosses, many of which were donated to John Paul by Poles around the world during the entire breadth of the pontificate.[45] During my research, I spent three days at the Home, examining the collections, reading articles and speaking with Father Jan Główczyk, a Polish priest working in the Vatican and head of the Center for the Documentation of the Pontificate, and Mrs. Helena Kupiszewska, the head curator. In addition to the artifacts, its archives contain newspapers, magazines, books and other related academic and media publications published throughout the pontificate in many major European languages. The archives contain some 4700 educational periodicals and 7000 dedicated books.[46] The artifact collection plays a key role in the maintenance of a specific form of Polish national history and identity. According to Mrs. Kupiszewska, the collection was established in order to paint a picture of the entire pontificate and of the relationship between Poles and John Paul, who, from the very beginning of the Home, visited it in order to bring offerings there. Each of the offerings was meant as a reflection of what Poles were living through at the time, serving as a 'witness' and lesson of Polish history.[47] Most of the more significant artifacts are connected to the troubled history of the last few centuries, in particular that of the twentieth century, in Poland. Many of these are related to the concept of the 'martyrology of the Polish nation', and include pieces

††† Please see Figure 10 for a photograph of the Polish Home.

donated by survivors of Nazi and Soviet camps, including a cross made from tree roots taken from the grave of murdered soldiers and police in the Soviet prison camp of Ostaszków, rosaries made from bread crumbs, and Baltic amber sculptures of John Paul fashioned by political prisoners during the Solidarity period. Also included are crosses from the January insurrection of 1863 and a confessional tablet made by Polish prisoners in Japan during the 1904-05 Russo-Japanese War.[48] In 2003, a selection of 400 artifacts from the Home was organized as a touring exhibition in several Polish cities, including Częstochowa, Tarnów, Radom, Krakow, and Wrocław, with an accompanying publication of the exhibit that featured a visual and textual description of these artifacts. It contains material ranging from the medieval to the modern eras, including documents written during the period of King Zygmunt August II, as well as autographed works from famed writers such as Adam Mickiewicz. The exhibit also featured objects from the personal life of John Paul, including family portraits and his robes, encyclicals, and Vatican medals, in addition to various works of religious and ethnic art from countries around the world.[49] The most significant collection, however, is that of the 'martyrdom of the Polish nation'. The official description of this exhibit emphasizes how it serves as an illustration of the Polish fight for freedom, connecting Poles to their history and emphasizing the martyrdom of the Roman Catholic Church and the Polish nation. The exhibit was addressed to all Poles, regardless of age, working to demonstrate the 'life of the church and nation, and the reality of both'.[50] ‡‡‡ What is significant about this exhibit and museum is that it emphasizes objects that are directly related to nationalist interpretations and understandings of historic suffering, but not to the actual life of John Paul himself. However, by establishing a sense of association with John Paul's name and

‡‡‡ Please see Figure 11 for a number of scans of some of the more significant 'martyrological' artifacts.

works within an institution named after and maintaining scholarship on him, the exhibit thus serves to illustrate the vital connection between church and nation within the Polish nationalist narrative, embodied within the image of the Polish pontiff. For example, it is difficult to ascertain a connection between John Paul and suffering endured by prisoners during the Russo-Japanese War, other than that they both serve as symbols of Polish nationalist history. Within the Home and exhibit, a strong, material connection is established between church and nation, with the most significant aspects of national suffering being associated with the image of the late pope. For example, one wonders about the intended meaning of the donation of a cross from Turkey to the Home in 1992. This cross was a gift from Poles in Turkey in commemoration of the 150-th anniversary of the founding of the village of Polonezköy near Istanbul in 1835 by Prince Adam Czartoryski, who had founded the village for refugees fleeing Poland in the aftermath of the failure of the 1830 November uprising.[51] The town still has a small Polish minority and a Catholic church and cemetery, and holds an annual folkloric festival that frequently sees Polish delegates in attendance.[52] In the past, the Home organized an exhibit connected to the Anniversary of the Battle of Monte Cassino,[53] an event and location prominent within the Polish national narrative, but having little to do with religious and ethical teachings. At the same time, these gifts serve to illustrate the fashion through which the figure of John Paul himself is being used as a *de facto* embodiment of Polish identity in general.[§§§] [****]

[§§§] For example, one of the more interesting artifacts I noticed in the Home was a Federal District of New York firefighter's helmet, donated by Stanley Trojanowski, a Polish-American firefighter who had survived duty during the September 11 terrorist attacks upon the city and donated the helmet to the Polish pope as a symbol of thanks.

[****] Please see Figure 12 for a photograph of this helmet.

These examples serve to illustrate the physical connection forged between nationalist interpretations of Polish history and the Polish church and state, embodied within the persona of John Paul II. Thus, this museum serves as a very tangible way of imparting specific historical meanings to its audience, associating its diverse collections with the nationalist vision of John Paul, rather than the 'new vision of mercy' and religious care and teachings. It becomes apparent that museums such as this one serve as places central in the formation and shaping of Polish collective memory. The fall of the Soviet bloc allowed for such a patriotically themed exhibit to tour the nation, utilizing the image of John Paul in order to impart into the generations of Poles who had likely seen the exhibit throughout the country with a sense of suffering and a religiously-charged struggle of patriotism, national awakening and understanding of Polish history as a 'martyrological struggle', one containing elements of a nineteenth-century revolutionary philosophy, encapsulated within John Paul, not as an example of his teachings and encyclicals but of him as *the* quintessential Polish spiritual, national, and political hero. Jonathan Huener argues that particularly following the end of the Second World War, the official Polish nationalist narrative has emphasized a religiously-charged conception of suffering, redemption, and 'martyrology',[54] wherein for hundreds of thousands of Poles, to celebrate and honor religious figures such as John Paul allowed them to give feeling to their most deeply intimate Polish ideas of Catholic virtue, national sacrifice, and patriotism.[55] Brian Porter argues that a particular notion of a religiously charged struggle in the nationalist narrative had already been developed in the nineteenth-century under the term 'national messianism'. The followers of this movement saw Poland as a 'Christ of Nations', sacrificed for the sins of others, for which a moral and physical struggle

should be waged in order to 'resurrect' it and help it take its proper place as an exemplar for others and as the holiest of nations. He argues that this concept was one deeply rooted among nationalist revolutionaries of the time. The development and existence of such a movement provided proof that Poland was a nation that had been imbued by Catholicism to a degree very rarely seen in modern Europe. Despite its popularity, 'national messianism' was widely disapproved of by bishops, who felt the revolutionaries were abusing and manipulating tenets of pure faith and belief and replacing them with their own violent interpretations and struggles.[56] The selection of artifacts for this exhibit, imbued with strong notions of this concept of 'martyrology' and 'messianism' and which are associated with the name and image of John Paul, demonstrates the enduring power of such creeds in the production and maintenance of collective memory and identity. In the process, a similar image is being reinforced of him within the halls of the Home and in traveling exhibits as is done within the 912 streets, 5061 schools, hundreds of statues, and traffic circles.

Poland is a country where nationalistic and patriotic meanings assigned to identity, heritage, and history are often intertwined, these feelings of awareness frequently being made manifest in material culture. From the loftiest Gothic Cathedrals, Royal Palaces, and art galleries to the smallest regional museums, rural churches, and roadside shrines, definitions of identity are inscribed or made manifest in some form. The largest and most prolific centers of Polish national heritage are arguably found in cities like Krakow, in particular Wawel Cathedral, or in Warsaw, including the reconstructed Royal Castle. However, the vital importance of small, wayside museums cannot be

ignored. Smaller, regional museums in Poland developed within the context of the nineteenth century Romantic Movement, whose representatives understood folklore and representations of diverse national traditions to be amongst the strongest embodiments of national life.[57] Such museums can be found all over the country, including the Stanislaus Fischer Museum in Bochnia, a town located about 40 minutes by car from Krakow. It was founded in 1959 under the impetus of Fischer, a local historian and collector. The museum, like many other smaller regional ones in Poland, deals primarily with the folk art of the region, and currently maintains about 15,000 items in its collection.[58] †††† What distinguishes Bochnia's from many other regional museums is its collection of John-Paul-related artifacts. The papal collection consists of a number of Vatican special cancellations illustrating countries visited by him throughout the pontificate, a number of medals struck for significant historical events, as well as a number of personal effects of the late pontiff, including a skullcap that had been worn by him throughout the pontificate. In addition, the museum displays a copy of the 'Litany of the Polish Nation', a historic prayer often recited during trying times in Polish history, from which John Paul had recited daily, and highlights a patriotically themed quote from his work 'Memory and Identity'.[59] ‡‡‡‡Although it is not as prolific or as well known as the Polish Home in Rome, the Bochnia museum is important in demonstrating that different forms of remembrance of John Paul can be found all over the country. The selection of displayed special cancellations likewise shows a specific focus upon aspects of the Polish national struggle. Amongst the more significant special cancellations on display were ones

†††† Please see Figure 13 for a photograph of this museum.

‡‡‡‡ 'Memory and Identity' is discussed more thoroughly in the following chapter, on page 112. This work features many of John Paul's observations and feelings on concepts of patriotism, the nation, and the historical fate and identity of Poland and East-Central Europe.

commemorating the 1000-year anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Wojciech, the first national saint of Poland, while others marked John Paul's visits to Katyń and Kozielsk, sites made infamous in the Polish national narrative for the slaughter of prisoners of war by Soviet authorities during the Second World War.[§§§§] These events have been permanently etched into the collective memory of Poles around the world. This has been done through a set of political processes of identifying with the anonymous dead, wherein large numbers of the nameless dead, known only to their friends and family, are utilized by a nation or a nationalist movement in order to reassociate or reposition entire social categories towards new sets of values.[60] The choice of these special cancellations seems to be part and parcel of a process connecting them to the image and persona of John Paul, demonstrating how, much like with the Polish Home in Rome, museums in Poland draw upon the image of John Paul as both a religious and national hero in order to bolster a specific form of the understanding of significant events from the national narrative to scores of visitors, in the process establishing a connection between nationalist narrative and hero, drawing attention away from his humanistic works whilst bolstering his image as the next national saint and complementing the memory work of politicians and curators in major city exhibitions.

The museological landscape of the cities and towns of East-Central Europe are marked not only by major national museums that claim to represent the entire heritage of the nation. Museums everywhere commemorate important local events and the lives of esteemed individuals. Such 'personality museums' are a common sight throughout

[§§§§] Personal observations, Bochnia, Poland, May 21, 2006. Please see Figure 14 for photographs of these special cancellations.

Poland's towns and cities, including the Adam Mickiewicz Museum in Smiełów, located in a neo-classical mansion where the national bard had stayed in 1831, devoted to his life and works,[61] and the Chopin Museum in the town of Żelazowa Wola, a manor built in the romantic style where the composer was born in 1810, featuring various artifacts associated with his life.[62] More infamous in Poland were the various Lenin museums that were established in places where he had spent significant lengths of time, including in the towns of Biały Dunajec and Poronin.[63] ***** Similar museums can be found throughout Europe. In the town of Sisak in the former Yugoslavia, a museum commemorates where general Broz Tito had once labored as a locksmith-mechanic's apprentice.[64] In Poland, Lenin museums, if they exist at all, have receded into the background, and reminders of the socialist past have been removed or destroyed at a rapid rate. One of the largest collections of social realist statues in Poland is on display in the town of Kozłówka in the Lublin region, serving as a Polish equivalent to Budapest's Statue Park.[65] In the meantime, John Paul II museums continue to prosper and grow. This section will examine the second category of museums subscribing to 'Jan Paweł II mania' in Poland, the archdiocesan museum of Krakow and the Family Home Museum in Wadowice.

These museums function much like a Lenin or Tito museum, in that they display significant artifacts from the late pontiff's life in a physical space that was important to him during his lifetime. The collection of physical mementos related to the life and image

***** The absence of such a museum can play as much of a significant role in the shaping of collective memory as its presence. During the time I spent in Zakopane, I travelled through the Poronin region, but searched in vain for any sign or mark, or even indication of the location of the once famous Lenin museum there. This may be a process similar to that of the relegation of many of Budapest's Socialist era monuments to the outskirts of the city, in that the new authorities decide what should and should not be remembered, and in what fashion.

of John Paul is a common activity throughout Poland. Since the year 2000, *The Association for the Collection of Mementos of the Pontificate of John Paul II* has been collecting and organizing artifacts and archival items, including photographs, films, books, medals, and even phone cards. They have organized the naming of many schools and other public institutions, as well as taking an active involvement in the raising of public monuments, plaques, and obelisks. On March 2 and 3 of 2007, the Association organized a conference in Gniezno on the topic of 'Memory and Identity – the Contribution of John Paul II in the Crystallization of Polish Patriotism'.[66] The Archdiocesan Museum in Krakow is located in the Archbishop's Palace, where Karol Wojtyła had spent a significant period of his time in the city. I was unable to arrange any interviews with people connected to the museum, but a visit through its halls yielded a good knowledge of its collections. The holdings include papal clothes and insignia, including the *Capa Magna* used by Wojtyła during his entrance to Wawel in 1964, various diplomas and gifts issued to him from different universities, heads of state and parliaments, scores of paintings, sculptures, papal thrones, medals, and other related items. Some of the more unusual items included skis and kayaks used by Wojtyła during his sporting days, in addition to sporting uniforms offered to him by Italian and Polish soccer and hockey teams.[†††††] The Archdiocesan Museum has also participated in various celebrations and forms of John-Paul-related collective memory. For example, at the time of my visit there, both the aforementioned 'Radiance of Sainthood' and 'Karol Wojtyła – Jan Paweł II, 1978-2005' exhibits were located in the vicinity of the museum, the latter found in the famous courtyard where one of the first monuments to John Paul in Poland

[†††††] Personal observations, Krakow, Poland, May 23, 2006. Please see Figure 15 for photographs of this museum.

stands, while in the courtyard of the museum, a set of sculptures by the Italian artist Gaetano Callocchia, created for the one year anniversary of the death, was put on display.[‡‡‡‡‡] During the period of mass mourning in Poland in the immediate aftermath of John Paul's death, the courtyard of this museum was used as a key spot by mourners for the lighting of candles, the recitation of prayers, and the performance of various other ceremonies of collective remembrance.

Perhaps the most significant of these John Paul museums, however, is the Family Home Museum in his town of birth, Wadowice. The Museum is located in the former family home of the Wojtyła family, and was opened as such in 1984.[§§§§§] The museum's stated goal is to chronicle and remember the life and works of Karol Wojtyła, refurbishing his former home into a commemorative center that catalogues and exhibits artifacts associated with him throughout his life. Each room and photograph chronicles a different stage of his life, both in Wadowice and following his election as cardinal and pope. The visitor can also purchase books, postcards and other mementos in a gift shop.[67] The most important artifacts include a scapular that Wojtyła took up as a teenager from the Carmelite convent in Wadowice and tourist and sporting equipment that he used during his days as archbishop and cardinal.[68] As a place of memory playing a role in the construction and maintenance of Polish collective memory, however, the Family Home

[‡‡‡‡‡] Personal observations, Krakow, Poland, May 23, 2006. Please see Figure 16 for a photograph of this exhibit.

[§§§§§] 1984 was a significant year for Polish politics, during which time the conflict between the PRL state and Solidarity supporters had become very heated. It was also the year when Father Popiełuszko, a pro-Solidarity priest, was murdered, bringing out a heated public backlash, and the year before the beginning of perestroika and glasnost. The museum website does not make a note of these circumstances. However, it is likely that they helped contribute to the foundation of the museum. In contrast to the Rome and to a lesser degree, the Bochnia museum, the Wadowice museum more closely follows a 'traditional' pattern of the 'personality museum', in that it is not explicitly connected to a 'martyrological' or 'messianic' interpretation of history within its shelves.

Museum has likewise done a great deal in contributing to the spread of 'Jan Paweł II mania'. The Museum always served as a place of commemoration, but following his death, it took on a different role.[******] The people of Wadowice descended upon the Home in the days following the death, as many masses, prayers, and moments of reflection were shared, candles were lit and marches were led. An officially produced video by the Wadowice town museum shows the people of the town engaged in prayer near the museum. At this time, a bust was installed in front of the Basilica and people engaged in prayer at the John Paul monument, preparing to go to Rome with earth taken from Wadowice. On April 8, 2005 at 9:37 pm, the time of his death, a large mass and procession took place in the alleys behind the Basilica and in front of the Home. The leaving of wreaths by military personnel and the draping of Polish flags over the area both demonstrate how the Family Home has become a center for the performance of strongly religious and patriotic ceremonies of collective remembrance.[††††††] [‡‡‡‡‡‡] Much as with the monument of John Paul, museums dedicated to his image serve as important focal points for the intertwining of the influences of state, church, and the people, promoting in the collective memory of the museum, town, and country the image of John Paul as religious-national hero and patriot, an image engrained in tourist pamphlets, commemorative DVDs and websites. Each of these museums plays a key role in the promotion of John Paul as such, either focusing on his image as a symbol of 'Polishness' or contributing to a personality cult, where the shelves and tables that he ate dinner on,

[******] It is unclear from these sources as to the ways in which the displays changed over time, and as to whether they changed to reflect the political circumstances. Following the death of John Paul, however, relatively few changes have been made to the collections themselves.

[††††††] *Papież z Wadowic*, Wadowice, Poland, Studio Nagrań Filmowych, 2006. As will be demonstrated in the next chapter, many commemorative traditions and celebrations in Poland have come to be organized around 21:37, the moment of John Paul's death, constituting one of the 'invented traditions' of the Polish state.

[‡‡‡‡‡‡] Please see Figure 17 for photographs from this procession.

the skis that he used on Tatra mountain resorts and the schools he attended have become more important than his religious and humanistic teachings.

As has been demonstrated, 'Jan Paweł II mania' is a very thorough and encompassing affair in today's Poland, a process that has come to influence virtually every medium of public culture and discourse, ranging from street and square names, the physical occupation of public space via the raising and blessing of statues and of trains, the renaming of major public and national places of interest, and the exhibition of photographs and of artifacts. In seems that in relatively few of these cases is a strong emphasis being placed upon a proper remembrance of his life and works in a spiritual manner, as was requested by priests and bishops throughout the country. The organization of charitable works seems to be overshadowed by the constant proliferation and obsession with forums of collective memory that relate more to a political and national vision of the Polish nation within a strongly Catholic and European milieu. The following chapter, the final one in this study, will examine the starting point of much of this 'mania' – the death of John Paul II in his Vatican residence on April 2, 2005, a date which had an immense impact upon the world and the Polish nation in particular, as a level of strength and collective unity was put on display that was rarely seen. It resulted in the pilgrimage of over one million Poles to the Eternal City and the organization of ceremonies of mourning across the country that saw the participation of hundreds of thousands, even millions of people. In the days following the death, Poles flocked around their hero in an unprecedented way, showing a powerful collective manifestation of modern Polish identity, while the state used the event to construct a particular political

culture and agenda around it. The following chapter will examine how the people and state put into motion the 'craze' overtaking the Poland of today, and how this craze manifests a particular notion of belonging, identity and place within the world and the Europe of the twenty-first century.

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[16] Joanna Jureczko-Wilk, 'Muzeum szuka papieskich eksponatów: Warszawa żegna i pamięta', *Gość Warszawski,* nr. 17/330 (April 24, 2005).
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[22] 'I looked for you, Now you have come to me: John Paul II at the end of his way: Exhibition of the photographs Agence France-Presse Wadowice, Town Museum, 4 Kościelna Street, at the first anniversary of his death.' Public exhibition in Wadowice, Poland, May 22, 2006.
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Chapter 3: 'The Polish City on the Tiber': Mourning, Pilgrimage, and the Invention of Tradition.

On the evening of April 2, 2005, at 9:37 in the evening, Roman time, history's first Slavic pope, John Paul II, passed away at the age of 85, marking the end of 26 years in the Holy See and the second longest pontificate in history. At this time, Cardinal Eduardo Martinez Somalo spoke the words of 'Vere papa mortuus est' – 'Truly, the pope is dead', to a crowd of 10,000 gathered on St. Peter's Square, sparking an emotional reaction truly global in scale.[1] In the birthplace of Karol Wojtyła, however, the event marked not only that one of the most charismatic and influential men of the twentieth century and the head of the world's largest church had just died – for millions of Poles, a spiritual and national father had died, seen as a saint in the making and as the man who had led his people from the tribulations of centuries of dark history, leading them towards the forging of a new destiny and identity. As has already been demonstrated, in the short period that has passed since his death, John Paul II has been treated as the twentieth century equivalent to St. Stanislaus, as a saint and a national hero. Millions wept, lit candles, and organized marches and masses that saw attendance rise to the millions, many of them preparing for the long journey to Rome to pay their final respects to their hero. According to Piotr Wyrobiec, Director of the Cultural Centre in Wadowice, 'for Poles, his death was a time of quiet vigil, recollection, inconsolable grief, and spirituality which spread all over the country. Few remained indifferent. This collective experience made us a united community. During that week, "dying" gained a new, deep meaning. The world came to a halt, and the old rules governing our lives were no longer valid'.[2] These days were indeed marked by a collective period of remembrance, grief and

commemoration. Poles of every social and political leaning worked together as a strong sense of unity and community was created throughout the country. The days leading up to one of the most important funerals in history also provided many Poles with the chance to collectively express their solidarity and national pride in a new manifestation of an old form – the pilgrimage. Although a part of religious culture for millennia, this pilgrimage differed in that it truly was a *national* one, where millions of Poles descended upon the Holy See not only to pay respects to their greatest hero and someone who was already widely being considered a saint, but also to express a united sense of identity, the strength of which was noted only a few times before in history, the last being in October 1978, when John Paul was elected to the Papal Throne. This chapter will examine the origins of 'Jan Paweł II mania', tracing it back to this spring evening. The death of John Paul led to the organization of collective movements millions strong, breaching social divides that until that point, and since it, have continued to linger. The aftermath of this day reverberated through every echelon of Polish society. It not only led to a thoroughly impressive and unprecedented temporary 'imagined community', it also worked to permanently re-draw the lines of belonging, identity, and memory in the new Poland. Every social and cultural group, every settlement, every form of popular culture, and every period of history was thus, in some way, connected or re-connected with the image of John Paul II. This chapter will examine how the period of mass mourning in Poland and the major pilgrimage of Poles to Rome worked to influence notions of what constituted Polish identity and senses of belonging, with traces of this period discernable throughout the country and also made manifest, through various rituals and traditions, in the political sphere by a regime dedicated to a radical re-imagination of Poland as a

strictly Roman Catholic, nationalist yet European nation. The death of John Paul was thus more than a passing in the life of the Roman Catholic Church, it marked the point at which an entire nation began to re-orientate its very sense of belonging and continuity into the image and guise of a single man.

Throughout its history, the Eternal City of Rome has undergone many periods of turmoil, destruction, and change. The Rome of 2005 was much like any other major European metropolis of the time, bustling with the activity of locals, crowded motorways and hordes of tourists seeking to view the glories of its bygone past. The death of the first Polish pope in the heart of the city, however, brought on yet another radical phase of change, as millions of pilgrims from around the world flocked to the city and the heads of state of many of the world's nations made bids to be represented at the funeral of this 'man of the century'. Vatican officials estimated that some three million people entered the city during the week following John Paul's death.[3] Several days after his death, his body was displayed in state in the Clementine Hall of the Apostolic Palace, from where it was moved into St. Peter's Basilica for public viewing. By April 6, there were about 1.2 million people lined up to see the body. This line stretched for two kilometers, with people having to wait an average of sixteen hours to see it.[4] The representatives of over 140 nations were present, including US President George Bush, Prince Charles and Tony Blair of Britain, Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko and Robert Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe.[5] The city had become a microcosm of the world, with NATO warplanes regularly circling the city as millions of world citizens slept in its streets.[6] So many Poles had descended upon Rome that many Italians had felt that the city had become 'a second

Poland'.[7] As will soon be made clear, it was the death of the Polish pope and the influx of millions of Poles to his burial place that helped to awaken a strong sense of Polish national identity. Funerals of great men have served a similar purpose of re-orienting identity throughout the history of East-Central Europe. In September 1908, Elisabeth, the empress of the Habsburg Empire, was assassinated in Geneva. Soon afterwards, she was made subject to 'body politics', as her body was placed in a coffin with a glass top, slowly rolling through the territories of the Empire, making stops at rail stations along the way in order for local inhabitants to say their farewells. Daniel Unowsky argues that this 'death tour' marked Habsburg territory with 'ritual signs of dominance'. The lineups to see the body in Vienna were unprecedented, and in both Austria and Hungary, synagogues and churches were packed to capacity with mourners as the press of many usually wrangling political parties expressed a collected sense of grief at the loss.[8] In the turbulent nineteenth century lands of Bohemia, the pomp and circumstance surrounding the burials of important Czech figures became periods to confirm the strength of their represented collectivity. In these bodies, buried with great ceremony and imbued with intensive nationalist overtones, the emotion inspired was capitalized upon in order to rile nationalist sentiment. In the words of Derek Sayer, the bodies of these heroes had become 'totems of a national identity'.[9] John Paul has regularly been used as a symbol of 'Polishness'. As will now be shown, it was his death and the placement of his body into state in the largest Catholic shrine in the world and the subsequent period of collective mourning, massive influx into Rome, and material reminders of these days entrenched within Polish collective memory that have all served to transform John Paul into a Polish 'national totem'.

In the hours and days leading up to the passing of John Paul, and in particular after his death on April 2, Poles throughout the country took to the streets in record numbers. Churches and cathedrals were filled to capacity at all hours of the day and night, candles and wreaths were left on streets and beneath monuments, and marches and services were organized that numbered in the tens of thousands. In larger cities like Warsaw and Krakow, they reached over a million participants. Every death leads to sorrow, recollection, and reflection in that person's circle of friends, family, and loved ones. However, what happens when a person judged to be a family member and friend to an entire nation dies? What did the passing of the Polish pontiff signify to a country whose first appearance in recorded history began with that of the Roman Catholic Church? According to Father Jan Główczyk of the Polish Home, amongst Poles, the death brought out a strong feeling of loss. The Polish descent of the Pope helped many to remember and appreciate their own roots. The mass mourning and pilgrimage represented not only a time of sorrow for a lost 'father', but also the awakening of a 'healthy form of patriotism' and a period of expressing 'witness' towards being a Pole. The death can thus be seen as a 'positive fruit' in that it helped to lead to a greater sense of identity amongst Poles and a better understanding of their place and relation in the wider European structure.[10] It was within these collective movements where the thoughts, actions, and understandings of regular Poles were made manifest, located within but not only in 'vectors' of collective memory, such as monuments, streets, and museums. I will now examine the ways through which Poles throughout the country expressed a collective sense of mourning and unity, analyzing events in Poland itself and then looking at the

pilgrimage to Rome, the largest in the history of the Eternal City and of the Christian faith.

The burial of national heroes in Poland has frequently taken on a strongly collective air. During the reburial of Adam Mickiewicz in Wawel Cathedral, groups of Poles and Jews, from throughout the former territories, including Silesia, sent commemorative wreaths declaring their association with him and the sense of 'Polishness' that his bones embodied. Peasant delegations sent wreaths of branches, grain and grasses, demonstrating for event organizers that his works had 'begun to wander into thatched huts'.[11] Other important historical events, such as the Third of May, were marked in over 100 villages throughout Galicia as the 'common folk' demonstrated their understanding of Polish national history.[12] In 2005, the death of the newest embodiment of Polish national history brought out a deep level of emotional and patriotic furor. In all of these movements, a specific form of this 'reawakening' and 'witnessing' of Polish identity would be made manifest in streets, buildings, and houses of worship throughout the country. The streets of the capital, including the entire four-kilometer breadth of John Paul II Street, were lit up with countless candles and lanterns.[13] By late April, when the flowers, candles and lamps had begun to be cleared out, several tons had to be removed daily. Twenty-five tons of lamps were removed from the Church of St. Anne alone.[14] In Piłsudski Square, over 300,000 mourners, a group that included many professional workers leaving their offices for the occasion, congregated in order to attend a celebratory mass.[15] In Warsaw, Polish journalists had their own mass in honor of John Paul on April 10.[16] The pontiff's final written work before his death, 'Memory and Identity', photo

albums from his pilgrimages to the country and funeral, and other related books rapidly vanished from bookshelves, and Polish flags were sold in record numbers.[17] Similarly large gatherings were held throughout the country. In Krakow on April 4, over 150,000 people marched together through the streets of the city in a 'memorial march'.[18] Shortly after the announcement of his death, thousands of people marched to the Błonia fields, where during his last visit to Poland, John Paul had held a service for 2.5 million people.[19] Similar marches were organized throughout the city, and over 200,000 commemorative stamps were given out to residents in order to mark the occasion.[20] On April 7, over a million people participated in a 'White March' through the streets of the city, dressed in white and carrying candles. Similar marches had been held during each of John Paul's pilgrimages to the country, as well as in the aftermath of the attempted assassination attempt in 1981.[21] Cities regularly saw the 'spontaneous' organization of large memorial marches and the lighting of candles and lanterns. On April 4 in Tarnów, several thousand inhabitants of the city congregated on John Paul II Street in order to leave candles and lanterns there.[22] On April 6, 20,000 mourners gathered in the Town Square to attend a service.[23] In virtually every urban settlement and in every house of worship, from the ornate cathedrals of large urban centers to the smaller churches and basilicas, some sort of service was held to honor John Paul, with thousands, tens of thousands, and occasionally hundreds of thousands or even millions of people in attendance. At this time, in a process mirrored throughout the country, residents of the town of Swidnia placed pictures of John Paul in their windows and hung Polish flags, tied with black ribbons, to trees.[24] Mourning also took on a more 'traditional' and rural nature. For example, on April 4 in Wał-Ruda, a small village with a population of about

600 people, a group of 3000 embarked on a procession of the Way of the Cross, following the route of the blessed martyr Karolina Kózkówna and reciting John Paul's teachings along the way.[25] In the northern Baltic port of Kołobrzeg, sailors lowered the flag to half-mast in memoriam.[26] Dark periods of Polish history were brought back to light and re-connected with the image of John Paul in Warsaw on April 17, when Jews and Christians collectively prayed to remember his teachings, starting at the monument to the Ghetto Uprising and moving past several other monuments to the Holocaust and the War in the area, concluding with a prayer session where participants held up pictures of the rabbi of Rome and the late bishop of Rome.[27] Not only were the usual physical spaces for the enactment of rituals of collective mourning and memory employed, such as beneath monuments and in churches and city squares, but in the city of Katowice over 40,000 people gathered in the soccer stadium for a commemorative mass.[28] One of the most fascinating examples of the temporal suspension of social boundaries was displayed in the behavior of the Polish *kibicy,* or 'supporters'. As in many European countries, Polish football supporters have become notorious for their violent acts of hooliganism, with violent clashes between supporters of different clubs and with the police being common. In the city of Poznań, not only was a match interrupted in order to remember John Paul, but the supporters of the opposing sides got together in order to sing the *Mazurek Dąbrowskiego,* the Polish national anthem.[29] A similar service of solidarity was held in Krakow's football stadium on April 4.[30] Soon after, more ceremonies were organized in Krakow, where supporters from different teams throughout the country gathered in order to attend a 'mass of unity' in Krakow's main football stadium.[31]

The death of John Paul brought out mourning processes in distinctive sectors of Polish society. On April 3, *TV Polonia* featured footage of mourning from throughout the country, including in the culturally-distinctive area in the north of Poland, Kashubia, where prayer sessions were held at the Kashub shrine in the town of Sianów.[32] Three thousand Tatra highlanders from the Podhale region came to Zakopane in order to attend a commemorative service for the pope in the Church of the Fatima, famous for its unique architectural style.[33] Amongst the forms of remembrance that they followed was the playing of violins and the singing of traditional songs from the region.[34] The death also created a sense of unity between Poles worldwide. Amongst the large Polish diasporas in Western Europe, a march of 12,000 was organized through the streets of London, with smaller ceremonies being held in Oxford, as well as in Dublin's Phoenix Park.[35] Thousands of miles away, Polish soldiers stationed in Iraq crowded around television sets to hear the news.[36] From April 2 until several days after the funeral, Poland was physically made into a massive commemoration and memorial zone. In a largely 'spontaneous' and voluntary movement that was actively encouraged by the government, every imaginable 'vector' of collective memory was somehow involved, whether it be official releases from the government, the leaving of tons of candles and wreaths underneath monuments and churches, or marches millions strong.

The death of John Paul sparked an unprecedented period of mourning that saw millions of Poles grieve in the streets. It also saw people from every walk of life making the decision to travel to Rome and to the funeral of John Paul in person. Since he would not be buried in Poland nor would his heart be interned there, the funeral for one of the

greatest Poles in history would be held in the Vatican, and it would follow the rigours and rituals of the Holy See's centuries-old tradition, with journalists, citizens and heads of state the world over being present for the event. Such a funeral would be a first in Polish history in that it was to be shared with the world. Despite this, the event would still be one where strong feelings of Polish patriotism and identity could be displayed, and his body could still become a 'national totem'.

The pilgrimage is an activity fundamentally connected to the history and life of religious movements the world over. Through it, traveling pilgrims are able to make a personal and emotional connection with their faith, enriching their own sense of spirituality as well as embarking on one of the more significant journeys of their lives. Pilgrimage has regularly been a fundamental component of the Roman Catholic faith. Many of the earliest Catholic pilgrimages were often directed at shrines, often containing the body or other relics of a saint, which were then revered and used as a spiritual focus. This practice has carried on into the present; modern pilgrimages are frequently ones that are focused upon the bodies of famous people. Visits to their tombs are often seen to be personal visits with that individual.[37] During his funeral, the world media broadcast into millions of homes worldwide the calls of the assembled crowd of *Santo Subito* – 'A Saint Quickly!' Since that time, calls to make him a saint have been common the world over. Since the thirteenth century, pilgrimage as a popular form of religious movement has been common in Poland. It was at this time when a cult of native Polish saints, beginning with the canonization of St. Stanislaus in 1253, began. Since this time, pilgrimage in Poland has become a strong aspect of its religious culture.[38] The pilgrimage to Rome in

2005 was truly one of the twenty-first century, combining ancient forms of practice with modern technology. Although largely following Catholic practice and tradition, it also followed uniquely Polish aspects that demonstrated the strong connection between the people, the church, and the state. As strong as the movement was in religious terms, it was equally strong in constituting a collective expression of Polish identity and unity, embodied in the mass movement across borders and the specifically Polish elements of the celebrations. The concept of 'long-distance nationalism', coined by Benedict Anderson,[39] can be used to explain the expression of national sentiments and ideologies of groups abroad. A 'diaspora', as defined by Loring M. Danforth, is a social entity that 'consists of people who left their homeland either voluntarily or by force, and who have an awareness of constituting a minority immigrant community in the host country in which they have settled'.[40] With the modern proliferation of technology and opportunities for rapid and regular communication and movements between areas, diaspora communities are easily able to maintain regular contact and a sense of community with their home nations, often considering themselves members of that nation moreso than the ones they had settled in.[41] There are millions of Poles, or people who identify themselves or are identified by others as ethnic Poles, living outside the borders of the country, with estimates being made of some 15 million or 'one-third of the nation' being abroad.[42] The Polish pilgrimage to Rome is a unique case in that it was a temporary movement of people, not that of a large migrant community that had originally resided within Italian borders. However, the political and technological advances utilized by diaspora groups were regularly used by the masses of Poles flocking to the Vatican in order to maintain

contact with, and collectively manifest, a strong sense of Polish identity, embodied within the movement from Poland and in the body of John Paul II.

The pilgrimage to Rome, which saw millions of people visit the city in the time span of less than a week, marked a milestone in the history of the Roman Catholic and Christian church. It also marked a milestone in Polish history. Although political, economic, and national movements, in particular over the past few turbulent centuries, were frequent in the annals of the Polish nation, 2005 marked the first time that so many Poles had joined and traveled in unison to one specific goal in such a short period of time. In contrast to many of these previous movements, this pilgrimage was actively encouraged by the state, now working in unison with the church. By April 4, the Italian government had estimated an arrival of about three to five million pilgrims, two million of them being Poles. In anticipation, Poles living in the city and Polish churches announced that they would gladly take people in, while the civic government began to construct a tent city in the Olympic Stadium. Special buses began to be organized in Poland for the 1000-kilometer, twenty-hour journey. Pilgrims were recommended to take portable radios with them, as there would be Polish-language broadcasts of the events available.[43] A day later, on April 5, it was estimated that there were already some five million people lining up to see the pontiff's body. Extensive coverage was devoted to the preparations and procedures that people were following in attempts to arrange for transport. Special buses were organized in Wadowice, the people of the town gathering earth to bring with them to John Paul's grave. Accommodation in the city was becoming increasingly scarce as the Italian government feverishly began to prepare by setting up

more tent cities and mobilizing medics, police, and supplies of water. Many pilgrims at this time were arriving by car, a few by plane.[44] April 6 marked the fourth official day of mourning and the day before John Paul's will was to be released. One of the more important issues in the eyes of Poles was whether or not he had requested burial in Polish soil. In Poland, hurried preparations were being made to help bring people into the city. Two special flights and four special trains were organized to leave from Wadowice, and special buses were also arranged in Krakow. People without transport frantically searched the internet in order to locate carpools and other forms of transport. By this time, a special emergency telephone line had been set up for Polish pilgrims, who were also recommended to take appropriate supplies of food, water, medicine, sleeping bags, a map, a battery powered radio, and insurance information.[45] Detailed information upon arrival to the city was likewise given to pilgrims by the Italian government, instructing them how to properly access the city and square, the preparations to be made for the funeral, and hotline and internet links to the Polish Consulate in Rome and the Italian Civil Defense.[46] *Gazeta Wyborcza* provided pilgrims with other useful tips for getting by, such as a mini-Italian phrasebook.[47]At this time, the city was felt to be at a capacity for pilgrims, and further influxes into the Vatican were denied. Different measures were enacted, such as the directing of groups of people into tent cities and other areas where they could watch the funeral on telebeams.[48] Six special trains, carrying about 5000 people, were arranged to leave from both Warsaw and Krakow.[49] April 7 marked the eve of the funeral and the final day that pilgrims were allowed inside the Basilica to view the body. Final estimates of two million pilgrims in the city had been made, amongst them 700 specially organized Polish buses. Large groups of Poles spent the night prior to the

funeral sleeping on the streets, sidewalks and benches of the city. A large tent city was set up thirty kilometers from the square for pilgrims who were unable to reach it in time. Throughout Poland, the funeral was broadcast on large telebeams, with over half a million people watching in Krakow and one million in Piłsudski Square.[50] According to Giuseppe Pisanu, the Italian Minister of the Interior, some 1.4 million people visited the Basilica during the four days that the body was on display, many of them waiting between thirteen to twenty-four hours to do so.[51] On the day of the funeral, a special four-page Polish language insert was included in copies of the newspaper *La Repubblica,* including important information for pilgrims in the city and other documents, such as John Paul's will.[52] In the streets and squares close to St. Peter's, 27 large screens were set up broadcasting the funeral throughout the city. At this time, Rome was patrolled by over 15,000 soldiers and police officers and was inhabited by some three and a half thousand journalists. About 500,000 liters of bottled water had been distributed to pilgrims.[53]

What are the 'body politics' surrounding the body of John Paul II? What is it about the death of this man that suddenly moved the population of an entire nation to drop everything they were doing to turn entire cities into 'zones of memory' and to flock en-masse for a long, tiring, and expensive journey? These facts, and the position of John Paul as both a head of state (of the Vatican), head of the church, and spiritual leader of a nation, helped to coalesce his funeral into a symbol of all of these things. Katherine Verdery describes how bodies, in particular those of political leaders, have regularly served as symbols for a political order. Political change can be further provoked through the manipulation of these bodies (for instance, the proposed internment of John Paul's

heart in Wawel). Through culturally and socially established notions of what the person signified in life, their body could be analyzed through many complex and divergent meanings, encouraging identification by others with their own life story from many different points of view. Its very ambiguity allows for the invocation of numerous political, philosophical, and religious meanings, making the body thus accessible and understandable to many.[54] The body of John Paul II played varying roles for different social and national groups. Many of the pilgrims were non-Poles, with images of mourning showing individuals and politicians from countries as diverse as Saudi Arabia, Canada, Zimbabwe, Jamaica, India, and the United States in attendance, some devoutly Catholic, others committed atheists. Each of these groups and individuals undoubtedly had their own perceptions of John Paul and of his body and of what it meant to them in their own political and social systems of understanding. It is likely, for example, that many of the heads of state were there for a show of political solidarity and to express appreciation of John Paul's contributions to world peace and politics, whilst devoutly Catholic Italian pilgrims would have likely understood his religious functions as being amongst the most enduring elements. How, then, did the *Polish* pilgrims engage in this game of 'body politics'?

In the creation of the identity of every nation, heroes, spectacular individuals are required, whose charisma, talent, bravery and dedication to national ideals works to influence social and political change. As has been demonstrated, the construction of a historical identity in Poland was not limited to the highly educated and well-travelled nobility, it was a 'grass-roots process', wherein the large mass of citizenry exerted a great

deal of influence on the ways in which national identity and history were constructed and written, particularly in the spheres of public memory.[55] This was especially marked in Galicia, the Austrian partition of Poland, where in 1879, the 800th anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Stanislaus was celebrated, Polish peasants taking an active part in the ceremonies. They had already presented their own interpretations and understandings of significant historical events, and they used their appearances at such events to stress the sacrifices made by their own serf ancestors for national freedom, working to turn the procession into a political event, with leaders actively emphasizing the site's importance for the 'Fatherland'.[56] When the Racławice Panorama, a painting of the insurrection of Tadeusz Kościuszko was unveiled in Lwów, over 200,000 people, including many peasants, were exposed to it, providing for many of them their first lesson in Polish history, and memories that would last a lifetime.[57] During this period, many peasants began to visit sites of religious and national significance, slowly reasserting their understandings of local identity into a national one.[58]

The Poles who flocked en-masse to Rome in April 2005 were far from being suppressed peasants. Their significance, however, lies in the shared fact that, for many, such a journey would create a powerful impact upon both their collective and individual senses of memory. Although many may have seen the pope during his various pilgrimages to the country, read his books or watched him on television, the experience of a mass movement into a foreign land with millions of their countrymen, surrounded by people from around the world and from parts of Poland they otherwise may never have been to, would likely give them a temporal but very visceral sense of belonging to a

stronger collective, a modern version of the 'imagined community', with the flags of different regions of Poland waving through the air and the sound of patriotic and religious songs heard around every corner. Such a movement must surely have had a strong impact upon their own collective and individual senses of what being a Pole was and in how it was enriched or challenged. Cities can often be turned into memory sites and areas for commemoration. Places in a city are not just architectural metaphors, they can also serve to make memories physically manifest for urban dwellers.[59] In his analysis of Constantinople and Jerusalem, Jonathan Smith discusses the phenomenon of the 'Eternal City', cities that linger in the memory of countless generations and wherein sacred landscapes are permanently etched into historical consciousness. The urban space of Imperial Constantinople was often employed as an extended shrine, wherein religious and national processions would regularly pass through the city, turning vast areas of urban space into shrines, thus making the city itself an architectural canvas for the behaviour of its inhabitants.[60] Mikhail Bakhtin's analysis of Rabelais' carnival can also be applied to this modern pilgrimage. During the carnival, the social order would be violently, but temporarily, upturned. Different social classes previously powerless would be put into control and made able to subvert the social order.[61] All of these events came together in early April 2005 in Rome. Although Rome had always been a major site of pilgrimage, the intensity and scope of this pilgrimage was without historical parallel, with the Eternal City becoming a microcosm of the world. The ancient saying 'all roads lead to Rome', in this case, rang true. A carnival-like atmosphere prevailed as the streets and tourist sites of the city were turned into temporary sleeping and prayer grounds for millions of people, with regular rules of conduct and movement in the city being temporarily suspended.

Such an atmosphere created a strong sense of a united community amongst the Poles temporarily resident in the city. In a *Gazeta Wyborcza* report, one correspondent relates how there were so many Poles in the area and so many Polish voices, that they felt right at home. The number of Polish flags and people led the Italian police patrolling the area to comment that 'everything is Polish'.[62] The concept of a 'second Poland' amongst Italians was regularly echoed and noted.* Although it is difficult to profile many of the pilgrims and their interpretations of these events, there were certain individuals who personified the concept of 'long-distance nationalism' and the ways through which modern technology and transport allowed individuals and communities to maintain regular contact with their homelands. One man profiled on Polish media had camped out in St. Peter's Square with a large Polish flag, on which he was collecting messages and signatures. By April 4, he had already collected over 100,000, and was planning to take it to Jasna Góra, a shrine housing the famous Icon of the Black Madonna and a place that has taken on strong nationalist and patriotic connotations over the past few centuries.[63] The internet and its many mediums of communication likewise revolutionized the ways through which a pilgrimage could be conducted. Personal 'blogs', reminiscences, and personal websites can be found all over the Polish internet.† The pages of Catholic journals produced at the time frequently chronicled the experiences of individual groups of people from different parts of Poland and how they interpreted their experiences. The Catholic periodical, *Sunday Guest,* produced reports from each of its dioceses, many of

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* An interesting piece of research would be to examine the Italian reaction to, and understandings of, Poles entering the city during the pilgrimage. Father Jan stated that the Italian perception of Poles is a very positive one, with both nations taking part in a 'spontaneity of life' and holding a shared understanding of the power of the Catholic faith in daily life.

† For example, at the time of writing, the popular video-sharing website, YouTube, contains a number of user-produced clips of their time spent in Rome. For the most part, they relate personal experiences from the city in addition to news clippings and related images from the time.

which can be viewed online at http://goscniedzielny.wiara.pl. From a general reading of samples of different diocese reports, there frequently appears to have been a 'spontaneous' initiative amongst groups of family, friends, or school and church groups to journey to Rome soon after they heard of the death. This 'spontaneity' characterizes many of the accounts. Also common was a strong sense of unity and national feeling amongst the different groups of Poles during their time spent in Rome, taking comfort from and gathering amongst others speaking their language, singing their songs and waving their flag. Amongst scores of Poles from every corner of the country, whether it be football supporters of Wisła Krakow, urban dwellers from Silesia, fishermen from Gdansk or highlanders from Zakopane, an 'imagined community' of Poles was created during these days, one which took on a stronger sense of purpose and of pride as a result of the death of John Paul. This pilgrimage saw the inscription of national, religious, and cultural meaning to the body of John Paul, in a fashion similar to what has been done for national saints or heroes for centuries. These 'body politics' thus saw the expression of a sense of unity across social boundaries in a mix of religious and national feeling, embodied in the body and symbol of the Polish pope and understandings of his role in the wider processes of identity formation.

As will now be discussed, this pilgrimage and its reminders are having an influential effect on the formation and re-formation of Polish identity today, only two years after the event. Although it was an event that marked the end of an era and constituted one of the largest gatherings of the world's citizenry in a single place, the period from the death of John Paul to the funeral, the departure of the pilgrims, and the

return of the city to a 'normal' state lasted just over one week. The death of John Paul and the pilgrimage have played crucial roles in reworking the parameters of Polish identity and the ways in which it is understood, constructed, and altered in the face of the major political changes of the twenty-first century. It sparked off the 'monument fever' described in Chapter One, and it led to the diverse one-year anniversary exhibits, trains, and 'tourist tracks' described in Chapter Two. It also led to the pilgrimage and its temporary role in uniting previously disparate elements of Polish society. I will now examine in what way such movements, and the death in particular, have led to the extreme popularity of 'Jan Paweł II mania' in Poland, both among the people and in state-sanctioned understandings, analyzing the traces left behind and the ceremonies and traditions re-created or re-utilized in the process.

During the pilgrimage, the halls of the Polish Home were packed to capacity. Ten people slept side by side on the veranda, and sleeping mattresses had been laid out even in the laundry room.[64] In museums like the Polish Home and in the streets of cities, the parallel processes of how different 'vectors' of collective memory play out and interact with each other can be observed. The pilgrimage led to the temporary union of millions of Poles, but it also led to the permanent production of tangible reminders of that fact. In addition to the materials described in the preceding chapter, the Polish Home maintains a large collection of materials produced during and after April 2005. These largely consist of written works such as letters or books of condolence, expressing sorrow and personal feelings following the event. The largest such book is located inside the entrance of the Home, and, at the time of my visit, contained 236 pages of signatures. Many of the

entries are written by young Poles and are couched especially in religious language and in terms of thanks. There are many elaborate entries, including poems, prayers, and illustrations. There are various non-Polish entries, as well, including several written in English, Italian, German, and Spanish. There are entries from members of the Polish diaspora in North America and Europe, and other entries from places as diverse as Los Angeles, Cologne, Colombia, Texas, Mexico, and Saudi Arabia. One of the more interesting entries to take on a religious and patriotic tone was contributed by a Pole from London, who pasted in a picture of the Lady of Częstochowa.[65] ‡ There are several other condolence books in the archives of the Home. One of the most significant is a collection of 1.2 million signatures from the popular Polish Internet site ONET.§ There are several other books of condolence at the Home, including one from the children of Bielsko-Biała, a volume from Błonia, a volume from a Polish parish in St. Louis, USA, and one from San Antonio, Chile. Several other books were sent in from parishes and organizations throughout Poland, including one from a Union of Combatants and former Political Prisoners, as well as a letter exchange between Błonia and its sister city in Italy, Coreno.** The Archives of the Home also contain various publications and journals

‡ Please see Figure 1 for photographs of some of the more interesting entries from these condolence books. It is interesting to note that, amongst the many contributions to condolence books, many of which expressed feelings of personal loss and mourning, can be found an image that has been significant to the Polish national narrative for centuries. The image, and the shrine in which it is housed, both have strongly religious and patriotic connotations. A link can be made between this image and the man collecting signatures on a Polish flag during the pilgrimage - he was intending to bring the flag back to the very same sanctuary. Jasna Góra has also been employed in the 'martyrological struggle' and 'messianic movement' described in Chapter Two. In this fashion, a direct link is established between the Polish nationalist narrative, the pilgrimage as a national and patriotic movement, and the image of John Paul that embodies all of this.

§ Please see Figure 2 for a photo of several pages from this book. The signatures are collected in a 16-volume work of 805 pages, released in three copies, one of which is at the Home. Father Jan emphasized the sheer magnitude of the number of signatures. He stated that although few people in Poland have regular access to or know how to effectively use the Internet, the fact that over a million people signed it shows an event without precedence.

** Personal observations, Rome, Italy, May 10, 2006. Please see Figure 3 for photos of some of these books.

released by various media following the death, including one from LOT, the major Polish airline. Press clippings are held from the entire world, including from *The New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, various newspapers from Paris, and the German *Die Welt.* They all constitute a different form of documentation and stand as a summary of the global response to this critical event.[66] Stanislaus Dziwisz, former aide to John Paul and sponsor of many of the exhibits previously discussed, also contributed several of these post-death documents following the funeral.[67] In this fashion, the pilgrimage will be permanently marked and remembered within the halls of the Polish Home and for the many Poles and non-Poles who have, and who will continue to, pay a visit to its halls long after the 'Polish city on the Tiber' is gone and when the English of British and American tourists once again becomes the second most commonly heard tongue on the streets of Rome.

In terms of reminders of the pilgrimage, likely the most numerous and detailed would be the many photographs, videos, and memories of the event in the homes and minds of its participants. The streets and squares surrounding St. Peter's bear no material reminders of the millions of people who once slept there, of the many flags and lighted candles, lanterns and photographs that were left in every niche and corner of the ancient city. Much as in Warsaw, there were many personal tributes left all over the city during this period, but they have all since been cleaned up. In the realm of 'tangible memory', the best collection can be found in the Polish Home. However, I wandered through the streets of Rome in an attempt to find any material reminders of this time, to see whether any makeshift shrines or memorials still stood. The only memorial that remained was John Paul's tomb itself in the grottoes of St. Peter's. From my observations, it appears

that the most representative artifacts of this time in Rome are clichéd photographs, designed for the mass consumption of tourists. The market stalls of the city were filled with magazines, calendars, postcards and photographs of *Giovanni Paulo.* Many of them displayed a continuity between John Paul and his successor, Benedict XVI. One stand sold trading cards, postcards and photographs of the late Bishop of Rome next to tacky gladiator toys, Rome pencils and buttons.[68] The tourist image of John Paul conflicts sharply with that of the Roman and Italian people, who hold a much more reverent attitude.[††] There are a number of Polish churches and organizations in the city of Rome representing the small Polish communities living in the city and country. The first church that I visited was the Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia, or the Church of the Holy Spirit, located on 12 Via dei Penitenzieri, Vatican. This church is not officially Polish, but maintains a strong association with John Paul and with Rome's Polish community because it was the place that saw the beatification of Faustina Kowalska by John Paul, and serves as headquarters for the Divine Mercy movement. There is at least one Polish nun resident at the church, and at the time of my visit, there was a Polish family standing outside its door. In exploring the Church and speaking to the Polish nun, however, I found no material traces from the pilgrimage.[‡‡] Another church in Rome, which is much

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[††] For example, 'ordinary' Romans would hang images of John Paul in their homes, businesses, and cars, much as would many Poles; I saw one such image in my two star hotel in the Roman suburb of Ostia. They also regularly call upon and support Polish organizations in the city to conduct more memory work and have organized their own museum exhibits connecting John Paul to the life of the city. For example, a November 2006 news headline stated how a man in the town of Salerno, near Naples, claimed to have been cured of lung cancer after his wife had prayed to John Paul and seen him in a dream ('Un giovane guarito da Papa Wojtyla: L'arcivescovo Pierro rivela il prodiga durante l'omelia alla messa di Ognissanti', *Il Mattino,* November 2, 2006, http://www.ilmattino.it/mattino/view.php?data=20061102&ediz=SALERNO&npag=29&file=APRE.xml&type=STANDARD), demonstrating that for Italians, he is being treated as a saint, but not particularly as a national hero.

[‡‡] Please see Figure 4 for photographs of this church. The church was opened only a few minutes before the mass began. I quickly walked through and took a look around, but did not find any icons, cards, items or

more prominent and well known to the Polish community, is St. Stanislaus Church, located by the Via dei Polacchi (Road of the Poles). This church plays a strong role in the life of the Polish-Italian community, both in its connections with John Paul and with the pilgrimage and Polish identity itself.[§§] It played a strong role in organizing regular prayer following his death.[69] Although there was a lack of physical remains at the church, I found a parish pamphlet, which directed me to its website. In addition to serving as a house of prayer and a place of communal worship for Rome's Poles, the church also plays a strong function in maintaining Polish culture and identity in Rome and in Italy. Following the death, the Church, much like the Polish Home, served as a center for coordinating attendance at the funeral. The parish held a commemoration ceremony on the anniversary of the death, a procession that saw the parishioners proceed through the streets of Rome with Polish flags in tow. The church also participates in the cultural life of Poles in the city, for example arranging Polish Christmas celebrations, but also more political events; following the accession of Poland into the European Union in 2004, the church held a meeting discussing the status of Poles in Italy.[70] A tangible link can also be made between the church, the Polish Home, and Polish identity. The church regularly organizes pilgrimages to Monte Cassino, the famous monastery in southern Italy where, during World War II, tens of thousands perished, with the actions of the Polish corps being key in its eventual fall to the Allies. The Polish cemetery there has since become a site of collective mourning in a fashion similar to Katyń and Kozielsk. The connection of

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any related materials of John Paul, such as votive offerings, in the church. I quietly inquired of the nun as to any such remnants but was told there were none.

[§§] Please see Figure 5 for photographs of this church. Much like Santo Spirito, I did not find any artifacts or physical mementos of John Paul or of the pilgrimage inside this church, excluding a portrait of him in the sanctuary. Although there was a nun resident in the church at the time, she was not aware of any tangible elements that I could potentially examine. It would appear that the best places to find tangible elements of this pilgrimage would be in museums, people's homes, and in other places of national significance, such as Jasna Góra.

St. Stanislaus parish with the Polish Home, the pilgrimage, and John Paul thus demonstrates the integral link between all of these 'vectors of memory'. A full-circle relationship is created between museums as large and prominent as the Polish Home and the Family Home in Wadowice, with smaller museums in towns like Bochnia, and in large, cosmopolitan centers such as Rome, where a very Polish-flavored version of history is inscribed into local understandings of the role of Poles in Roman and Italian society.***

What is the role of the pilgrimage, and John Paul overall, in influencing recent currents of Polish identity, in particular with the sea of changes sweeping through the country since the fall of the bloc and the rise of strongly nationalistic parties in the region and in Poland over the past few years? The consequences of the pilgrimage, and the position of Poles in Italy, can be examined as microcosms of the wider issues surrounding modern manifestations of Polish identity. The Polish community of Rome, and of Italy as a whole, is relatively small, and was largely established by political refugees who had fled the country during the Solidarity crisis of the early 1980s.[71] The papacy itself helped to activate certain elements of Polish society in Rome, in particular the Polish church. There is no specific Polish 'mission' in Italy, with communities focusing upon specific churches. The church of St. Stanislaus served as the central point for the entire Polish pastoral ministry in Italy. The Polish church there established an

*** Please see Figure 6 for a photograph of Monte Cassino. Like the commemoration of Katyń, Polish observances at Monte Cassino help lead to the re-orientation of entire elements of society to particular values. In this case the Polish community of Rome, and any visitors, are reminded of their connection to the events of World War II and the running narrative of Polish martyrdom and resistance in the twentieth century. Via connection to John Paul II, and the Polish Home in his name (which also organized pilgrimages to the monastery), even Monte Cassino is given over to 'Jan Paweł II mania'.

organization called *Corda Cordi,* which had as its main goal assisting pilgrims arriving from Poland and arranging possibilities for them to meet with John Paul. The actual death of John Paul served to unite Poles more deeply, greatly reviving the pastoral ministry throughout the city. Following the funeral, Polish pilgrimage to Rome continued on the level of almost a quarter more than it had before, with people visiting the grave to give homage and thanks. Father Jan claims that the death itself awoke desires to witness that one was a Pole. It helped Poles to regain some of that understanding which, within the past few years, had been suppressed. He claims that during movements to rejoin with European structures, a mass propaganda was spread in which feelings of being a Pole were weakened. This propaganda tried to imply that in order to enter Europe, one must forget about roots and that every form of remembrance of such would be nationalistic. Regardless of when they would join, however, Poles needed to remain within it as they were, as Poles, with their own traditions, history, and culture. John Paul himself regularly pointed out that Poland needs Europe but that Europe also needs Poland. Thus, in a true appreciation of one's Polish identity and a true understanding of this reciprocal need between nations and in what sense Poles can be made welcome in the European structure, he argues that the death of the Polish pope bore 'positive fruit'.[72]

One of the most important themes raised during the social and political battles waged during the recent processes of John Paul commemoration has been the significance of these processes for Polish identity, particularly during the politically volatile period of the early twenty-first century, a defining moment of this period being the 2004 accession of Poland into the European Union along with several of its neighbors

from the former Soviet bloc. The death of John Paul served to unite millions of his fellow countrymen in grief, and, as people like Father Jan claim, also served to remind Poles of his teachings on a significant and personal level. At the most basic level, he was a *Pole,* and more than that, a Pole known and loved throughout the world. I have demonstrated how one of the major defining characteristics of commemoration in post-communist Poland has been that of a move to the 'West', one that has expunged decades of uncomfortable history, replacing it with a version more palatable to a society embittered by decades (or centuries) of repression and eager for a wider role and recognition of its own culture and identity. The election of a pope from a Slavic and 'Eastern' country was as big a surprise to many as was the seemingly sudden collapse of the vast Soviet empire, two events that, to the casual observer, seemed to come out of nowhere, yet had enormous repercussions. Beyond his significant and controversial contributions to the life and history of the church, John Paul played a huge role in bringing the dynamic societies of Poland and East-Central Europe from behind the shadow of the 'Iron Curtain' and onto center world stage. His teachings and actions served to highlight the vital importance of this region within the grander narrative of European history and civilization. John Paul frequently discussed what he believed was a fundamental Christian unity in European history and culture, a 'root' that he made regular calls to return to. He decried the Stalinist division of Europe into an arbitrarily defined 'East' and 'West' at Yalta, emphasizing how 'Eastern' Europe was once as important to the continent as the West, and that it can make a return to such a state. The 'European spiritual lung' consists of two parts, an East and West, without which it would be unable to properly survive. He called for a European re-unity in history, culture, politics, and faith.[73] In a similar fashion, he

strongly opposed the oppression of Poland and its people, history, and culture. Breaking ranks with the usual Vatican experience of an Italian on the Throne of St. Peter, he was able to highlight the plight and identity of this region in a more personal and visceral manner. In a 1979 Warsaw mass, John Paul declared that 'there can be no just Europe without the independence of Poland marked on its map'.[74] He was able to offer a strong challenge to the post-Yalta perception of a divided Europe, one devoid of beautiful and historically vital cities such as Vilnius and Lviv, Prague and Budapest, Krakow and Warsaw.[75] In *Memory and Identity,* one of his final works (and of which a copy is on display in the Bochnia museum), John Paul discusses in detail his understandings of patriotism, Poland, and 'Europe'. In it, he emphasizes his deep love for his country, wherein he claims that Poles have always maintained a spiritual maturity and a strong bond between the cultural, material, spiritual, and territorial.[76] For him, 'patriotism' constitutes a love for anything connected to one's native land, including its traditions, language, history, and natural features. He prefers this peaceful definition of patriotism, one that is rooted in Christian teaching, to an unhealthy and violent form of nationalism, arguing that the nation cannot be replaced by the state.[77] In one of his most direct reflections upon modern Europe, John Paul argues that Western European countries, such as Spain and France, are in a 'post-identity' phase, where they are not in fear of losing their identities to European structures. Poles do not fear such a loss either, but the history of their national identity is a more complex process. A Pole cannot reflect upon the country without a simultaneous reflection on Europe, a historical development which he sees as being based within a common Christian root and leading back to the times of Cyril and Methodius, the patron saints of Europe.[78] Therefore, a 'return' to Europe is a

foolish notion for Poles, as they have always been an integral part of it. The greatest danger currently facing Central and Eastern Europeans is a weakening of their identities, and of being able to stay in tune with (or re-connect) to their heritage and Christian values.[79] One of the reasons why John Paul commemoration in Poland is so popular is because of such views, in addition to the fact that he can be associated with virtually every time period and with every figure in the history of the nation. His image, and his understandings of Polish history and culture, can be identified with by virtually every Pole (excluding, for example, the occasional Evangelical, as evidenced in Chapter One's monument debate), to some degree. I have shown how Poles in every corner of the globe, from the rocky shores of Ireland and the deserts of Iraq, locate some form of their own identity and self-understanding within his image. However, as has also been shown, uncritical acceptance is also not the norm. As will be shown, conflicts often arise between the people and state. The roots of John Paul as this protean figure run deeper than what is visible on the surface. The aftermath of the election of Karol Wojtyła, Bishop of Krakow, as head of the Roman Catholic Church, resulted in what Norman Davies calls an almost 'disarming sense of pride', an event that single handedly served to undermine the very foundations of the communist system in Poland.[80] Jerzy Kloczowski argues that the election was a catalyst in the whole tradition of Polish Christianity. In his humane, open and rich personality was a representation of the best elements and traditions of Polish culture and 'folk Christianity'; he was a living embodiment of the very core of Polish culture, a core that movements like Solidarity stemmed from.[81] According to statistics from 1997, over ninety percent of Poles were Roman Catholic. This fact alone gives the country a unique social position in Europe and in the former communist bloc in

particular.[82] One of the most important institutions in post-1945 Poland was the church. The church helped lead society through this difficult period, fighting for and supporting human rights. John Paul also stated that the cult of St. Stanislaus, which John Paul commemoration is associating with, was, for bishops, to become a model of courage and defense of the faith.[83] Polish priests had the unique position of finding themselves within a socialist nation where the majority of its citizens were believers, but the government was not. Peter Raina argues that John Paul's abundance of charisma and his humanistic approach was not unique, but that it stemmed from the crucial training given to all Polish priests, who must be learned not only in the tenets of the faith but also in being able to relate to and understand the problems of the average Polish citizen, as well as being trained in politics, state affairs, and social and ethical advising.[84] The boundaries of identity and belonging in East-Central Europe have been subject to a regular process of change. Some argue that with Poland's entry into the European Union, conservative and nationalistic coalitions in Poland feared losing moral values, sovereignty, and 'true faith', with European entry being painted in apocalyptic shades by the nationalist and xenophobic radio station Radio Maria. At the same time, different forces within Polish society hoped for the chance to convert secular cultures to Catholicism following entry.[85] John Paul's own position on the significance of Poland and its neighbors places these nations squarely within the larger framework of a single Europe, united in heritage, history, and faith, but with a significant dichotomy regarding their struggle for identity. In terms of commemoration, both sides of the coin may be presented, the sacred and the profane, with wildly extravagant commemorative projects and artistic calls to Poland's more powerful neighbors vying with museums presenting a 'martyrological' version of

history and demands to place John Paul's heart into the 'sacrarium of the nation'. The notion that European entry is a cultural poison to Poland is one extreme side of the coin. The connection of the ultra-conservative and nationalistic Radio Maria to the image of John Paul provides further evidence of taking care with and understanding the ways in which 'Jan Paweł II mania' is presented and understood. For example, the Church of the Fatima and the 'Santo Subito' shrines described in Chapter One are located right next to a Radio Maria banner, which brings up some interesting questions regarding national politics: Were these shrines constructed by Radio Maria supporters and thus intended to be imbued with an anti-European sentiment? If so, was this the message that was actually 'read' by visitors to the shrine? Did they have a more positive view of Europe and Poland's position in it, or was it simply a matter of semiotic coincidence that these two images can be found in such proximity to each other? Adam Michnik argues that Polish history and identity should not be defined solely upon its strongly Catholic connection, decrying this as a form of national chauvinism.[86] John Paul's own stance on Poland and Europe further complicates the politics of commemoration: Radio Maria supporters can draw upon his emphasis on religious identity and the need for Europe to 'return to its roots' to present his image in a xenophobic way, whilst others may lay a primary focus on his views of promoting a common heritage. This demonstrates the ways through which commemoration can become a politically volatile affair, and done separately from the actual wishes of the person being celebrated.

Helena Kupiszewska, curator of artifacts at the Polish Home, told me that to have a photograph or likeness of John Paul obligates that person or city to honor his teachings

and for that individual or city to live its life in an honorable way.[87] As has been shown, likenesses of John Paul are ubiquitous throughout Poland, and they do not always necessarily honor his teachings but more the ideals and goals of their makers. The image of John Paul has been established as a strong visual symbol of Polish identity, even more so following his death. The small Polish community of Italy, members of one nation and strangers in another, can draw upon the image of John Paul in order to reassert its understanding of Polish identity within Europe, in particular over the past few years when they are 'legally European'. His support and teachings on the vital importance of Poland and on the 'lost' nations of Europe constituted a significant aspect of his political views. We have already seen how certain elements of post-2005 John Paul commemoration, such as tourist routes and public exhibitions, have used words and images of the Polish pontiff to find greater support amongst powerful 'post-identity' nations, such as Italy and Germany. I will now examine the material traces left behind throughout Poland as a result of this death and what forms of 'reawakening' of national feeling it has brought about.

As is common throughout the world, the great men and women of East-Central Europe are remembered and regarded in many different mediums. The popular Habsburg emperor, Franz Josef II, had his likeness fashioned into candy in 1908 by a Lwów candymaker, and a marzipan image of him could be found in Vienna shops in 1997.[88] For his Jubilee, admirers could purchase everything from knives and carpets to ashtrays and bread-crumb-grinders with the emperor's visage.[89] One year after his death, buildings and windows throughout Poland had all sorts of reminders of John Paul on prominent display.

Mementos rapidly vanished from store and vendor shelves as the image of the late pontiff began to appear on everything from t-shirts and coffee mugs, prompting Piotr Libera, the Secretary General of the Episcopal Conference of Poland, to release a press release warning against the use of John Paul's image for commercial means, imploring people to use it only on items that would advance his teachings and Christian culture, thus 'guarding the memory and image of the deceased pontiff'.[90] Shortly after the death, the Institute of John Paul II in Krakow received a large donation of items, including books of condolence, drawings, Polish and regional flags, and 'supporter' scarves. The Institute, founded in 1995, seeks to document especially the Krakow period of his life, and has organized over 20 exhibits connected to his life.[91] In the town of Radom, a local artist constructed what he hoped would be the largest book of condolence in the country, weighing over 250 kilograms and measuring two meters high by one a half meters wide, intended for donation to the Family Home Museum in Wadowice after it had been filled up.[92] Towns and communities throughout the country also frequently preserve their physical memories in museums and displays, thus creating local versions of collective memory of the death and pilgrimage for generations. Bochnia had a large banner on display at the museum with the inscription 'Meeting with John Paul', a place where these mementos were aggregated. There was a 'spontaneous' march of about 20,000 people in the town's square after the death, where a large papal flag was put on display for people to sign. It has now found its way into the collections of the museum.[93] The small town of Niegowic is located in the former diocese of Bochnia, where John Paul served as curate between 1948-49. Commemoration in this town appears to consist of local forms of remembrance. The church is surrounded by various mounted plaques, photos, newspaper

clippings and other documents detailing John Paul's time in the area.[†††] Similar observations can be made for larger cities. In Krakow, I saw a photo of the pope in apartment windows,[‡‡‡] photos, medallions and papal flags with his image amongst votive offerings in the Łagiewnik Sanctuary,[§§§] and newspaper clippings tacked onto trees outside the Franciscan church.[****] As might be expected, the entire town of Wadowice is filled with such visual reminders. The town hall, for example, included some more eclectic images, including an appeal from the 'Honorary Club of Blood Donors', organized by the Cracovia football club fans, with the goal of 'promoting the idea of the union of the supporters and the honorary action of giving of blood', intended to raise funds for a statuette for Benedict during his visit.[94] Much as in Rome, the city was filled with shops and stands selling John Paul mementos, ranging from postcards, flags, medallions, trinkets of Wadowice, books and paintings to CDs and t-shirts.[††††] Shops and windows throughout the city were also covered with John Paul imagery, including blue and yellow handcut papal insignias in residence windows, portraits of John Paul on kiosk walls, and photos of him enjoying local treats in town bakeries.[‡‡‡‡] The town basilica featured a most interesting tribute from the Podhale highlanders, a 'nativity scene' that featured a mannequin dressed in traditional highlander clothes, surrounded by lambs and

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[†††] Please see Figure 7 for photographs of a number of these items. These include an original document from 1948-49 signed by the Curate of Krakow, declaring that Wojtyła would be taking over. There are excerpts from 'Offerings and Secrets' where Niegowic is mentioned, photographs of him with parish members and presiding at various services, meeting with church officials, praying at a local roadside shrine, as well as a photo thanking him for his life and marking his years.

[‡‡‡] Personal observations, Krakow, Poland, May 22, 2006. Please see Figure 8 for a photograph of this item.

[§§§] Personal observations, Krakow, Poland, May 22, 2006. Please see Figure 9 for photographs of these items.

[****] Personal observations, Krakow, Poland, May 23, 2006. Please see Figure 10 for a photograph of these items.

[††††] Personal observations, Wadowice, Poland, May 22, 2006. Please see Figure 11 for photographs.

[‡‡‡‡] Personal observations, Wadowice, Poland, May 22, 2006. Please see Figure 12 for photographs.

the motto 'Faithful Shepherd',[§§§§] in addition to a sign featuring his photograph with the caption 'Non avere paura: 1978-2005', with thank you written in a number of languages.[95] In the town of Jelenia Góra, I found several material reminders of the anniversary of the death by the Garrison Church of the Holy Cross. The most prominent was a large tablet with the inscription 'The First Anniversary of the Death of the Servant of God, John Paul II', which listed various commemorative activities that had been held in the city in April of 2006. This included a 'White March' under the Jubilee Cross in the Main Square on April 1, a Holy Mass featuring Mozart's *Requiem* on April 2, and an educational session devoted to understanding his teachings on April 3. A banner outside the church displayed his portrait and the years of the pontificate, while another featured the now-famous quote 'I have looked for you... now you have come to me, and for this I thank you' – which were among John Paul's last words and have since been featured throughout commemorative events and images, including on the Wadowice photo exhibit.[*****] Thus, material reminders of this storied event can be found in many mediums throughout Poland. The ones described here are but a sample of what is certainly a country-wide pattern.[†††††] Although the image of John Paul has become seemingly ubiquitous throughout the country, it is not an action that goes uncontested, as can be evidenced through the panicked directives of church authorities who fear that his image is being used to excess. Also, the mass presence of these images may not necessarily indicate an obsession on the part of every Pole with the image and teachings of John

[§§§§] Personal observations, Wadowice, Poland, May 22, 2006. Please see Figure 13 for photographs.
[*****] Personal observations, Jelenia Góra, Poland, June 10, 2006. Please see Figure 14 for photographs.
[†††††] For example, due to time and financial constraints, I was unable to visit other regions of the country in order to gain an even more thorough sample of various forms of commemoration. Cities such as Warsaw and Gdansk would have been fruitful areas of study. However, during my time in Poland I also spent about a week's time in the Silesian capital of Wrocław, but never found a similar degree of commemorative patterns. I feel that the analysis of the Little Poland region, and Wadowice, Krakow, and Zakopane in particular, were the best possible areas to approach for this project.

Paul; part of them may be a simple expression of popular culture perhaps sweeping through the country, in a fashion similar to the proliferation of imagery of Diana throughout Britain and France following her death. Their widespread availability in a variety of mediums, however, coupled with public manifestations of concern, provides another example for understanding the regular contestation involved during processes of commemoration.

During the course of this chapter, I have analyzed different tangible representations of John Paul in public space throughout Poland and Rome, seeking to establish the deeper meanings found in the production, placement and display of these photographs, postcards, books, and memorial plaques, in particular the meanings they hold for the *people* of Poland, and the different ways in which a diverse population of forty million remembers one of the most emotional and influential events in their life history. We have already seen the actions of commemorative organizations and the ways in which they have built monuments, changed the names of streets and raised funds to organize and support related initiatives. I argue that the actions described thus far in this chapter have served to mark remembrance of this event, but that they also serve the dual function of expressing a sense of religious and patriotic obligation. The fact that such a massive movement swept through the country at the end of the twenty-six years of the pontificate, equaling or perhaps even exceeding the numbers of people who congregated during his previous visits to the country, demonstrates that these actions are an additional way to express 'Polish pride' and the sense of a renewed identity amongst the population against the massive waves of change that have been enveloping the country in recent

years. This relationship between the death of John Paul, the resurgence of Polish identity and its public representation can be exemplified and concluded with one final example. This example was found in the mountain town of Zakopane, almost by accident. It is a roadside shrine, an ancient Slavic and Polish tradition. In traditional Polish religious culture, these shrines usually demarcated the limits of a village, often being established at their crossroads, additionally serving to facilitate social interaction and veneration.[96] What distinguishes this shrine from many others, however, is that rather than the image of a saint, Christ or the Virgin, it has a photograph of John Paul, looking contemplatively at the viewer, surrounded by candles, flowers, and a Polish flag. The relatively recent phenomenon of building statues as markers of national identity has its origin within religious tradition, with many of the same activities being conducted at each, including the lighting of candles and the laying of wreaths; the national shrine (or monument) thus acts as a secular form of the worship of national ideals.[97] This shrine of John Paul is also not unique. During the mourning process, a lady in the town of Białokura decorated a roadside shrine with a portrait of John Paul.[98] This shrine, then, perhaps best personifies the many ways in which the people of Poland marked this transformational period in their history. The establishment of it marks both an awareness of and appreciation of custom and tradition. It also marks an expression of religious and patriotic feeling, found both in the image and in the flag. The lines between faith, tradition, patriotism, and national identity are thus blurred and made into inseparable elements, whereby they can all be simultaneously expressed at a single place and time. 'God, Honor, and Fatherland' – this is a phrase that can be regularly found in the pages of Polish nationalist writings. Is this

shrine then a people's way of expressing their own understanding of this concept, of their faith, and of their devotion to the nation and its heroes? ‡‡‡‡‡

In analyzing 'Jan Paweł II mania', I have looked at manifestations of this phenomenon in many areas of Polish society, from the 'monumental', the 'museological', and the 'anthropological'. In many instances, I have described the reactions and actions of the Polish political administration and the ways in which they have interpreted and utilized the death and funeral in the political sphere. The Polish government has worked to influence and inform public opinion, whether it be through the organization of funds to build a monument, financial or political support for exhibitions, or the preparation of special trains and buses for pilgrims bound for Rome. In this, the final section of this study, I will examine how the aftermath of the death of John Paul is being turned into a political tradition by the state. In many ways, it is the state that has the greatest influence on how a national hero is to be presented to the public and the world. Without its influence and support, a particular hero or ideal may either be 'forgotten' or promoted, even to the extreme (as was the case in the Soviet bloc), or it may find a balance. In the case of John Paul commemoration, I argue that although the people and the state present and understand his legacy in different fashions, they work to mutually support one another. In the 'invention of tradition' after April 2005, both a large majority of Polish citizens and the state have been able to utilize his image, in some sort of fashion, to promote their own ideas of identity and of 'Polishness'.

‡‡‡‡‡ Please see Figure 15 for photographs of this shrine.

The nationalist history of East-Central Europe has been marked by the identification and conversion of historical figures, events and places into powerful markers of national identity. Such symbols have mass appeal, but in their simplicity, they can also serve to discard or misappropriate particular historic facts and truths. They regularly appeal to communally held values that serve to reaffirm a united national identity.[99] Anniversaries, and the commemorations that go along with them, act as significant venues for the creation and legitimization of narratives of the nation and for the discipline and mobilization of popular support for them. They maintain the premise of embodying a sense of change and continuity, both past and present. Politicians and nationalists have thereby glorified the past in anniversaries to argue for a direct link to a heroic past and to encourage the people to imitate these actions. Thus, the past, the present, and the future are all joined within one symbolic action and can give rise to conflicts over meaning throughout a society.[100] This phenomenon is termed the 'invention of tradition' by Eric Hobsbawn, whereby the employment and introduction of particular values, norms, heroic figures, flags, and other forms of public celebration are all utilized in order to create nation-wide levels of loyalty and adherence to particular values and political, religious, and national heroes deemed important by the ruling powers.[101]

In terms of 'Jan Paweł II mania', the words, actions, and images associated with his life and death have been extensively utilized by the Polish state. The use of a religious figure as a symbol of a nationalist movement is not a new phenomena – it has occurred frequently in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, often among secular regimes.[102] The

sanctification of time and space is an important element in the construction of national memory.[103] In Poland, the day and time of the death of John Paul has been turned into a modern 'invented tradition'. The Polish pontiff passed away in his Vatican apartment on April 2, 2005, at 9:37 pm, or 21:37 in military and European time. Before he died, one of the last phrases that he uttered was 'I have looked for you, now you have come to me: and for this I thank you'. These two events have been marked all over public space and political celebration since then. I noticed these 'famous last words', for example, as the name of the public exhibit in Wadowice, on a commemorative banner in Jelenia Góra, on a portrait hung on the wall of a Wadowice kiosk, on flags of pilgrims in Rome and on t-shirts in Krakow and Wadowice. In this fashion, both the state and people are creating and supporting a mutual memory. On the wall of the basilica in Wadowice was an image of a clock and the inscription: 'Time flies, eternity waits'. John Paul once stated that he could see this clock when looking outside his window.[104] After his death, it was inscribed with a cross and '2 April 2005'.[105] §§§§§ These two moments, then, are permanently captured in the Polish national narrative and will likely continue to be replicated in many forms and mediums as the years go by.******

The day that the Polish pope died marked the commencement of a period of national mourning in Poland, as flags were lowered to half-mast and speeches were delivered by President Alexander Kwaśniewski. A period of national mourning had been

§§§§§ Personal observations, Wadowice, Poland, May 22, 2006. Please see Figure 16 for a photograph of this 'clock'.

****** Although the regular replication of these phrases throughout public space is not necessarily an 'invented tradition', in that claims are not being made for a false sense of antiquity, they are being replicated in many public spaces with a similar intensity as would a new national anthem, engraining this phrase and time in collective memory.

declared before only a few times in Polish history, the last being the death of Józef Piłsudski seventy years before in 1935.[106] On April 6, John Paul's speeches were re-broadcast in the Polish parliament, and the papal throne there was draped in black. A national day of mourning was also declared in Ukraine, where people were unable to obtain visas to attend the funeral in time.[107] Daily, official minutes of silence were declared in public institutions throughout the country.[108] Friday, April 8, was the day of the funeral, and on this day, many banks, schools, and businesses remained closed. In Warsaw, an official five-minute period of siren wailing took place, and the Metro was stopped for three minutes.[109] President Kwaśniewski delivered an official speech on this day in the presidential palace, while during the funeral, many official tributes took place throughout the country, as the traffic on the streets of major cities was halted and smaller, unofficial tributes took place, including pigeon keepers releasing all of their birds and firemen and members of the army wailing their sirens. 21:37 was to be marked throughout the country by people turning off their lights for five minutes.[110] All over the country, bells and sirens were rung and horns were sounded. In Warsaw, a 26-gun salute was sounded during the funeral at the moment when the coffin was placed into the Vatican crypts.[111] The Lower Silesian police force held a special mass in honor of John Paul in Wrocław.[112] These patterns thus followed established political patterns of the 'invention of traditions' throughout European nation states enacted at the death of a major figurehead, with the entire country being involved in their creation.

As I have detailed in depth, the image of John Paul II has been proliferated throughout Polish society at a rapid rate. Although at the time of writing the second

anniversary of his death has already passed, the majority of traditions, celebrations, and commemorative works were either established or given momentum in April of 2005, and reinforced in particular on the one-year anniversary. Further observations and research will yield to what extent his image and coverage of him will change in subsequent years, with April 2 and 21:37 both serving as important new points in time in the national calendar. However, considering the powerful sense of camaraderie displayed by Poles throughout the world in the days following his death, it is arguably this time that would have been the most significant and influential in terms of establishing a new set of political rituals and traditions. It was also at this time when the government was able to draw upon two of the most powerful symbols of Polish history and re-write them into the narrative of 'Jan Paweł II mania'. I will examine two such examples, one from the medieval capital of Krakow, and one from the modern capital of Warsaw. I will complete this examination of John Paul commemoration by examining two of the most important places in the Polish historical and mental psyche and how they, too, have been made subject to this commemorative craze.

The majority of commemorative forms described thus far in this work have been 'tangible' ones. Whether in the form of a granite statue, a photograph, physical mementos or large banners, all of them work on the physical plane in order to influence and shape the opinions and memories of their audience. However, ritual and tradition is not restricted to the physical plane. Music is a ubiquitous part of many people's lives, particularly in today's world where it can be heard in many forms and mediums. It, too, can be used as a force for the shaping of memory and identity. T.M Scruggs calls music

an 'intangible' monument, in that the semantic contents of its lyrics and the emotional associations created by the musical style can act as a medium for defining the past and for commemoration.[113] In the heart of Krakow's medieval square, one of the largest in Europe, stands the Church of St. Mary's, an ornate Gothic cathedral adorned with beautiful frescoes and altarpieces. More significant for this study, however, is the trumpet call of the *hejnał mariacki* from the top of the tower. It can be heard on the hour, every hour, at all times of the year, and is always cut short during the finale. It has become a symbol of Krakow and commemorates the trumpeter who warned the inhabitants of the city of an impending Mongol attack, his warning cut short by an arrow to the throat. It originated either in 1241 or 1259, and was interrupted only shortly in the nineteenth century and during WWII, taking on its present form in the seventeenth century. Since 1945, it has been used as a symbol of the longetivity of Polish culture and of its susceptibility to attack, and it is played on Polish radio every day at noon.[114] The death of one legend led to the transformation of another. At 10:00 pm on April 2, 23 minutes after the announcement of the death, the trumpeters played a communal song of sorrow, and the following day, they played the song 'Mother's Tears', diverging for the first time in 700 years.[115] On April 3, the *Hejnał's* medieval call was replaced by 'Barke', one of John Paul's favorite songs.[116] The trumpets would resonate with 'Barke' every day at 21:37 until the end of the year. Plans were then put into place to establish two Hejnał's – the traditional call and the 'newly traditional'. The new call would be played at the time of death, and it would be the song 'Mother's Tears', chosen by the trumpeters themselves. After one year, the melody would be changed to 'Barke', and it would be played at 21:37 every first Saturday of the month. At this time, the trumpeters were also contemplating

playing 'Highlander, don't you feel grief', or 'Black Madonna'. The initiative was supported, once again, by President Majrchowski, who, as described before, promoted the placement of John Paul's heart in Wawel and the Krakow photo exhibit.[117] A few days later, Polish radio stations played the song 'Barke' at 21:37. At the same time, appeals were made to Polish radio stations, both online and across the world, to play the song at this time.[118] In this fashion, one of the oldest public traditions in Poland has been permanently altered. The fact that a ritual 700 years old, one that has been etched into the psyche of Poles for centuries, was changed, not only temporarily but permanently, demonstrates the power that the symbolism of John Paul as a *Polish* symbol holds. His death in 2005 worked to rewrite a medieval tradition, largely due to the efforts of state authorities to reinscribe patriotic feelings around him in every element of Polish culture and society, including that of music.

Although Krakow was the capital of Poland for centuries and holds a prominent place in the national narrative, Warsaw is the modern capital, and, following the total destruction of the city during World War II and its subsequent reconstruction, has taken on a newly prominent role in the life of the nation. One of the most 'iconic' buildings of the city, which has, since its conception and construction in the early 1950s as a 'gift' from Joseph Stalin to the people of Poland and towards the solidification of Polish-Soviet ties, become a central symbol of the city itself, is the Palace of Culture and Science.[119] The Palace has come to serve many related ideological functions throughout its history, serving a similar function for Warsaw as that played by the Eiffel Tower for Paris, the Coliseum for Rome, and for many other iconic symbols of urban space and identity

worldwide. Through the symbolic placement of the Palace within the very center of the city, the Soviets were able to effect strong ideological change. The Palace was, from the start, to serve as a mirror of Soviet control over the nation. It was constructed largely from materials brought in from the Soviet Union, paid for by the Soviet government, and worked on by Soviet workers. Following its construction, letters of congratulation and medals were awarded to the builders from communities all over Poland. Although there were plans before construction commenced to incorporate Polish design features from different cities which the builders had visited these plans were soon scrapped in favor of a Moscow model. In addition, the square where the Palace was constructed was renamed to Joseph Stalin Square. The monuments placed around it, including some to famous Poles such as Mickiewicz, were presented in accordance with Marxist-Leninist sentiments.[120] In all of these efforts, it can be clearly seen that the Palace, its construction and presentation were clear and conscious efforts by the Soviet government to turn Warsaw, as a microcosm of the nation, into a society with close ties and subservience to the Soviet Union. As Roland Barthes discusses for Paris, the Eiffel Tower has become an icon of the city throughout the world. The Tower gives Paris symbolic capital to people all over the world. The top of the Tower offers a panoramic view of much of the city, from where the viewer can observe and mentally construct the image of the city in his or her mind. From this privileged vantage point, the observer can see the history of Paris laid out before their eyes.[121] As Barthes notes, the only place from where you cannot see the Tower is in the Tower itself.[122] Many of these comparisons can be drawn to Warsaw's Palace. The Palace has become the iconic symbol of Warsaw worldwide. Every known politician or entertainer that has visited the city since its construction has made a point of

visiting it. It has taken on such a symbolic role that in the twenty-first century, the city still maintains the Palace as a cultural icon, and holds various exhibitions and concerts there. It also serves a similar function to the Tower in that it offers the visitor an unparalleled view of the city: from the top of the building a panorama of Warsaw is laid out, wherein the visitor can observe the river Vistula, reconstructed churches and royal palaces, apartment buildings, and Coca-Cola billboards. The Palace can be seen in much of the city; many apartment dwellers are able to see it every time they go out on their balcony. And, as the Palace's official website argues, its iconic quality and size can lead a lost visitor towards the city center.[123] A significant re-working of this symbol was effected in the aftermath of April 2005, when a large picture of John Paul was draped on it.[124] A Papal flag covered the building, and soon after, a giant cross, formed of lights, lit up its windows.[125] †††††† In this fashion, a semiotic reworking has been affected on a building that has, since its construction, come to define a conflicting narrative of power hegemonies and of an entire city and nation. By draping a picture of John Paul and of a cross of lights on perhaps the most iconic building of modern-day Poland, the Polish state thus reworked and rewrote the entire historical narrative of the city, and nation – rewriting the narrative to reflect a dramatic shift from a country subservient for centuries to foreign powers and ideologies, to a brand new narrative, one in which the Polish nation is able to forge a new historical destiny, largely as a result of the actions, death, and image of a single man, who, in two years, has become *the* symbol of Poland, past, present, and future.

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†††††† Please see Figure 17 for a photograph of this semiotic inversion.

Notes

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[2] *I looked for you, Now you have come to me: John Paul II at the end of his way, Exhibition of the photographs Agence France-Presse, Wadowice, Town Museum, 4 Kościelna Street, At the first anniversary of his death* (The Cultural Center of Wadowice in the name of M. Wadowit: Wadowice, Poland, 2005), 6-7.
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[4] TV Polonia News Release, Telewizja Polska SA, Warsaw, April 6, 2005.
[5] Sister Mary Ann Walsh, *From Pope John Paul II to Benedict XVI*, 22-23.
[6] TV Polonia News Release, Telewizja Polska SA, Warsaw, April 7, 2005.
[7] TV Polonia News Release, Telewizja Polska SA, Warsaw, April 8, 2005.
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[11] Patrice M. Dabrowski, *Commemorations and the Shaping of Modern Poland* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 94-98.
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[14] 'Tony wypalonych zniczy', *Gość Warszawski,* nr. 17/330 (April 24, 2005).
[15] Tomasz Gołąb, 'Narodowa Msza św. na placu Piłsudskiego: Naród żegnał Ojca', *Gość Warszawski,* nr. 17/330 (April 24, 2005).
[16] 'Ks. Niewęgłowski podziękował mediom', *Gość Warszawski,* nr. 17/330 (April 24, 2005).
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[18] 'Marsz jedności w Krakowie', *Gość Krakowski,* nr. 16/583 (April 17, 2005).
[19] 'Drogowskazy z Błoń', *Gość Krakowski,* nr. 16/583 (April 17, 2005).
[20] Wojciech Pelowski, 'Kraków po śmierci Papieża – smutny i dobrze zorgonizowany', http://serwisy.gazeta.pl/jp2/1,72542,2655001.html.
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[22] 'Aleja światła', *Gość Tarnowski,* nr. 16/604 (April 17, 2005).
[23] 'Na sądeckim Rynku', *Gość Tarnowski,* nr. 16/604 (April 17, 2005).
[24] 'Gesty przywiązania', *Gość Swidnicki,* nr. 16/50 (April 17, 2005).
[25] 'Wał Ruda', *Gość Swidnicki,* nr. 16/50 (April 17, 2005).
[26] 'Pomorze żegna Ojca Swiętego: Usłyszeliśmy Go', *Gość Koszalińsko-Kołobrzeski,* nr. 16/682 (April 17, 2005).
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Conclusion

The Poland of the twenty-first century, much like the many incarnations of Poland that have come before it, is a complex and ambiguous place. It is a nation that has played a major role in the history of Europe, one that has founded empires, seen empires come and go through its lands, alternatively conquered and been conquered, and been both remembered and forgotten. It has gone from being a powerful medieval dynasty, stretching from 'sea to shining sea' (the Baltic to the Black), to one of the most socially dynamic and tolerant polities in early modern history, to a nation without a state, one that fed off of memory and tradition for more than a century of partition, to a brief period of independence, before being swallowed up again by powerful neighbours. Today, in a new period of relative economic and social freedom, fresh wars are being fought over identity. One of the most poignant ways in which this has been done is through the medium of commemoration and the public presentation of history and belonging. For hundreds of years, perhaps no other medium has had so influential of an impact upon the collective consciousness of different generations of Poles than have the scores of buildings, statues, public celebrations (and repressions), and exaltations of heroes throughout public space and life. When the vast majority of Poles were illiterate peasants and the discipline of Polish history was in its infancy, they were influenced by seeing the hearts of heroes interred in cathedrals and the grand parades of the state, the unveiling of paintings and the recitations of revolutionary poetry. From the Piasts to the Kaczyński's, each new regime has had a different way of dealing with its 'subjects' in this fashion. Despite the great span of time and the great diversities of governments, wars, partitions, and re-unions, one institution has always made its presence felt in Polish public life, to some degree: the

Roman Catholic Church. It was with the church that the history of this land was first recorded, and it was almost 1000 years later, under the church's greatest representative, Karol Wojtyła, John Paul II, the leader of over a billion Catholics worldwide and the moral leader of a nation, that the massive Soviet empire tumbled and fell. Brian Porter argues that it is impossible to understand the history of Poland without understanding the history of the Catholic church, and that the Polish case serves as an excellent example of the ways in which church and state can become inter-connected in the modern world. In Poland, there never has, and likely never will be, a neat, surgically clean division between church and state, between the sacred and the profane.[1]

It has been one of the goals of this work to examine this complex symbiosis through the lens of public history, focusing upon the historical legacy of one particular dynamic individual. Beginning with one fateful spring evening in Rome, I have examined the notion of historical identity, feeling, and value of a nation in transition. In doing so, I have looked at the ways in which many different aspects of history, culture and identity can be presented together, summated in the image and guise of one specific cultural exemplar, one individual whose image can be used to express the hopes and fears of a nation. I have tried to answer such questions, and I hope that I have also provoked many new ones. I have discussed some of the political, social and cultural difficulties that characterize the study of Polish history, and of recent Polish national history in particular. There are a number of questions, however, that I feel deserve further elaboration here, in order to present a cohesive ending point for the study, to examine some recent questions that I have encountered since originally researching and writing this thesis, and to try and

better summarize some of these complex issues for future studies. These relate not only to the issue of commemoration, but to the state of Polish politics and identity in recent years.

Anytime a historic figure, event, or concept is commemorated in the public domain, there will never be a complete and total acceptance, nor will there be a complete and total conveying of intended meaning. Any politician, regime, ruling power or political party or group can erect a monument to their ideals or heroes, but this does not mean that there is one single meaning and understanding of it. Some of the best examples have already been touched upon in this thesis. Much as with any piece of historical writing, every individual engaging in such an act has a particular agenda and goal. I have described how in post-2005 Poland, there has been a huge upsurge in the intensity of John Paul commemoration, particularly in public monuments, but also through more spectacular events, such as the proposed mounds and blessed trains. In describing these events, I have dubbed them 'Jan Paweł II mania'. In raising such criticisms, I do not intend to criticize the life or works of John Paul himself, but rather an externally constructed legacy. Considering my own Polish birth and appreciation of my heritage, I greatly appreciate the contributions he made in publicizing and creating more support for Poland and the lands of East-Central Europe to the outside world, and for his dynamic and charismatic personality which has helped to revive the church and bring hope to millions around the world. I criticize what I feel are banalities, such as the proposed construction of monuments of the pope larger than statues of Christ or Pope Benedict XVI's blessing of high-speed trains, and applaud those movements that have more

positive values and allow one to express a greater sense of pride in one's culture, ethnicity and heritage, even if this is done through a particular person or image. Polish society itself is not completely 'Jan Paweł II crazy', either. It may seem that way by the sheer numbers of works being done, but in every example, cases of opposition, debate, and critical no-acceptance can be found. John Paul statues have both their ardent supporters and haters, and they range from regular Polish citizens to local and national politicians, priests, and bishops. The church hierarchy is not uncritical of John Paul commemoration, either. Although some bishops may support placing his heart into Wawel or building a giant statue in downtown Warsaw, others send out directives to parishes asking people to avoid monuments and reflect on his teachings. I have looked at many different sectors of Polish society, ranging from interviewing priests and museum curators to examining local parish newspaper reports, in which the views of men and women, young and old, politician and church-man, are all revealed. In a more thorough study, the reactions of individual, 'regular' Poles could be observed, for example through the conducting of oral history interviews with people who embarked on the pilgrimage to Rome. At the same time that the President of Krakow supported the placement of the heart with St. Stanislaus, a devout museum curator in Bochnia opposed John Paul monuments. Although John Paul is seen as a major symbol of 'Polishness', the degree to which he is seen as such, and by whom, is always open to debate, and this is another reason why the timing of this study is so key in determining the beginning of a new historical legacy.

Polish politics today are perhaps as convoluted and difficult to understand as they were in the past. At any given time, the political situation has a huge impact on processes of commemoration. I have touched upon some of the key themes of Polish politics in recent decades, namely, the transition from a communist 'People's Republic' under the Soviet shadow, where the Catholic church played a key role in maintaining identity and providing resistance, to a new incarnation of a Polish Republic, the transition into a market economy, and entry into European structures, and the subsequent socio-political problems accompanying it. When Poland's plight took center stage in the early 1980s, it was under the impetus of the Solidarity Movement and the support given to it by John Paul on his dynamic pilgrimages to the country. Many argue that John Paul's actions and words helped lead to the downfall of the regime, and throughout this period, commemorative patterns were duly reflected, as can be seen in the raising of John Paul statues in the Gdansk shipyards and the foundation of strongly nationalist museums in exile. With the collapse of the socialist bloc and the rise of new political parties, new questions on the position and role of the church have arisen as a result. Many argue that John Paul's pilgrimages to the country during the 1990s did not have the dynamic impact that they did under the regime, and I argue that it was not until his death that they took on a similar degree of emotion and power. Frequent arguments over the power of church and state characterized the Poland of the 1990s, which was seeking to rebuild itself after centuries of turbulence.

As is common in the region, former communists have taken power in Poland. This was the case with Alexander Kwaśniewski, who was President from 1995 to 2005,

having taken over from Lech Wałęsa, the leader of Solidarity. Although he came from a communist background, Kwaśniewski did not pursue a communist revival, instead following a strong and aggressive foreign policy, including pushing for Polish membership in NATO and the European Union, as well as apologizing for the excesses of the previous regime. Throughout this time, the power of the church was increasingly questioned, with youth no longer willing to follow all of its directives uncritically.[2] In recent years, Kwaśniewski's government supported the US-led war in Iraq, as well as Viktor Yushchenko's 'Orange Revolution' in Ukraine, pushing for stronger Polish and European recognition of one of Poland's closest neighbors. John Paul commemoration under Kwaśniewski, however, took on interesting parallels to communist patterns. As described in the previous chapter, some of the more extravagant practices in April 2005 included draping Warsaw's Stalinist skyscraper with a giant image of John Paul, replacing the song of Krakow tower, extensively promoting '21:37'and April 2 as periods of national mourning, and organizing extravagant ceremonies and gun salutes in Warsaw. It is interesting to consider whether such extravagant commemorative practices have their roots in a socialist structure, of 'voluntary' May Day parades, ceremonies for 'heroes of the people', and so forth. Could these practices be a throwback to his political past, in that they are an attempt to replace ubiquitous public support for a reviled regime with support for a leader more palatable to the public? The message has changed, but perhaps the medium remains the same.* A significant shift has recently occurred with the election

* 'European' mania was particularly strong in Poland when I visited there in 2003. Throughout public space, large billboards and signs asked people to vote in favor, featuring Polish celebrities or Kwaśniewski himself with the message 'Yes, I am a European'. Could it be that Kwaśniewski, a former communist, through his extensive support for such organizations and for John Paul commemoration, is harkening to the pontiff's particular political teachings on a united Europe and a powerful Poland, and conveniently sidestepping questions of religious faith?

of the Kaczyński twins to power in October 2005. A good deal of controversy has arisen since that time, including criticism of their staunchly conservative views on the family, their strong opposition to homosexuality, the re-opening of historic tensions with Germany, and the controversial remarks of Roman Giertych, Minister of Education and member of the strongly conservative *League of Polish Families,* which decried European structures, 'loose morals', and applauded politicians like Franco in the European Parliament. Although the Kaczyński's came to power after the death of John Paul, and were in power when I conducted my research in 2006, in terms of commemoration, it has been more difficult to ascertain a particular pattern. They were, however, direct advocates of such elaborate projects as the giant statue in Piłsudski Square, described in Chapter One.[†]

This study has looked at commemoration during a particular time period, and has made attempts to note the most important events and patterns, an examination of which will try to reveal more about Polish identity in the early twenty-first century. For example, I have noted how the President of Krakow was a strong advocate of John Paul as the historic successor to the patron saint of the nation, how Kwaśniewski undertook a major semiotic reappropriation of key historic and cultural symbols, and how archbishops wanted the heart in Wawel and a statue larger than the Christ in Rio de Janeiro built in

[†] Considerable social tension is rising in Poland due to the political situation. When I was in Krakow at the end of May 2006, Pope Benedict XVI was visiting the city and region, during which time a complete prohibition was declared on alcohol, and the entire city and roads leading into it were placed under police barricade, demonstrating an uncomfortable flexing of political power by the church hierarchy. Later that summer, which saw a major heat wave, church leaders decried the wearing of shorts and other 'immodest' clothing by young people. These are a few personal examples of the current socio-political situation in Poland. It will also undoubtedly have interesting reflections in commemorative patterns. No major current national projects akin to those described under Kwaśniewski were available to me to examine, as the major trends I have analyzed were established in 2005. It will be interesting to note how John Paul commemoration will change in the future under such a regime.

Warsaw. Local politicians and historians demand statues, people create millions of pages of commemorative books and travel to Rome on the spur of a moment, and museum exhibits maintain a 'messianic' and 'martyrological' flair. In such a complex situation, what does this all signify? In part, it demonstrates how different people are using commemoration towards different ends, some for political gain, others for patriotic or national, with dissenters found around every corner, simultaneously showing how flexible and porous the creation of a historical legacy can be. What will happen now is difficult to ascertain, but the major patterns have been established. Major anxiety provoking changes are taking place: Poland is in the EU and Iraq, Western companies are rapidly expanding there, and the 'brain drain' of immigration is huge. Political problems abound at home, as historical wounds are reopened and reactionaries are elected. At the same time, Poland maintains the unique position of being a majority Catholic population in the heart of Europe, in the face of a rapidly secularizing continent. The immigration of millions and the influx of tourists and the English language into the country are likewise having an impact on Polish culture. How is this reflected in commemorative practice? Poland is unique, both in Western and East-Central Europe, in being such a devoutly Catholic nation. Although John Paul was a strong advocate of 'Polishness' and the Catholic faith, at the same time, he helped bring the other nations of the region into the spotlight. My analysis of John Paul commemoration, although thorough, is not final. I argue that although the vast majority of commemorative practices promote a strongly European, Western-leaning tendency, it also places a strong emphasis on the vitality of Polish culture, heritage and identity in an ever changing world. Like John Paul and the Polish nation itself, the commemoration and 'artifacts of power' that I have analyzed in

this work are ambiguous, with obsessions, anxieties, and aspirations all being reflected. The stage has been set for the beginnings of a new hero cult and the formation of a new identity in a rapidly changing country, continent, and globe. How the successive acts will play out will only be determined with time.

Before I conclude this exhausting and exciting study, I would like to reflect upon one last point. Much has been said about extravagant commemorative practices, the record-setting number of people who attended the largest funeral in church history, and how an entire society treats a new legacy. One afterthought is, to what extent did the social draw of something new and exciting bring in participants? When Princess Diana died in a car crash in Paris, millions made makeshift tributes of flowers, cards and other mementos of mourning. Arguably, many of these people had no direct experience with her, and she did not help bring revolutionary change to their country, yet they still came out en masse. As an expression of popular culture, events such as the death of Diana and John Paul can perhaps be seen as just that – a ground-breaking event has just happened, friends and neighbors are pouring into the streets, and the whole world is watching. Like anywhere else in the world, not all Poles think alike, on their history or John Paul. It is probable that this event allowed for just that to happen in this once 'far away land'. Many Poles did not pour into the streets worrying about the semiotics of monuments or street names, just as many Poles traveled to Rome more for adventure and the chance to see the Coliseum than they did to engage in 'body politics'. An event such as this can be a 'positive fruit', both for scholars as well as for somebody experiencing something exciting and memorable in their lives, creating memories that will stay with them for a

lifetime. Considering his own dynamic and engaging personality, perhaps that may be just what John Paul would have really wanted.

Notes

[1] Brian Porter, 'Thy Kingdom Come: Patriotism, Prophecy, and the Catholic Hierarchy in Nineteenth-Century Poland', in *Catholic Historical Review,* v. 89, no. 2 *(April 2003),* 213-239.
[2] Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland, Volume II: 1795 to the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 512-518.

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Interviews

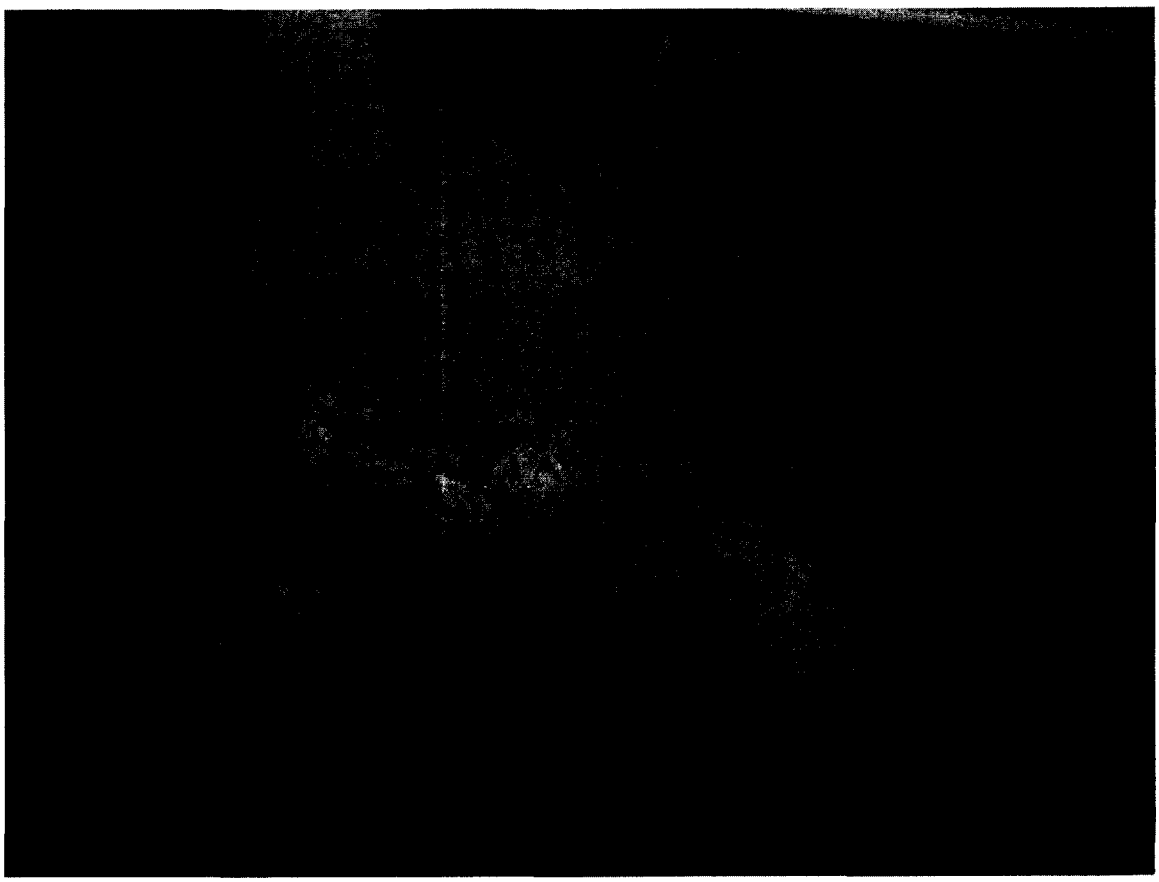
Father Jan Główczyk, Polish Home in the name of John Paul II, Via Cassia 1200, Rome, Italy, May 10-12, 2006.
Helena Kupiszewska, Polish Home in the name of John Paul II, Via Cassia 1200, Rome, Italy, May 10-12, 2006.
Jan Flasza, the Museum of Stanislaus Fischer, Main Square 51, Bochnia, Poland, May 21, 2006.

Chapter One: Figure One

'The Street of the Defenders of Stalingrad' – Wadowice, Poland, May 22, 2006. Photograph by author.

Figure Two

Figure Two B



The 'Santo Subito' –'A Saint Quickly' Shrine, Zakopane, Poland, May 28, 2006. Photographs by author.

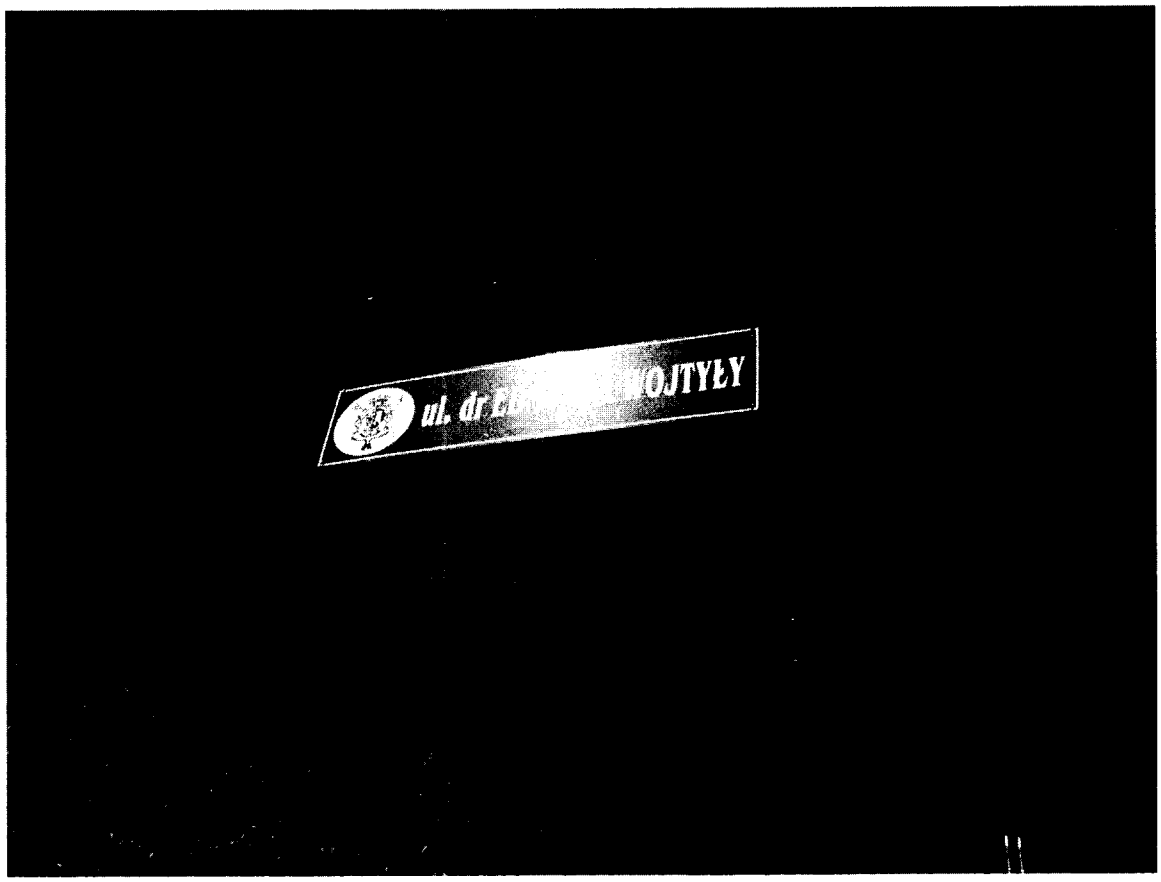
The Polish and Latin text on the tomb reads:

*'Ioannes Paulus PP. II' 16 X 1978 * 2 IV 2005'. By the light of the Risen Christ, on the second of April of the Year of Our Lord 2005, at the Hour of 9:37 in the evening, as we approached the end of Saturday and entered the octave of Easter on the Day of Our Lord and the Sunday of the Lord's Mercy, the Beloved Shepherd of Our Church, John Paul II, departed this world to join the Heavenly Father. His departure was accompanied by prayer from the entire Church, especially the youth.*

Figure Three

'The Square of John Paul II' - Wadowice, Poland, May 22, 2006. Photograph by author.

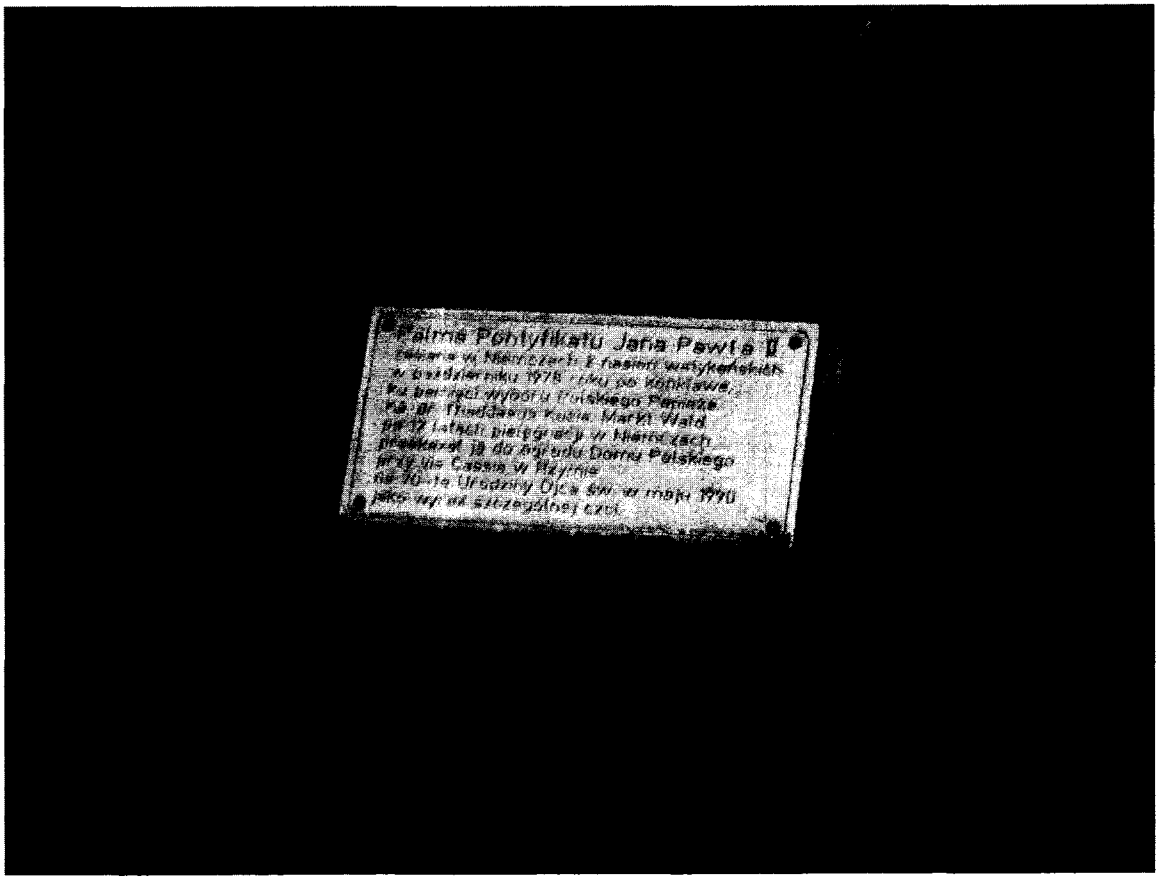
Figure Four



'The Street of Doctor Edmund Wojtyła' - Wadowice, Poland, May 22, 2006. Photograph by author.

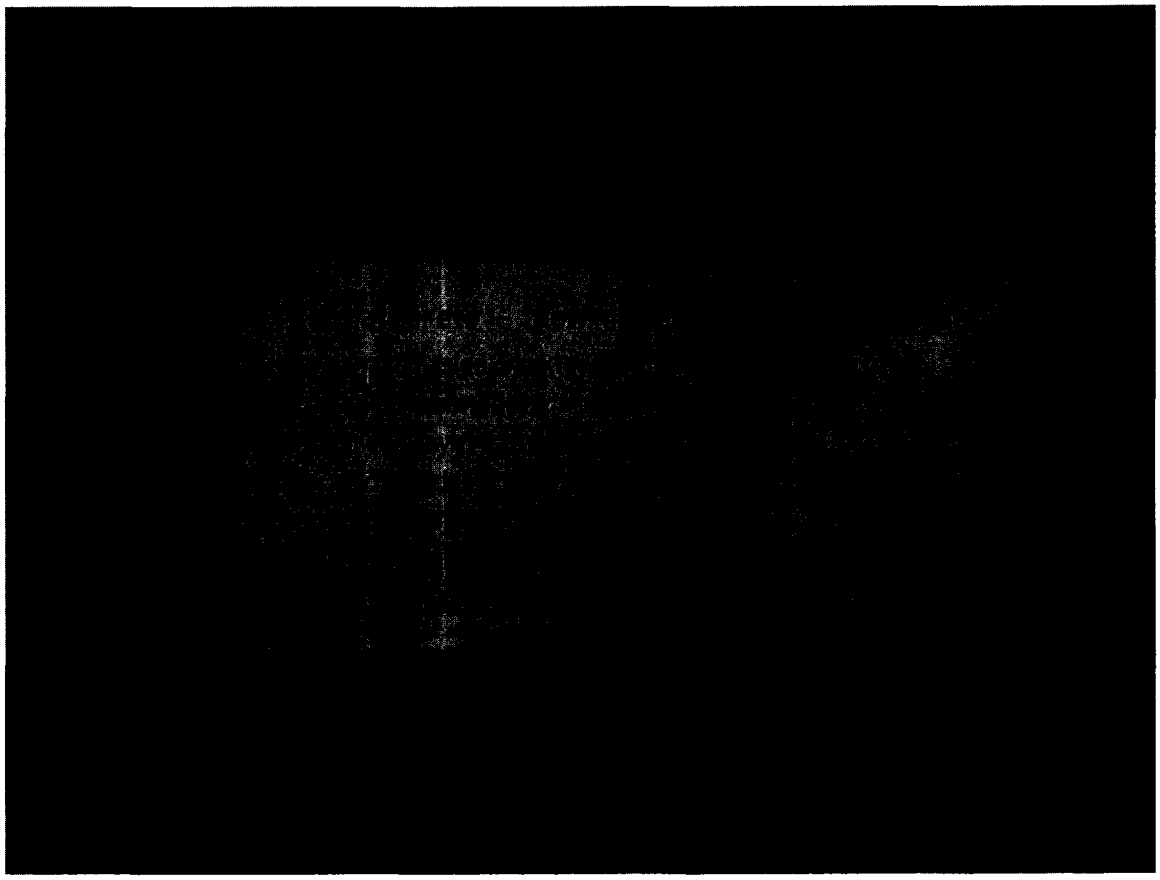
Figure Five

Figure 5 B



The Palm of the Pontificate of John Paul II. Planted in Germany from Vatican seeds in October of 1978 after the Conclave, in order to commemorate the election of a Polish Pope. Dr. Father Thaddaeus Kucia, parish priest of *Markt Wald, after 12 years of caring for it in Germany moved it to the garden of the Polish Home by Via Cassia in Rome for the 70th birthday of the Holy Father in May 1990 as a sign of deep reverence.*

Figure 5 C



The Palm of Loreto – a "monument" to a miraculous survival. Planted from seeds from the Loreto Sanctuary as a sign of prayer for the survival of Pope John Paul II after the criminal attack on May 5, 1981. Dr. Father T. Kucia, parish priest in Markt Wald and in Siebnach, after 9 years of caring for it in Germany moved it to the garden of the Polish Home in Rome as a sign of respect and thanks.

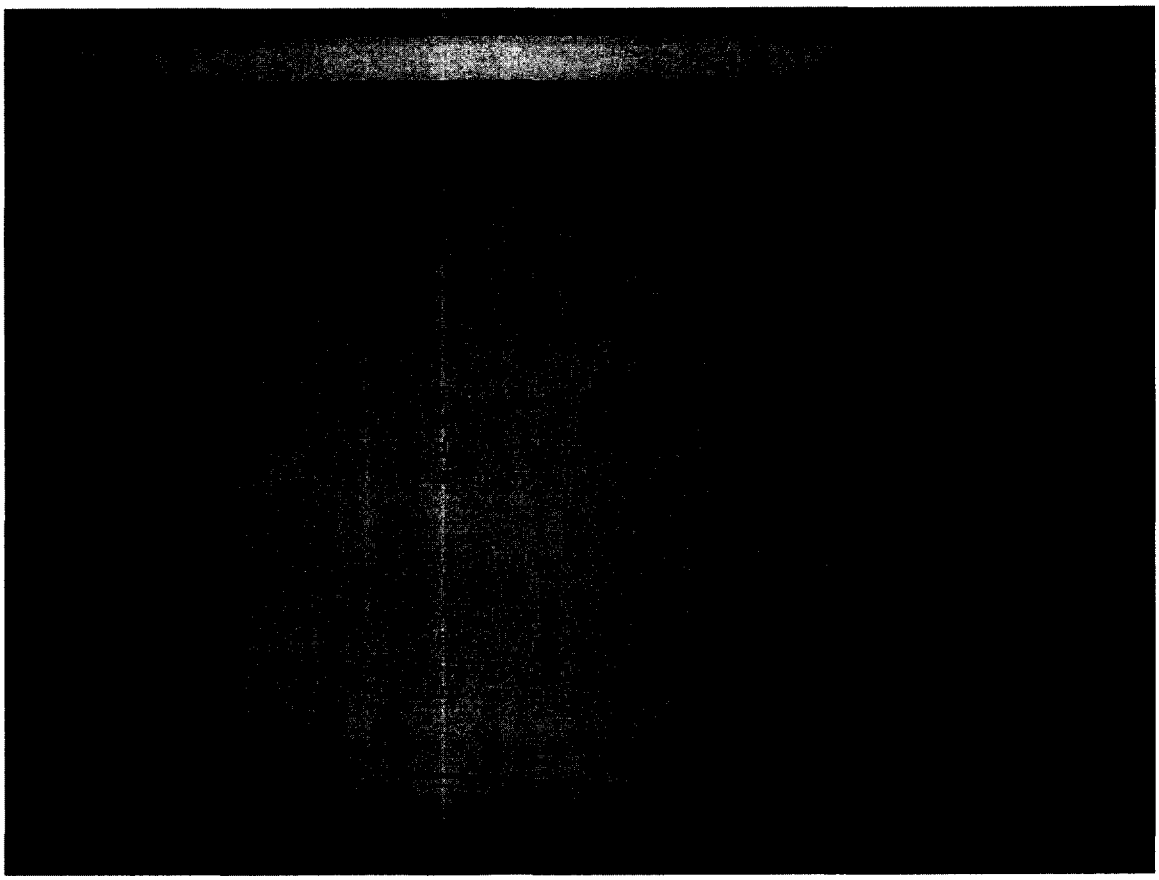
Figure Six

Commemorative banknotes of John Paul II, released by the National Bank of Poland on October 16, 2006, the day that he was elected to the Papal Throne in 1978.

The text reads: *'There would never have been this Polish Pope on the Throne of St. Peter [...], if it were not for your faith, without fear of imprisonment and suffering, your heroic hope'...*

Source: http://www.nbp.pl/

Figure Seven



Plaque on the wall of the Church of the Fatima, Zakopane, Poland, May 28, 2006. Photograph by author.

'God, Honor, Fatherland': Catholicism is not an addition to 'Polishness', coloring it through its own fashion, but remains within its essence, to a certain degree it constitutes its existence. The forced separation among us of Catholicism from 'Polishness', the separation of the nation from the religion of the Church, constitutes the destruction of the very existence of the nation'. –R. Dmowski, *Church, Nation and State.*

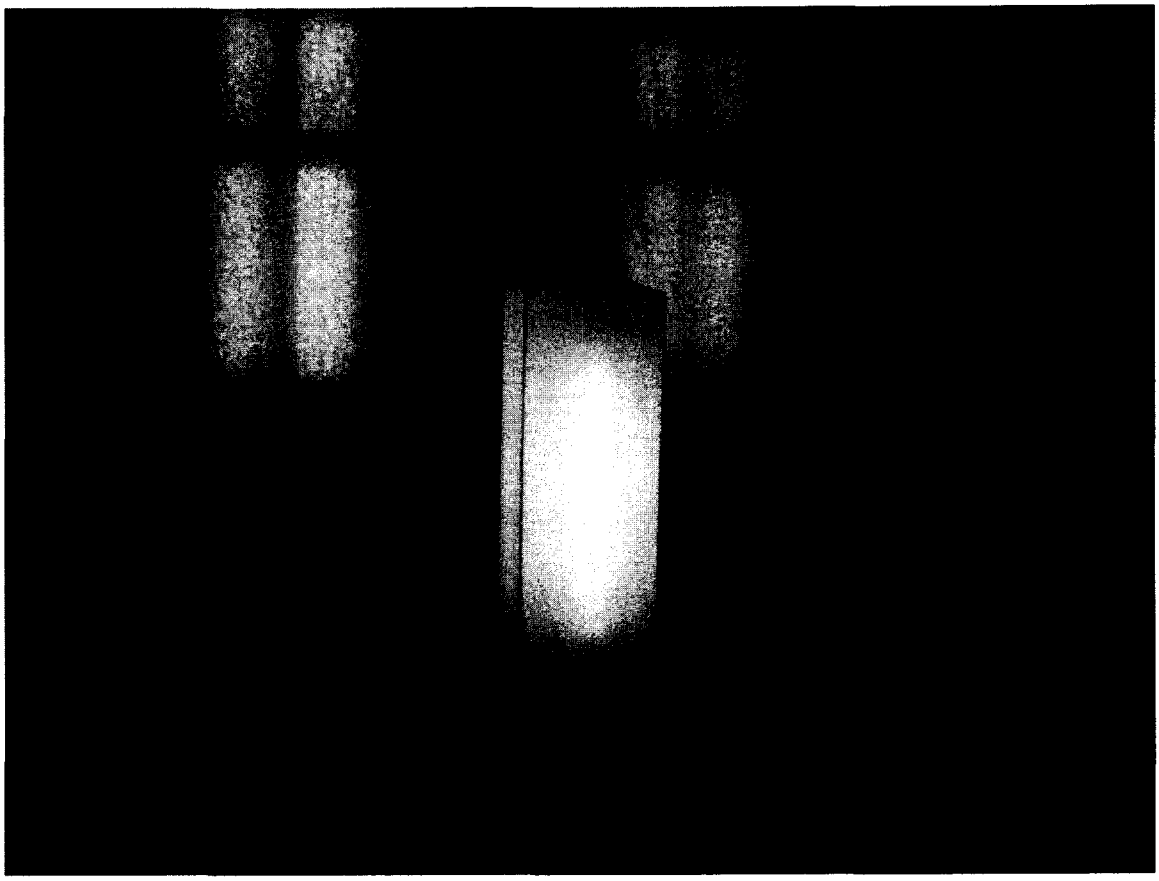
Symbiosis – the joining of Catholicism with 'Polishness' has nothing to do with a shallowly comprehended form of devotion, or a frequently forceful clericalism, additionally it does not concern the so-called question of 'confession'. Catholicism is simply the source of our way of living and the essential condition of our existence.
-S. Tworkowski, *The Cross of Dowbora.*

Note: Although these works were written in the context of the Polish experience under the Russian Empire, they have been readily employed by Polish nationalist groups and movements since that time.

Figure Eight

'Carrefour – Hipermarket' – The Street of John Paul II, 51'. Jelenia Góra, Poland, June 6, 2006. Photograph by author.

Chapter Two: Figure One



The 'virtual funeral' of John Paul in the Wadowice Town Museum Exhibit, 'I Have Looked for you, now you Have Come to Me'. Wadowice, Poland, May 22, 2006. Photograph by author.

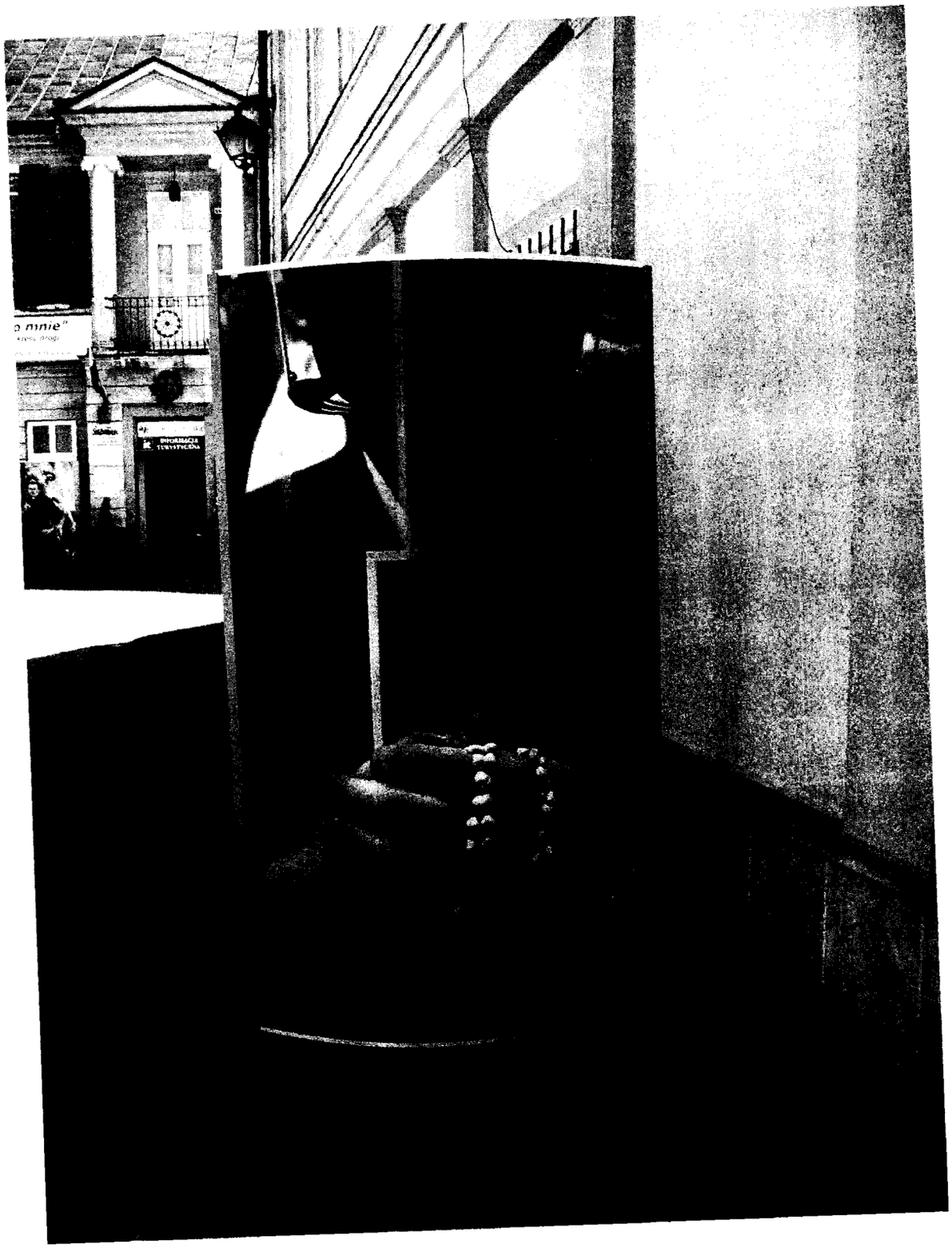
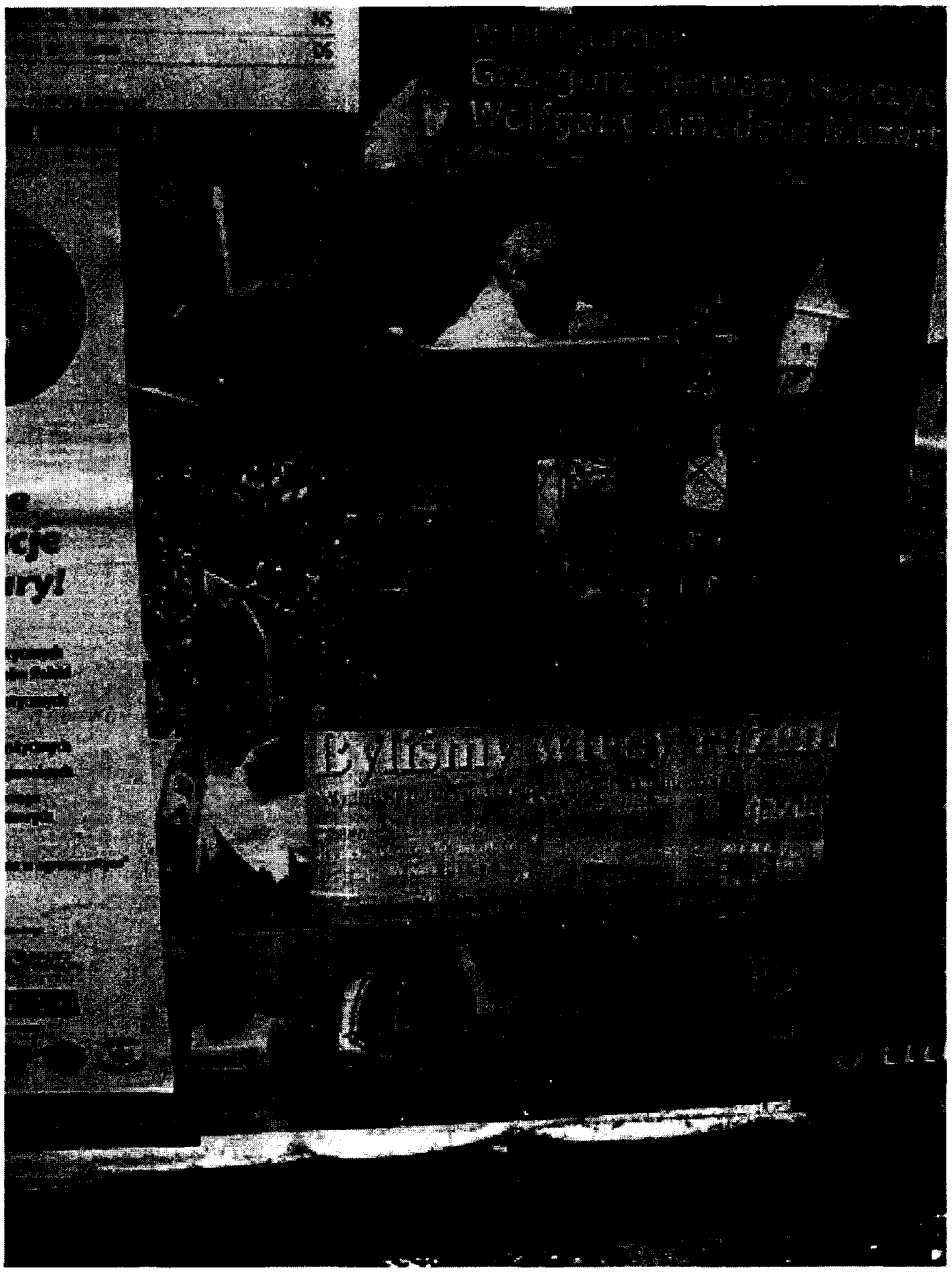


Figure One B

Figure One C

Life-sized photographs of the exhibit, located in and around the Museum grounds. Wadowice, Poland, May 22, 2006. Photographs by author.

Figure Two



'We were together then: An Exhibit by Photojournalists of 'Gazeta Wyborcza'. April 2-30, 2006. In the Main Square of Krakow, at the corners of Wiślna and St. Anne Streets, sponsored by the President of the City of Krakow, Jacek Majchrowski'.

Found on billboards in the city of Krakow, May 23, 2006. Photograph by author.

Figure Three

Billboards welcoming Benedict XVI to Krakow, found throughout the city. The text reads: *Be Strong in Faith: Krakow 26-28 May, 2006. Welcome to the Place of John Paul II.*

Krakow, Poland, May 23, 2006. Photograph by author.

Figure Four

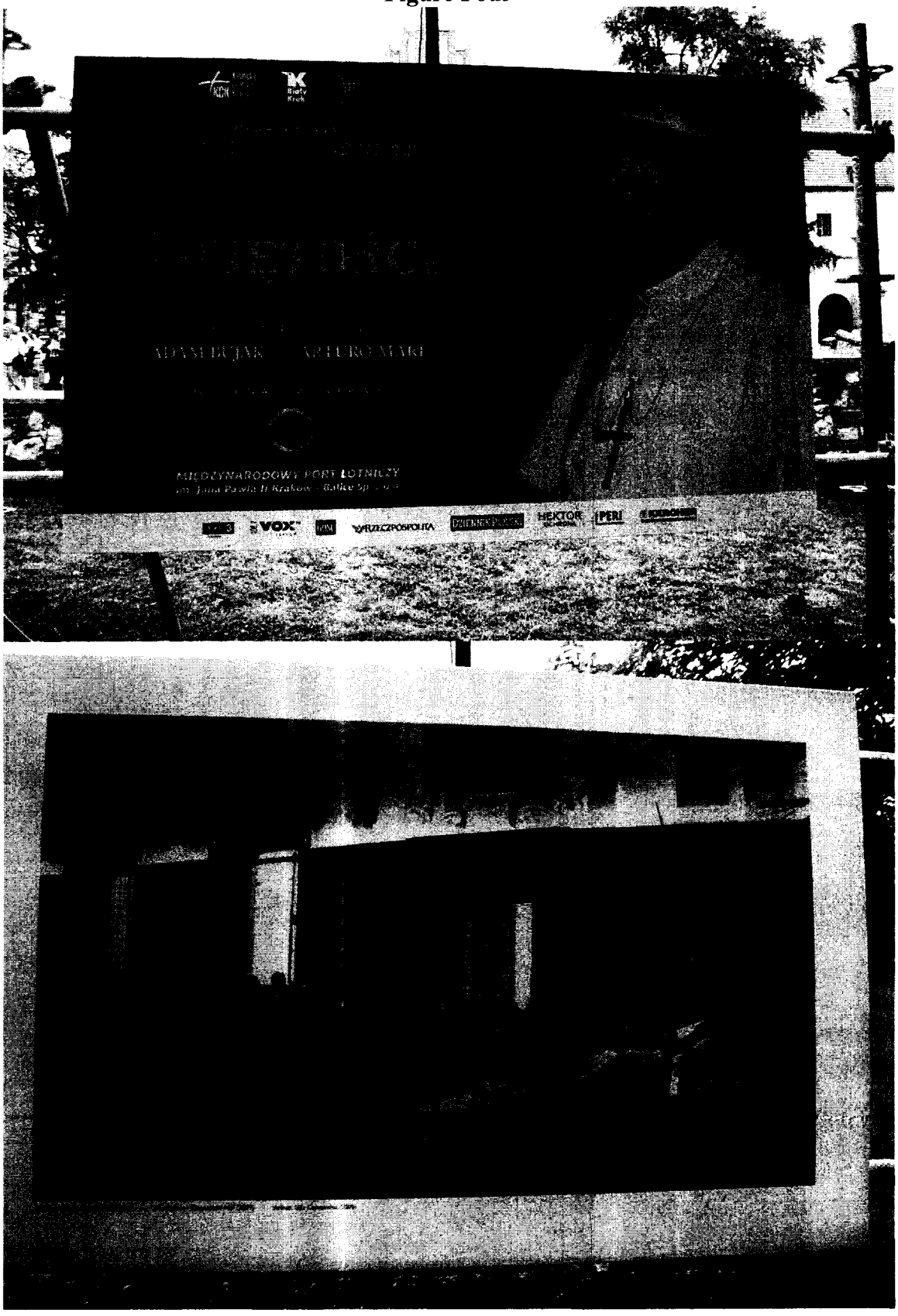


Figure Four B

The 'Radiance of Sainthood' exhibit, Krakow, Poland, May 23, 2006. Photographs by author.

Figure Five

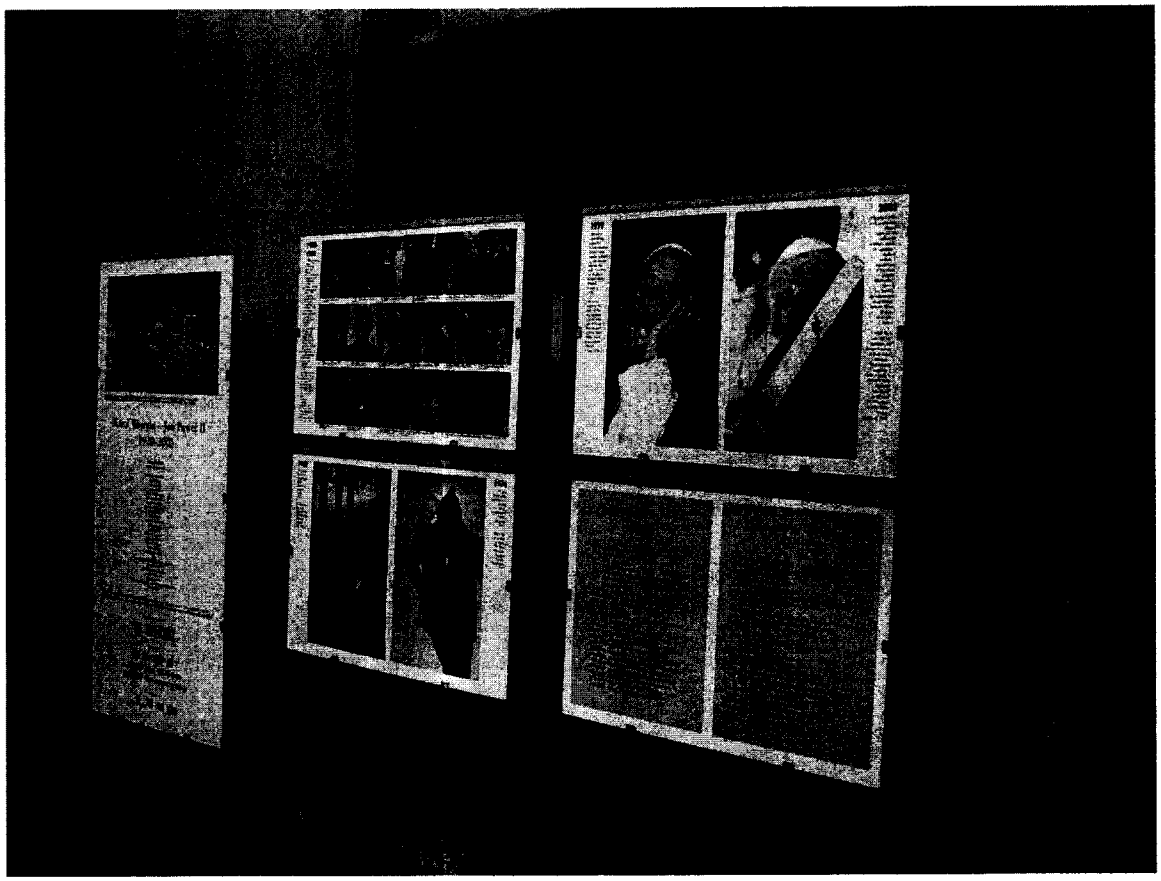
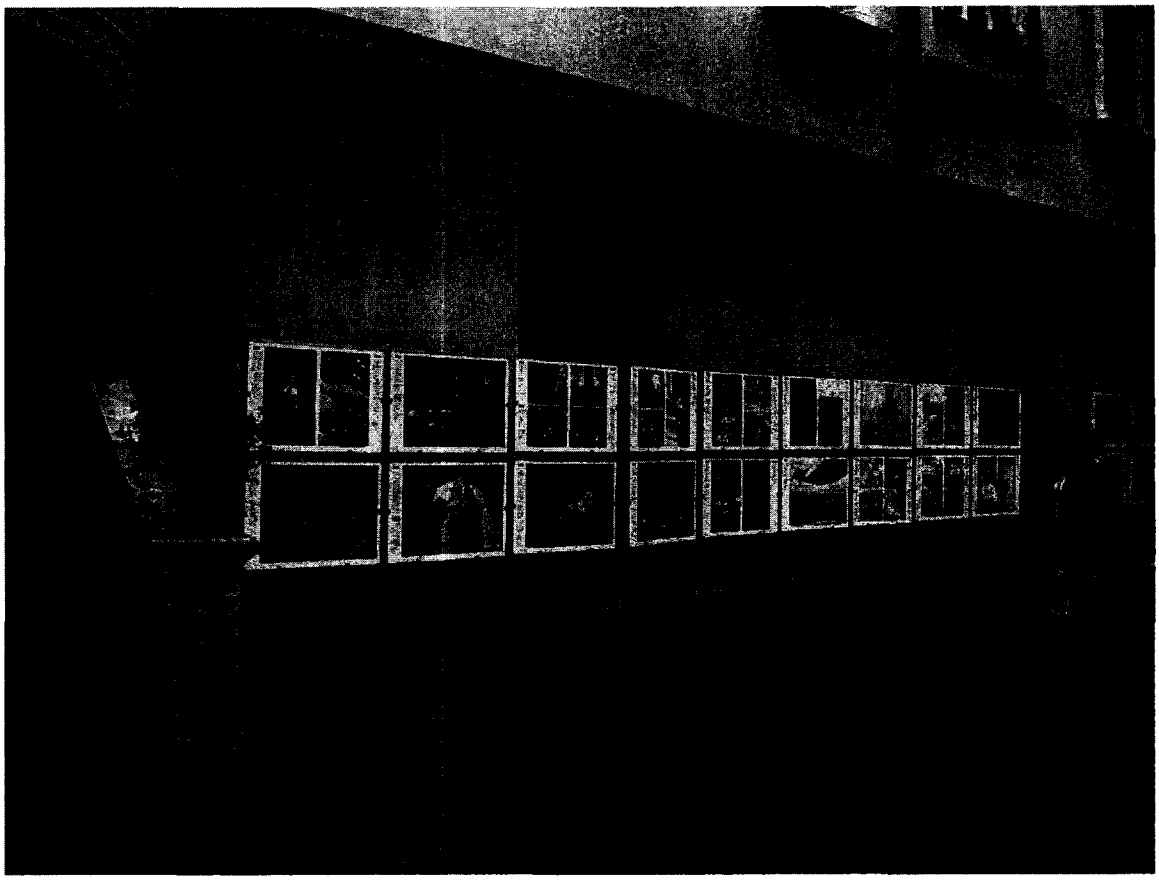


Figure Five B



The 'Karol Wojtyła – Jan Paweł II: 1920 – 2005' exhibit, Krakow, Poland, May 23, 2006. Photographs by author.

Figure Six

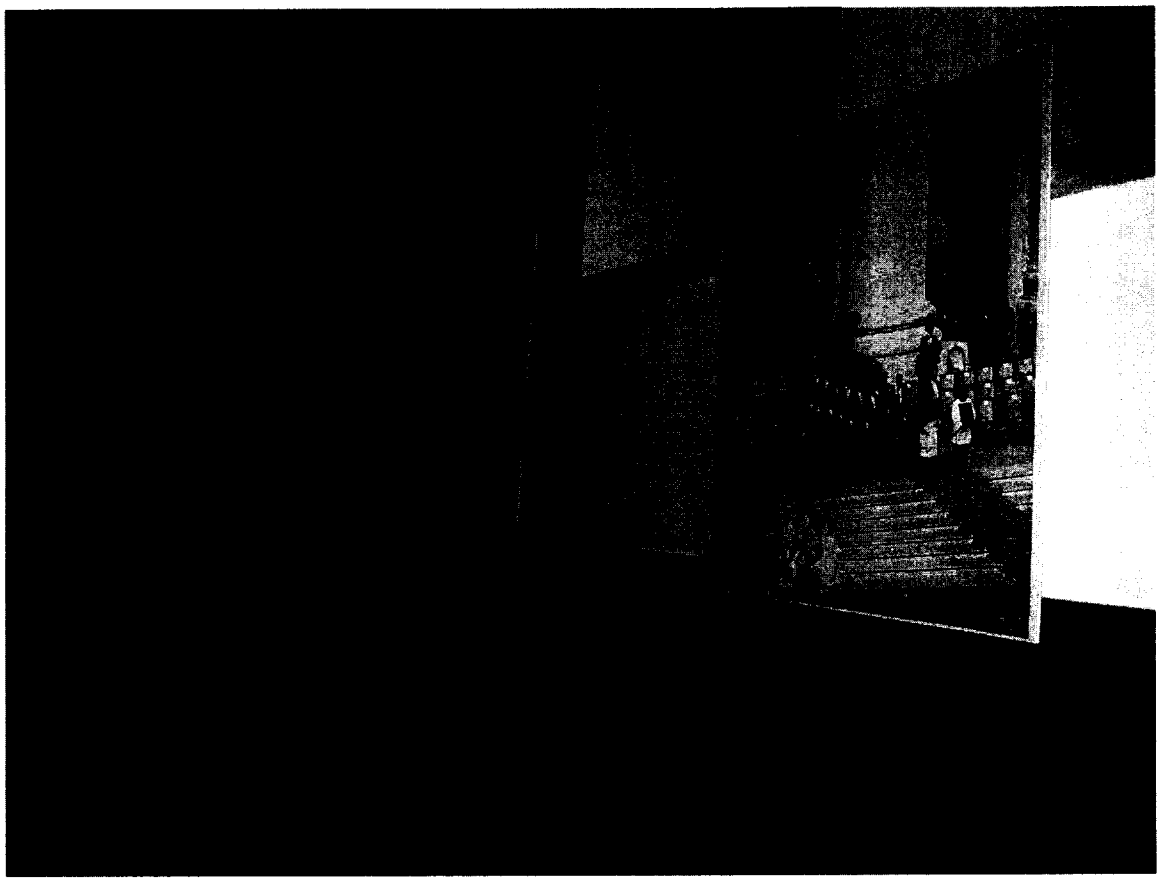
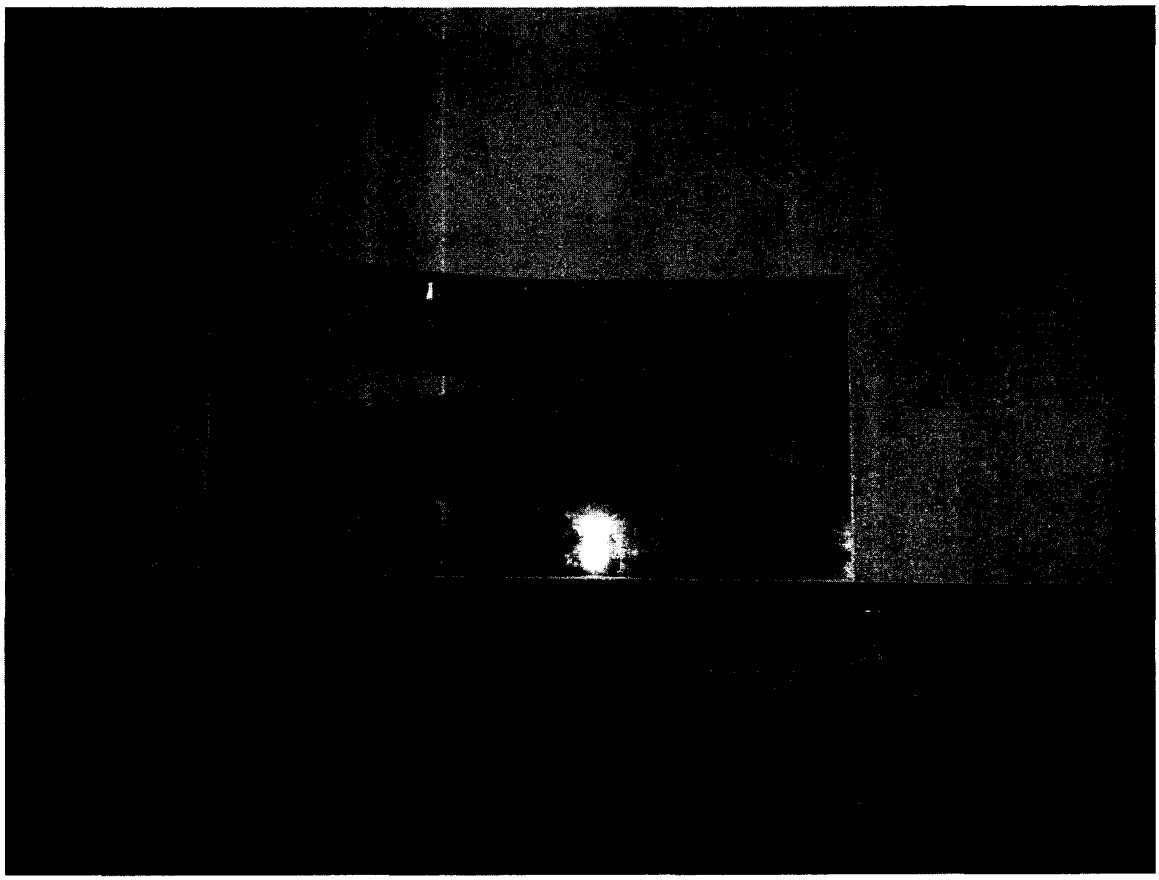


Figure Six B



Photographs of the funeral in Rome, found on the walls of the Church of the Fatima, Zakopane, Poland, May 28, 2006. Photographs by author.

Figure Seven

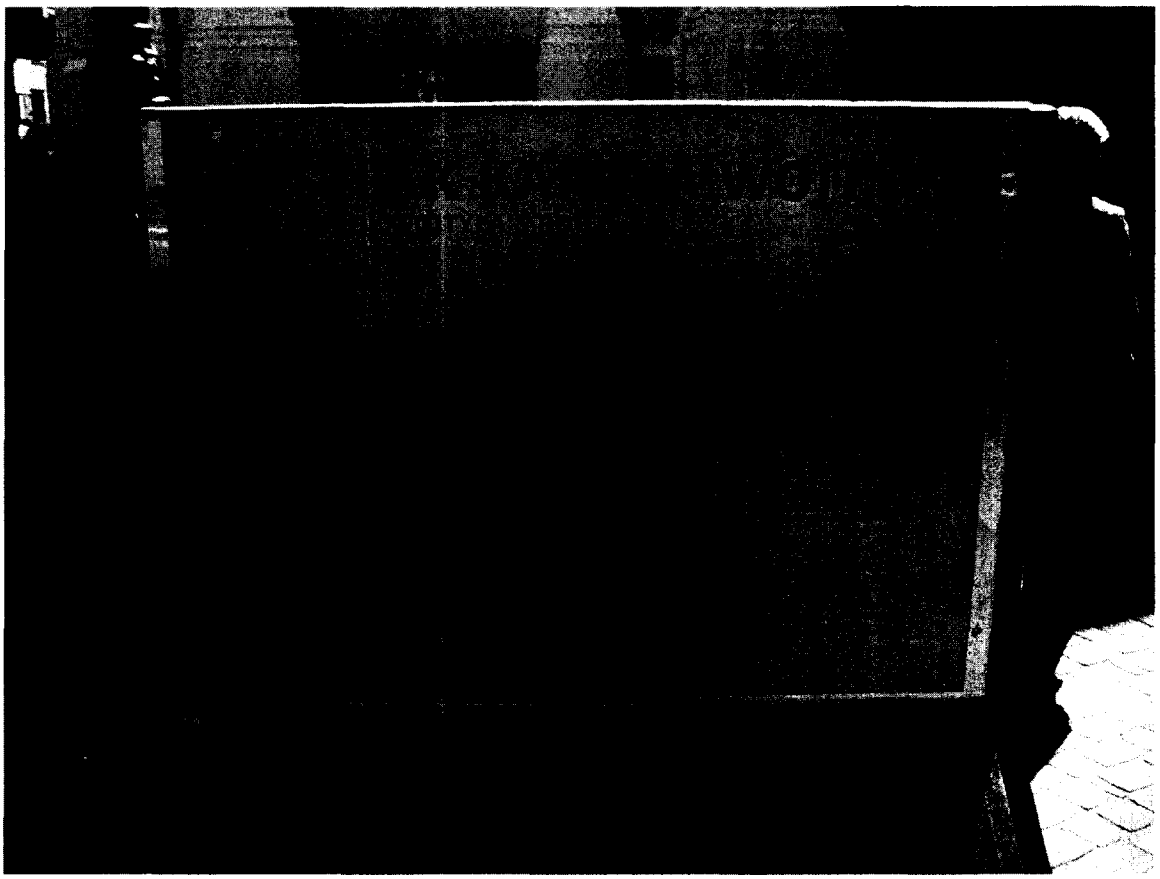
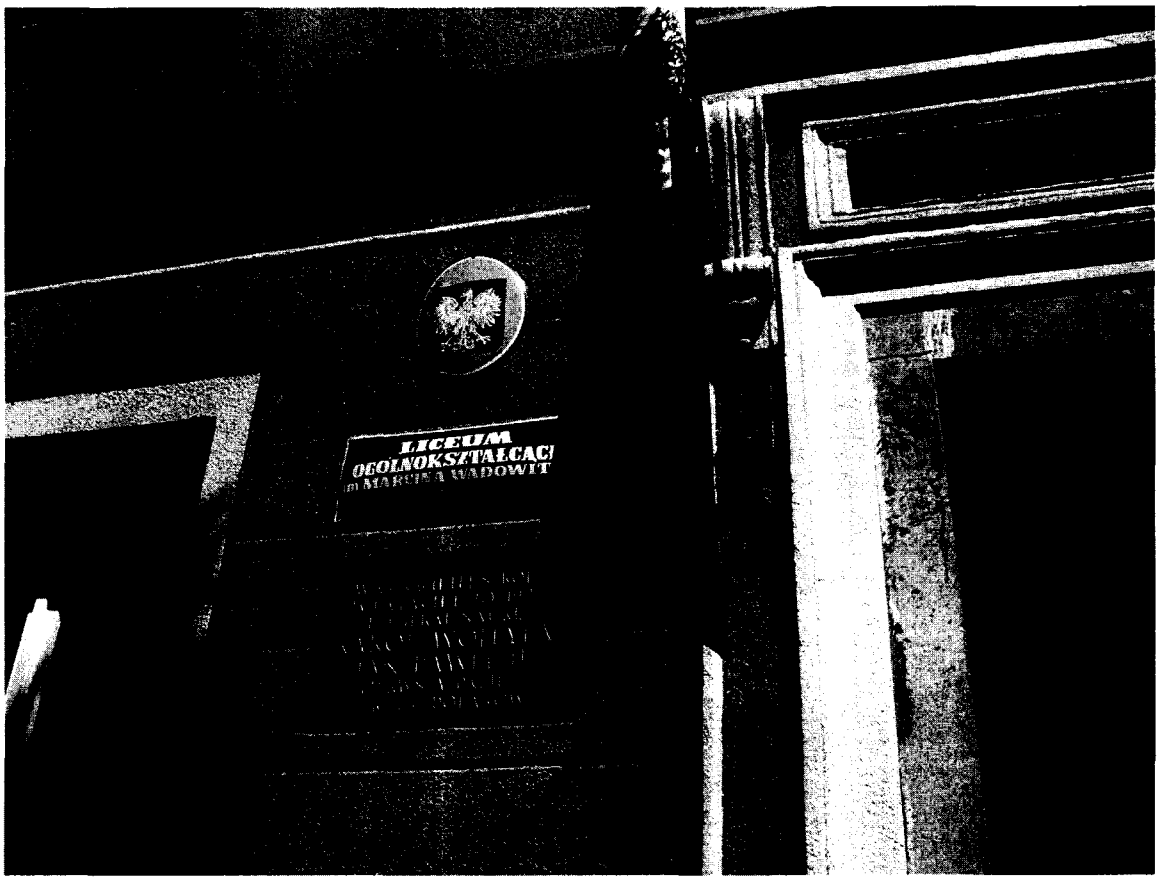


Figure Seven B



Examples of the 'Itinerary of Karol Wojtyła' in Wadowice, Poland, May 22, 2006. Photographs by author.

The text on the school reads: *The High School in the name of Marcin Wadowit in Wadowice. In the walls of this school between the years 1930-1938, Karol Wojtyła – Jan Paweł II, the first Pope of Polish origin, was educated.*

Figure Eight

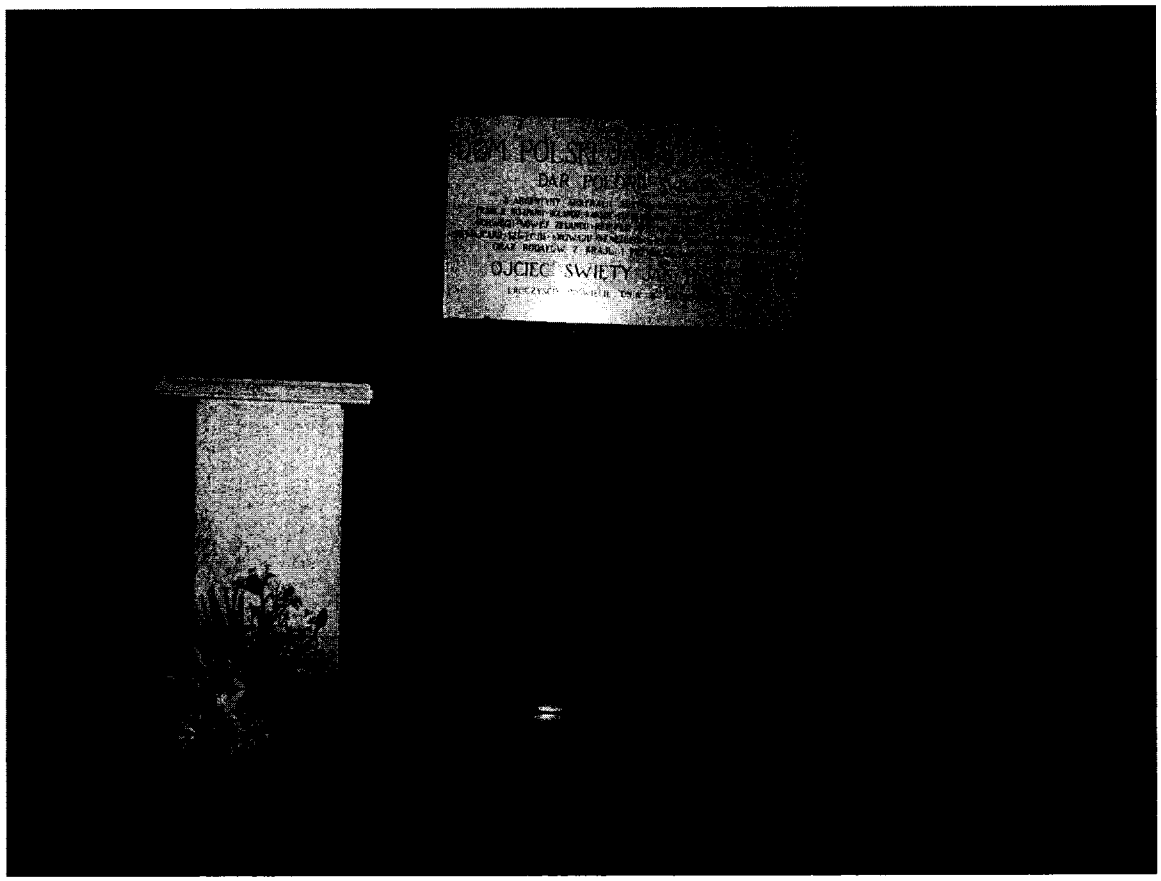
Images of the 'Papal Train' in motion. Source: http://www.pociag-papieski.pl/.

Figure Nine

The 'commemorative tickets' offered to passengers on the Papal Train.
Source: http://www.pociag-papieski.pl/.

Figure Ten

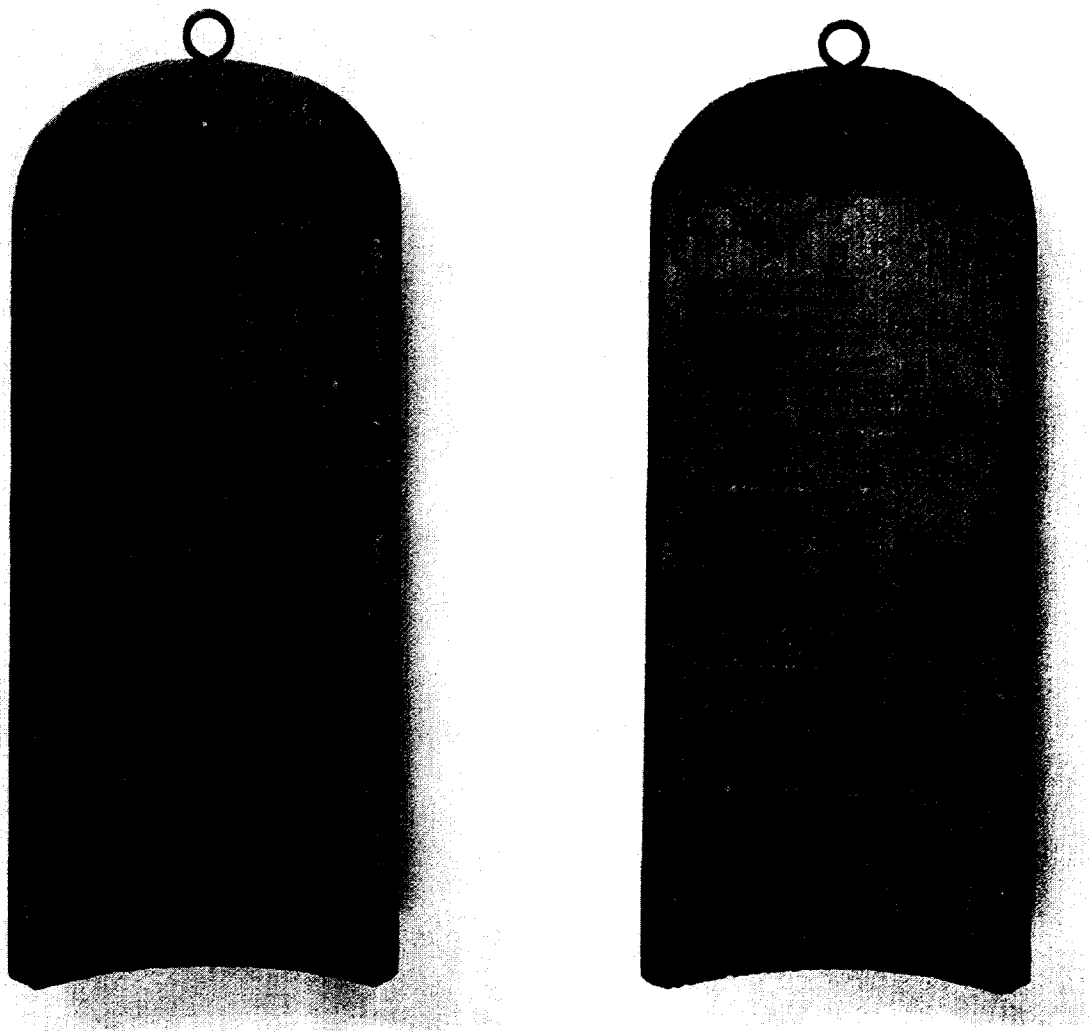
Figure Ten B



The 'Polish Home in the Name of John Paul II'. Rome, Italy, May 10, 2006. Photographs by author.

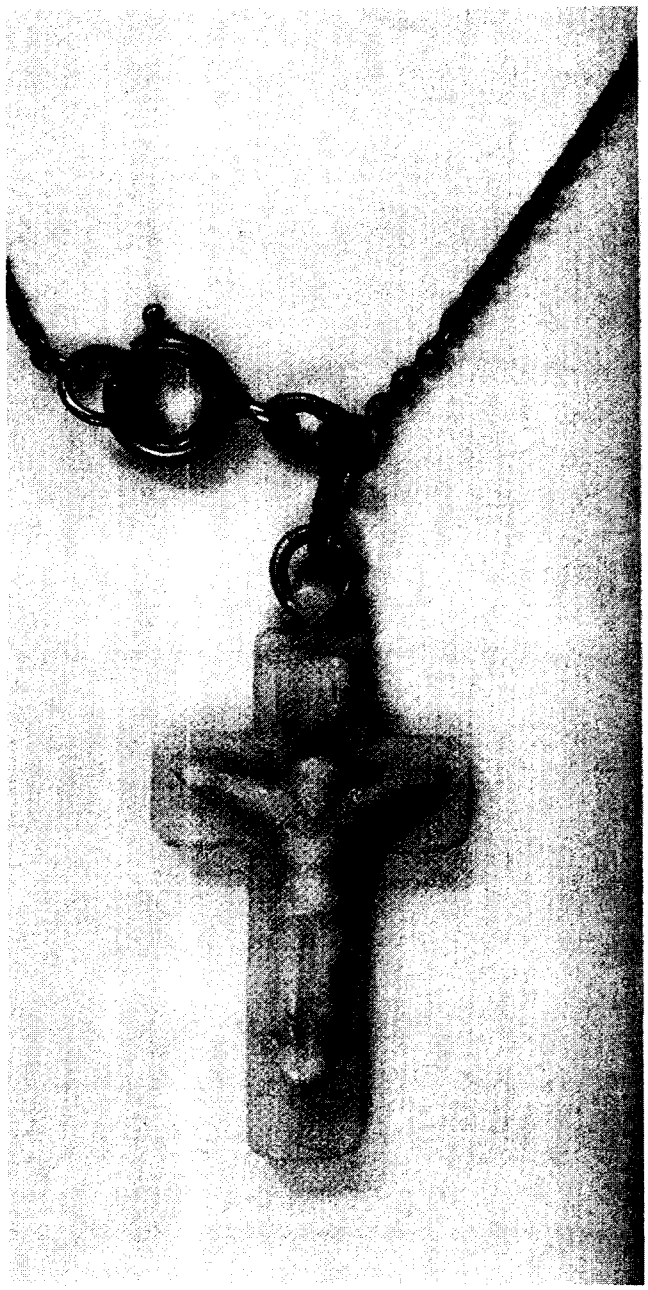
The text on the plaque inside the Home reads: *The Polish Home of John Paul II: An Offering of the World's Polonia: from Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, France, Spain, Holland, Canada, Luxembourg, Mexico, West Germany, Norway, New Zealand, The Republic of South Africa, The United States, Switzerland, Sweden, Uruguay, Venezuela, Great Britain, Italy, Zimbabwe, as well as compatriots from the homeland and friends of the Polish Nation. The Holy Father John Paul II solemnly blessed this home on the 8th day of September, 1981.*

Figure Eleven



A tablet with an examination of conscience from the period of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), which was used by the French priest Maxime Puissant in hearing confession from Polish prisoners of war. The gift of Paula Maryi Jima, a Japanese woman, a former ministrant assisting chaplains in ministering to prisoner of war camps, offered to the Holy Father during his Apostolic journey to Japan in 1981. A board with a pasted on card.

Figure Eleven B



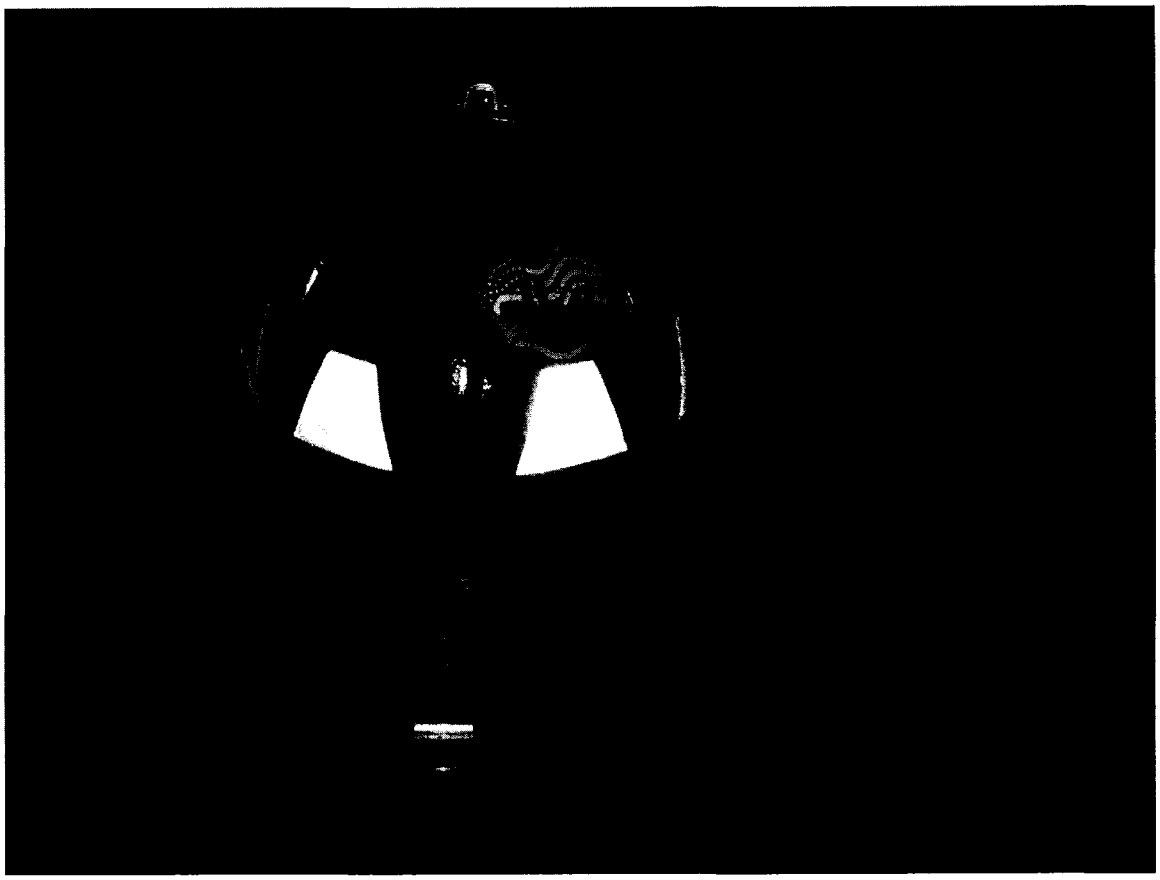
'Cross from Ravensbrück with a chain, carved from the handle of a toothbrush in the concentration camp of Ravensbrück. The offering of Prof. Karoline Lanckorońskiej, 1995.

Figure Eleven C

'M. Jonkajtys, 'Cross of the Siberians', Sulejówek, 1991. Wood. An offering of the Union of Siberians.

Source: Father Andrzej Józef Nowobilski. *Pontyfikat przełomu tysiącleci 25 lat Jana Pawła II na stolicy św. Piotra.* Krakow: Ośrodek Dokumentacji Pontyfikatu Jana Pawła II w Rzymie, Muzeum Archdiecezjalne w Krakowie, 2003.

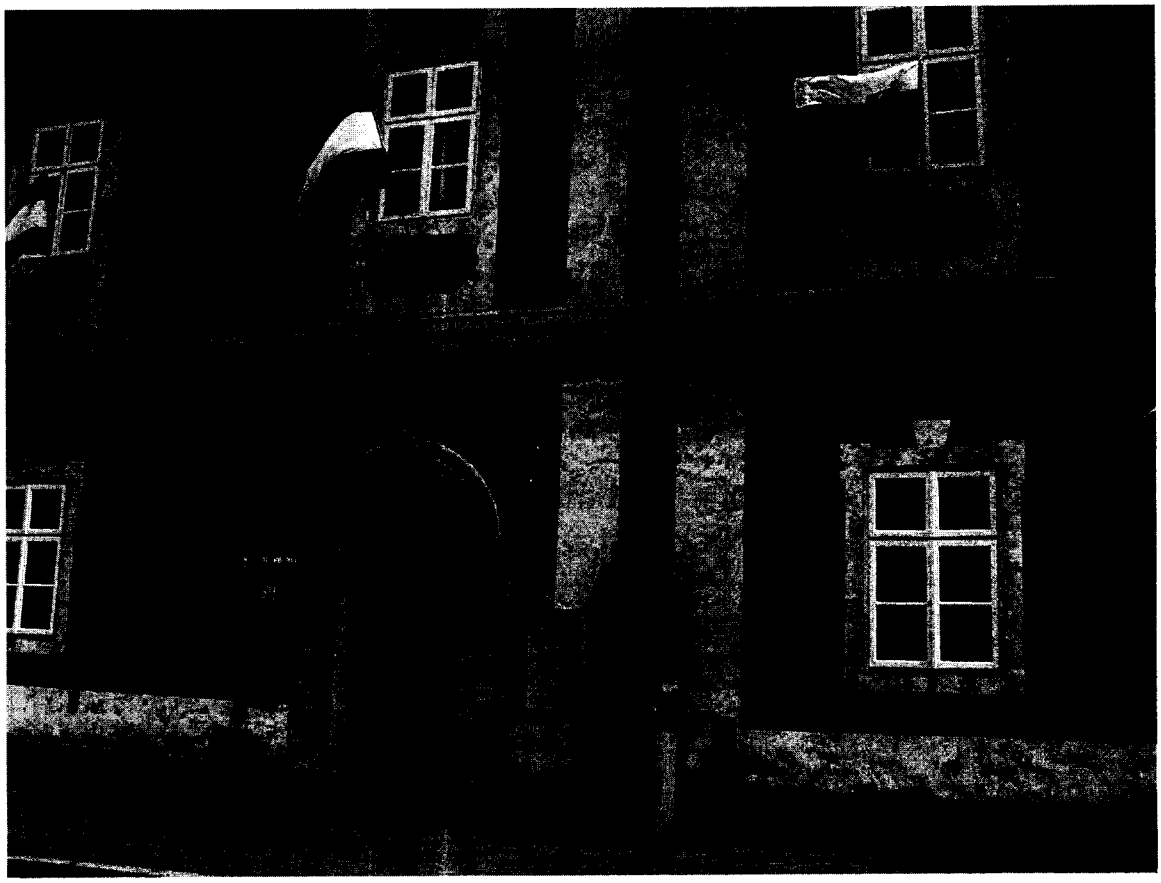
Figure Twelve



The Federal District of New York firefighters helmet of Stanley Trojanowski in the Polish Home, Rome, Italy, May 11, 2006. Photograph by author.

The text reads: *To the Holy Father from "Ground Zero" – Stanley Trojanowski, FDNY, Engine 238, 11-3-2004, St. Karol's.*

Figure Thirteen



The Stanislaus Fischer Museum, located in the main square of Bochnia, Poland, May 21, 2006. Photograph by author.

Figure Fourteen

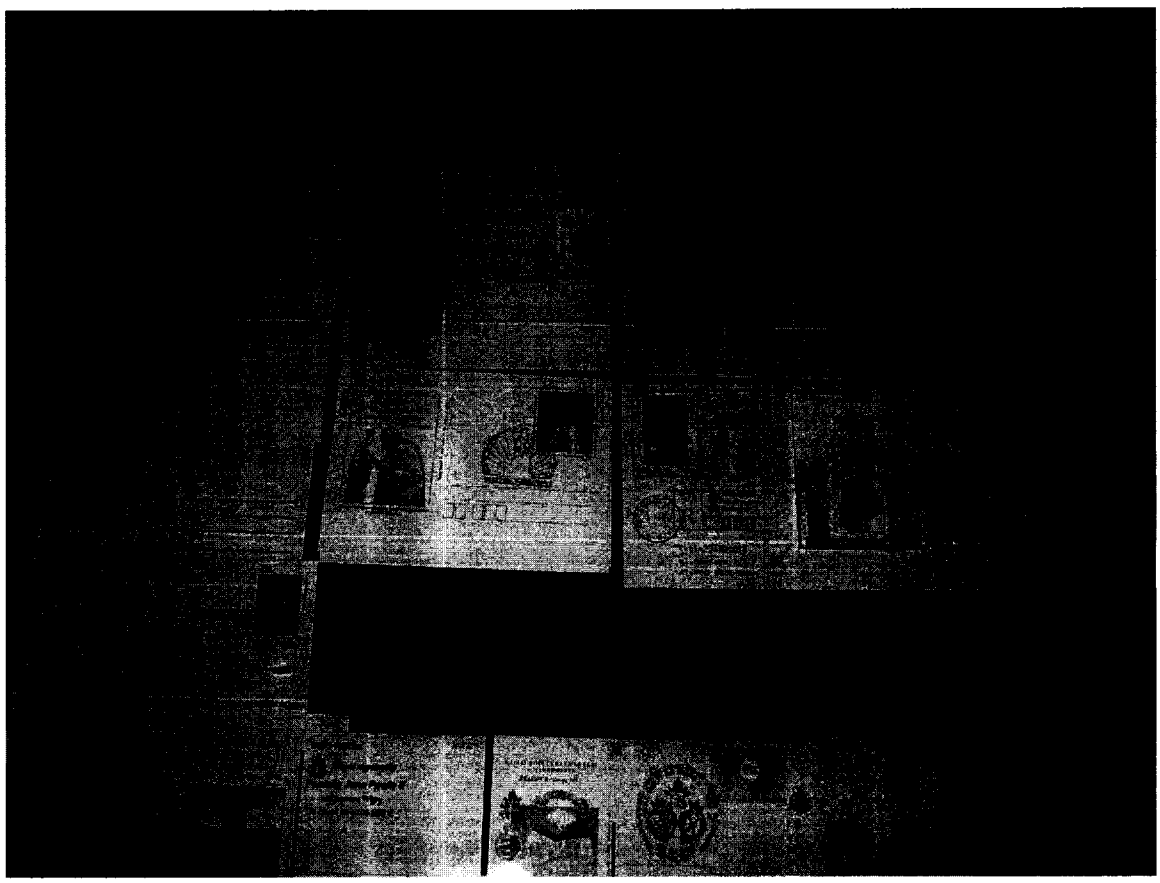
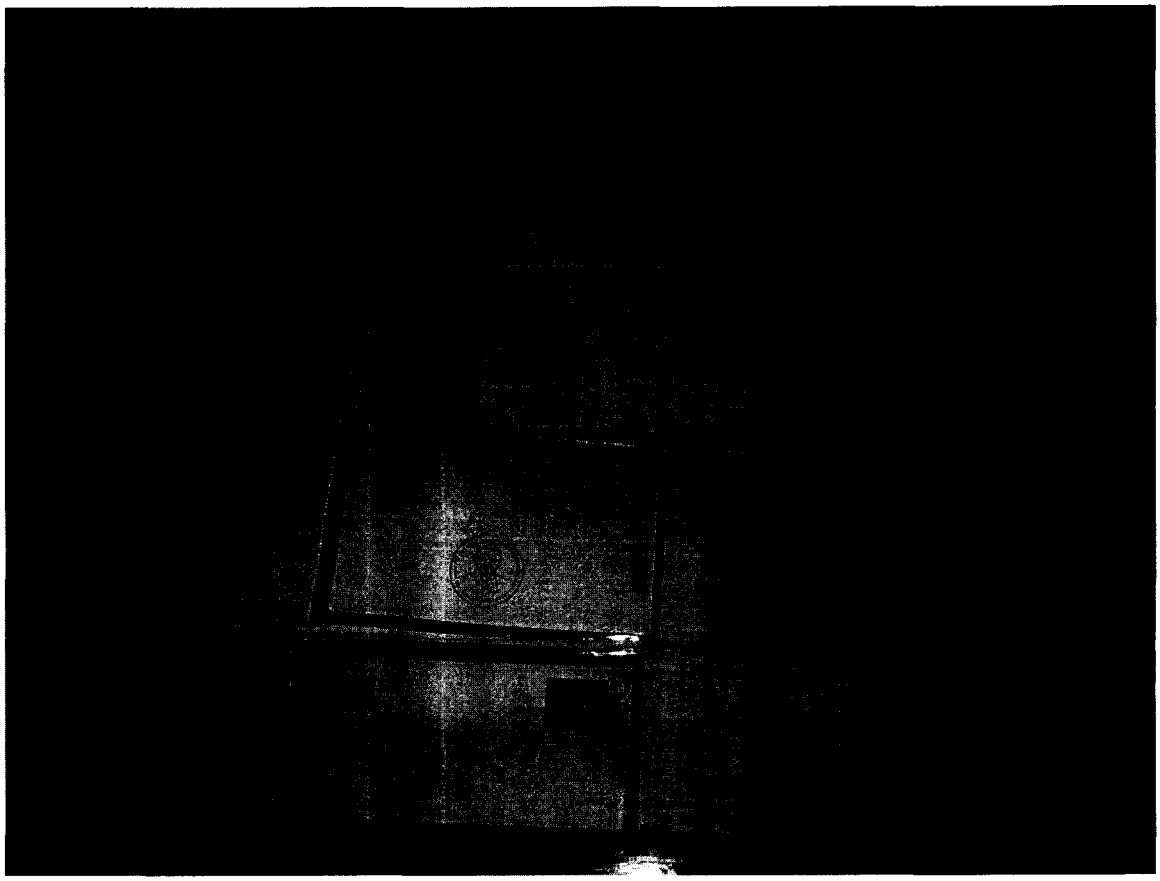


Figure Fourteen B



John Paul II special cancellations from the Vatican, on display in the Stanislaus Fischer Museum in Bochnia, Poland. The top two cards on the upper right of the first photo commemorate the 1000-year anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Wojciech in 1997.

The second photo features postcards depicting Katyń and Kozielsk. The card on the far left, second down, states: *I pray for all those, who perished at Katyń – John Paul II.*

The card to its immediate right reads: *Let us trust in Her intercession for this land of suffering – the Golgotha of the East – John Paul II.*
The card immediately above it depicts the Kozielsk camp.

May 21, 2006. Photographs by author.

Figure Fifteen

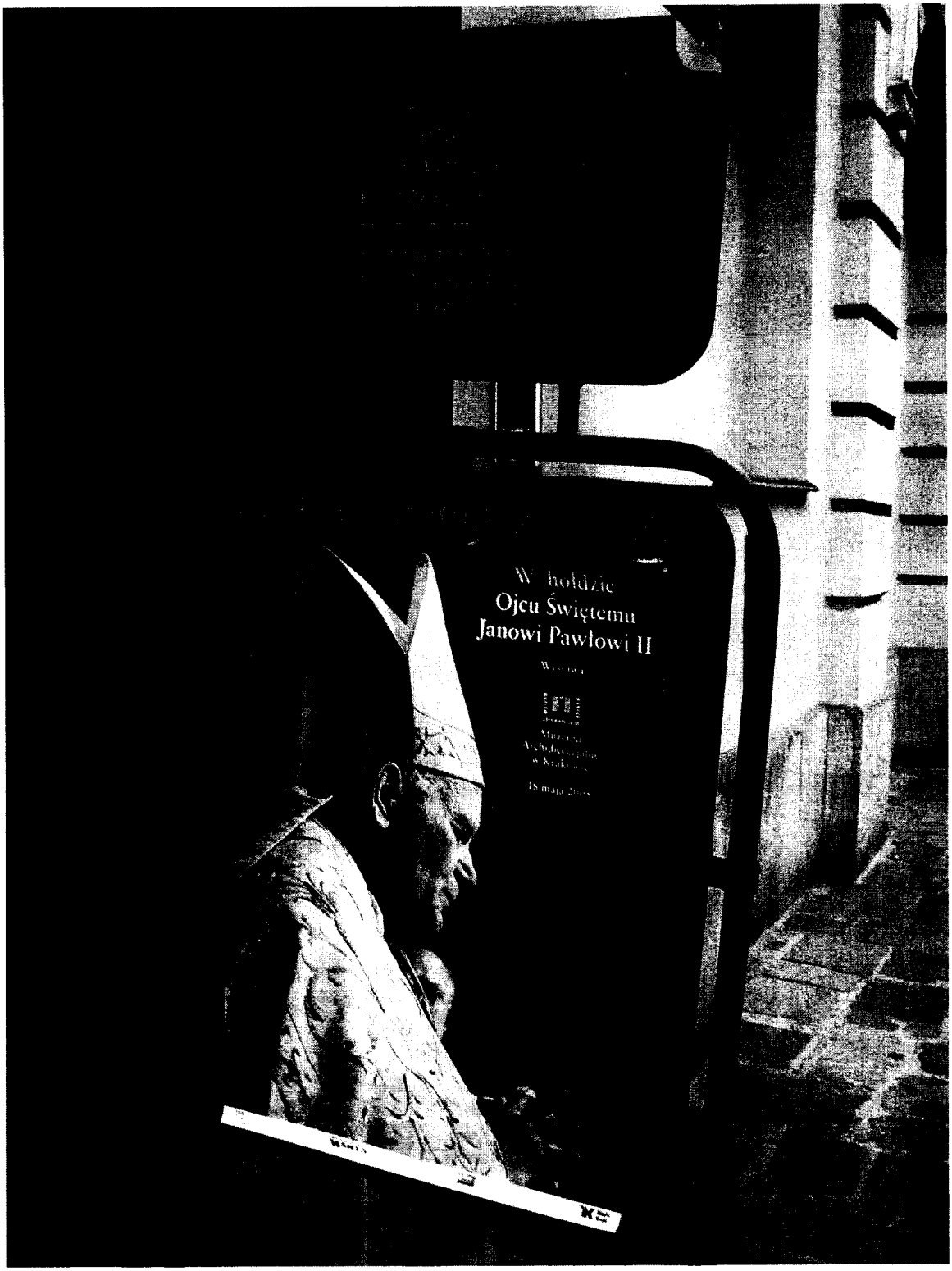


Figure Fifteen B

Photographs from the Archdiocesan Museum on Kanoniczna Street, Krakow. The text on the sign with the image of John Paul states: *In tribute to the Holy Father, John Paul II. An exhibit of the Archdiocesan Museum in Krakow, May 18, 2005.*

Figure Sixteen

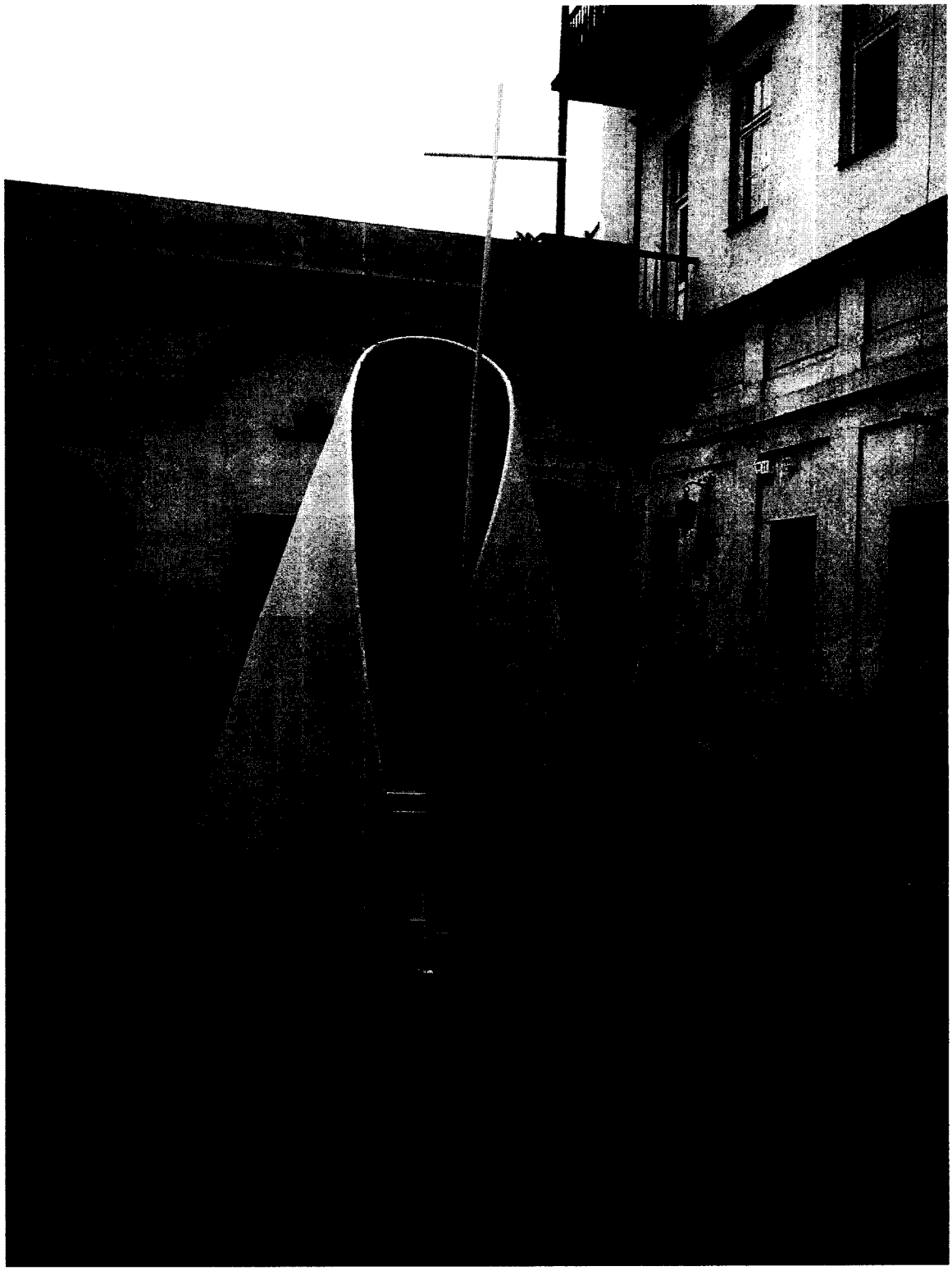
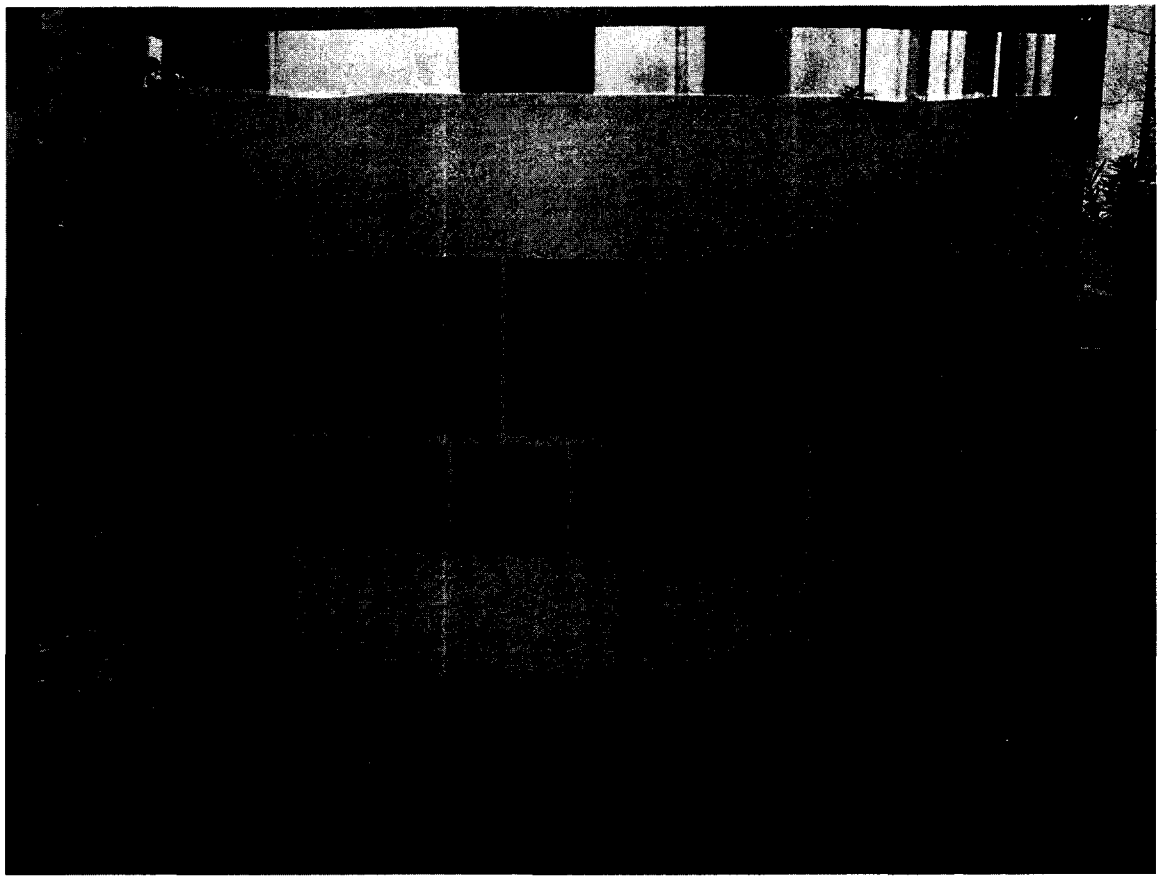


Figure Sixteen B

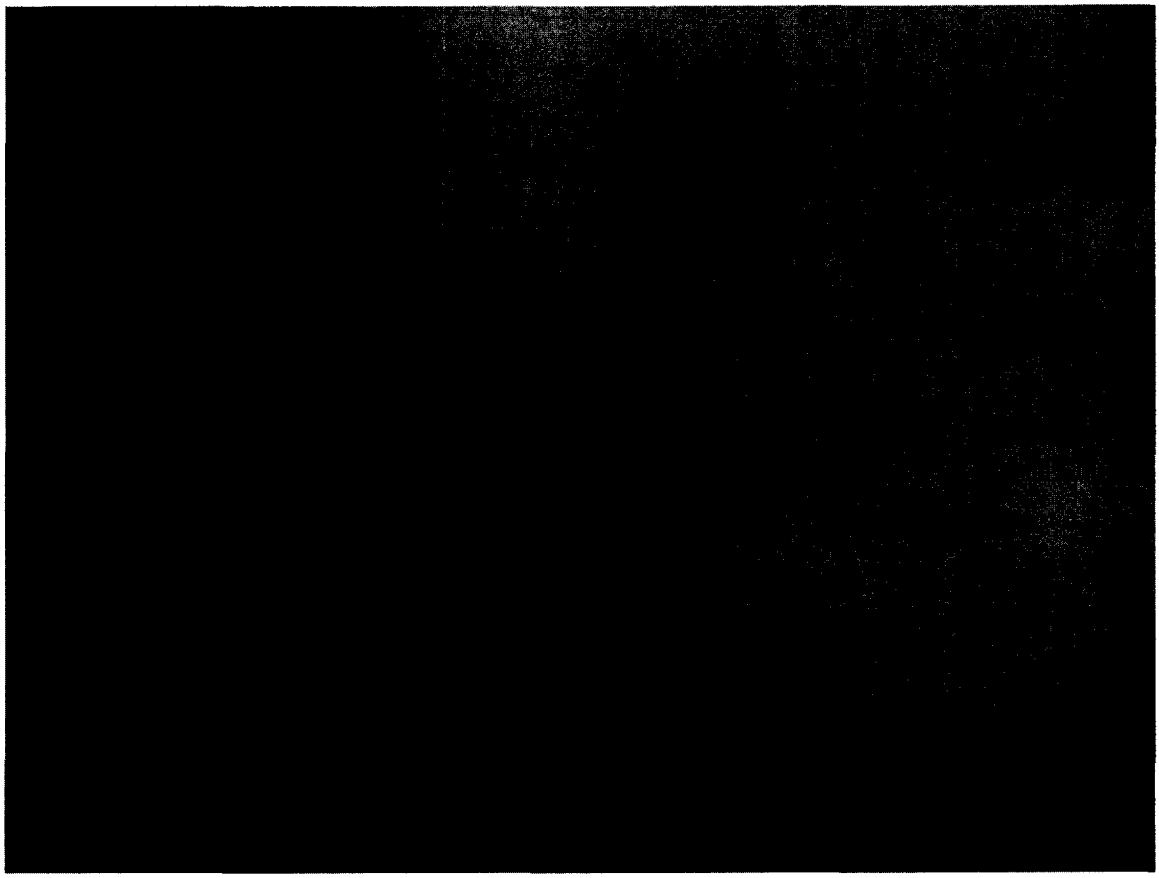


The "Ecclesiae" Sculptures of Gaetano Callocchia. Located in the Archdiocesan Museum on Kanoniczna Street, Krakow. May 23, 2006. Photograph by author.

Figure Seventeen

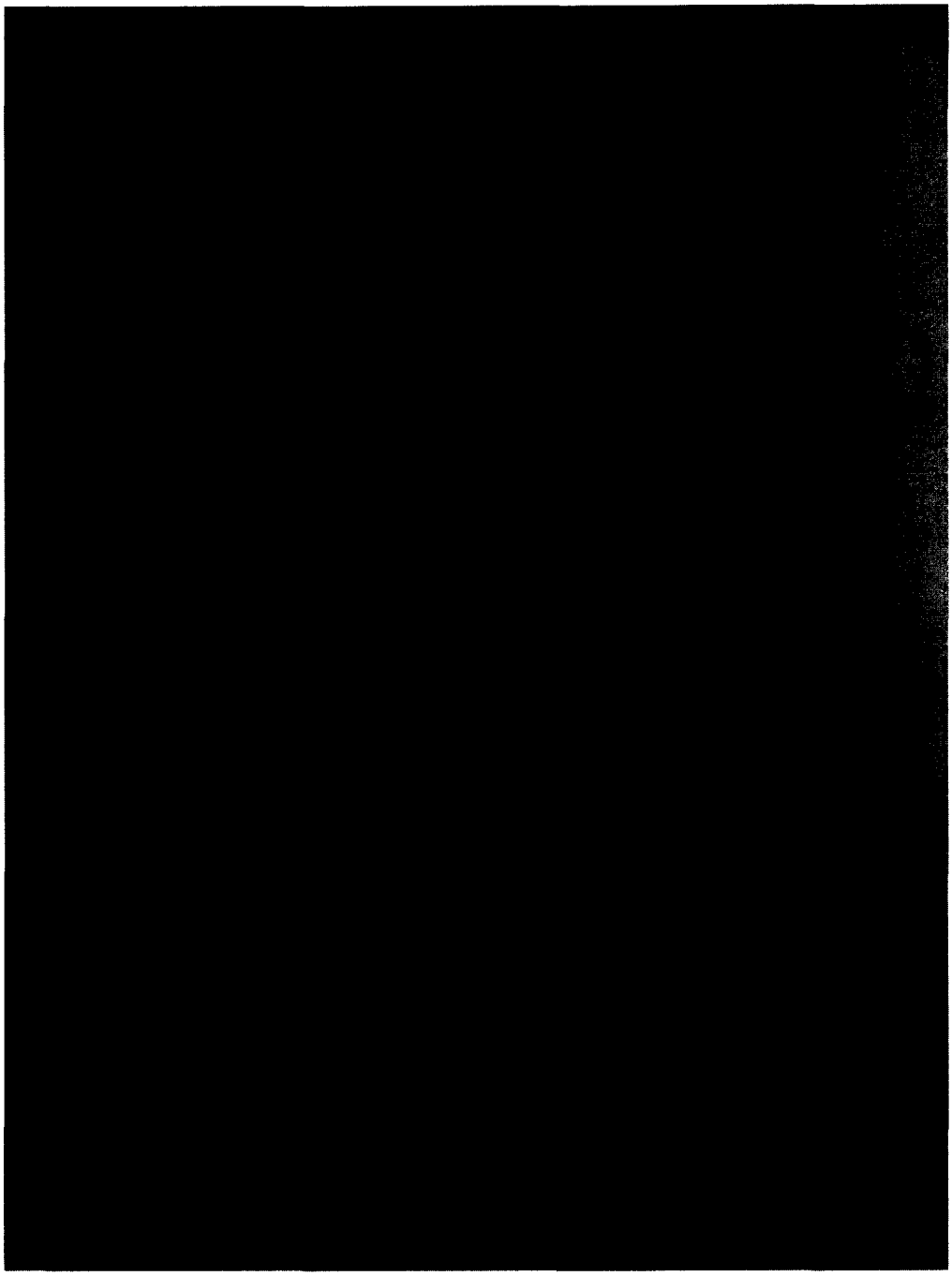
Processions in and around the Family Home Museum in Wadowice following the death of John Paul. Source: http://www.domrodzinnyjanapawla.pl/.

Chapter Three: Figure One



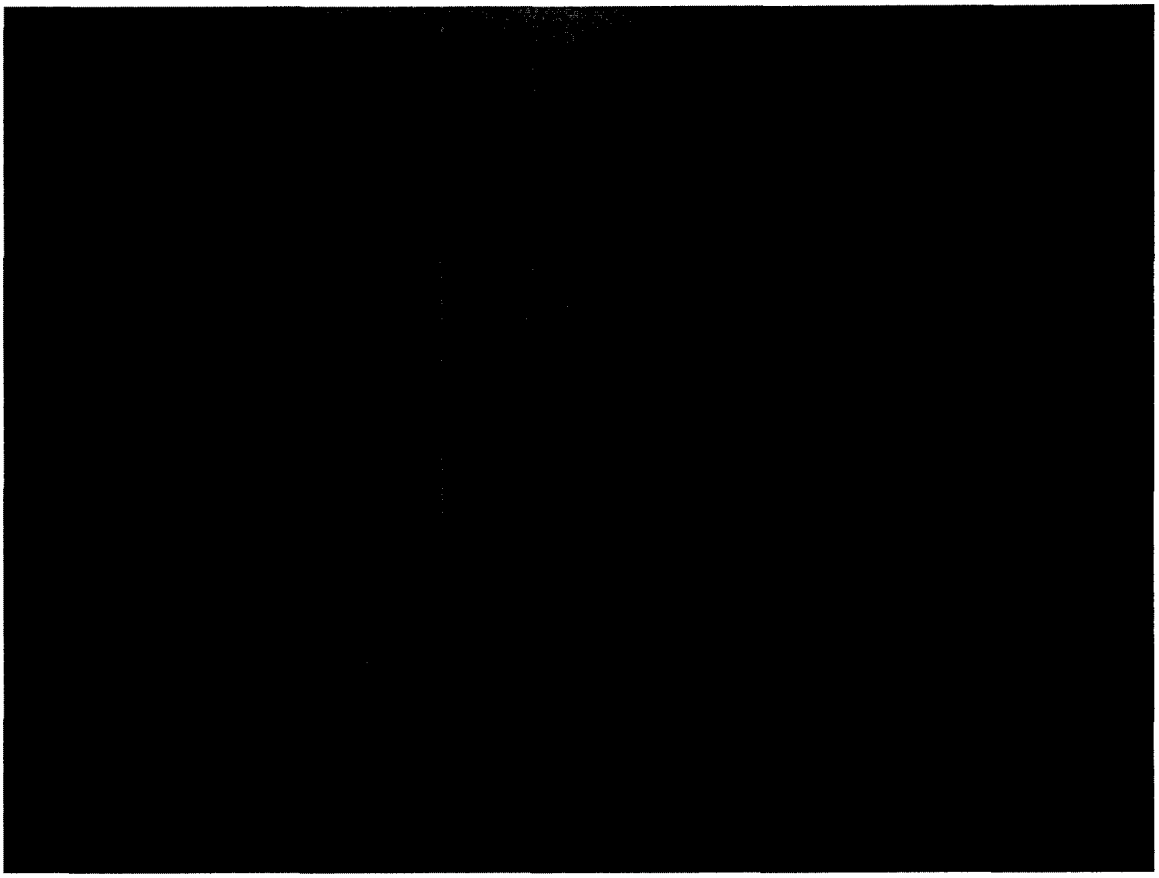
The first page of the most prominent book of condolence located in the Polish Home. The book consists of several hundred pages of signatures from around the world. The text reads: *A book of condolence to the teachings and remembrance of the Holy Father, John Paul II. Put on display in the Polish Home in the Name of John Paul II in Rome.*

Figure One B



One example of the many creative entries that can be found in this and related books in the Polish Home, produced in the aftermath of the death of John Paul. May 10, 2006. Photographs by author.

Figure Two



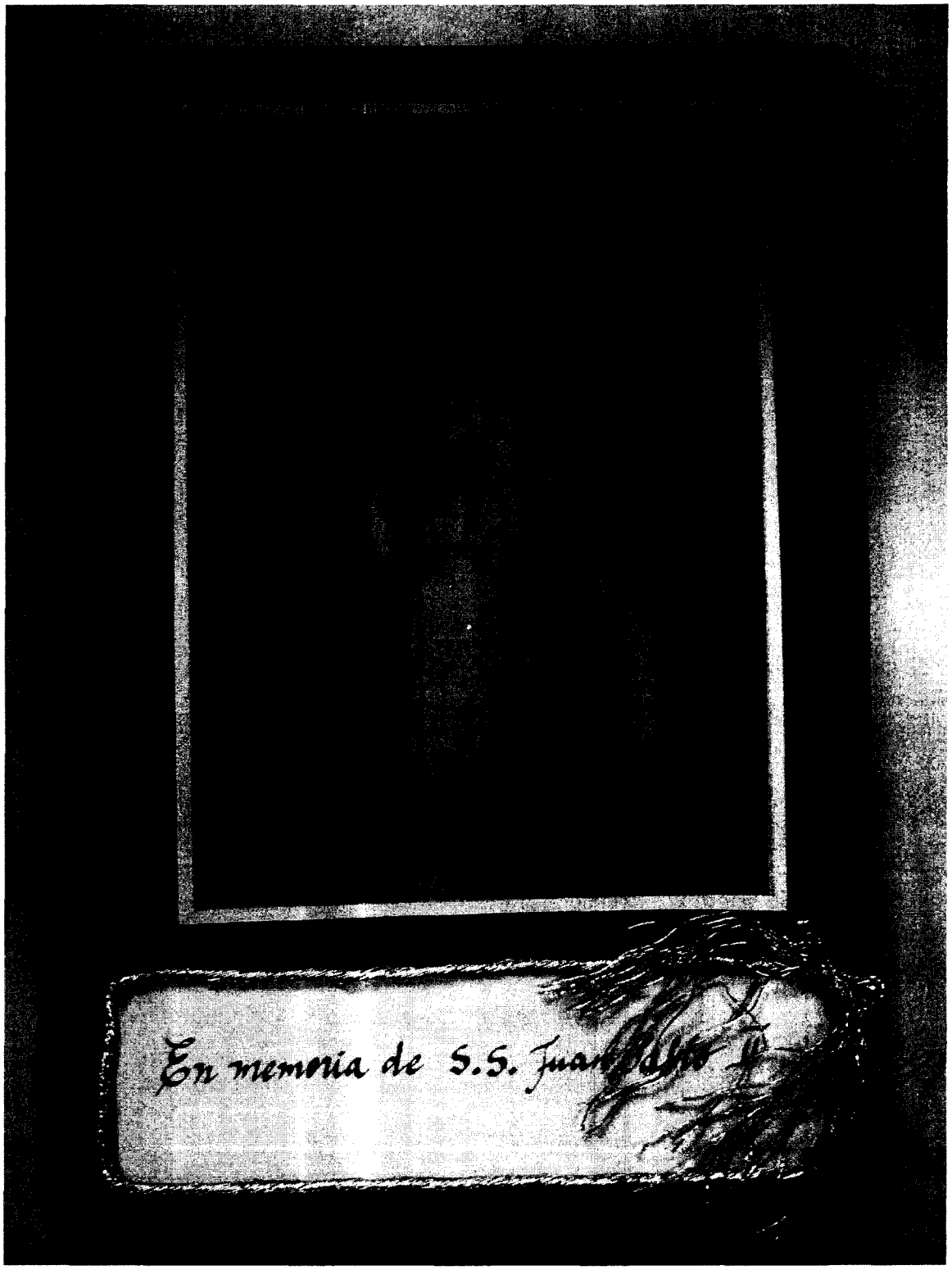
An image from the ONET book of condolence in the archives of the Polish Home. Photograph by author. The text reads:

Over one million people signed this book of condolence, accessed through the portal Onet.pl, from April 2 to 8, 2005.

The book is a unique witness to the spontaneous, full and anguished farewells.

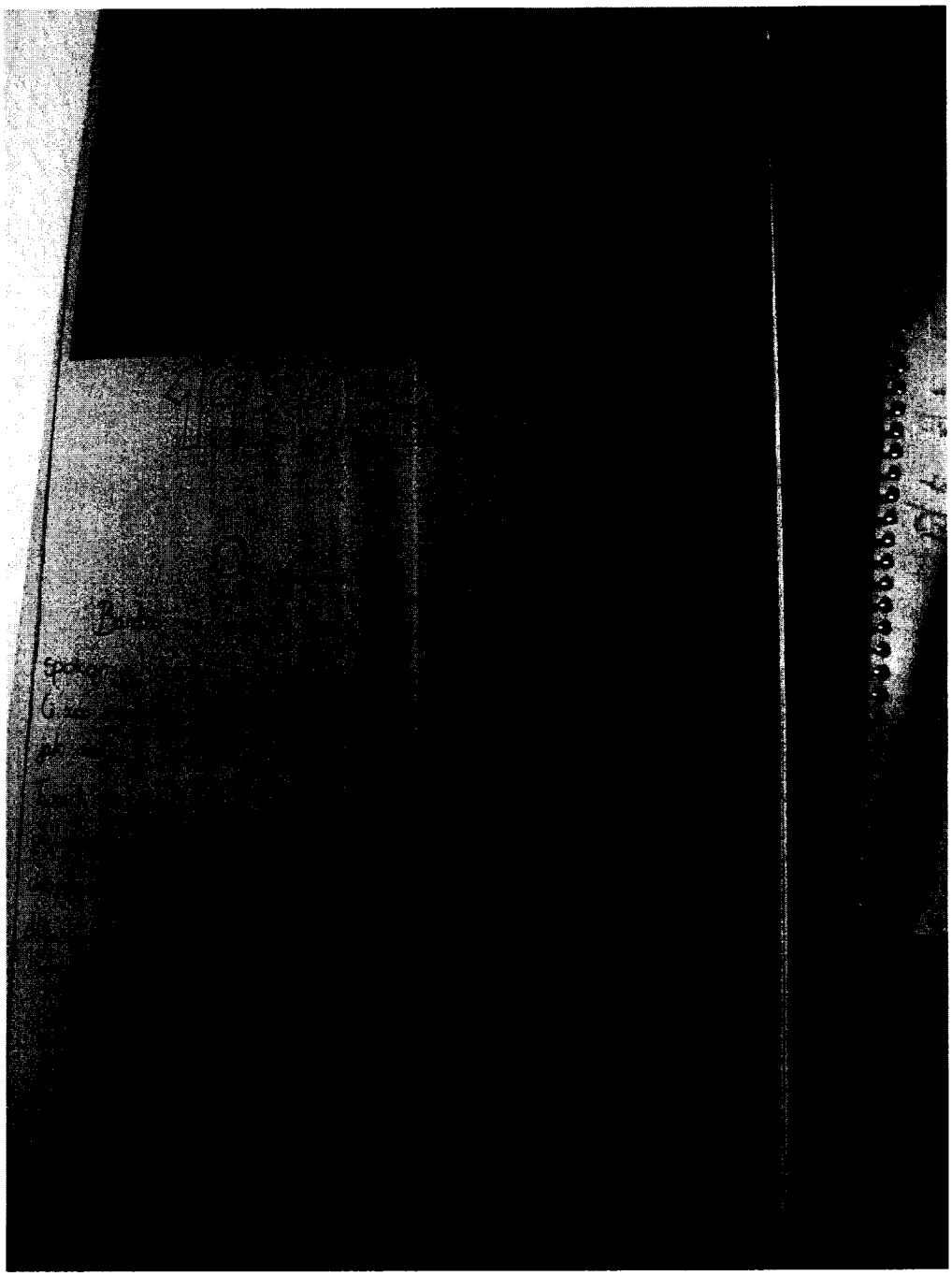
This anguished writing can be experienced as an indicator of the atmosphere that followed the death of the head of the Catholic church, one of the most famous of Poles: John Paul II.

Figure Three



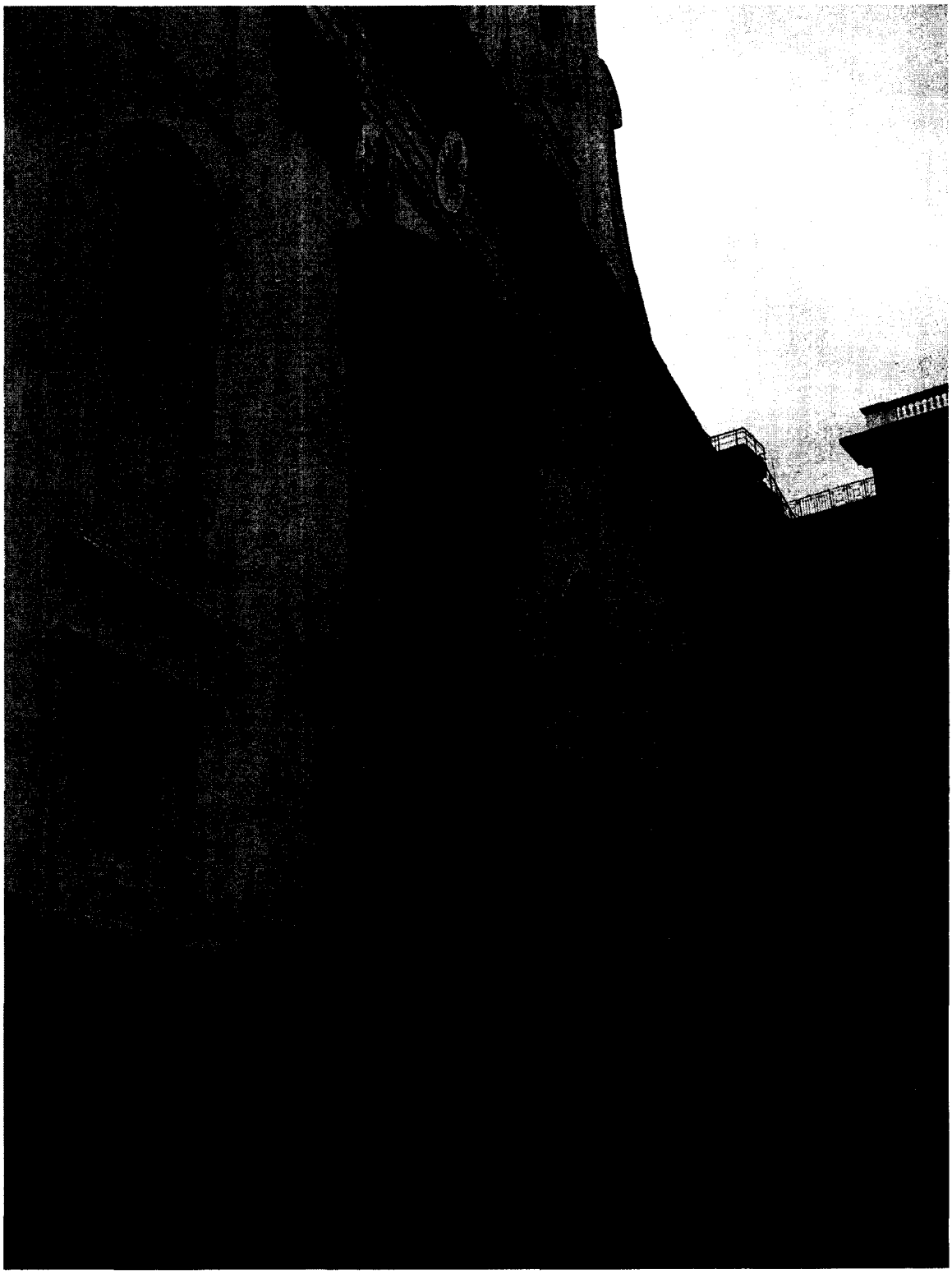
A book of condolence sent to the Polish Home from San Antonio, Chile. This book was one of several in the archives of the Home.

Figure Three B



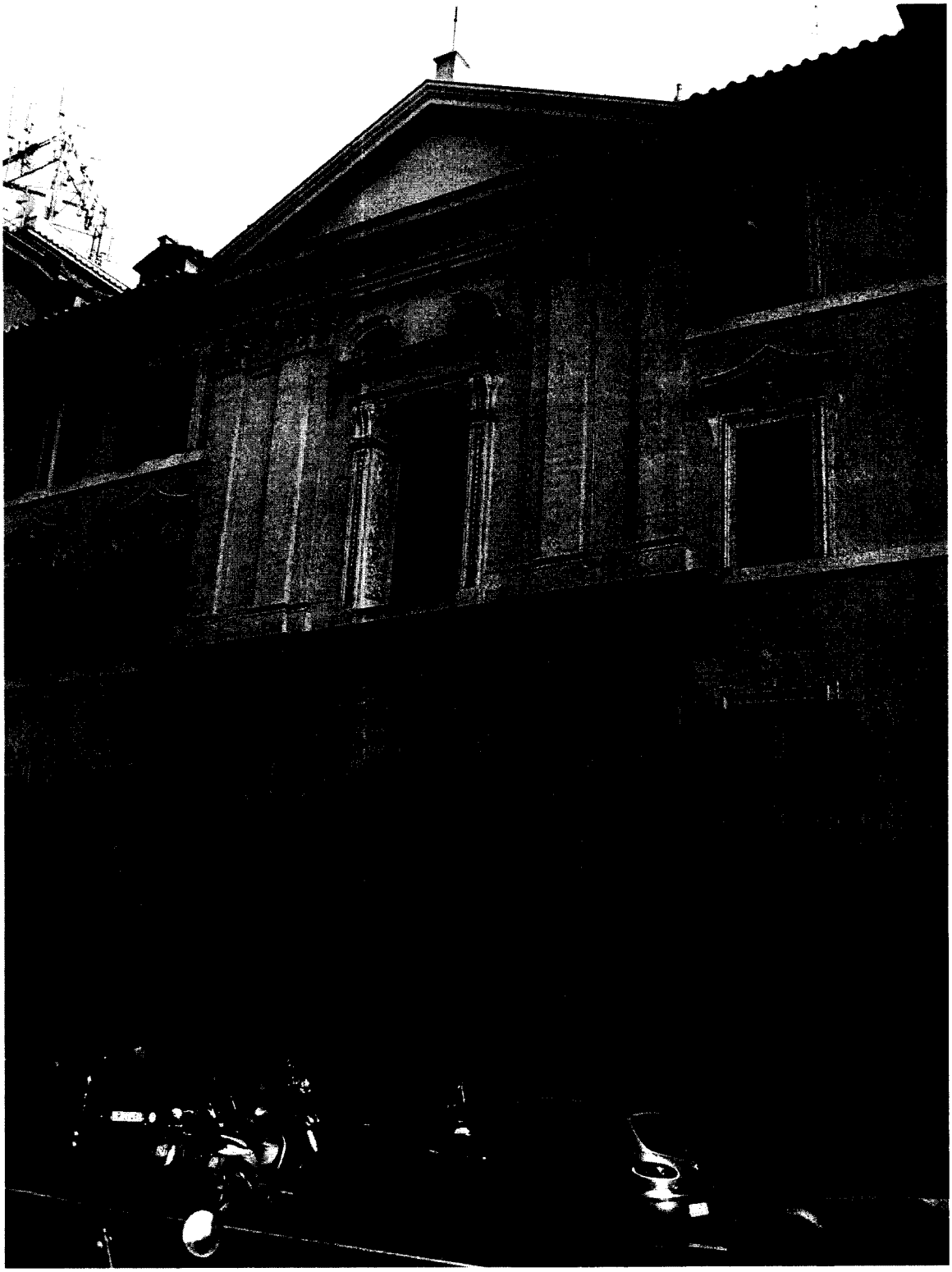
An excerpt from one of many creative books of condolence sent to the Polish Home from schools around Poland. May 10, 2006. Photographs by author.

Figure Four



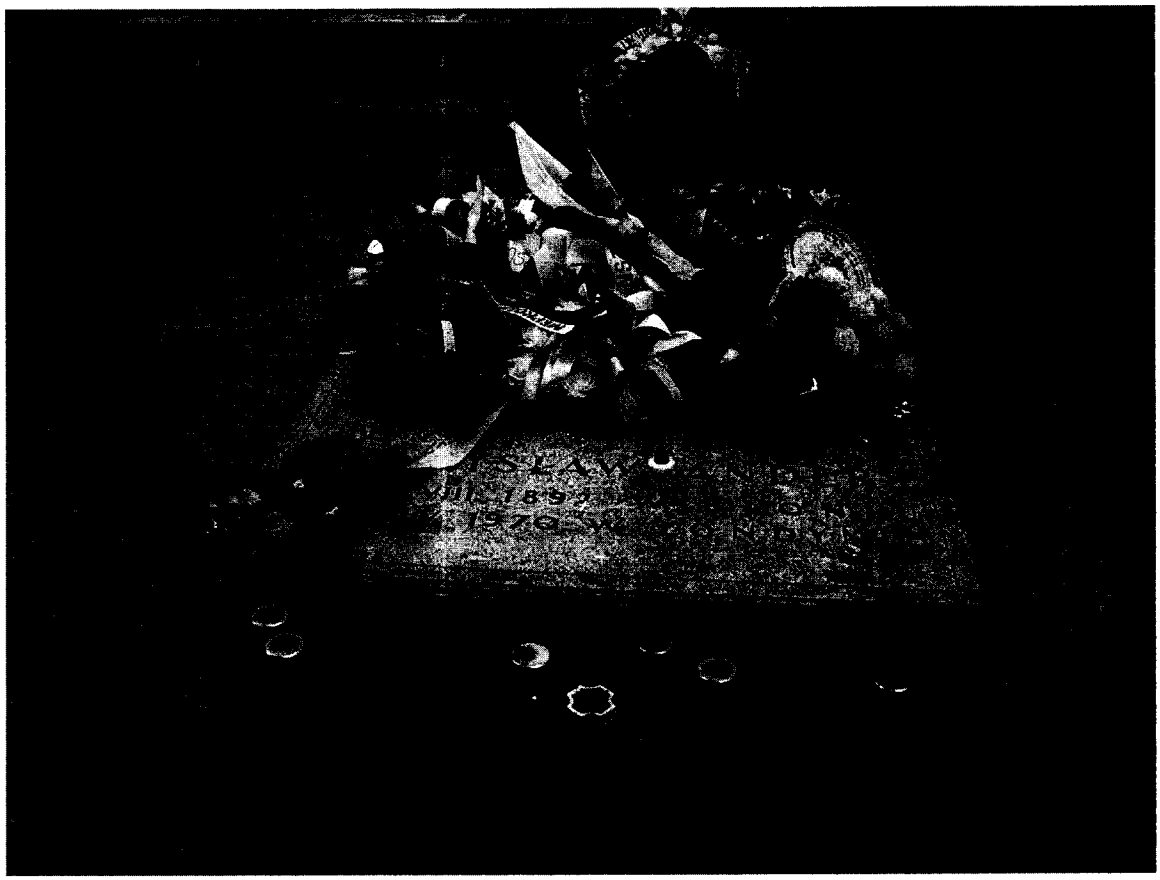
The Church of the Holy Spirit in Saxony, the Vatican. May 9, 2006. Photograph by author.

Figure Five



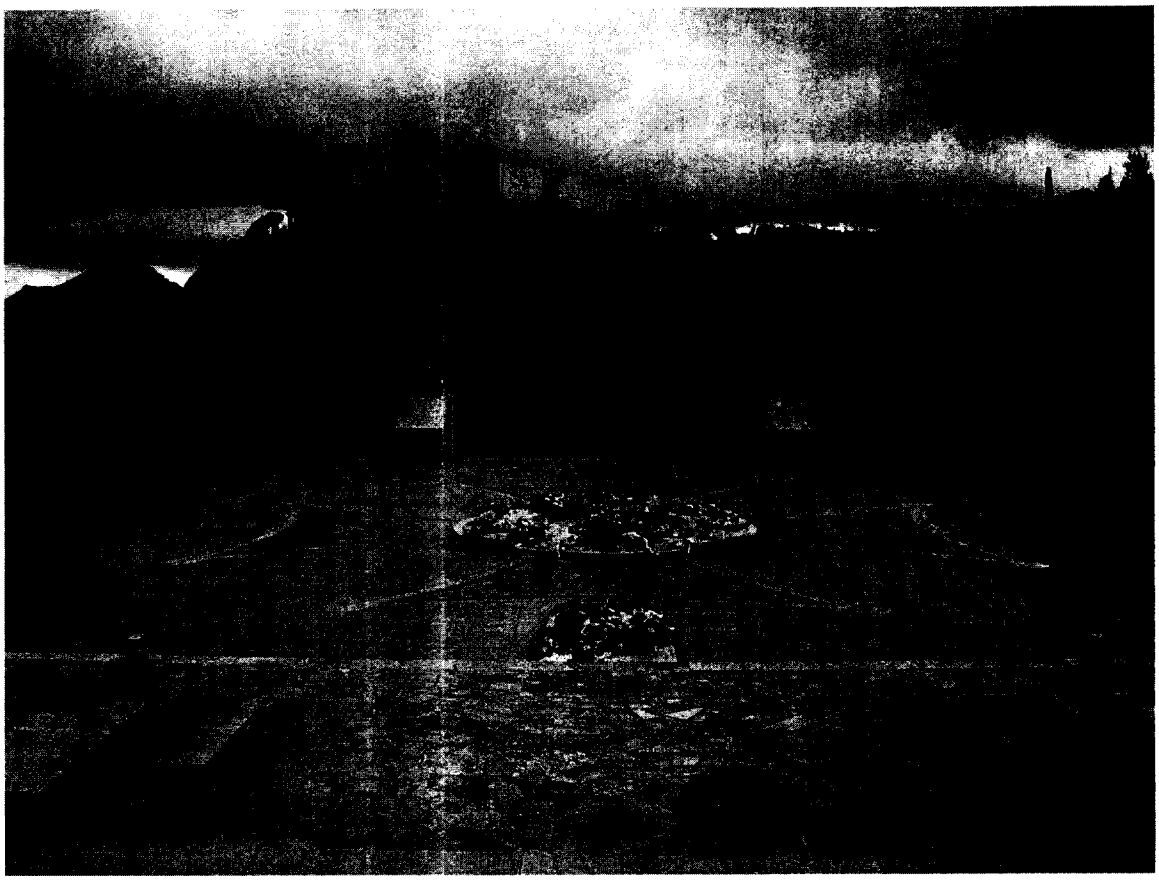
The Church of St. Stanislaus in Rome, Italy. May 9, 2006. Photograph by author.

Figure Six



The grave of General Władysław Anders in the Polish Cemetery at Monte Cassino, Italy.

Figure 6 B



The Polish Cemetery at Monte Cassino, Italy. At the time of my visit, a torrential rainstorm was brewing, but there were still large groups of Poles visiting the site. May 11, 2006. Photographs by author.

Figure Seven

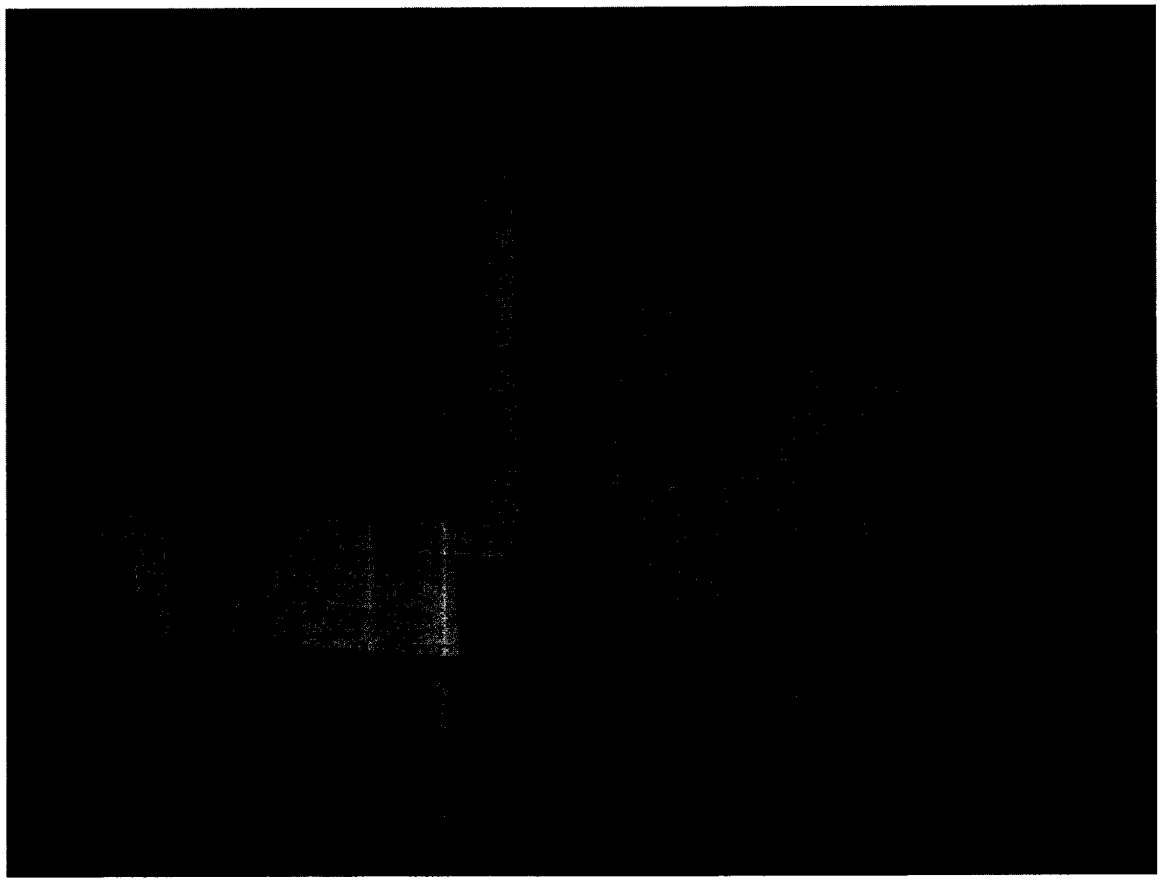
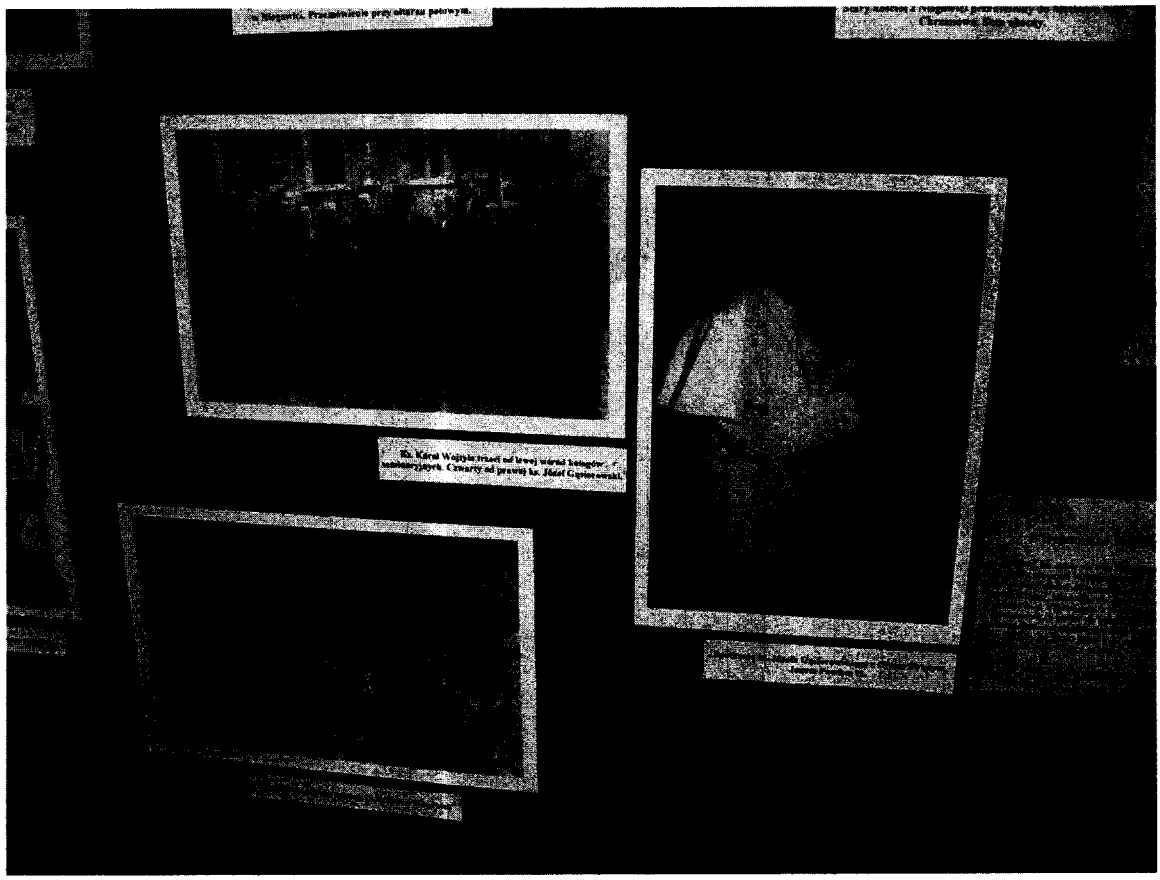


Figure Seven B

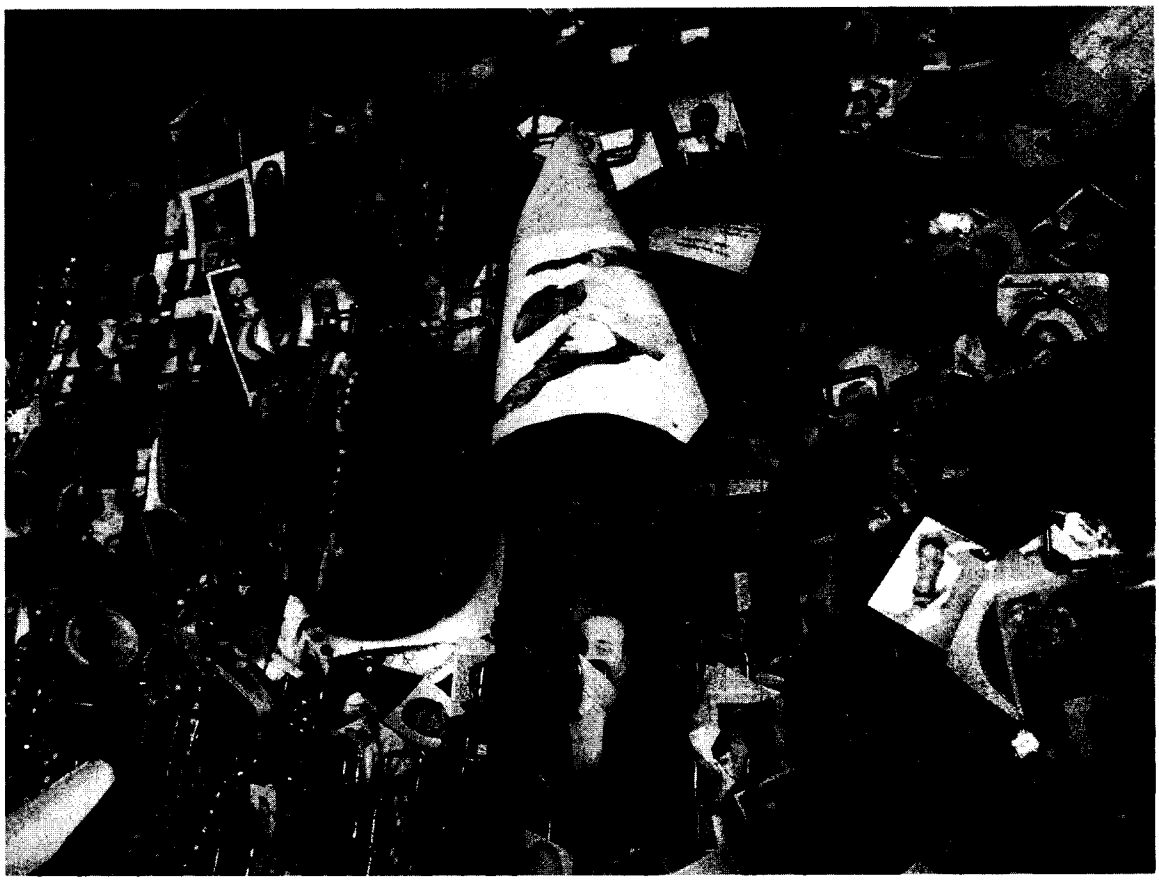


Local commemoration outside the parish church in Niegowic, Poland. The walls surrounding the church were covered with similar images and documents related to Karol Wojtyła's time spent in the area. This town is also where the 'Oak of John Paul II', described in Chapter One, has been planted. There was a service during the time of my visit to the church, so I was unable to explore the interior for any similar documents. May 21, 2006. Photographs by author.

Figure Eight

An apartment building in Krakow, located a short walk from the Main Square. There is a small, blue photo of John Paul in the second window above the yellow and brown 'Maja' sign. Similar types of 'folk' tributes can be noted throughout this and other cities in Poland. May 22, 2006. Photograph by author.

Figure Nine



Examples of votive tributes to John Paul in the Łagiewnik Sanctuary at the Church of Divine Mercy, Krakow. Similar examples of such tributes can be found in Poland, not only in religious, but in all sorts of memorial spaces; I saw a small photograph of John Paul, alongside one of Benedict XVI, tucked away in the 'Wall of Memory' at the Auschwitz Memorial site. Photograph by author.

Figure Ten

Newspaper clippings tacked to a tree outside the Franciscan Church in Krakow. The church is in the vicinity of the Archdiocesan museum. May 23, 2006. Photograph by author.

Figure Eleven

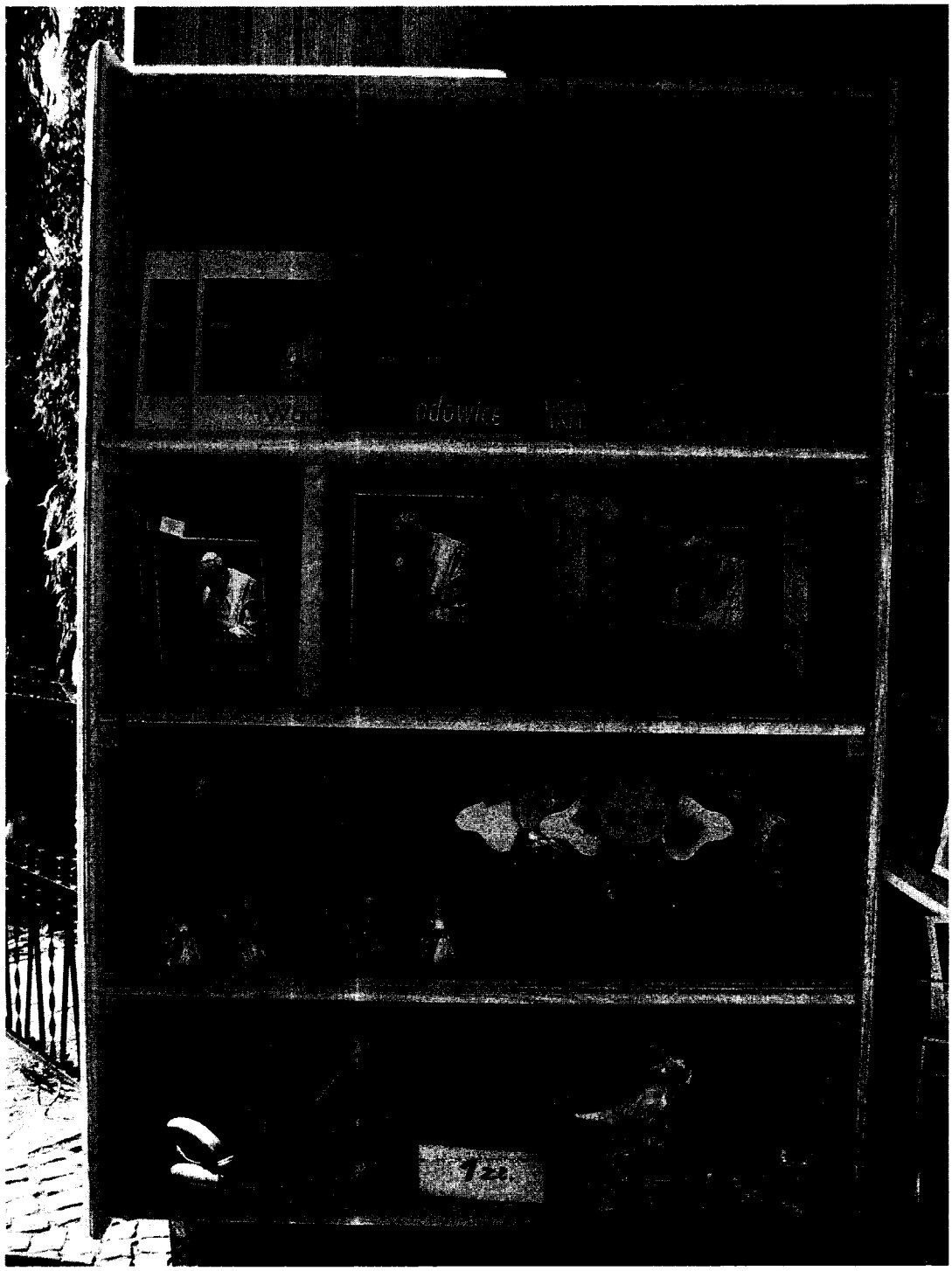
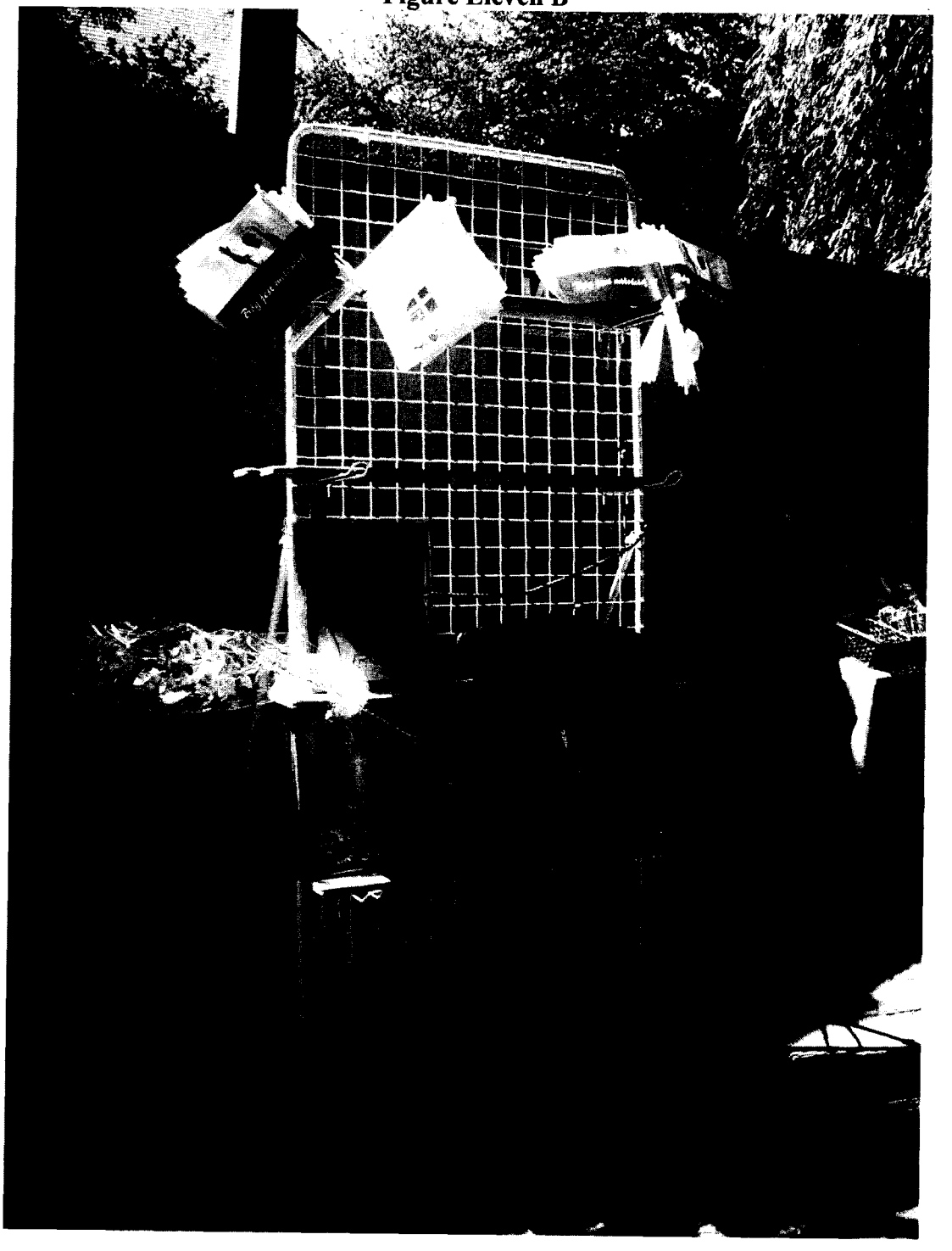


Figure Eleven B



Various outdoor stands located throughout Wadowice, selling John Paul memorabilia alongside that of religious imagery and tourist items of the town itself. May 22, 2006. Photographs by author.

Figure Twelve

A residential window in Wadowice with a readily available image advertising Benedict's forthcoming pilgrimage to the country and town at the time of my visit. The yellow and blue 'M' is a handmade representation of John Paul's papal insignia, representing his devotion to the Virgin.

Figure Twelve B

A portrait of John Paul hung on the wall of an outdoor kiosk in Wadowice. Similar images can be found all over the city and country. May 22, 2006. Photograph by author.

Figure Thirteen

This mural was found in Wadowice's Minor Basilica, where John Paul had been baptized and received his first sacraments. The text reads 'Faithful Shepherd', and creates an interesting parallel between the image of John Paul as pastor of the church and of the Podhale Highlanders, and thus between Poles themselves. May 22, 2006. Photograph by author.

Figure Fourteen

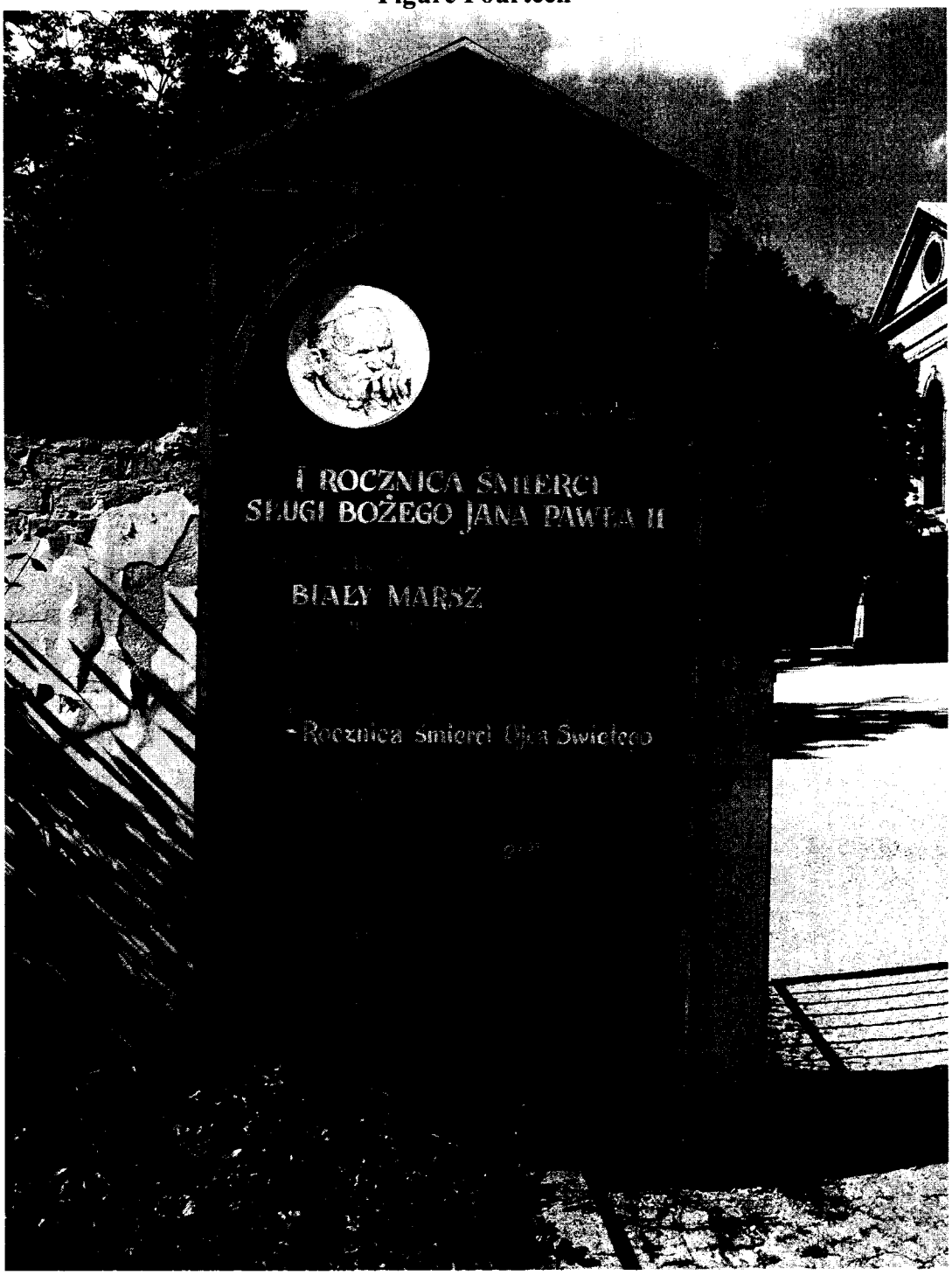


Figure Fourteen B

The mural in the first photo was found right outside the entrance to the Garrison Church in Jelenia Góra, and was established on the one year anniversary of John Paul's death, detailing activities that took place in the town at that time. The top of the text contains the 'famous last words' described in Chapter Three. The rest of the text reads:

The First Anniversary of the Death of the Servant of God, John Paul II. Saturday, April 1, 2006: White March underneath the Jubilee Cross – 'For John Paul II – with love', the Main Square, 19:00.

Sunday, April 2, 2006. –The One-year Anniversary of the Death of the Holy Father: W. A. Mozart's Requiem – Holy Mass under the direction of J.E. Father Bishop Stefan Cichy – the Archbishop of the Legnica diocese. At the Garrison Church, 21:37.

Monday, April 3, 2006. – Anniversary Assembly and an educational session "John Paul II – attempts at understanding Secrets" – LO nr. 1 in the name of S. Zeromski, 10:00.

(Note: as described in Chapter Three, 21:37 is the moment that John Paul died, and it is rapidly being turned into an 'invented tradition' – the fact that a mass and performance of *Requiem* was held at this time in Jelenia Góra provides a concrete example of how this was and is being done country-wide). The banner on the second image was found in the immediate vicinity of the mural, and also features the 'famous last words'. June 10, 2006. Photographs by author.

Figure Fifteen

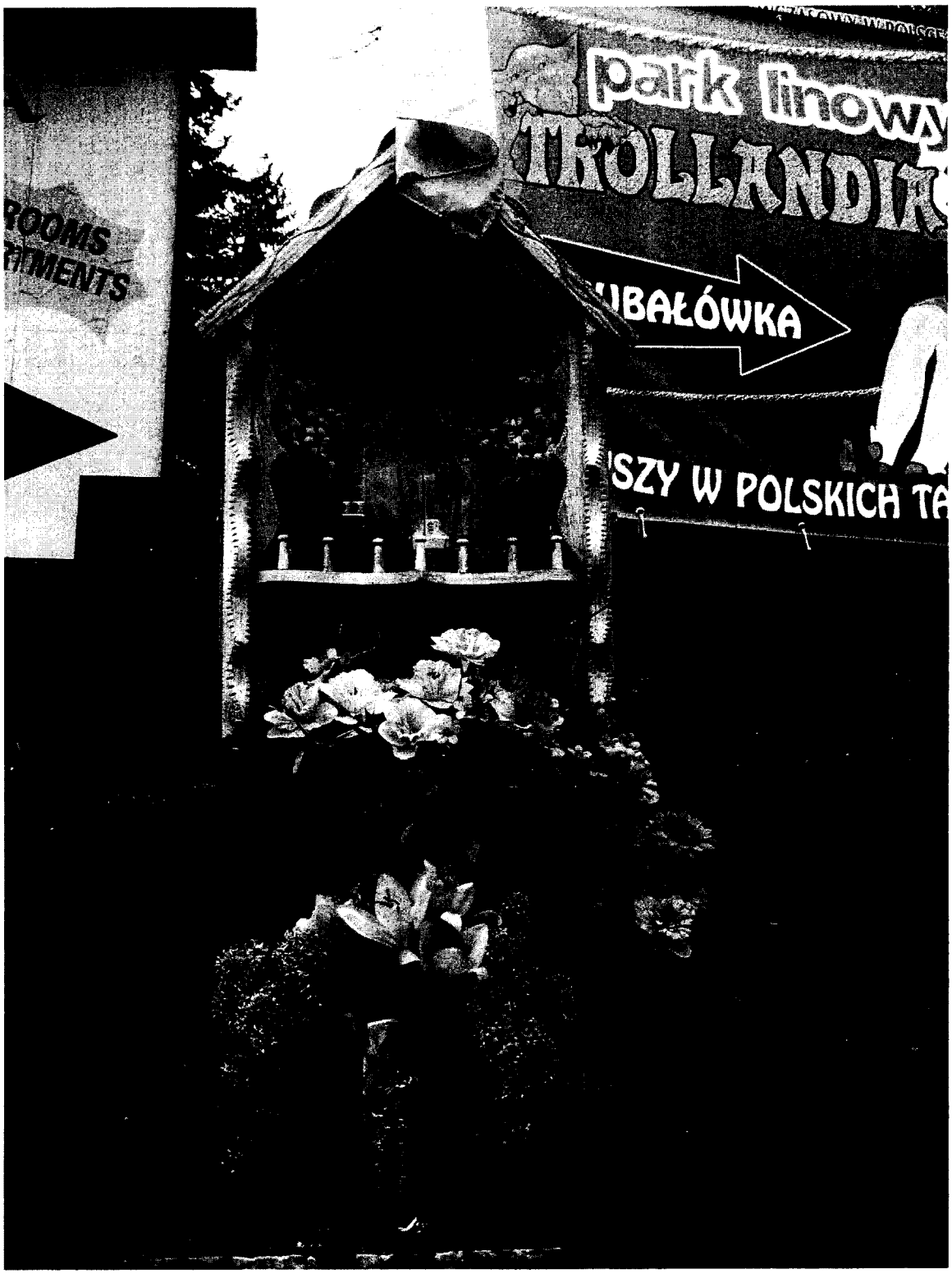
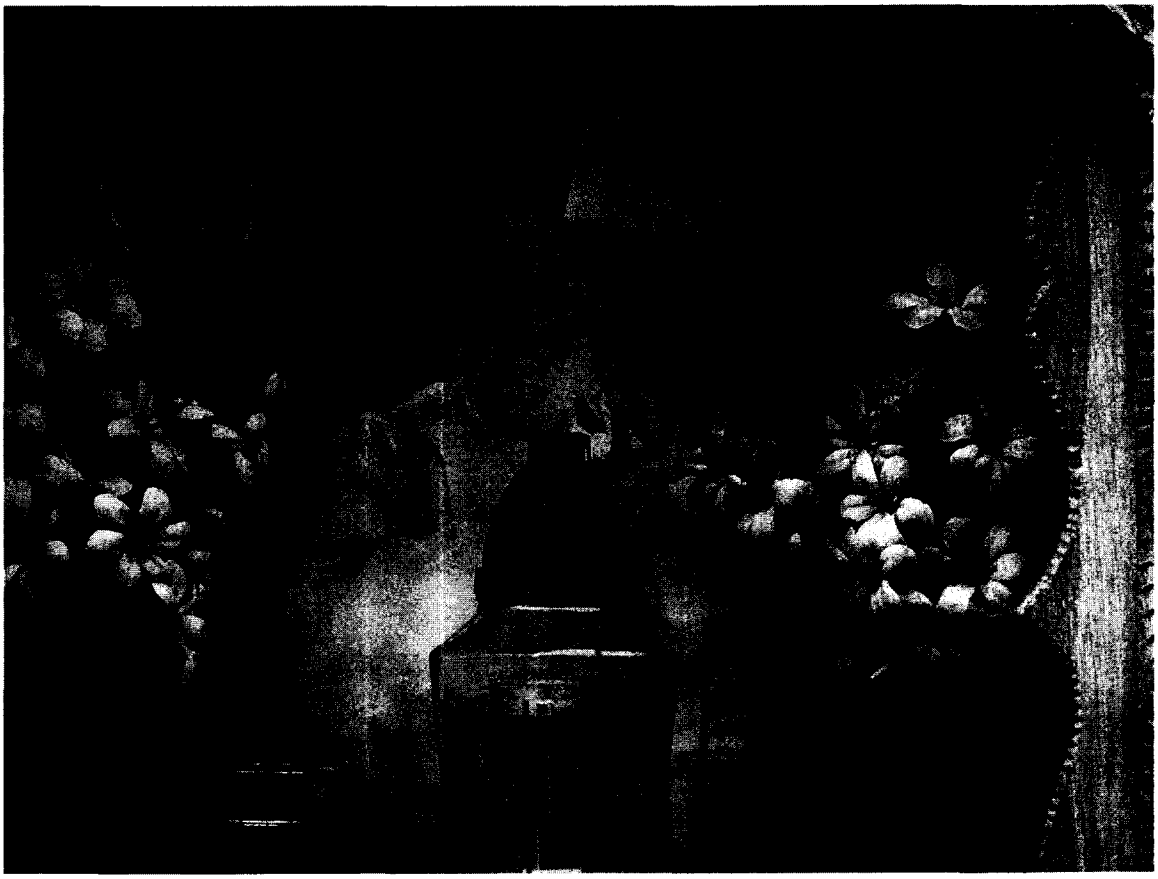
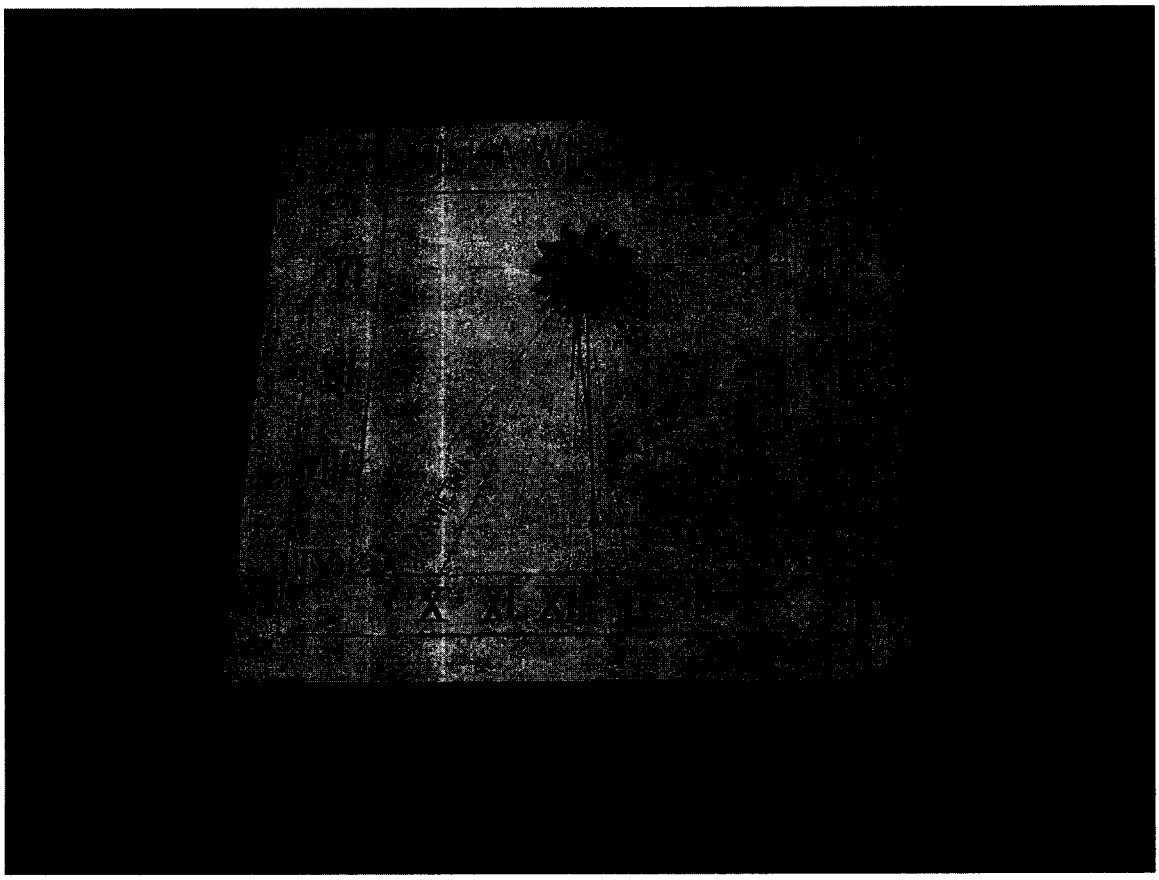


Figure Fifteen B



The John Paul 'wayside shrine', found in the town of Zakopane. The shrine is built in a 'traditional' highland fashion. Note the Papal and Polish flags placed next to the shrine. May 28, 2006. Photographs by author.

Figure Sixteen



The mural on the wall of the minor basilica in Wadowice. The text reads 'Time flies, eternity waits'. Note the addition of the cross and '2 Kwietnia 2005' – April 2, 2005. May 22, 2006. Photograph by author.

Figure Seventeen

Lights are left all along 'The Street of John Paul II' in Warsaw, and a giant cross is lit up in the windows of the Palace of Culture and Science.

Source: Wiadamości – Jan Paweł II – Gazeta.pl, http://serwisy.gazeta.pl/jp2/0,72542,3246913.html?str=4